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## Refining an Identity: Canada in the Post-War Years

Nuclear tensions and a Cold War during the post-war years saw Canada's role in the world evolve. Attitudes, economy, and national identity were reshaped as Canada struggled to find its place as a neighbour to one of the world's military and economic superpowers. Canadian society and identity were impacted by renewed questions regarding the role of Québec, immigration and multiculturalism, Aboriginal rights, and the status of women.



### CHAPTER 6

During the 1950s, Canada experienced a boom in both its economy and population. Cities expanded into suburbs due to post-war immigration and a baby boom. Teenagers embraced new rock'n'roll music.

### CHAPTER 6

The Cold War became a reality for Canadians in 1945 when a Soviet spy ring was uncovered in the country. Canada struggled to remain independent of its superpower neighbour, the U.S., during the Cold War years.



### CHAPTER 7

During the 1960s and 1970s, the huge youth population engendered a culture of activism and protest that challenged social norms and government policies. A separatist crisis also divided the country.



### CHAPTER 8

Communist countries experienced sweeping reforms in the 1980s. The Berlin Wall fell in 1989, marking the end of the Cold War.





## CHAPTER 7

The Canadian government did not support the U.S. in the Cuban Missile Crisis, thereby widening the gap between Canada and the U.S. during the continuing Cold War.

## CHAPTER 8

In the final decades of the 20th century, Canada experienced major political and economic changes. Québec sovereignty tested Canadian unity, and our economy became more closely tied to that of the U.S. Advances in technology resulted in globalization and at home, progress was made in Aboriginal rights.



# 6

## Canada in the Post-War World: The 1950s

### GUIDING QUESTIONS

#### Society & Identity

- In what ways did Canadian society change after the Second World War?
- How was the role of women redefined during the 1950s?
- What measures has Canada taken to promote a distinct Canadian identity?
- What challenges did Aboriginal people face in the 1950s?
- How was Québec nationalism expressed in the 1950s?
- How did people improve their working conditions after the Second World War?

#### Economy & Human Geography

- What were the characteristics of the post-war economic boom?
- How does industrial development affect the environment?
- What was the impact of American investment on the Canadian economy?

#### Autonomy & World Presence

- What factors contributed to Canada's emerging autonomy?
- What was Canada's involvement in the Cold War?
- Describe Canada's involvement in the UN.
- What was Canada's response to modern conflicts?



### TIMELINE

<b>1945</b> Second World War ends United Nations created	<b>1947</b> Immigration of displaced persons from Europe begins Oil discovered at Leduc, Alberta	<b>1948</b> Louis St. Laurent becomes prime minister	<b>1949</b> Newfoundland becomes Canada's 10th province NATO formed Communists take over China	<b>1950</b> Korean War begins
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## CHAPTER FOCUS QUESTION

How did Canadian political decisions reflect a concern about the growing influence of the United States over Canada?



### KEY TERMS

Massey Commission  
Canada Council for the Arts  
Canadian Radio-television and Telecommunications Commission (CRTC)  
Cold War  
communist  
capitalist  
superpowers  
middle power  
North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)  
Warsaw Pact  
North American Aerospace Defence Command (NORAD)  
Distant Early Warning (DEW) Line  
United Nations (UN)  
Avro Arrow  
Korean Conflict  
Suez Crisis

On August 31, 1957, Elvis Presley arrived in Vancouver to perform at Empire Stadium. With eight number one singles in two years, Elvis was one of the hottest rock 'n' roll performers of the 1950s and he epitomized the energy and attitude of the era. As soon as Elvis and his band began performing, screaming fans ran onto the field—breaking through security to get closer to their idol. The show was stopped and the fans ordered to return to their seats. But the teenagers refused, and eventually the show went on anyway.

The next day, *Vancouver Sun* reporter John Kirkwood described the concert this way: “It was like watching a demented army swarm down the hillside to do battle when those frenzied teenagers stormed the field... Vancouver teenagers [were] transformed into writhing, frenzied idiots of delight by the savage jungle beat music... [It was] the most disgusting exhibition of mass hysteria and lunacy this city has ever witnessed.”

Why might John Kirkwood and many other adults have been so hostile to 1950s teenagers' love affair with rock 'n' roll? How did popular culture in the 1950s reflect a society turning away from the tough times of the war years?

As you will see in this chapter, the 1950s brought new lifestyles, new products, and new values to Canadian society. At the same time, the Canadian economy boomed and consumerism grew in importance—factors that favoured the growth of youth culture. People were also on the move. Cities grew larger and hundreds of new suburbs were developed. Economic growth attracted many new immigrants to Canadian cities. With few environmental protections, industry often polluted the environment without consideration for the long-term effects of development. Internationally, Canada sought a middle path, maintaining strong relations with Britain and the Commonwealth and good, but independent, relations with the United States. Carving out an independent foreign policy for Canada was a challenge during the period known as the Cold War, but Canadian governments successfully maintained our independence.

**1951**  
Massey Commission report

**1952**  
First CBC Television broadcast

**1955**  
Warsaw Pact formed

**1956**  
Lester Pearson helps to defuse the Suez crisis

**1957**  
John Diefenbaker becomes prime minister

- In what ways did Canadian society change after the Second World War?

### KEY TERM

**baby boom** the increase in the birth rate that occurred after the Second World War

## The Changing Face of Canada

The end of the Second World War marked the beginning of a population boom in Canada. Those who had postponed marriage because of the war began to start families. Generally, families were larger than they are today—three or four children was the average. In all, 6.7 million children were born in Canada between 1946 and 1961, making up almost one third of the population. The increase in the birth rate that took place in Canada as well as Australia and the United States became known as the **baby boom**. For a time Canada's birth rate was the highest in the industrial world, peaking in 1959. The baby boom among the First Nations population also peaked in the late 1950s. In addition, post-war immigration brought thousands of new Canadians into the country—people eager to take part in the prosperity of the post-war years.

### The Rise of the Suburbs

After the war, developers began building thousands of new homes for Canada's growing population. Many were in the outlying areas of cities, the suburbs, where land was less expensive. Cheap land encouraged low-density building: big houses on large lots with lawns, patios, even swimming pools. In time, suburban subdivisions became "bedroom communities" with their own schools, parks, and churches. Commuters travelled to work in the cities and returned home to the suburbs at the end of the day.

Increased economic development supported suburban life. Both business and manufacturing were booming and fewer than six percent of Canadians were unemployed throughout the decade. It was also a time of tremendous technological innovation, as you will see later in the chapter.

### The Age of the Automobile

In the 1950s, Canadians fell in love with cars and bought 3.5 million of them. Automobile culture changed Canada's neighbourhoods. For people living in the suburbs, a car was a great convenience. Although suburban houses were often plain and functional, cars grew steadily fancier with lots of chrome, fins, and fancy tail lights.

The automobile represented all the elements of the post-war era: fascination with technology, progress, and personal freedom. Few thought of the downside costs. Enormous V8 engines needed lots of fuel, which increased society's dependence on oil. Atmospheric pollution, in the form of smog, also became a problem.



**FIGURE 6-1** Throughout the 1950s, cars were made longer, lower, and wider than previous models. Every fall, manufacturers unveiled new models with eye-catching improvements.

**Using Evidence** What does this design suggest about the importance of the automobile at this time?

## Women in the Fifties

Suburban life was centred on the traditional middle-class family, with a stay-at-home mother at its heart. The father's role was to be the breadwinner, supporting the family on his earnings. Popular women's magazines denounced working mothers as the cause of delinquent children. This was a far cry from the propaganda during the war that had urged women to work outside the home.

Fashions of the day emphasized femininity: long, full skirts; narrow waists; and high heels. New gadgets such as electric floor polishers, pop-up toasters, and electric food mixers promised to make housework seem less like drudgery. Women were encouraged to beautify themselves and their homes by consuming new products.

Many women came to resent suburban life. They felt isolated and trapped in a role that did not allow them to develop their potential. By the mid-1960s, many women were looking for a different way of life.

● How was the role of women redefined during the 1950s?



**FIGURE 6-2** Not all women in the 1950s lived the suburban dream. Many urban women, particularly immigrants, worked in low-paying factory jobs or as domestic help.

**Thinking Critically** Compare the situation of women in the 1950s with women you know today.

## The Birth of Teen Culture

Because the “boomer” generation is the largest age group in Canada, it influenced Canadian culture and the economy for decades to come. Boy Scouts, Girl Guides, and other youth organizations flourished, as did minor sports. Governments built thousands of new schools, arenas, and playgrounds to accommodate the needs of “boomers.” Manufacturers developed and made new products for the baby-boomer market.

Baby boomers spent more time in school than earlier generations. Before the war, the average Canadian child received only eight years of schooling and only one in ten students finished high school. For the boomer generation there were no wars or economic hardships to force students out of school and into the adult world. The result was the invention of the “teenager.” Rock ’n’ roll, a musical style developed in the mid-1950s, soon became the favourite of many teenagers. The roots of rock ’n’ roll were in African-American music from the southern United States. Rock ’n’ roll’s strong rhythms and sometimes rebellious teen-centred lyrics shocked some members of the older generation. It was banned in many places, and Elvis Presley’s onstage hip-swivelling was called obscene. TV producers banned camera shots below his waist. The attacks on rock ’n’ roll with its close connection to African-American culture revealed the racism at the heart of society in the 1950s.



**FIGURE 6-3** With lots of leisure time and money to spend from part-time jobs, teenagers in the 1950s developed a new sense of independence and group identity.

**Gathering Information** What hair and clothing styles that you identify with the 1950s do you see in this photograph?



## Television and the Consumer Society

In the early 1950s, a television set cost about 20 percent of an average annual income. Neighbours and relatives would gather to watch at the homes of those lucky enough to own a set. But television quickly became something of a necessity, especially for families with children. The first shows were in black and white; colour TV did not come to Canada until 1966. And what were Canadians watching? American programs topped the list. The kids tuned in to *Howdy Doody*, *Roy Rogers*, *Lassie*, and *The Mickey Mouse Club*. Families came together to watch game shows, comedies, Westerns, and variety shows like *The Ed Sullivan Show*, a Sunday night institution that featured everything from comedy, classical music, and circus acts to teen pop stars.

The scrimping and saving of the 1930s and the rationing of the war years were now left far behind. The advertisers that sponsored television shows were sending the powerful and appealing message that consumption was the road to happiness. They were selling the good life: bigger cars, more household appliances, new “improved” products. TV also encouraged youngsters to become consumers, introducing them to sweetened cereals, Barbie dolls, and Davy Crockett hats. Advertising was one of the biggest areas of economic growth during the decade—with companies doubling their spending to \$11.9 billion by 1960 in the United States.

### WEB LINK

Read more about Canadian consumerism on the Pearson Web site.



**FIGURE 6-4** Television shaped the values of the time. American shows promoted the ideal of a traditional, wholesome, family-centred lifestyle.

**Identifying Viewpoints** What values are evident in this still from the show *Father Knows Best*?

## PRACTICE QUESTIONS

1. How did the automobile culture change neighbourhoods? What businesses developed because of the automobile culture?
2. Describe the roles of women and men in the 1950s. Discuss reasons why you think many accepted these roles.
3. What effect did television have on many people's buying habits in the post-war period?
4. **Patterns and Change** How would being a teenager in the 1950s be similar to and different from being a teenager today?

The age of the consumer really began in the 1950s when the economy was prospering. People had jobs and they had more access to credit cards than ever before. As a result, they were able to buy the goods that factories were gearing up to produce. Vast numbers of new gadgets and inventions were introduced into the marketplace during this period.

Advertisements were an important part of this process. They created powerful messages to make people want to buy things that would make their lives better, easier, and more glamorous.

Some people would argue that advertisements are, in fact, a form of propaganda. Both advertisements and propaganda try to influence people's emotions in order to make them think and act in certain ways. During the First and Second World Wars the Canadian government used propaganda posters to create support for the war across the country and to encourage people to purchase war bonds. After the war, advertisers continued to use similar techniques to create a need for the products and lifestyle they were selling.

### Analyzing Ads and Propaganda

Here are some questions to consider when you are looking at advertisements and propaganda.

1. What product or viewpoint is being sold?
2. What mood is created and why?
3. What is the relationship between the image and the written material?
4. Does the written material provide information or is it there to generate an emotional response?
5. If there are people in the image, what are they like? What message do they convey?
6. What social attitudes are directly or indirectly reflected?

### Applying the Skill

1. How do the advertisements and the poster appeal to the viewer's emotions?
2. Evaluate how effectively these three images deliver their messages. Explain.
3. Compare the way women are portrayed in the advertisements and the propaganda poster.
4. Select several contemporary advertisements that contain images of women. Compare and contrast the images to the ones on page 175. Analyze what message these contemporary images intend to convey. How does this message help to sell the product?



**FIGURE 6-5** This advertisement is not only selling a brand of refrigerators, but it is also selling a lifestyle. Why might families find ads of this kind appealing?



**FIGURE 6-6** What message does this propaganda poster convey?



**FIGURE 6-7** Big brand advertisements aggressively target specific audiences by creating images that people can identify with. What lifestyle is this ad selling?

- What measures has Canada taken to promote a distinct Canadian identity?

### What If...

Imagine that measures had never been put in place to protect Canadian culture. To what extent do you think that Canadians' choices in the books they read, the music they listen to, and the movies and television shows they watch would be different today? Give examples from your own experience to support your answer.

## Protecting Canadian Culture: The Massey Commission

Television was a powerful cultural influence. Many Canadians saw world events unfolding through an American lens as they watched popular news-casts from the United States. Children of the 1950s grew up identifying more with American culture and values than any generation before them. In 1949, the Liberal government of Louis St. Laurent established the **Massey Commission** to investigate the state of Canadian culture. When the Commission reported in 1951, it suggested that Canadian culture needed to be protected from U.S. influences. Measures taken as a result of its recommendations included the following:

- Canadian television would be used to promote national communication and for cultural education in drama and music. The CBC, which already had a national radio network, was put in charge of the development of television. It opened its first two stations in Toronto and Montréal in 1952. Two years later, four more cities were added. By 1960, 90 percent of Canadian homes had a television and access to the CBC.
- The National Film Board (NFB) would be strengthened.
- The government would become involved in funding universities and the arts. Consequently the **Canada Council for the Arts** was created, which awarded grants to writers, artists, and theatres.

Another important step in the protection of Canadian culture was the creation of the **Canadian Radio-television and Telecommunications Commission (CRTC)** in 1968. This agency would regulate the amount of foreign material broadcast over the airwaves and impose rules requiring Canadian content.

Each of these measures encouraged the growth of arts and culture in Canada and had a profound effect on Canadian identity in the post-war years.

**FIGURE 6-8** The National Ballet of Canada was established in 1957. This photograph shows Canadian ballet stars David Adams and Lois Smith in a 1950s National Ballet of Canada production of *Swan Lake*.



### TIMELINE

### Protecting Canadian Culture

1936

CBC Radio begins broadcasting

1939

National Film Board established

1951

Massey Commission report

1952

CBC Television begins broadcasting

1957

Canada Council for the Arts established

1968

CRTC formed



## Post-War Immigration

From 1905, when Clifford Sifton's "open-door policy" ended, up until the 1960s, Canada had a somewhat restrictive **immigration policy**. Immigrants of British and European origin, especially northern Europeans, were preferred because it was thought that they would adapt the most easily to the Canadian way of life. Immigrants of other origins did arrive, but the government limited their numbers. After the Second World War, nearly 1 million veterans returned to Canada. Not all of them came home alone: many Canadian bachelors serving overseas married there.

War brides formed just part of the wave of immigrants that arrived in Canada after the Second World War. Millions of refugees were stuck in camps across Europe at the end of the war. They included concentration camp survivors and others uprooted by the war. Canada accepted 165 000 such **displaced persons**, settling them in communities across the country.

Other immigrants were attracted by new possibilities in Canada and wanted to escape war-torn Europe. Unable to practise their former trades or professions in Canada, some of these newcomers had a hard time. Nevertheless, refugee children absorbed English quickly at school, and their parents found that a job, any job, opened up new opportunities. More than 2 million immigrants arrived between 1945 and 1960.

Unlike immigrants before the First World War, who had settled largely on farms in Western Canada, post-Second World War immigrants usually settled in the cities of Central Canada where their cultures and hard work enriched Canada in many ways. Older areas of larger cities, vacated as veterans and their families moved to the suburbs, became home to vibrant new communities.

In 1956 when a violent revolution broke out in Hungary, federal and provincial governments relaxed entry requirements in order to allow Hungarians wanting to escape communism to immigrate to Canada. More than 37 000 Hungarians came to Canada. Many Czechs and Slovaks came to Canada from Czechoslovakia in 1968–1969 under similar circumstances. (You will read about communism in eastern Europe later in this chapter.)



**FIGURE 6–9** Most war brides were British, although some came from France and the Netherlands.

**Expressing Ideas** What challenges do you think these women might have faced in their new homeland?

## KEY TERMS

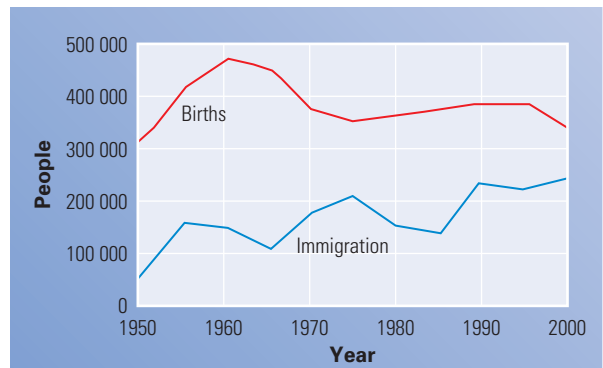
**Massey Commission** a body set up by the federal government to study the state of Canadian culture

**Canada Council for the Arts** the group that funds Canadian artists and supports the arts in Canada

**Canadian Radio-television and Telecommunications Commission (CRTC)** the agency that regulates the amount of foreign material broadcast over the airwaves in Canada and imposes rules requiring Canadian content

**immigration policy** a nation's regulations surrounding immigration

**displaced persons** those who are forced to leave their native home because of war or for political reasons



**FIGURE 6–10** Immigration and births in Canada from 1950 to 2000

**Gathering Information** What trends in birth and immigration rates can you see on this graph? To what extent do they match up? What might account for this?

- What challenges did Aboriginal people face in the 1950s?

## Aboriginal Communities in Transition

The post-war years were times of transition for Aboriginal communities. Those who had served in the military during the war—3000 status Indians and thousands more non-status Aboriginal people and Métis out of a total population of 166 000—still faced institutionalized racism and other barriers when they returned home. Aboriginal soldiers were denied the same benefits as other veterans.

### Education Issues

Education was always a concern for Aboriginal people. For many decades, Aboriginal children were forced to leave home to attend residential schools. Here they were isolated from their home communities and families and forced to abandon their culture and language. The purpose of the schools was the assimilation of Aboriginal children into mainstream Canadian culture.

Although compulsory attendance in residential schools ended in 1948, many remained in operation during the 1950s. In fact, as a result of the baby boom, the 1950s were peak years in the residential school system—with 76 schools in operation. The last residential school did not close until 1996. Residential schools were underfunded and relied on the forced labour of their students. Students in many facilities received a poor education.

In response to the demands of Aboriginal parents, the federal government began to fund off-reserve education. By 1960, thousands of Aboriginal youth were attending provincial schools with certified teachers and modern equipment. However, teachers were often not trained to meet the needs of Aboriginal students. This, and the fact that many students had to commute long distances by bus or board far from home, worked against their academic success.

### Changes to the Indian Act

In 1951, a number of changes were made to the Indian Act that governed the lives of First Nations peoples. Women gained the right to vote in band elections, and potlatches and wearing traditional regalia were no longer illegal. However, the Indian Act maintained the federal government's power to define Indian status and band membership and continued to control the political and economic lives of Aboriginal people.



**FIGURE 6–11** A class of First Nations students at an Alberta residential school in 1950

**Using Evidence** How does this photograph illustrate the role of residential schools in assimilating Aboriginal children into mainstream Canadian culture?

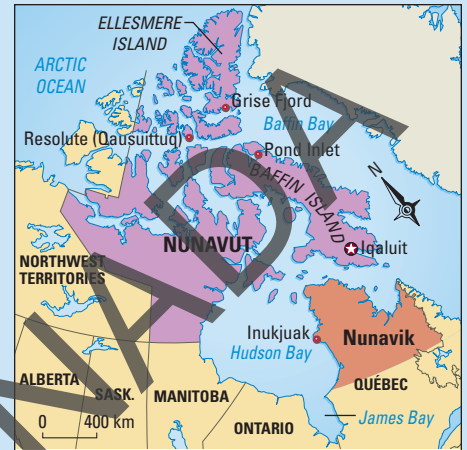
## PRACTICE QUESTIONS

1. Make a web diagram showing social changes in Canada after the Second World War. Be sure to include the following, and show relationships among them, where possible: war brides, immigration, the baby boom, suburbs, youth culture, and Aboriginal communities.
2. What is the role of the CRTC? Do any media threaten Canadian identity today? Explain.
3. What challenges did Aboriginal people in Canada face during the 1950s?

## The High Arctic Relocation



**FIGURE 6-12** The Inuit community of Qausuittuq (Resolute) in 1956. It was formerly in the Northwest Territories and is now part of Nunavut.



**FIGURE 6-13** The new territory of Nunavut was created in 1999.

Governments around the world have sometimes arbitrarily relocated Aboriginal people with little consideration of their needs and rights. The resettlement in 1953–1955 of Inuit families to the High Arctic almost 2000 kilometres away from their former homes was such a case.

In the summer of 1953, the Canadian government relocated several Inuit families from Inukjuak (formerly known as Port Harrison) in northern Québec and Pond Inlet in Nunavut (formerly the Northwest Territories) to Grise Fjord and Resolute Bay. A second group of families was moved from Inukjuak two years later.

The families volunteered for the move because hunting in their area was poor, but they were not told about conditions in the Arctic or about how difficult it would be to return to Québec if they wished to do so. Families were dropped off without firewood or housing at the onset of the Arctic's four-month winter darkness. Survivors today still talk about their struggles: hunger, defending themselves from polar bears, and living in igloos until they could get wood to build houses.

In the 1980s, a suit was initiated against the federal government arguing that the relocation was done to

assert Canadian sovereignty in the Far North rather than to benefit the Inuit. The Arctic had become strategically important for defence during the Cold War. (You will read about the Cold War later in this chapter.)

In 1989, the federal government created a program to help those relocated (and their descendants) who wished to return south. In 1996, the government offered cash compensation to the survivors but did not offer an apology. Today their descendants are bitter, claiming that people were promised abundant game and fish, but instead faced cold, disease, hunger, and poverty.

### Looking Further

1. Look up the term “paternalism.” Was government action in the High Arctic relocation program paternalistic? Explain.
2. Compare the actions of the 1950s government that relocated the Inuit to the way governments operate now. Would such a program be possible today? Explain.

- What measures has Canada taken to promote a distinct Canadian identity?

- What factors contributed to Canada's emerging autonomy?

## KEY TERMS

**populist** someone who appeals to the concerns of ordinary citizens

**referendum** the process of referring a political question to the people for a direct vote

## New Times, New Leadership

Canada's leadership changed little during the early post-war years. Mackenzie King, who had guided the country through the war, retired and his successor, Louis St. Laurent, pursued very similar policies. The Liberals were finally put out of office when the Progressive Conservatives formed a minority government headed by John Diefenbaker in 1957. Diefenbaker called a snap election in 1958 and won the largest majority government in Canadian history.

## The Changing Face of Federal Politics

When Mackenzie King retired in 1948 at the age of 73, he had been in power longer than any Canadian prime minister before him. He was succeeded by Louis St. Laurent as a new age of politics was born. King had governed in the days before television. Today's television commentators would probably have focused on his personal life or pompous speeches, but during his years in power such things were not considered important. By the early 1950s, however, the media was playing a much larger role in Canadian life.

St. Laurent entered politics late in life and during the 1949 election campaign, the Liberal Party election organizers worried about how they could sell this rather shy, reserved, elderly man to the Canadian public. Then, during a campaign stop at a railway station, a reporter noticed

St. Laurent, who was a father of five and grandfather of twelve, chatting with a group of children. Newspapers soon began referring to St. Laurent as "Uncle Louis." The media thus created the image of St. Laurent as a kindly relative. The Liberal advertising agency made sure the nickname stuck. From that time on, the media has played an influential part in Canadian politics.

## Louis St. Laurent and Canadian Autonomy

Louis St. Laurent was born in Compton, Québec, to an English-speaking mother and a French-speaking father. He was nearing retirement after a successful law career when he was approached by Mackenzie King to become Minister of Justice in his government. St. Laurent was elected to the Commons in 1942 and provided key support to King during the conscription crisis of the Second World War. When King retired, St. Laurent seemed to be the right man to take over as prime minister.

St. Laurent led a progressive government that expanded federal social welfare programs, such as old-age pensions and family allowances. He also brought in hospital insurance, another important step on Canada's road to universal health care. His other major domestic contributions were in the areas of protecting Canadian culture (see page 176) and gaining Canada more autonomy from Britain. Measures St. Laurent took as prime minister to increase Canadian autonomy included



**FIGURE 6-14** St. Laurent on the campaign trail  
**Expressing Ideas** What impression does this photograph give of St. Laurent? What elements in the photograph suggest that it was carefully posed?



- appointing the first Canadian-born Governor General, Vincent Massey
- making the Supreme Court of Canada the highest court of appeal for Canadian cases rather than the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, a British legal body
- negotiating with Britain to give the Canadian Parliament the power to amend portions of its own constitution without appealing to the British Parliament. This resulted in the British North America (No. 2) Act, 1949

St. Laurent also played a leading role in Canadian post-war peace and defence initiatives, as you will see later in the chapter.

### Election Defeat

Louis St. Laurent fought and won election campaigns in 1949 and 1953. When the next election rolled around in 1957, the 75-year-old St. Laurent was looking tired and depressed. By comparison, the new Progressive Conservative leader, John Diefenbaker, seemed energetic. Used to public speaking as a defence attorney in Saskatchewan, “Dief” proved to be a great campaigner and a witty orator. Television carried his image across the nation, and he led his party to a narrow election victory. Diefenbaker was the first Westerner to become prime minister. St. Laurent resigned and the defeated Liberals chose a new leader, the diplomat Lester “Mike” Pearson.

Of German extraction, Diefenbaker was the first Canadian prime minister whose father was of neither English nor French background. He saw himself as a Prairie **populist**, one who spoke for and listened to ordinary people. Ordinary people, in turn, responded to him. A colleague recalled the 1958 campaign: “I saw people kneel and kiss his coat. Not one, but many. People were in tears. People were delirious.”

### The Nation Expands

Prime Minister St. Laurent was part of the negotiations that resulted in Newfoundland joining Canada. The process of expanding Canada from sea to sea had been set in motion by Prime Minister King at the end of the Second World War. Until 1932, Newfoundland had been an independent, self-governing dominion within the British Empire. During the Depression, however, the island had suffered so badly that its government had gone bankrupt. Democracy was temporarily suspended and Britain set up a special commission to govern Newfoundland.

In 1948, the islanders were given the opportunity to vote on their political future in a **referendum**. They were offered three options: to continue to be governed by special commission, to be a self-governing dominion within the British Empire, or to join Canada. J.R. “Joey” Smallwood, a skillful Newfoundland politician, argued that union with Canada would bring modernization to the province. Yet, many Newfoundlanders believed the benefits could not make up for the higher taxes and loss of identity that Confederation would bring. Some preferred economic union with the United States.

#### Prime Minister Louis St. Laurent

- born 1882, Compton, Québec
- lawyer
- first elected to Commons, 1942
- prime minister 1948–1957

#### Domestic Record

- negotiated entry of Newfoundland into Confederation
- made Supreme Court of Canada highest court of appeal
- negotiated changes to BNA Act, giving Canadian Parliament authority to amend portions of the Act
- appointed Vincent Massey, first Canadian-born Governor General
- established Massey Commission investigation into protecting Canadian culture
- expanded social welfare programs
- initiated megaprojects such as the Trans-Canada Highway

#### International Record

- defined Canada as middle power
- supported NATO and UN
- sent forces to UN in Korea
- sent Lester Pearson to defuse the Suez crisis



**FIGURE 6-15** Governor General Vincent Massey shakes hands with the newly elected Prime Minister John Diefenbaker.

In a referendum in June 1948, only 41 percent of Newfoundlanders favoured Confederation. A larger number, 44.6 percent, voted in favour of returning to the self-governing dominion status, while 14 percent preferred government by commission. As no option won a clear majority, another vote was scheduled for late July. This time, the commission option was dropped, and the Confederation option won 52 percent of the vote.

The Terms of Union were negotiated with the federal government under Prime Minister St. Laurent, and on March 31, 1949, Newfoundland became part of Canada. That same year, Joey Smallwood was elected premier of the new province, a job he held for more than two decades.

### *Resettlement in Newfoundland*

Newfoundlanders had joined Canada in the hope that Confederation would bring better health care, education, and employment opportunities. It was difficult, however, to provide these services in Newfoundland's outports—isolated fishing settlements connected to the outside world only by occasional ferry service. In 1954, the provincial government introduced a “centralization” program that offered compensation to people who wanted to move to larger centres. Families were paid an average of \$301, which is about \$2430 in today's dollars. By 1959, about 2400 people from 29 communities had been resettled. Unfortunately, prosperity did not follow relocation. In fact, Newfoundland's unemployment rate climbed. The social impact of losing homes, traditions, and a unique way of life in the outports could not be measured. Some Newfoundlanders still feel grief and resentment over the resettlement.



**FIGURE 6-16** Resettlement continued in Newfoundland throughout the 1960s and into the 1970s. This house was towed across Inner Tickle of Newtown to its new location.

**Thinking Critically** How does the resettlement in Newfoundland show the tensions that sometimes exist between progress on the one hand, and cultural and lifestyle traditions on the other?

- How was Québec nationalism expressed in the 1950s?

### **Duplessis and the Roots of Québec Nationalism**

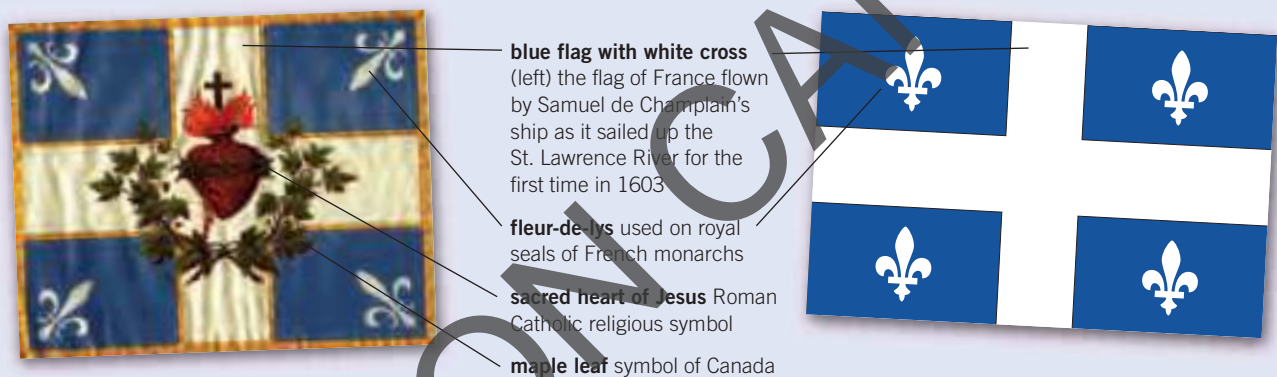
From 1936 to 1939, and again from 1944 to 1959, Québec was controlled by Premier Maurice Duplessis and his party, the Union Nationale. Duplessis was a strong Québec nationalist who promoted the idea of Québec as a distinctive society, a “nation” rather than just another Canadian province. To emphasize his province's difference from English-speaking Canada, Duplessis introduced a new flag for Québec bearing the French symbol, the fleur-de-lys. He fiercely opposed the growing powers of the federal government in the post-war years.

Under Duplessis, the Roman Catholic Church was the main defender of Québec culture. Priests urged people in Québec to turn their backs on the materialism of English-speaking North America. The Church praised the old Québec traditions of farm, faith, and family. It ran Québec's hospitals and schools. Religion played a role in every part of the curriculum, and the schools taught children to accept authority. The elite few who attended high

school and university received a fine education, but the emphasis was on traditional subjects such as classical languages and philosophy. As a result, Québec produced many priests, lawyers, and politicians, but few scientists, engineers, or business people.

While Duplessis tried to keep out the influence of foreign culture, he encouraged foreign investment in Québec. The province guaranteed cheap labour, since union activity was either discouraged or banned. It also promised low taxes. Québec would benefit from the new investment, but so would Duplessis. In return for favourable business conditions, companies were expected to contribute generously to the Union Nationale.

Bribery and corruption became the trademarks of the Duplessis regime. One of the worst of these was the case of the “Duplessis Orphans.” Thousands of children housed in orphanages financed by the province were falsely certified as mentally ill and moved into insane asylums, which were funded by the federal government. For many Québécois, the Duplessis era is *La Grande Noirceur*, the Great Darkness.



**FIGURE 6-17** The present-day provincial flag of Québec (right) was adopted in 1948. Compare it to the previous Carillon Sacré-Cœur flag.

**Expressing Ideas** What might account for the differences in the symbols on the two flags?

## PRACTICE QUESTIONS

- Why was Confederation so hotly debated in Newfoundland in 1949?
  - Only 52 percent of Newfoundlanders voted to join Canada. Do you think this was enough of a margin to warrant such a huge political change? Should it have been necessary for a greater percentage to support the change? Give reasons for your view.
- Explain how the media was important in creating the image of politicians in this period.
  - How is the current prime minister presented in the media? Use pictures from different sources to compare the images created. Include editorial cartoons.
- Create a web diagram summarizing Québec society and politics under Maurice Duplessis.

- What were the characteristics of the post-war economic boom?

## KEY TERMS

**boom town** a town that enjoys sudden prosperity or develops quickly

**boom and bust cycle** a term used to describe a healthy (booming) economy and/or one that is failing (bust)

## Post-War Prosperity

The Second World War had transformed Canadian industry and society. As the war ended, the government needed to find ways to ease the transition from a wartime to a peacetime economy. But planning for peace was complicated—a million people who had worked in war-production industries and close to half a million in the armed services were about to lose their jobs.

Veterans returning to Canada were eager to come home but anxious about the future. Would they find jobs? Many had enlisted in the armed forces right out of high school or had been unemployed during the Depression. However, new laws ensured that they got their old jobs back if they wanted them and that the years they had been at war were counted as years of service on the job. Government policy encouraged women to leave factories to make room for men, which freed up many jobs. Veterans who wished to attend university or trade school received free tuition and living allowances. Veterans and war widows got preference for government jobs. The Veterans' Land Act gave veterans mortgages at lower rates. These government interventions saved Canada from economic recession.

### Spreading the Wealth

As a wartime measure, the provinces had transferred their economic powers to the federal government. Prime Minister Mackenzie King wanted this to become permanent, but provinces were not willing to give up a power conferred on them at Confederation. In the end, the provinces gave in and transferred taxation powers to the federal government. In return, they received government grants for social services such as health care and education. Through equalization or transfer payments, the federal government would then transfer money to the poorer provinces.

Meanwhile, C.D. Howe, Minister of Reconstruction, Trade, and Commerce, gave economic incentives such as generous tax breaks to private industry. Soon, factories were producing washing machines, automobiles, and other items that were in demand, and Canada's economy was booming.



**FIGURE 6-18** A 1943 National Film Board poster promoting the “Canada Carries On” series. These films documented Canada’s war involvement and sought to inform viewers that the war would bring prosperity to Canada.



C.D. Howe was one of Canada's most influential politicians in the post-war period. When the Depression forced him to close his engineering business in 1935, he entered politics as a Liberal MP. Howe rose quickly in government. During the war, he ran the country's economy, and after it he manoeuvred the provinces into giving the federal government more control.

In two decades as a Cabinet minister, Howe was responsible at one time or another for railways, canals, airlines, munitions, war supplies, transition to peacetime, pipelines, trade, and commerce. He was, people said, the "Minister of Everything."

Howe admired the efficiency of the American economy and was impatient with debates over economic issues in Canada's House of Commons. Howe's short temper and determination to force his plans through eventually made him unpopular.



FIGURE 6-19 Howe (second from left) with Winston Churchill and W.L. Mackenzie King, 1944

## Rich Resources and New Industries

Traditional industries such as mining and forestry remained at the heart of the Canadian economy. Massive development of mines, forests, smelters, and the like encouraged the economic boom of the post-war period. One of the most important developments was the discovery of oil at Leduc, Alberta, in 1947. It was Canada's entry into the international oil market.

Wherever new mines and wells developed, resource companies carved **boom towns** in the wilderness, sometimes airlifting in heavy equipment, construction material, and other supplies. Employees lived in tents, trailers, and temporary shanties often far from the nearest town or city. Although they were very well paid, many workers—mostly single men—were starved for distractions. Gambling and alcoholism were chronic problems.

While resource industries developed in frontier areas, manufacturing in southern Ontario grew tremendously. By the 1950s, more than half of the nation's factories and plants and 99 percent of its automobile industry were located in Ontario, close to transportation routes and markets.

In later decades, when resource industries in other parts of the country were in the "bust" part of the **boom and bust cycle**, Ontario did well. Those in other provinces deeply resented Ontario's seemingly privileged position and its apparent immunity from economic downturns.




FIGURE 6-20 In the early years of the 21st century, Fort McMurray, Alberta, was called a boom town because of its growth as a result of oil sands development.

# Innovations

## 1950s Technology

Even a famous science fiction writer could not have guessed how much technology would transform life in the decades after the Second World War. H.G. Wells, author of books such as *The Time Machine* and *The Shape of Things to Come*, predicted that by 1950 soldiers would wage war from bicycles and drop bombs from balloons. In reality, the atomic bomb had demonstrated the awesome power of science. It was soon replaced by the even more powerful hydrogen bomb. While military technology was developing rapidly, everyday life, too, was being changed by new inventions.



**Ballpoint pen** After the war, manufacturers competed to produce the first reliable ballpoint pens.



**Satellite** The Russians launched the first artificial satellite, Sputnik, in 1957, with the Americans following in 1958. The space race had begun. Today, artificial satellites are used in weather forecasting, television transmission, and supplying navigation data for aircraft and ships. They are also used for military purposes such as surveillance and tracking missile launches.



**Heart pacemaker** Technology transformed medicine. In 1957, the first wearable heart pacemaker and artificial heart valves extended the lives of people who, just years before, would not have survived.

**Transistor radio** In 1948, Bell Telephone announced the invention of the transistor, an electronic device for amplifying and switching that is durable, small, and inexpensive. In 1955, Sony Corporation sold the first transistor radios, and over the next decades the radios grew smaller and more portable. Radio, which was predicted to die out in the age of TV, was revived, as teens could now take their music with them wherever they went.



**Television** transformed the way Canadians entertained and educated themselves. TV exposure could make or break political careers and start social movements.



**Vinyl** was invented by the chemist who also discovered bubble gum. This new synthetic product allowed for the invention of many new products in the years after the Second World War. Fire-resistant, waterproof, flexible, and cheap, it was used to make a host of items including long-playing records, convertible automobile roofs, and garden hoses.

## Giant Projects for a Giant Land

As towns across Canada grew, governments improved infrastructure—roads, sewer systems, power plants, schools, and hospitals—using taxes from business and workers in the booming economy. The money paid out to construction companies created more jobs and stimulated the economy as workers spent their wages. The federal government under Louis St. Laurent enthusiastically undertook **megaprojects** that changed the face of the Canadian landscape.

Few people realized at the time that many projects and industrial processes had hidden costs. The greatest of these was pollution. Solid industrial wastes were simply buried, creating toxic landfills on which housing, schools, and playgrounds were sometimes constructed. Pulp and paper and petrochemical plants dumped wastes directly into streams, contaminating lakes and rivers. Industry simply wanted high productivity and low costs. Farmers pumped weedkiller and chemical fertilizers into the soil and, indirectly, into the groundwater. Homeowners casually used the insecticide DDT, a contact poison, around their houses and yards. Nevertheless, “pollution” did not become a common word until the late 1960s.

- How does industrial development affect the environment?

### KEY TERM

**megaprojects** large-scale construction projects that require a huge capital investment; the construction of the St. Lawrence Seaway is an example

<b>Trans-Canada Highway</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• construction began in 1950 with huge government investment to upgrade and pave roads along the Trans-Canada Route</li> <li>• 7821-kilometre road from St. John's, Newfoundland, to Victoria, British Columbia; would be the longest national highway in the world</li> </ul>
<b>Kemano Project</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• created to generate hydroelectricity to support aluminum smelting in the town of Kitimat</li> <li>• water of the Nechako River diverted into the Nechako Reservoir behind the Kenney Dam. This resulted in the flooding of land within the territory of the Dakelh First Nation.</li> <li>• dam construction was completed in 1952</li> </ul>
<b>Trans-Canada Pipeline</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• natural gas pipeline to carry gas east from Alberta all the way to Québec</li> <li>• completed in 1958</li> </ul>
<b>St. Lawrence Seaway</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• system of locks that would allow large ships from the Atlantic to travel all the way to Lake Superior</li> <li>• built cooperatively by Canada and United States between 1954 and 1959</li> <li>• benefits: prairie grain could be loaded directly onto Europe-bound ships at Thunder Bay, cutting back on the cost of rail transportation; business increased in inland ports; and hydroelectric power plants were developed at dam sites</li> </ul>



**FIGURE 6–21** Trans-Canada Highway in Western Canada

- What was the impact of American investment on the Canadian economy?

## American Investment: A Continuing Issue

In 1945 President Franklin Roosevelt and Prime Minister Mackenzie King discussed economic cooperation between their two countries. King described it to Parliament this way: “It involves nothing less than a common plan [for] the economic defense of the western hemisphere.” Canadians regularly debated their economic ties with the United States asking: Is Canada becoming the “49th state”?

The United States, like Canada, had a booming economy in the post-war years. When it began to run short of raw materials, it looked to Canada as a vast storehouse of minerals and other natural resources. Canadians, for their part, recognized that they needed investment to extract resources such as oil, uranium, and iron ore. By 1957, Americans controlled 70 percent of oil and gas investment, 52 percent of mining and smelting, and 43 percent of Canadian manufacturing. In addition, U.S. companies had opened numerous branch plants in Canada.

There were advantages and disadvantages to U.S. investment. Branch plants provided many Canadians with good jobs in manufacturing, and Canadian industries benefited from U.S. technology. However, profits from the branch plants went back to the parent corporations in the United States. To many critics, it looked as though Canada was losing control of its economy. The debate continued for decades, until the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) brought about a new economic relationship in 1994. (You will read about NAFTA in Chapter 8.)



FIGURE 6–22 Newfoundland lumbermen on strike, March 1959



## The Labour Movement in Canada

The wealth of Canada was not entirely in the hands of others. Canadian tycoons built up commercial empires that commanded vast resources and employed many people. On the West Coast, H.R. MacMillan put together one of the world's largest forestry companies. In New Brunswick, K.C. Irving became one of the world's richest men with businesses ranging from gas stations to timber and newspapers. In Central Canada, E.P. Taylor and the Bronfman family controlled the production of many consumer goods and the stores that sold them.

At the same time, members of trade unions fought for a greater share of the country's prosperity. In 1946 and 1947, strikes were frequent as workers fought for the right to form unions and pressed for wages that would support a family. As a result, wages rose, for example, from \$0.67 per hour in 1945 to \$0.95 per hour in 1948. Workers won a major victory in establishing the 5-day, 40-hour workweek and increasing fringe benefits such as paid vacations. These hard-won benefits eventually became standard for many workers across the country. This meant Canadian workers had more money and more leisure time to enjoy it. Business benefited as well, because consumer spending rose. Non-industrial unions grew rapidly, including organizations for teachers, nurses, civil servants, postal workers, and police.

## The Limits of Prosperity

Some groups did not share the prosperity of the times. The working poor in cities—including many immigrants—washed dishes, cleaned offices, sweated in meat-packing plants, or toiled at sewing machines under miserable conditions. Women who could not afford to be stay-at-home wives and mothers were at a particular disadvantage. They were made to feel guilty by a society that condemned mothers who went out to work. Women were legally discriminated against by their employers, who paid them less than men even if they did the same work.

● What was the impact of American investment on the Canadian economy?

### PRACTICE QUESTIONS

1. Why did the problem of post-war unemployment not arise?
2. What are transfer payments? Why were they instituted?
3. **Significance** Which advances in technology do you think had the greatest effect on society in the short and long term? Which do you think will be the most significant 100 years from now? Why?
4. Explain the importance of one of the megaprojects of the 1950s.
5. List some of the environmental problems that emerged during the post-war period.
6. Which groups were marginalized in the 1950s and 1960s? Why do you think this was so?
7. Why was American investment necessary and controversial?
8. Why were unions important?
9. Why were women workers at a disadvantage in the 1950s?

- What was Canada's involvement in the Cold War?



**FIGURE 6-23** The government gave Soviet embassy clerk Igor Gouzenko and his family new identities, after which they settled in Ontario. Gouzenko wrote a book about his experiences and occasionally appeared in public, as in this television interview. He always wore a hood, afraid that the Soviet spy agency, the KGB, would kill him.

## The Cold War and Post-War Diplomacy

In 1945, a Russian citizen, Igor Gouzenko, was working as a clerk at the Soviet embassy in Ottawa. In September of that year, Gouzenko went to the *Ottawa Journal* with documents proving that a Soviet spy ring was operating within the Canadian government. When no one at the newspaper believed him, Gouzenko took his pregnant wife and child in tow and brought the documents to the offices of the RCMP, the Department of Justice, and the prime minister. Still no one believed him—until Soviet agents broke into his apartment. Finally Gouzenko and his family got protection from Canadian authorities.

Canadian officials informed the British and American governments of the spy ring. In February, 1946, the RCMP made several arrests. The spying was likely trying to discover information about the atomic bomb, but it appeared that the Soviets had learned very little. The Gouzenko affair brought Canadians into the new reality of the post-war world—the period of intense hostility and suspicion known as the **Cold War**.

### The Cold War

During the Second World War, the United States and the Soviet Union had been allies even though they had little in common except their opposition to the Axis powers. Once the war was over, tensions between the two countries surfaced. At the heart of the conflict were differences in their political and economic systems. The Soviet Union was **communist**, which meant that the



**FIGURE 6-24** After the October 1917 revolution in Russia, two countries were recognized as communist. The post-war world, after 1945, saw the addition of 12 new communist countries, most of which were in Eastern Europe.

**Developing Understanding** How does this map contribute to your understanding of American concerns about the spread of communism?

government controlled all industry and commerce. Under communism, political opposition was not tolerated. The United States and most Western countries were **capitalist**. Their economies were based on private enterprise, with individuals investing in business for profit. Citizens had basic freedoms such as freedom of the press and freedom of speech.

Western countries were suspicious of communism. As in the decades following the First World War, they feared that communists planned to overthrow Western societies in a world revolution. The Soviet Union, for its part, was suspicious that the Western countries might try to invade Soviet territory through Europe. The Soviets took over the countries of Eastern Europe in the years following the Second World War and established communist governments in them. The West, particularly the United States, saw this expansion as proof of Soviet designs on the world.

As a result, the war years were not followed by peace and cooperation, as so many had hoped. Instead hostility increased between the Soviets and the Americans. But this was not traditional warfare; it was a Cold War in which no shots were fired and no battles took place. At the same time, both sides built up huge stockpiles of sophisticated arms, including the atomic bomb and other nuclear weapons and also spied on one another. The rivals became **superpowers**, each capable of inflicting massive destruction.

Canada aligned itself closely with U.S. interests while trying to remain true to the goals and values of Canadians—not an easy task. Through the early part of the 20th century, Canada had achieved independence from Britain; in the latter half, Canada struggled to keep U.S. influences from weakening its national identity.

## The Cold War at Home

When the Igor Gouzenko story hit the media, the Canadian public was shocked to learn that a communist spy ring had been operating in Canada. During the early decades of the Cold War, many Canadians worried that an open war between the Soviet Union and the United States would result in a rain of nuclear bombs and missiles on Canada. The federal government in Ottawa developed civil defence plans, and cities prepared to protect their populations. Some cities had nuclear shelters in deep basements or subway tunnels. If an attack were to occur, sirens would sound a warning and people would try to find shelter. Schools ran drills to teach students to “duck and cover” or to lie in ditches. The fear of a nuclear Third World War was very real. Ironically, however, the existence of nuclear weapons—and the threat of mass destruction—probably prevented an all-out war between the superpowers.

## KEY TERMS

**Cold War** a period lasting approximately from 1945 to 1989 when there was tension and hostility between the communist Soviet Union and its allies and the capitalist United States and its allies

**communist** one who believes that property and the production and distribution of goods and services should be owned by the public and that the labour force should be organized for the benefit of all; the application of the theory in the Soviet Union, China, Cuba, and other countries resulted in dictatorships by leaders of communist parties

**capitalist** one who believes in an economic system in which the production and distribution of goods are owned privately or by shareholders in corporations that have invested money in the hope of making a profit

**superpowers** the term used to refer to the United States and Soviet Union in the post-Second World War period when both were engaged in building up powerful arsenals of weapons of mass destruction as deterrents against aggression



FIGURE 6-25 Students doing a duck-and-cover drill

## Was the “Red Menace” real?

The “Red Menace” referred to the threat from the communist Soviet Union and its allies. Communists became known as “Reds” because the flags of the Communist International and the Soviet Union are red. The Gouzenko Affair had shown that it was possible for communists to infiltrate democratic governments and institutions in North America.

In the United States, Senator Joseph McCarthy and the House Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC) instituted a “witch hunt” for communists. McCarthy terrified people with secret lists of supposed communists who had, according to him, infiltrated all parts of American society.

The Committee interrogated thousands of suspected communists. For instance, many prominent figures in the entertainment industry, including movie stars, were forced to testify before the Committee because they had once belonged to socialist organizations or had simply attended meetings of such groups.

Many Canadians also feared the spread of communism, as is evident in the following quotation:

*No longer could western governments fail to acknowledge that Soviet Russia was conducting a gigantic conspiracy for the overthrow of governments throughout the free world.*

—Clifford Harvison, RCMP Commissioner, 1950s

The “Red Menace” sometimes became an issue in local elections, as the quotation below and poster on page 193 demonstrate.

*Toronto's Communists took a lacing in the civic elections with Ald. Charles Sims and Trustee Mrs. Edna Ryerson of Ward 5 remaining as the only stooges of Stalin on either city council or board of education.... On the Board of Education three Communist aspirants fell by the wayside. In Ward Four, where Mrs. Hazel Wigdor, a Commie, retired, Comrade Samuel Walsh took a shellacking....*

—Globe and Mail, January 2, 1948

Unlike U.S. President Dwight Eisenhower, Prime Minister Louis St. Laurent refused to outlaw communism. He reminded Canadians that such tactics were the trademarks of dictatorships, not democracies. Two of Canada's future prime ministers, Lester Pearson and John Diefenbaker, both supported St. Laurent's moderate approach.

*Let us by all means remove the traitors from positions of trust, but in doing so, I hope we may never succumb to the black madness of the witch hunt.*

—Lester Pearson quoted in *The Red Scare*

*I frankly state that in 1948 my own party came out in favour of outlawing communism. I was the only one to oppose it. I received a very unusual lack of welcome. The Conservative Party was going to sweep Canada with that policy. I said, “You cannot do it. You cannot deny an individual the right to think as he will.”*

—John Diefenbaker, House of Commons, 1970



**FIGURE 6–26** Although Joseph McCarthy had many supporters in the United States, he was feared and hated by many people.



- What measures has Canada taken to promote a distinct Canadian identity?

Nevertheless, injustices did take place in Canada.

- Union leaders who fought for better conditions for workers came under suspicion.
- Defence industries secretly sent lists of their employees to Ottawa for screening and dismissed workers suspected of communist sympathies.
- The RCMP Special Branch put artists, peace activists, union leaders, and intellectuals under surveillance.
- Québec Premier Maurice Duplessis used the so-called “Padlock Law” to shut down organizations and newspapers that criticized his government, and to arrest those who sought better rights for workers.

## Analyzing the Issue

1. In the United States, and to some extent in Canada, governments and government agencies used un-democratic tactics and violated the civil liberties of those suspected of communist sympathies. Why do you think the rule of law was broken so often at this time?
2. Maurice Duplessis’ government used the so-called Padlock Law to close down newspapers that Duplessis thought were communist or leftist and the publications of other groups he did not like. What fundamental Canadian right does this violate? How would this law stand up against the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms?
3. Find out to what extent anti-terrorist policies after 2001 followed the same pattern as the communist witch hunts of the 1950s.
4. Is banning certain political, social, or economic groups ever justified? Explain.
5. What makes evidence credible? Why is it so important that credible evidence of guilt be established in a democratic society?



FIGURE 6-27 A Toronto municipal campaign poster, 1947

- What was Canada's involvement in the Cold War?

## KEY TERMS

**middle power** a nation that is not a super-power but has international influence

**North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)** the mutual defence organization set up to protect several Western European countries, Canada, and the U.S. from possible aggression from the U.S.S.R. after the Second World War

**Warsaw Pact** a post-Second World War military alliance established in 1955 involving the Soviet Union and the Soviet-block countries of Albania, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, East Germany, Hungary, Poland, and Romania

**North American Aerospace Defence Command (NORAD)** a defence agreement signed in 1958 between Canada and the United States (known as the North American Air Defence Agreement until 1981)

**Distant Early Warning (DEW)** radar stations in northern Canada set up between 1958 and 1960 to detect Soviet activity over the North Pole

## NATO and the Warsaw Pact

Prime Minister St. Laurent saw Canada as a “power of the middle rank” and his government expanded Canada’s international role accordingly. He believed that although Canada had a close relationship with both the United States and Britain, it could nevertheless act independently of these two nations. As a **middle power**, Canada was in the position of effectively representing the interests of smaller nations. St. Laurent was an enthusiastic supporter of Canada’s participation in the **North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)** and the United Nations (UN).

In 1949, Canada joined with the United States, Britain, and other Western European nations to form NATO, a military alliance. An attack on one NATO member was to be treated as an attack on all. NATO members agreed that if conventional weapons were not sufficient, they would use tactical weapons, that is, short-range nuclear weapons such as artillery shells or bombs. As a last resort, they would be prepared to wage total nuclear war.

Since the United States was by far the most powerful member of the alliance, much of NATO’s activity served American policy first and foremost. Canada’s close ties with the United States made maintaining an independent foreign policy very difficult. When NATO admitted West Germany as a member, the Soviet Union initiated the **Warsaw Pact**, a military alliance with Eastern European communist countries, to counter it.

Much of the northern hemisphere was now effectively divided into two hostile camps. Armies constantly practised for war and added to their arsenals of weapons. Everywhere, spies and counterspies probed for weaknesses in their enemy’s security—searching for secrets, carrying out assassinations, and promoting revolutions and counter-revolutions.

### *Canada’s Commitment to NATO*

Canada made a serious commitment when it joined NATO. It agreed to keep a full army brigade and several air squadrons in Europe, mostly in West Germany. It built and supplied military bases overseas. Canadian ships and aircraft tracked the movements of Soviet submarines. Canadian forces participated regularly in military exercises with Canada’s allies. Perhaps most significantly, by joining NATO, Canada had to adapt its defence policy to those of its allies.

## NORAD and North American Defence

In 1958, Prime Minister Diefenbaker signed an agreement with the United States committing Canada to the **North American Aerospace Defence Command (NORAD)**. This meant that Canada and the U.S. had become part of a joint coordinated continental air defence against the threat of attack from the Soviet Union.

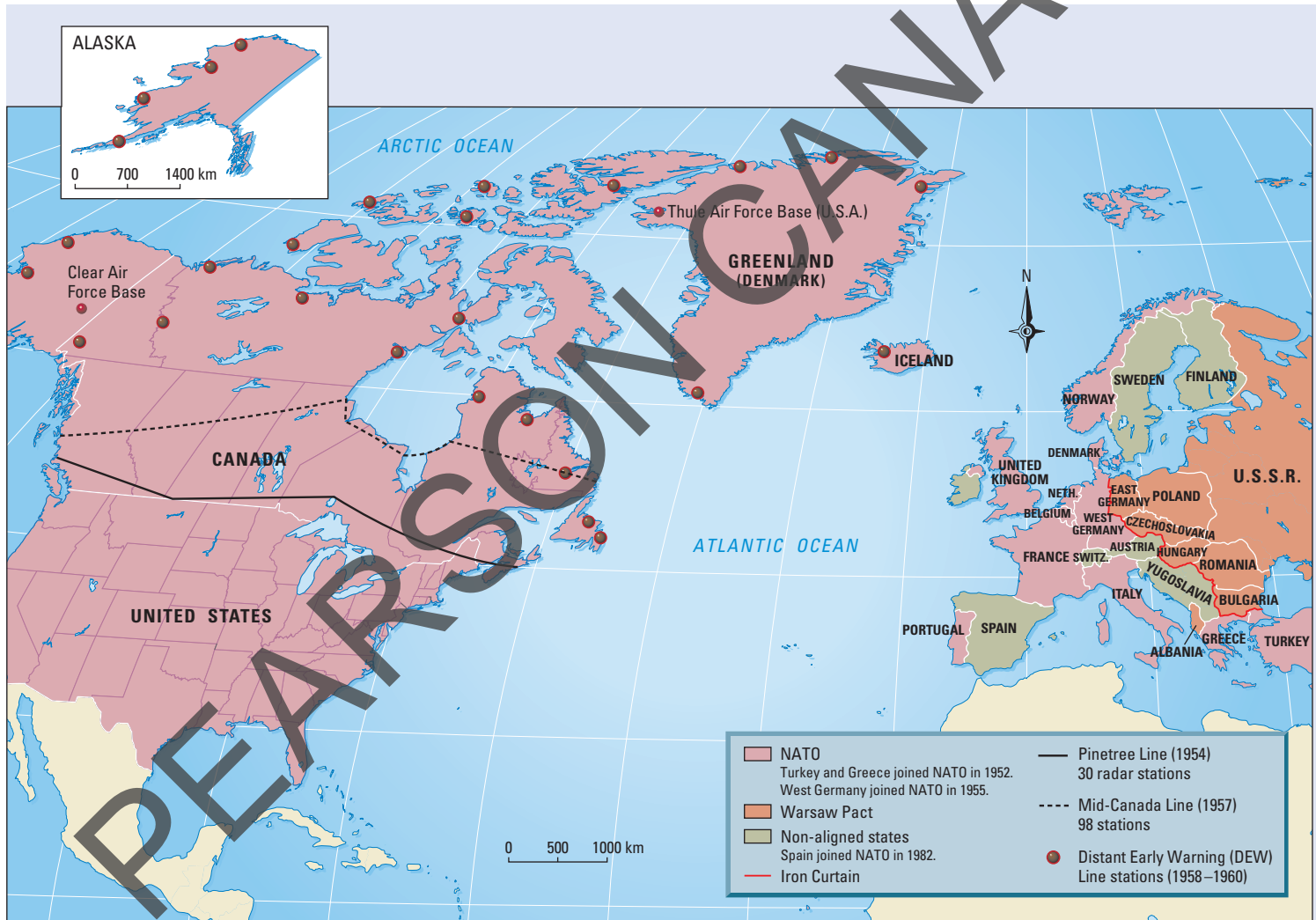
Canadian and American fighter forces, missile bases, and air-defence radar were controlled from a command station deep within Cheyenne Mountain, Colorado. NORAD had a force of 1000 bombers at its disposal at any one time, some of which were always in the air armed with nuclear weapons. A Canadian command post, under joint control, was established deep inside tunnels at North Bay, Ontario.

When the Cold War began, it looked like Europe would be the battleground between West and East. However, when long-range bombers were developed that could carry warheads to distant targets, North America also became vulnerable. To protect against direct Soviet attack from the air, the United States built three lines of radar stations across Canada between 1950 and 1957—the Pinetree Line, the Mid-Canada Line, and the **Distant Early Warning (DEW) Line** (see map below). These stations were designed to detect a surprise Soviet attack over the North Pole, giving the United States time to launch a counterattack.

The DEW Line, and other radar stations, compromised Canadian sovereignty. For the first time, the U.S. stationed military personnel in Canada, alarming many Canadians. To visit the DEW Line, Canadian members of Parliament and journalists had to fly to New York and gain security clearance from U.S. authorities.



**FIGURE 6–28** The NORAD emblem. What might the elements of this emblem represent?



**FIGURE 6–29** Countries of NATO and the Warsaw Pact. The dividing line between the Western European and communist countries was known as the “Iron Curtain,” and movements of people and information from one side to the other was tightly restricted.

**Thinking Critically** Why would countries in Western Europe feel threatened by the countries of the Warsaw Pact and vice versa?

## KEY TERM

**intercontinental ballistic missiles** missiles equipped with nuclear warheads that have a range of 5500 kilometres

Most Canadians, however, showed little interest in this loss of independence, which the government had “sold” as the price of added security against an attack from the Soviet Union. Soon, the superpowers had developed **intercontinental ballistic missiles** armed with nuclear warheads. Missiles launched from the U.S.S.R. could reach North American cities within 30 minutes, rendering radar stations in Canada less effective.

## FAST FORWARD

### Terrorist Threats

The Cold War of the 1950s prompted the government to create military alliances and build weapons to protect Canadians from communist spies and attack. Fifty years later, when terrorists attacked the Twin Towers of the World Trade Center and other targets in the United States on September 11, 2001, governments around the world again took strong measures to protect their citizens. In both cases, the threat was real. But were all the security measures really necessary? What price were governments and citizens prepared to pay for security? Critics pointed out the dangers of governments overreacting to threats and sacrificing vital rights and freedoms in the interest of security.



**FIGURE 6-30** People around the world were horrified by evidence of torture of terrorist suspects by U.S. military personnel. This 2004 photograph was taken at Abu Ghraib prison in Iraq.

## PRACTICE QUESTIONS

1. What was the Cold War? Why did the Soviet Union want to have a buffer of countries between it and Western Europe?
2. a) Why was communism considered a threat to democracy?  
b) What groups of Canadians came under suspicion of being communists? What actions were taken against some of these people?
3. Identify a) NATO, b) NORAD, c) the DEW Line.
4. Why was Canada willing to enter an air defence agreement with the United States?
5. What commitments did Canada make as a member of NATO? How did membership in NATO affect Canada's foreign policy?
6. **Significance** Read the feature on the following page. How might Canada's identity have been different if the Avro Arrow project had not been cancelled? What different role might Canada have played in international affairs?



## The Avro Arrow: Supersonic Jets

By the end of the Second World War, advances in technology had completely changed aviation. Jet fighters developed by Britain and Germany made propeller-driven warplanes obsolete. Canada, which had many aeronautical engineers in the early 1950s, was a leader in the field. Even though the Avro project was cancelled in 1959, the memory of the Arrow remains.



**Delta-winged interceptor** By 1958, the A.V. Roe (Avro) Company had developed the Arrow (CF 105), capable of flying at twice the speed of sound (Mach 2). The Arrow was to have exceptionally powerful and state-of-the-art engines and be faster than almost any other interceptor of the day.



**Turbojet engine** The Arrow, which was to be powered by two huge Iroquois jet engines, had a very specific purpose: to shoot down Russian nuclear-armed bombers.

**The Concorde supersonic jetliner** which first flew in 1969, used delta-wing technology, similar to that of the Arrow. The Avro project was cancelled in 1959 by the Diefenbaker government. The existing planes were scrapped, and most of Avro's designers and engineers moved to the United States. Many Canadians feel that they lost an opportunity to establish a world-class space and aeronautics industry in Canada.

- Describe Canada's involvement in the UN.

## KEY TERMS

**United Nations (UN)** an organization established in 1945 to bring peace and security to the world.

**World Health Organization (WHO)** the United Nations health organization responsible for providing leadership for global health

**United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF)** a UN organization that works to protect children's rights, to make sure the basic needs of children are met and to help children reach their full potential; originally called United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund

## Planning for Peace

Despite growing tensions at the end of the Second World War, world leaders began making plans for an international agency that would work to prevent future conflict and alleviate human misery.

### Canada and the United Nations

In October 1945, delegates from 51 countries signed a charter that established the **United Nations (UN)**. It was based on the idea of collective security, as the League of Nations had been before it. Canada played an important part in drafting its Charter. Membership in the United Nations is open to all recognized nations. Two bodies govern the United Nations: the General Assembly and the Security Council.

The use of the veto in the Security Council has often prevented the United Nations from taking decisive action. By 1955, as the Cold War escalated, the veto was used 78 times, 75 of which were by the Soviet Union. However, when permanent members agree on a course of action, the United Nations has the potential to implement it.

The founders of the UN also pledged to abolish disease and famine and to protect human rights. Canadian John Humphrey was the leading author of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Various agencies such as the **World Health Organization (WHO)** and the **United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF)** are designed to accomplish these goals. In addition, the UN established the International Monetary Fund (IMF) to stabilize the world economy by helping countries that face great debt and the collapse of their

currencies. The United Nations has benefited millions of people worldwide, especially through its social and economic agencies and peacekeeping operations. As with all international organizations, however, countries pursue their own agenda within it.

Canada has been a strong supporter of the United Nations since its creation and has aided refugees from war or natural disasters and worked on development projects—such as building schools, dams, and roads—in various countries. Canadian peacekeepers have been involved in almost every UN operation since the start of these missions in 1956.



**FIGURE 6–31** The UN Security Council is responsible for keeping peace. It issues calls for ceasefires and creates peacekeeping forces. Canada has had a seat on the Council in every decade since the United Nations was formed.

The General Assembly
<b>Seats</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>each member nation has a seat</li> </ul>
<b>What it does</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>provides a forum in which members can debate issues</li> <li>has three powers it can use against aggressor nations <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>condemn the actions through speeches and resolutions</li> <li>use economic sanctions</li> <li>deploy armed forces</li> </ul> </li> </ul>
<b>How decisions are made</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>each member nation has the right to vote</li> </ul>

The Security Council
<b>Seats</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>5 permanent members, the “Big Five”—Britain, France, the United States, Russia, and China (represented by the government in Taiwan until 1971)</li> <li>10 non-permanent members, each holding a two-year term</li> </ul>
<b>What it does</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>maintain peace and security</li> <li>deploy peacekeeping missions</li> </ul>
<b>How decisions are made</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>decisions need the consent of 9 members</li> <li>each of the “Big Five” has the power of veto—the right to reject actions with which they disagree</li> </ul>

## The Korean Conflict

Though the threat of nuclear annihilation kept the major powers from open war, both sides supported their own interests in the developing world. The Second World War had left the Asian country of Korea divided. The Soviet Union and communist China supported North Korea, a communist state. The United States supported South Korea which had a fragile democracy. In 1950, war broke out when North Korea invaded South Korea.

The United Nations called on its members to assist South Korea. (The Soviet Union was boycotting the UN at the time because it refused to give communist China a seat. Therefore it could not exercise its right to veto.) Prime Minister Louis St. Laurent sent thousands of Canadian troops and three naval destroyers to Korea. The UN force, led by American General Douglas MacArthur, tried to drive the invaders back over the border into North Korea. Meanwhile, Lester Pearson, Canada’s Minister of External Affairs, urged all sides to agree to a ceasefire. At one point, the United States considered using the atomic bomb, but luckily, it did not. In addition, General MacArthur made plans to invade China. Had either of these things happened, a third World War would likely have resulted.

Although a ceasefire was reached in 1953, the war had increased tensions between the West and the communist nations. Global attention returned to this part of the world in the 1960s when American involvement in Vietnam escalated. (You will read about the Vietnam War in Chapter 7.)

Sandwiched between the Second World War and the Vietnam War, the Korean conflict is often called “Canada’s forgotten war.” Canada sent more than 25 000 soldiers to fight in Korea. More than 1500 were seriously wounded and another 516 died. As of 2009, the Korean War had technically not ended: the Republic of Korea (South) and the Democratic Peoples’ Republic of Korea (North) had yet to sign a peace treaty.

- What was Canada’s response to modern conflicts?



**FIGURE 6–32** Lester Pearson with the Nobel Peace Prize that he won in 1957 for helping to defuse the Suez crisis

#### WEB LINK

Visit the Pearson Web site to learn more about Lester Pearson's Nobel Peace Prize.

## The Suez Crisis

A crisis over the Suez Canal in Egypt gave Canada another chance to take a leading role at the United Nations. The Suez Canal links the Mediterranean and Red Seas and provides the shortest sea route from Europe to the Indian Ocean. It was opened in 1869 and was privately owned by British and French investors.

In 1956, Egypt's president, Gamal Abdel Nasser, took over the canal and threatened to ban ships travelling to and from Israel. In response, Israel, Britain, and France planned "Operation Musketeer" to regain control of the canal. Ignoring a UN Security Council resolution to cease hostilities, they landed troops in the canal zone. The Soviet Union immediately offered Egypt financial and military aid.

The United States was angry with its allies, Britain, France, and Israel, for not consulting the U.S. government before attacking Egypt. Nevertheless, the United States threatened retaliation against any Soviet involvement. Canadian public opinion on the crisis was divided. The Conservative Party and many other Canadians felt it was their duty to support Britain. Liberal Prime Minister Louis St. Laurent, however, denounced the British and French military intervention.

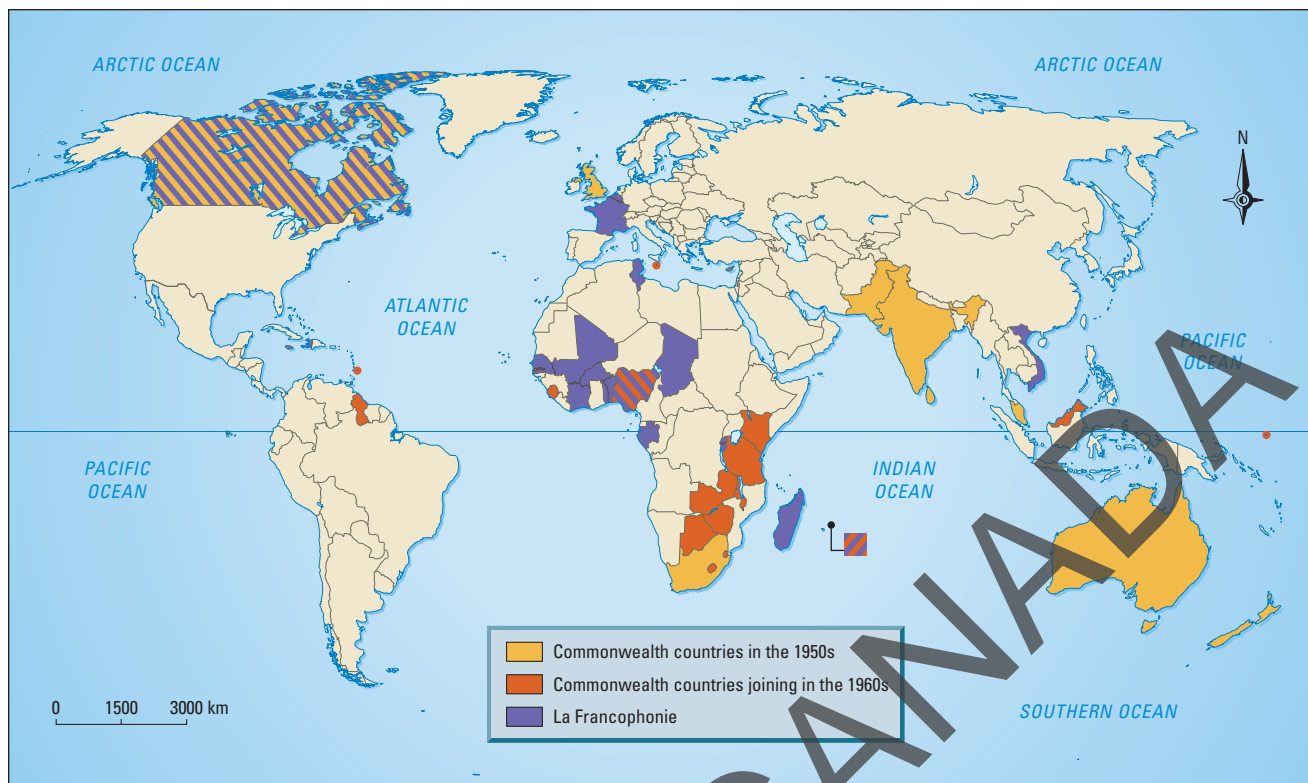
Once again, Lester Pearson went to the United Nations to try to work out a solution. He proposed that a multinational peacekeeping force be created and installed in the war zone to maintain ceasefires and oversee the withdrawal of troops. The United Nations agreed, and the United Nations Emergency Force (UNEF) was formed and sent to the Suez area to bring hostilities to a peaceful end. The force, under the command of a Canadian general, was chosen from countries not directly involved in the conflict. The UNEF remained stationed on the Israel-Egypt border until 1967.

In the following years, Canada gained a reputation as an impartial and peace-loving country, willing to pay the costs of sending peacekeepers to troubled areas of the world. In 1998, the United Nations celebrated 50 years of peacekeeping around the world. During that time there were 49 peacekeeping operations; 36 of which were created by the Security Council between 1988 and 1998.

**FIGURE 6–33** Military action during the Suez Crisis







**FIGURE 6–34** La Francophonie and the Commonwealth

## The Commonwealth and la Francophonie

Canada was in a good position to build international understanding through its membership in two other organizations, the Commonwealth and la Francophonie. The Commonwealth is made up of countries that had once belonged to the British Empire. La Francophonie is an organization of French-speaking states, many of which are former colonies of France. Both organizations have many members that are less industrialized, and both offer a forum for discussing the economic problems of poverty-stricken countries.

In 1950, Commonwealth countries, including Canada, established the Colombo Plan to provide money and aid to less-developed countries in the organization. Canada contributed in a number of ways, for example, by inviting overseas students to study in Canada and by sending Canadian experts overseas to give technical assistance. Most Canadian aid under the Colombo Plan went to India and Pakistan.

### PRACTICE QUESTIONS

1. **a)** What is the purpose of the UN General Assembly?
- b)** Why were the five permanent members of the Security Council given veto powers? How did this power create a stalemate in the United Nations?
2. What caused the Korean War? How did Canada participate?
3. What important roles did Canada play in the Suez crisis?

## CHAPTER FOCUS QUESTION

**How did Canadian political decisions reflect a concern about the growing influence of the United States over Canada?**

As you learned in this chapter, the years following the Second World War brought many social, economic, political, and technological changes to Canada. These changes altered the lives of many Canadians and helped to usher in a new era of prosperity and growth. There were also many fundamental shifts in Canada's international focus in the early post-war years, shifts that had a profound effect on the way Canadians viewed themselves and also on the way Canada was viewed by the rest of the world. The transformation in national identity that had begun after the First World War and was strengthened by the Second World War, grew and developed in the second half of the century.

1. Create an organizer such as the one below; provide specific examples of at least seven decisions made by the Canadian government to limit the influence of the U.S. on Canada. Explain why the decision was made and evaluate its effectiveness at limiting American influence on Canada.
2. Rank the decisions in order from most to least effective. Provide reasons for your rankings.
3. If you had been advising the Canadian government, what other decisions would you have made to limit American influence on Canada? Explain why you would have made these decisions.

Decision made by the Canadian government	Reason for the decision	Explain the effectiveness of the decision
1.		
2.		
3.		
4.		
5.		
6.		
7.		

## Vocabulary Focus

4. Review the following Key Terms on page 169. Then, go to the Pearson Web site and match the Key Terms to their corresponding definitions.

## Knowledge and Understanding

5. Continue the ongoing timeline assignment. Write the name and date of each event in this chapter on the timeline and explain how the event contributed to Canadian independence.
6. You learned in earlier chapters that Canada began to gain autonomy from the beginning of the 20th century. To what extent did Canada become more independent in the post-war era? In what ways did Canada become less independent during this same period?
7. Explain how the economy of Canada was transformed during the post-war era.
  - a) How might this transformation have affected the way Canadians viewed themselves?
  - b) What effect did it have on how other countries viewed Canada?
8. During the late 1940s and early 1950s, a "Red Scare" was alive and well in Canada and the United States. What effect do you think this threat had on Canada's military decisions? Support your opinion with specific examples from the textbook.
9. Complete a PMI chart on the four megaprojects (Trans-Canada Highway, Kemano Project, Trans-Canada Pipeline, and St. Lawrence Seaway). How does each of these projects continue to influence the Canadian economy?

## Critical Thinking

### Significance

10. Using the information from the Chapter Focus organizer on page 202, list the two political decisions that you believe had the longest-lasting effect on limiting the influence of the U.S. on Canada. Write a paragraph explaining why these decisions were so effective at limiting American influence over Canada.

### Evidence

11. What does it mean to be a middle power? Select three examples from the textbook that you think demonstrate Canada's role as a middle power during the Cold War. Support your choices with at least two reasons.
12. How significant was Canada's role in Cold War events? Provide supporting evidence for your opinion.

## Document Analysis

Imagine Canada had refused to participate in NATO and/or NORAD. Use the below map, as well as the map showing NATO and Warsaw Pact countries on page 195, to guide your opinion and to formulate answers to the following questions:

13. How might Canada–U.S. relations have been affected if Canada had decided to remain neutral during the Cold War?
14. What do you think the U.S. reaction might have been to such a decision?
15. Did Canada really have a choice on whether or not to join these military alliances?
16. Do your answers to these questions change the views you expressed in Questions 5 and 7?



**FIGURE 6–35** The United States and the Soviet Union both stock-piled weapons in the years following the Second World War.

**Gathering Information** Where is Canada on this polar projection? In what way does this projection clarify Canada's decision to join NORAD?

# 7

## Times of Turmoil: Canada in the 1960s and 1970s

### GUIDING QUESTIONS

#### Society & Identity

- How did Canada respond to changing social values after 1960?
- What measures has Canada taken to promote a distinct Canadian identity?
- How did changes to social policies affect women and minority groups in Canada?
- How did Aboriginal Canadians respond to challenges in the 1960s and 1970s?
- What was the impact of Québec nationalism on Canadian identity?
- What effect did the War Measures Act have on the legal rights of Canadians?
- How did Canadian social programs evolve?

#### Politics & Government

- How was regionalism expressed in the 1970s?
- How did Canadian voters signal a change in political and social values in the 1960s?

#### Economy & Human Geography

- How did the Canadian government respond to the economic challenges of the 1970s?

#### Autonomy & World Presence

- What was Canada's involvement in the Cold War?
- What was Canada's response to modern conflicts?



### TIMELINE

1960

Québec's Quiet Revolution begins

1961

Vietnam War begins  
Berlin Wall built

1962

Medicare established in Saskatchewan  
Cuban Missile Crisis

1963

Federal election over the issue of nuclear warheads on Canadian soil  
Lester Pearson elected prime minister

1964

Beatles perform in Montréal, Toronto, and Vancouver

1965

Maple Leaf flag adopted

1966

Canada Pension Plan introduced  
Medical Care Act passed



## CHAPTER FOCUS QUESTION

How did Canada's political, social, and economic policies reflect a new independence in the 1960s and 1970s?



### KEY TERMS

Canadian Bill of Rights  
White Paper of 1969  
Red Paper  
Medical Care Act  
Quiet Revolution  
FLQ  
Parti Québécois (PQ)  
Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism  
Official Languages Act  
October Crisis  
War Measures Act  
Bill 101  
Bomarc missiles  
Cuban Missile Crisis

On the night of March 7, 1963, three Canadian army buildings in Montréal were bombed with Molotov cocktails (homemade firebombs). The mysterious letters “FLQ” were painted on the walls. The next day, a document from an organization claiming responsibility for the bombings was delivered to the news media:

*The Front de libération du Québec is a revolutionary movement of volunteers ready to die for the political and economic independence of Québec. The suicide-commandos of the FLQ have as their principal mission the complete destruction, by systematic sabotage of:*

*all colonial [federal] symbols and institutions, in particular the RCMP and the armed forces;...*

*all commercial establishments and enterprises which practise discrimination against Quebecers, which do not use French as the first language, which advertises in the colonial language [English];*

*all plants and factories which discriminate against French-speaking workers.*

*...INDEPENDENCE OR DEATH*

*—Revolution by the People for the People*

How did this crisis emerge? What had happened between English and French Canadians to make the relationship so strained? How could the crisis be resolved?

The 1960s and 1970s were tumultuous times in Canada and around the world. A culture of activism and protest developed that challenged both social norms and government policies. The continuation of the Cold War brought with it the Vietnam War and the Cuban Missile Crisis. The Canadian government tried to carve out a path of international relations independent of the United States while also dealing with an economic recession at home.

1967	1968	1969	1970	1971	1972	1973	1976
Canada's centennial, Expo 67	Pierre Trudeau elected prime minister CRTC established	Woodstock	October Crisis Trans-Canada Highway completed	National Action Committee on the Status of Women established Trudeau government restricts foreign ownership of Canadian business	Canada defeats Russian hockey team	Oil crisis in Canada	Montréal Olympics

- How did Canada respond to changing social values after 1960?

## KEY TERM

**counterculture** a subculture, especially of young people, with values or lifestyles that are in opposition to those of the dominant, established culture

# Toward Social Change

By the early 1960s, Canadians were beginning to accept the teen culture that had evolved after the Second World War. They had very little choice—by 1965, as a result of the baby boom, more than half the population of North America was under the age of 25. The sheer number of young people in North America and Western Europe created a powerful culture of protest—a “youthquake.” The young people were joined by other groups calling for change to society, among them members of the women’s movement, the environmental movement, and Aboriginal nations.

## The “Youthquake”

The transition began with the so-called “British invasion” of pop culture led by four young men from Liverpool—the Beatles. Boys’ hair became longer, girls’ skirts shorter. This was the start of the hippie phenomenon. Large numbers of young people embraced rock music, new clothing styles, sexual promiscuity, and experimentation with drugs as a protest against mainstream society. With slogans such as “Make love, not war” and “Turn on, tune in, drop out,” they strove to be different from earlier generations. Canadian youth participated in these international cultural trends, becoming part of the **counterculture**.

Some young people had aims that went beyond culture. They held strong political beliefs and rejected the consumerism of post-war society in the hope that the world would change for the better. Some became involved in women’s, environmental, and Aboriginal rights movements. Others demonstrated to support greater student participation in university affairs. Many joined in protests against the war in Vietnam, demonstrating outside the American embassy in Ottawa and in front of Parliament hoping to persuade Canadian leaders to take a stronger stand against the war. Some joined communes of like-minded people who tried to establish new forms of community living in remote areas.

**FIGURE 7-1** Hippies rejected traditional societal values. Their clothes, hair, beliefs, music, and opposition to the Vietnam War were an expression of deep dissatisfaction with their parents’ values, particularly materialism and respect for authority. The 1960s term “generation gap” summed up the differences between youth and their parents.

**Expressing Ideas** Why do you think some members of the older generation might have disapproved of scenes such as this?



Popular music of the day reflected these concerns. Protest songs condemned racism, war, and the devastation of the environment. Protest singers such as Bob Dylan and Joan Baez attracted a wide following. Rock groups such as the Beatles, the Rolling Stones, and The Who captured the mood with songs such as “Revolution,” “[I Can’t Get No] Satisfaction,” and “[Talkin’] ‘bout] My Generation.” Aboriginal singer Buffy Sainte-Marie and African-American artists like Marvin Gaye also used their music to highlight the social conditions of their peoples.

The youthquake showed Canadian governments that young people were becoming more politically aware. Soon, politicians began making an effort to appeal to them by increasing spending on employment and activities for youth. In 1972, the voting age for federal elections was lowered from 21 to 18. Most provinces lowered the voting age around the same time.

As the 1980s approached, baby boomers began moving away from their radical political opinions and lifestyles. They were entering the workforce and starting families. Financial concerns replaced youthful idealism. The social protest movement had all but disappeared.

### ***Protest and Mockery***

Political protests marked the 1960s. Even Woodstock, a huge music festival held in 1969, turned into a kind of protest against the establishment. A new political party, the Rhino Party, which grew out of the protest movement of the 1960s, fielded candidates who made far-fetched promises such as moving the nation’s capital from Ottawa to Moose Jaw, Saskatchewan, or making Swedish Canada’s official language. The Rhinos made a joke out of politics, but their criticisms were very serious. They used publicity to question and mock the system itself, rather than any one political party or politician.



**FIGURE 7-2** “Universal Soldier,” a song by Canadian singer-songwriter Buffy Sainte-Marie, expressed the anti-war sentiments of many people, young and old.

## **FAST FORWARD**

CRITICAL  
INQUIRY

Perspectives

### **Political Protest**

Political protests still take place in the tradition of the 1960s and 1970s. The 1990s and 2000s saw an increase in the number of organized protests against economic globalization and human rights abuses. During an Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) summit in Vancouver in 1997, police tore down protest signs and used pepper spray to control students and other protesters. Later, RCMP documents revealed that they had used informants to infiltrate and report on the activities of groups that were acknowledged to be non-violent protest organizations. Many Canadians felt that the authorities’ actions were obstructing the expression of free speech.



**FIGURE 7-3** Fences were erected to keep hundreds of protesters away from the political leaders attending the Vancouver APEC meeting in 1997.

## KEY TERMS

**feminist** a person who supports the idea that women are equal to men and deserve equal rights and opportunities

**pressure group** a group of people who get together around a particular issue to try to influence government policy

**civil liberties** basic individual rights protected by law, such as freedom of speech

**Canadian Bill of Rights** a federal document that set out the rights and freedoms of Canadians; it was enacted in 1960 under the leadership of Prime Minister John Diefenbaker

## The Women's Movement

Women had been expected to fill men's shoes in industry and manufacturing during the Second World War. However, when veterans returned and women were no longer needed in these jobs, post-war society expected them to return to their traditional role as housekeepers. Many felt isolated in the suburbs and trapped by roles that did not allow them to develop their potential. Many working women continued to hold low-paying jobs such as waitressing, hairdressing, secretarial work, and retail sales. Employers could legally discriminate against them in both wages and benefits. University-educated women were expected to work as either teachers or nurses—other professions were difficult for women to enter.

In 1963, Betty Friedan's book *The Feminine Mystique* became a best-seller. It argued that women were trapped in gender roles that were reinforced by images in the media. Friedan urged women to liberate themselves from these traditional roles and fulfill themselves as human beings by acquiring an education and pursuing careers. Friedan's ideas transformed the lives of many women during this period. Just as they had done during the suffrage movement of the early years of the century, **feminists** joined together to fight for women's rights.

In 1967, responding to pressure from women's groups, Prime Minister Lester Pearson's government set up the Royal Commission on the Status of Women. The Commission thoroughly examined how Canadian women were treated and the problems they faced. It made recommendations that included the following:

- Women should have the right to work outside the home.
- Society in general, as well as parents, should take some responsibility for children; therefore, daycare services should be provided.
- Women should be entitled to paid maternity leave from their jobs.
- The federal government should do all it can to help overcome discrimination against women in society.

Several women's groups joined forces to form the National Action Committee on the Status of Women (NAC) in 1971. This **pressure group** lobbied both federal and provincial governments to act quickly on the Commission's recommendations. One of NAC's key victories was the inclusion of a clause guaranteeing the equality of women in Canada's Charter of Rights and Freedoms, which came into force in 1982 (see Chapter 10).

Canadian feminists demanded that women be promoted to positions of responsibility in government, business, education, and the civil service. They argued against stereotyping women and the kinds of work they do. They also pressed for changes to the education system, under which girls were not encouraged to excel in math and sciences—subjects more likely to lead to well-paying jobs. Soon, more Canadian women were becoming engineers, doctors, politicians, and company presidents—pursuing careers in which they had previously been under-represented. “Sexism,” “male chauvinism,” and “sexual harassment” became common terms to describe behaviour and attitudes that were no longer acceptable.



**FIGURE 7-4** Women burn bras in a protest at Toronto City Hall on International Women's Day, March 8, 1979.



## Challenging Social Values

Although there had been groups fighting for **civil liberties** in Canada during the 1930s and 1940s, it was not until the 1960s that there was a dramatic increase in activism for social change. Organizations formed during this time include Human Rights Watch, the Canadian Civil Liberties Association, Amnesty International, and the National Indian Brotherhood.

### *Diefenbaker and the Canadian Bill of Rights*

John Diefenbaker's government set the stage for reform when it introduced the **Canadian Bill of Rights** in 1960 to protect a person's fundamental human rights. These rights included

- freedom of life, liberty, security of person, and the enjoyment of property
- the right to equality before the law and its protection
- freedom of religion
- freedom of speech
- freedom of assembly and association

Although Diefenbaker did not feel he had enough provincial support to make the Bill of Rights part of the Constitution, the fact that it had been passed by Parliament gave it considerable influence. Most of the rights protected by the Bill were included in the Charter of Rights and Freedoms in 1982. (You will read more about the Charter in Chapter 10.)

### *The Omnibus Bill and Beyond*

In 1969, the Liberal government, under Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau, passed Bill C-150, also known as the Omnibus Bill, which made major changes in social legislation. These included

- recognizing the right of women to have access to contraception;
- recognizing the right to abortion (with certain limitations); and
- legalizing homosexuality between consenting adults.

Trudeau was criticized for his progressive social policies, but refused to back down, saying that "There's no place for the state in the bedrooms of the nation." Trudeau also changed Canada's divorce law in 1968, making divorce more freely available to reflect what was happening in society.

In 1970, feeling that the abortion law did not go far enough, women protesters chained themselves inside Parliament, forcing it to close. Dr. Henry Morgentaler also challenged abortion laws. Time after time, juries refused to convict Morgentaler, despite his open admission that he had performed thousands of abortions. The law had become unenforceable.

In 1976, Bill C-84 passed in the House of Commons by a narrow margin (131–124), ending the death penalty. Although Bill C-84 did not have widespread public support, Trudeau and his Cabinet were determined that Canada should join other progressive nations and abolish capital punishment.

- How did changes to social policies affect women and minority groups in Canada?

Prime Minister

**John George Diefenbaker**

- born 1895, Neustadt, Ontario
- lawyer
- first elected to Commons in 1940
- prime minister 1957–1963

#### Domestic Record

- served as a lieutenant during the First World War
- championed the Canadian Bill of Rights to guarantee certain rights for all Canadians
- appointed James Gladstone, a Blackfoot from the Northwest Territories, Canada's first Aboriginal senator, in 1958
- cancelled the Avro Arrow project in 1959
- extended franchise to all Aboriginal peoples in 1960

#### International Record

- opposed apartheid and played a role in South Africa withdrawing from the Commonwealth
- signed North American Air Defence Agreement (NORAD) with the U.S. in 1957
- allowed two squadrons of American Bomarc anti-aircraft missiles deployed in Canada (1958)



**FIGURE 7-5** In 2008, Dr. Henry Morgentaler was named a member of the Order of Canada. Morgentaler was a crusader for women's right to abortion. He opened an abortion clinic in 1969 and was arrested many times.

- What measures has Canada taken to promote a distinct Canadian identity?

	Canada	U.S.
Support death penalty	48	64
Support a law banning handguns	52	36
Support public health care	90	59.9
Consider global warming a serious problem	67.7	48.5
Believe religion is very important	32	47.4
Are interested in politics	52.6	59.1
See democracy as absolutely important	56.6	51.9
See self as world citizen	85	68.6

**FIGURE 7-6** Canada and the United States: differences and similarities

### *Women's Rights*

Women's rights activists protested against Canadian laws that supported traditional roles for women. The reforms in divorce and abortion legislation were welcomed by many people. These were important steps toward women's equality. Many unions joined the fight for women's rights. For example, the Canadian Union of Postal Workers was the first to win the right to paid maternity leave for its members.



**FIGURE 7-7** Vancouver's first Gay Pride Festival took place in 1973. By 2003, British Columbia had legalized same-sex marriage.

### *Gay Rights*

Before Trudeau's Omnibus Bill was passed, gay people could be arrested and sent to prison, denied employment, and otherwise persecuted. In the 1960s, gay rights activists began to organize to draw attention to these injustices. This took tremendous courage, as the attitudes of many Canadians, churches, and members of governments at all levels were strongly anti-gay. Gay people began to publicly show pride in their sexual orientation and resist persecution.

## PRACTICE QUESTIONS

- a) Name two protest movements that emerged in Canada during the 1960s.

b) What kind of impact do you think each of these groups has since had on Canadian society?
- Many young people of the 1960s and 1970s believed they could change the world. List some of their aims. Do you think they succeeded? Explain.
- Which group benefited most from the Omnibus Bill? Support your answer.

## Immigration and Multiculturalism

By the 1960s, many Canadians had a somewhat more open attitude toward people of other cultures and countries. This was reflected in new immigration regulations as illustrated by the timeline below. In 1971, an official policy of **multiculturalism** was introduced by Prime Minister Trudeau. The policy would

*...support and encourage the various cultures and ethnic groups that give structure and vitality to our society. They will be encouraged to share their cultural expressions and values with other Canadians and so contribute to a richer life for us all.*

*—House of Commons*

The policy encouraged the country's various ethnic groups to express their cultures. Multicultural activities were organized across the country. For example, heritage language classes were provided to help children learn the language of their parents. Festivals were held for cultural communities to share their music, dances, foods, games, arts, crafts, and stories. Programs were designed to make all residents feel at home in Canada, regardless of their origins. These programs were also intended to prevent racism by promoting respect for all cultures.

● How did changes to social policies affect women and minority groups in Canada?

### KEY TERM

**multiculturalism** a policy of encouraging the expression of the cultures of many ethnic groups that make up a country's population

### TIMELINE

#### Canadian Immigration Milestones

- **1900** Chinese Immigration Act increases \$50 head tax to \$100; in 1903 it is raised to \$500.
- **1908** Continuous Passage Act requires immigrants to travel directly to Canada, thus restricting immigration from India.
- **1919** New Immigration Act excludes people from Canada for reasons of race, culture, and political beliefs.
- **1923** Law is passed prohibiting almost all immigration from China; this law was revoked in 1947.
- **1931** Admission to Canada is restricted to American citizens, British subjects, and agriculturalists with economic means.
- **1939** The *St. Louis*, a ship carrying 930 Jewish refugees from Germany, is turned away from Canadian ports. It returns to Europe where three quarters of the passengers are killed by the Nazis.
- **1947** Between 1947 and 1952, more than 186 000 displaced persons come to Canada from war-torn Europe.
- **1952** New regulations eliminate most of the racial discrimination in Canada's immigration policy.
- **1967** Immigration to Canada becomes "colour blind." The points system is introduced, which assigns potential immigrants points in categories such as education, age, fluency in French or English, and job opportunities in Canada.
- **1976** Immigration regulations change to allow immigration of family members with relatives already in Canada.
- **1978** Refugees make up 25 percent of all immigrants to Canada until 1981.
- **1986** UN awards Canada the Nansen Medal recognizing its contributions to the cause of refugees.



**FIGURE 7-8** Language classes and outings were organized to facilitate the integration of newly arrived refugees.



**FIGURE 7-9** In 1972, many South Vietnamese people fleeing war sought refugee status in Canada.

## KEY TERMS

**marginalized** to be pushed aside and made less important in terms of social standing and power

**disenfranchised** to be deprived of basic legal rights

**White Paper of 1969** the government report proposing dramatic changes to the lives of Aboriginal peoples, including the elimination of the Indian Act

**Red Paper** Aboriginal response to the federal government's White Paper of 1969; the Red Paper caused the government to change its policies

## The Other Canada

While many Canadians benefited from the booming economic times of the 1950s and 1960s, others were **marginalized**. Governments expropriated properties for the building of freeways and other projects. Citizens sometimes organized themselves to preserve their communities, though this was not always the case—especially when the people affected were poor and not used to speaking out on public issues. In the 1960s, two thirds of Toronto's Chinatown was bulldozed for the construction of a new city hall. In Nova Scotia, officials ordered the destruction of the African-Canadian community of Africville and the forced removal of its residents. The people of these communities were angered at the way they had been **disenfranchised** by government.

**FIGURE 7-10** By the 1960s, racism and neglect had made Africville one of the worst slums in Canada, but its destruction brought an end to a vibrant community. In 2010, the mayor of Halifax apologized to the descendants of the Africville community.

**Expressing Ideas** What connections can you make between the relocation of people in Africville and the relocations in Newfoundland and the High Arctic that you read about in Chapter 6? What conclusions can you draw from these events?



- How did Aboriginal Canadians respond to challenges in the 1960s and 1970s?

## Aboriginal Nations: Decades of Action

Governments tend to downplay Aboriginal poverty and other issues. Canada's First Nations had fared badly economically in the boom years following the Second World War. In addition, many had also suffered from environmental damage caused by resource industries. For example, mercury poisoning from a pulp and paper mill contaminated the fish caught and eaten at the Whitedog and Grassy Narrows reserves in Ontario. The development of mines, highways, pipelines, and boom towns disrupted the hunting grounds and way of life of other First Nations.

### Organizing for Change

When Aboriginal people living on reserves won the right to vote in 1960, it did little to improve their living conditions. They continued to suffer from serious problems, including poverty, poor health, and inadequate housing and education. Those who left to try their luck in the large cities often faced hostility and discrimination. By the late 1960s, Aboriginal peoples were organizing to pressure Ottawa and the provincial governments to bring about change.



The Liberal government of Pierre Trudeau issued the **White Paper of 1969** to address the issues facing Aboriginal people. The White Paper, prepared by Indian Affairs Minister Jean Chrétien, proposed dramatic changes to the lives of Aboriginal people. Among its recommendations, the White Paper proposed that

- the Indian Act be repealed
- Aboriginal people be given control and ownership of their lands
- the provincial governments take over the same responsibility for Aboriginal people that they have for other citizens
- substantial funds be made available for economic development for Aboriginal people
- the Department of Indian Affairs be closed down

The White Paper would end special status for Aboriginal peoples and place them on an equal footing with other Canadians. Its intent was to encourage Aboriginal people to leave the reserves, seek jobs in the cities, and become part of mainstream Canadian society. Assimilation would supposedly bring an end to their problems.

Aboriginal people were furious. They saw the White Paper as an attack on their right to maintain their unique identity. Harold Cardinal, an Alberta Cree leader, explained their response:

*Ironically, the White Paper concludes by... calling upon Indian organizations... to assist [in the process it recommends].... It is difficult to envision any responsible Indian organization willing to participate in a proposal that promises to take the rights of all Indians away and attempts to... legislate Indians out of existence. It is a strange government and a strange mentality that would have the gall to ask the Indian to help implement its plan to perpetrate cultural genocide on the Indians of Canada. It is like asking the doomed man on the gallows if he would mind pulling the lever that trips the trap.*

*—The Unjust Society, 1969*

The National Indian Brotherhood led the attack. Instead of assimilation into “White” (non-Aboriginal) society, they demanded self-government for Aboriginal peoples and control over their own affairs. When they presented their paper, *Citizens Plus*, which became known as the “**Red Paper**,” Trudeau and Chrétien abandoned the White Paper.

*The Government believes that its policies must lead to the full, free and nondiscriminatory participation of the Indian people in Canadian society. Such a goal requires a break with the past. It requires that the Indian people's role of dependence be replaced by a role of equal status, opportunity and responsibility, a role they can share with all other Canadians.*

*—Foreword of the White Paper*



**FIGURE 7-11** Harold Cardinal speaks to Prime Minister Trudeau and other Cabinet members at an Ottawa meeting in 1970. A delegation of about 200 First Nations peoples representing most provinces attended the meeting.

## Save Our Salmon

In the late summer of 2009, it was official: West coast salmon stocks had collapsed. After a poor salmon run the previous year, 2009 was even worse. Some species of salmon simply did not show up. The disaster affected the local economy of B.C. First Nations as well as other commercial and sport fishers. The survival of a number of other species, notably grizzlies, was put at risk by the low fish stocks. Environmentalists believed that power development in fish-bearing streams and commercial fish farming may be responsible for the problem.



## Educational Reform

As the residential school system began to wind down by the 1970s, many First Nations took over the education of their children. “Band schools” emerged across the country where Aboriginal children could study their own languages and learn about their own values, cultures, and traditions. The lack of secondary schools near the reserves, however, meant that most Aboriginal children were forced to leave home if they wanted to continue in school. As part of a government-run “boarding home program,” some high-school students were sent to live with families and attend school in cities such as Vancouver and New Westminster, British Columbia. But loneliness drove many to return to their reserves before graduating.

## Environmental Action

Aboriginal peoples began taking action in another area: the environment. Industries were expanding, some of them in and around reserves. Many Aboriginal groups were concerned that hydroelectric and natural gas projects would jeopardize their hunting, fishing, and trapping activities.

Probably the most significant Aboriginal victory during the 1970s was won by the Inuit, Métis, and Indian Brotherhood (later Dene) of the Yukon and Northwest Territories as they **lobbied** to halt the construction of oil and natural gas pipelines that were to run through their lands in the Mackenzie Valley. They demanded a study to determine its impact on their lands and on the environment.

The federal government agreed to investigate the issue. The Berger Commission conducted hearings all over the North, listening carefully to Aboriginal concerns. In 1977, the commission recommended that construction of the Mackenzie Valley Pipeline be suspended for 10 years pending an in-depth environmental study and negotiations with the Aboriginal peoples about financial compensation, self-government, and other issues.

In fact, construction was suspended for much longer. As of October 2009, the federal government had decided not to invest in the proposed pipeline, jeopardizing the project. By this time, the price tag of the pipeline had risen to \$16.2 billion and the **Aboriginal Pipeline Group** (APG) had become a one-third partner in the Mackenzie Gas Project.

## PRACTICE QUESTIONS

- Explain the importance of the following in the development of Aboriginal identity:
  - the 1969 White Paper and the Red Paper
  - the Mackenzie Valley Pipeline and the Berger Commission
- Give examples of the federal government's attempts to assimilate Aboriginal people into Canadian society.
- What were some of the aims of multiculturalism? How did the government hope to achieve its aims?
- List three changes that occurred for minority groups in Canada during the 1960s and 1970s.
- Perspectives** Write a short paragraph supporting or opposing the following statement: The policy of multiculturalism promoted a shift away from assimilation and toward acceptance of diversity in Canada.

## Politics and Government

As the first of the baby boomer generation reached maturity, politicians faced new priorities and demands from Canadians. John Diefenbaker and Lester “Mike” Pearson dominated Canadian politics in the early 1960s. But by 1967, Canada’s centennial year, both Diefenbaker and Pearson seemed out of touch with the times. Diefenbaker was defeated in a leadership convention in September 1967, and Pearson announced his intention to retire in December of the same year. Many Canadians wanted a leader who could appeal to a new generation of voters. The answer was the charismatic Pierre Trudeau who came to power on the strength of “Trudeaumania” and the youth vote.

### Diefenbaker Versus Pearson

Diefenbaker and Pearson had different styles and visions of Canada. They were bitter rivals, fighting four national elections in 10 years. Diefenbaker was passionately committed to what he called “unhyphenated Canadianism”—a belief in the equality of all Canadians, whatever their heritage. A staunch nationalist, he also believed in preserving Canada’s British connections and standing up to the Americans. Diefenbaker championed human rights, introducing the Canadian Bill of Rights. In addition, he was the first prime minister to include a woman in his Cabinet and to appoint an Aboriginal senator. In 1960, his government gave Canada’s status Indians living on reserves the right to vote in federal elections. While Diefenbaker’s beliefs made him popular among many Canadians, they were also the source of his problems. In particular, French Canadians, who saw their culture as distinct, did not appreciate Diefenbaker’s version of “unhyphenated Canadianism.”

By contrast, Pearson and his Liberals appealed to younger, urban voters, especially in Central Canada. Pearson’s vision of Canada was based on two founding peoples: French and English. He believed that Canadians should sever their British connections and that Canada needed an identity that would be meaningful to all Canadians. Pearson won the election of 1963; Diefenbaker never again led the country. Pearson was responsible for modernizing Canada. His government introduced a trial abolition of capital punishment and easier divorce laws. Above all, he is remembered for introducing Canada’s flag in 1965.

#### *The Flag Debate*

For some Canadians, the Red Ensign was too British to be the symbol of modern Canada. Still, many opposed a new flag both for reasons of tradition and because they felt that Pearson was giving in to pressure from Québec. An emotional debate split the country. In general, English Canadians wanted to keep the Red Ensign; French Canada wanted a new flag. Finally, after hundreds of suggestions from across Canada, the red-and-white maple leaf design was chosen. On February 15, 1965, Canada’s new flag was raised on Parliament Hill for the first time. Ironically, English Canadians have come to regard the flag with pride and affection, while people from Québec, disillusioned by the bitter debate, continue to fly primarily the fleur-de-lys.

- How did Canadian voters signal a change in political and social values in the 1960s?

### KEY TERMS

**lobby** to try to influence the opinions and votes of public officials for or against a cause

**Aboriginal Pipeline Group** a group formed in 2000 to represent the interests of the Aboriginal peoples of the North in the proposed pipeline

### WEB LINK

Read more about the flag debate on the Pearson Web site.



**FIGURE 7–12** Diefenbaker and the Conservatives wanted to keep the Red Ensign (top) with its traditional links to Britain, while the Liberals wanted a new design, favouring the three maple leaf flag (centre). A multi-party committee selected the maple leaf flag we use today, recognized around the world as the symbol of Canada.

**Expressing Ideas** What do you think might have motivated Pearson to initiate the change of flags in the 1960s?

- How did Canadian social programs evolve?

## Social Welfare

Pearson's government continued to build on the social welfare programs started by Mackenzie King. During the war, King was looking for a way to keep the support of voters who remembered the hardships of the Depression and were attracted by the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation (CCF), the political party that stood for social benefits. As a result, he introduced unemployment insurance in 1940 and family allowance, or the "baby bonus," in 1944. In 1966, Pearson's government began the Canada Pension Plan, which improved on existing pension schemes. It also introduced the Canada Assistance Plan to help the provinces finance social assistance programs for people in need. In the same year, Pearson introduced Canada's system of universal health care, the **Medical Care Act**.

### up close and personal

### Tommy Douglas: What Makes Him the Greatest Canadian?



Significance

Before 1966, most Canadians who fell seriously ill could spend their life savings on medical care. Many had to depend on charity, or face debt or bankruptcy to pay medical bills. Despite bitter opposition from doctors, Saskatchewan Premier T.C. "Tommy" Douglas introduced a complete medicare program that allowed all people in the province to seek medical treatment without paying out of their own pockets. When the bill was finally passed in Saskatchewan in 1962, it illustrated to the rest of Canada that a medicare system was possible.

In the same year, Tommy Douglas left provincial politics to become leader of the New Democratic Party (NDP), which grew out of the CCF. Fearing that the NDP might capture votes with a campaign for national medicare, the Liberals added health care to their party platform. As a result, the national Medical Care Act was passed in 1966. This Act meant that federal and provincial governments would now share the cost of medical care by doctors and hospitals for all Canadians, with funding coming from taxes. Today,

Canadians identify medicare as the social program they value most.



**FIGURE 7-13** Tommy Douglas with supporters after winning the New Democratic Party leadership in August 1961

**Thinking Critically** In 2004, Tommy Douglas was voted the Greatest Canadian of all Time in a nationwide CBC contest. Why might Canadians have such high regard for him?

### PRACTICE QUESTIONS

- List three social changes made by Diefenbaker and three social changes made by Pearson.
- Why did Prime Minister Pearson believe a new flag was necessary?
  - How important do you think a flag is in asserting identity? Should it be a criminal act to show disrespect to a flag? Discuss your views with the class.



## Trudeau: A New-Style Politician

Pierre Elliott Trudeau was a French Canadian who was also a strong federalist. He appealed to many young Canadians. Previous leaders had seemed formal and serious; Trudeau was relaxed and witty. He drove a flashy sports car and was a “hip” dresser. A bachelor until 1971, he dated celebrities, went to New York nightclubs, hung out with the rich and famous, and eventually became an international celebrity himself. He delighted in joking with reporters. Crowds of admirers swarmed him at his public appearances. Young people responded to him as though he were a rock star, and “Trudeaumania” gripped the nation. He succeeded Lester Pearson as prime minister in 1968, just as radical separatists were becoming increasingly violent.

Trudeau also had a clear vision of what he thought Canada should be: a “just society” for all Canadians. He believed that government had a duty to protect the rights and freedoms of people and to foster their economic and social well-being. He also supported individual freedom and thought that governments should not interfere with personal liberties.



**FIGURE 7-14** Pierre Trudeau stands before a crowd during a visit to Newfoundland in 1971. Trudeau had charisma and used the media very well. Media coverage is a “two-edged sword.” The media can bring down a politician as easily as it can raise him or her up.

**Expressing Ideas** What qualities do you think help politicians to “sell” themselves to a mass audience? Do any contemporary politicians have the mass appeal that Trudeau had?

## Québec Nationalism

In 1960, after Duplessis’ death in 1959, Jean Lesage and the Liberals came to power with an election slogan that announced it was “Time for a Change.” Once in power, Lesage’s first step was to stamp out corruption. Government jobs and contracts were now to be awarded according to merit. Wages and pensions were raised, and restrictions on trade unionism were removed.

The government also began to modernize the province’s economy, politics, education, and culture. This wave of change became known as the **Quiet Revolution**, and it transformed the face of Québec. It took control of social services and the education system. Students were now required to take more science and technology courses to prepare for the new Québec. Above all, Québécois were encouraged to think of themselves as citizens of the 20th century. As new attitudes began to take hold, the influence of the Roman Catholic Church declined.

### KEY TERMS

**Medical Care Act** an Act passed by Parliament in 1966 that provided free access to physician services for Canadians

**Quiet Revolution** a period of rapid change and reform that modernized Québec society during the years 1960 to 1966 under the Liberal provincial government of Jean Lesage

- What was the impact of Québec nationalism on Canadian identity?

## KEY TERMS

**FLQ (*Front de libération du Québec*)** a revolutionary movement founded to work for an independent, socialist Québec

**Parti Québécois (PQ)** a Québec provincial party that advocates separation from Canada

**Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism** a commission created by the federal government to recommend ways of enhancing and promoting the historically bilingual nature of Canada

**Official Languages Act** the Act that states that French and English are Canada's official languages, and that all federal institutions must provide services in English and French

## WEB LINK

Read more about René Lévesque on the Pearson Web site.

In the 1962 election, the Liberals went one step further. They campaigned, and won, with the motto *Maîtres chez nous*—"Masters in our own house"—with the aim of strengthening Québec's control of its own economy. Among other things, the government bought several hydro companies and turned them into a provincially owned power monopoly, Hydro-Québec.

## The Birth of Separatism

Québec nationalism and the separatist movement grew in the 1960s and 1970s. Québécois resented what they perceived as injustices at the hands of English-speaking Canadians. Why was Ottawa, the national capital, so overwhelmingly English speaking? Why did federal politicians from Québec seldom hold key Cabinet posts? Why did Francophones not have the right to their own schools and hospitals in the rest of Canada, even though Anglophones enjoyed those rights in Québec? Why was Québec's Francophone majority expected to speak English in stores and at work?

For some, the only solution lay in a Québec controlled entirely by Québécois—a new country independent of Canada. Some extremists joined terrorist groups such as the FLQ (*Front de libération du Québec*) in the name of *le Québec libre*—"a free Québec." The FLQ blew up mailboxes and attacked symbols of English-Canadian power in Québec. Many Québécois supported the aims of the terrorists, if not their methods.

In 1967, Québec Cabinet minister René Lévesque left the Liberal Party and, a year later, formed the **Parti Québécois (PQ)**. Lévesque believed that Québec and Canada would do better to "divorce" peacefully than to continue a "marriage" of two cultures that seemed imposed and unworkable.

**FIGURE 7-15** A Canadian army engineer lies injured after an FLQ bomb, which he had removed from a mailbox, exploded in his hands. On May 17, 1963, a total of 13 bombs were placed in mailboxes in the Montreal suburb of Westmount.

**Expressing Ideas** How might Canadians across the country have responded to images such as these?



## A Bilingual Nation

Lester Pearson, who had become prime minister during Québec's Quiet Revolution, was convinced that Canada would face a grave crisis unless French Canadians felt more at home in Canada. In 1963, he appointed the **Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism** (the "Bi and Bi Commission") to investigate solutions. The Commission's report called for Canada to become bilingual, with English and French as its two official languages. Perhaps more importantly, it recommended that Canada adopt a bilingual strategy that would promote both languages across the nation, including the protection of French and English linguistic minorities. For example, parents would be able to have their children attend schools in the language of their choice in regions where there was sufficient demand.

When Pierre Trudeau succeeded Pearson in 1968, he was determined to do more to persuade people from Québec that their future lay with Canada. In 1969, his government passed the **Official Languages Act**, making Canada officially bilingual. All federal government agencies were now required to provide services in both languages, and more Francophones were appointed to senior government positions. Trudeau also called on French and English Canadians, especially young people, to increase their understanding of each other's cultures—and provided money to help make this happen.

These tactics were met with mixed reviews. Some loved them, some hated them. Some Canadians embraced the idea of bilingualism with enthusiasm. For example, many parents enrolled their children in French immersion classes. Others, especially Western Canadians, felt that the federal government was forcing French on them. They believed that Ottawa was focusing too much attention on Québec, while the West and its concerns were largely ignored. Francophones in Québec were also unimpressed. They wanted "special status" for Québec in Confederation. Trudeau, however, insisted that Québec was a province just like any other.

### Prime Minister **Lester Bowles Pearson**

- born 1897, Newtonbrook, Ontario
- professor, author, diplomat
- first elected to Commons in 1948
- prime minister 1963–1968

#### Domestic Record

- served in the Canadian Army Medical Corps and Royal Flying Corps during the First World War
- introduced maple leaf flag in 1964
- established the Canada Pension Plan, universal medicare, and Canada Student Loans Plan

#### International Record

- Canadian ambassador to the U.S. in 1945 and attended the first conference of the UN
- saw Canada join NATO in 1949
- president of the UN General Assembly (1952–1953)
- won the 1957 Nobel Peace Prize for his part in creating the UN peacekeeping force



**FIGURE 7–16** This 1976 cartoon shows then B.C. Minister of Human Resources, Bill Vander Zalm, Prime Minister Trudeau, and Québec Premier René Lévesque. Many people in British Columbia, farthest from Québec geographically, opposed the Official Languages Act.

**Interpreting a Cartoon** What is happening in the cartoon? What is the cartoonist saying about Western Canada's reaction to bilingualism? About regionalism in Canada? About Pierre Trudeau's views?



- What effect did the War Measures Act have on the legal rights of Canadians?



**FIGURE 7-17** Soldiers patrol the streets of Montréal during the October Crisis.

**Expressing Ideas** Do you think it was wise to put on a show of force during the Crisis? Explain.

### What If...

Imagine there was a terrorist threat in your community and the government imposed the War Measures Act. What civil rights would you be prepared to give up? What rights do you think are too important to give up, even in an emergency?

## The October Crisis

Trudeau disliked the very idea of separatism and took a forceful stand against Québec nationalists. In October 1970, members of the FLQ kidnapped British diplomat James Cross. In exchange for Cross's safe release, they demanded the release of FLQ members serving prison sentences and a public reading of the FLQ manifesto. Québec Premier Robert Bourassa agreed to most of the demands but refused to release any FLQ prisoners. In response, the FLQ kidnapped Québec Labour Minister Pierre Laporte.

Alarmed by the deteriorating situation in Québec, Trudeau took drastic action. At the urging of Bourassa and Montréal Mayor Jean Drapeau, he imposed the **War Measures Act**. Until then, the Act had only been used in wartime. The Act suspended Canadians' civil rights—anyone could be arrested and detained without being charged with an offence. Membership in the FLQ became a crime. When asked how far he would go to defeat the FLQ, Trudeau replied, "Just watch me."

On October 16, 1970, federal troops patrolled the streets of Ottawa and Montréal, and armouries across the country were locked down. Hundreds of pro-separatist Québécois were arrested and held without charge. Imposition of the War Measures Act was fiercely criticized, but Trudeau was undeterred. After all the rights legislation that had been passed by the Liberals under Trudeau, many people were shocked by this hardline approach.

One day later, police found the body of Pierre Laporte in the trunk of a car. His murder increased pressure on the government to crack down on the FLQ and find the remaining hostage, James Cross. Montréal police located Cross after he was held in captivity for 60 days. His kidnappers negotiated safe passage to Cuba in exchange for Cross's release. The October Crisis was over. Of the 450 people detained under the Act, most were released and only a small number were ever charged.

**FIGURE 7-18** On October 16, 1970, several thousand Montréal students protested the imposition of the War Measures Act and showed support for the FLQ.



## Robert Bourassa and Bill 22

Premier Robert Bourassa had taken office just months before the October Crisis in 1970. Although most people in Québec did not support radical separatist movements, it was clear Trudeau's Official Languages Act had not gone far enough to satisfy the Francophone majority in the province. In 1974, Bourassa responded with **Bill 22**, the first provincial legislation passed



in Québec aimed at protecting the status of the French language. Bill 22 made French the sole official language of Québec. It was to be the language of civic administration and services, and of the workplace.

Bill 22 forced hundreds of thousands of business and professional people in Québec who were not proficient in French to move out of the province. Toronto eventually surpassed Montréal as the business capital of Canada. Many Anglophones were angered by what they saw as the loss of their language rights. Many Francophones, however, did not think that Bourassa had gone far enough. In the next election, Bourassa and the Liberals lost to the Parti Québécois.

## The PQ in Power

In 1976, the Parti Québécois won the provincial election. It was a stunning victory for René Lévesque and his party, which had won only seven seats in the 1970 election. Lévesque had reassured voters that a PQ win would not automatically mean separation. He promised that he would hold a province-wide referendum on the issue, and Quebecers voted in a party dedicated to the goal of separation from Canada.

The separatists had no interest in official bilingualism—their priority was to strengthen the French language. Shortly after taking office, the PQ government passed **Bill 101**, sometimes referred to as the “Charter of the French Language.” Its terms specified that

- French was the only official language of the province and government employees had to work in French
- commercial outdoor signs would be in French only
- children of immigrants would be required to attend French schools

The Québécois welcomed the new language law. Many felt that their culture and language were endangered. The birth rate in Québec had fallen, and most new immigrants were educating their children in English. To non-Francophones, however, Bill 101 was a symbol of oppression. Many people in the rest of Canada felt that the PQ’s policies were extreme. They looked to the federal government to stand up to the separatists.

## KEY TERMS

**War Measures Act** an Act passed during the First World War giving the government emergency powers in the event of a national crisis

**Bill 22** provincial legislation that made French the sole official language of Québec

**Bill 101** also called the “Charter of the French Language,” Bill 101 strengthened the position of the French language in Québec



**FIGURE 7-19** Québec Premier René Lévesque at a PQ rally after his party’s victory in the 1976 provincial election

## PRACTICE QUESTIONS

1. What did Pearson and Trudeau do to address rising Québec nationalism?
2. Do you think the Official Languages Act was an effective way to address dissatisfaction in Québec?
3. **a)** What motivated the FLQ? What tactics did they use?  
**b)** Had you lived in Québec in the 1960s, how do you think you would have reacted to the FLQ? Write a letter to the editor explaining your view.
4. Make a timeline of events during the October Crisis. Identify events that you think were most significant. Give reasons for your choices.
5. In Québec elections, the Parti Québécois won 23.5 percent of votes in 1970, more than 30 percent in 1973, and 41 percent in 1976. What do you think accounted for these results in each case?

The use of the War Measures Act by Prime Minister Trudeau remains controversial. Was he justified in invoking such powerful legislation?

The following documents give different points of view. Read each document and identify the circumstances under which the statement was made, and what position was taken.

### Source 1

*The kidnapping in broad daylight of a Québec Cabinet minister [Laporte] in front of his own... residence had a dramatic effect on [the government's] view of the crisis we were facing. We began to believe that perhaps the FLQ was not just a bunch of pamphlet-waving, bomb-planting zealots after all; perhaps they were in fact members of a powerful network capable of endangering public safety, and of bringing other fringe groups—of which there were a large number at the time—into the picture, which would lead to untold violence. If all these groups coalesced [came together], the crisis could go on for a very long time, with tragic consequences for the entire country.*

—Pierre Trudeau, *Memoirs*, 1993

### Source 2

*...[T]he list of people arrested, without warrant, on the strength of suspicions, prejudice, or pure idiocy, exceeded the incredible number of four hundred.... Deprived of all their rights, beginning with habeas corpus, a great many of them were to remain in custody for days and weeks. As much as, if not more than in 1917, when there was at least the excuse... of a real world war, the whole of Québec found itself behind bars as Trudeau and company now attempted to justify their act before Parliament, the existence of which they seemed just to have remembered.*

—René Lévesque, *Memoirs*, 1986

### Source 3

*...[T]here were no fine distinctions drawn between separatism and terrorism in the general round-up in October 1970.... After the crisis had passed, rather than issuing an apology for such overzealous police work, the prime minister boasted that separatism was "dead." Other... Liberals agreed: the FLQ crisis had been an opportunity to "smash separatism" and the government had taken it.*

—The Structure of Canadian History, 1984

### Source 4

*As for the objection that Trudeau was acting to squash separatism and... the Parti Québécois, we have the statements of both the prime minister and one of his supporters... during the crisis. On October 17, [Bryce] Mackasey stressed to the House of Commons that the Parti Québécois was "a legitimate political party. It wants to bring an end to this country through democratic means, but that is the privilege of that party." Trudeau... made the same point in November to an interviewer.*

—Canada Since 1945: Power, Politics, and Provincialism, 1989

## Applying the Skill

1. Are these documents primary sources or secondary sources? Explain in each case.
2. Summarize each document's main argument.
3. Which documents support Lévesque's claims?
4. Which documents do you consider to be the most credible sources? Justify your choices.
5. Write one or two paragraphs giving your view on whether the use of the War Measures Act was justified. Support your view with details from the text and the documents above.

## Economic Challenges

When the Trudeau era began, Canadians could look back on nearly two decades of economic growth. People old enough to remember the dark days of the Depression were amazed by the prosperity they were enjoying. Many Canadians believed that the post-war boom would continue indefinitely. High unemployment and poverty were surely problems of the past, never to be seen again. But within just a few years, this optimism was badly shaken.

- How did the Canadian government respond to the economic challenges of the 1970s?

### KEY TERMS

**embargo** the prohibition by a government or organization that prevents certain goods from being shipped in or out of a country

### The Problem of Inflation

A variety of factors caused the economic crisis, but one of the most important was an oil **embargo** imposed in 1973 by the Organization of the Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC). In that year, war broke out in the Middle East between Israel and its Arab neighbours. Many Western countries, including Canada, supported Israel. In retaliation, OPEC, which included Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, and other Arab oil-producing countries, refused to sell oil to these countries. Almost overnight, oil and gas prices jumped about 400 percent.

The huge increase in oil prices started a round of **inflation** that would last most of the 1970s. The prices of all manufactured products went up sharply, and Canadians found that the purchasing power of their dollar fell steadily. Suddenly, they were heading for tough economic times.

As prices rose, Canadian workers began to demand higher wages, but as their wages increased, so did prices, and inflation spiralled. At the same time, businesses were failing. Their energy and labour costs had soared while the demand for their products was down. Unemployment rates rose from the average of 3 to 5 percent during the 1950s and 1960s to a high of 12 percent by 1983.

For the average Canadian family, the 1970s were unsettling times. Inflation stretched household budgets and increased the need for women to enter the workforce. Dual-income families became common. By 1978, the average family's buying power had fallen for the first time since the end of the Second World War.



**FIGURE 7-20** Canada's high rate of inflation in the 1970s was tied to massive oil price increases generated by the oil crisis of 1973.

**Thinking Critically** What would it mean if prices went up more than 14 percent a year, but your income remained the same?

- How was regionalism expressed in the 1970s?

## KEY TERMS

**regional disparity** differences in income, wages, and jobs in one area compared with another

**Western alienation** the feeling on the part of Western Canada that federal policies favour Central Canada; it has led to the rise of several regional parties, including the Canadian Alliance Party

## Regionalism

To make matters worse, two economic problems that had plagued Canada in the past resurfaced. Both were the result of regionalism. The first of these problems was **regional disparity**, or the economic gap between the poorer and more prosperous regions of Canada. As in the Depression of the 1930s, industries based on natural resources were hit the hardest in the recession of the 1970s. The fishing industry in Atlantic Canada and the forestry, mining, and fishing industries in British Columbia suffered massive layoffs. Ontario and Québec were less affected, and the other provinces resented them. The Trudeau government increased transfer payments to the provinces to be used for social services. It also spent millions of dollars on regional projects to help economic development in certain areas, especially the Atlantic provinces.

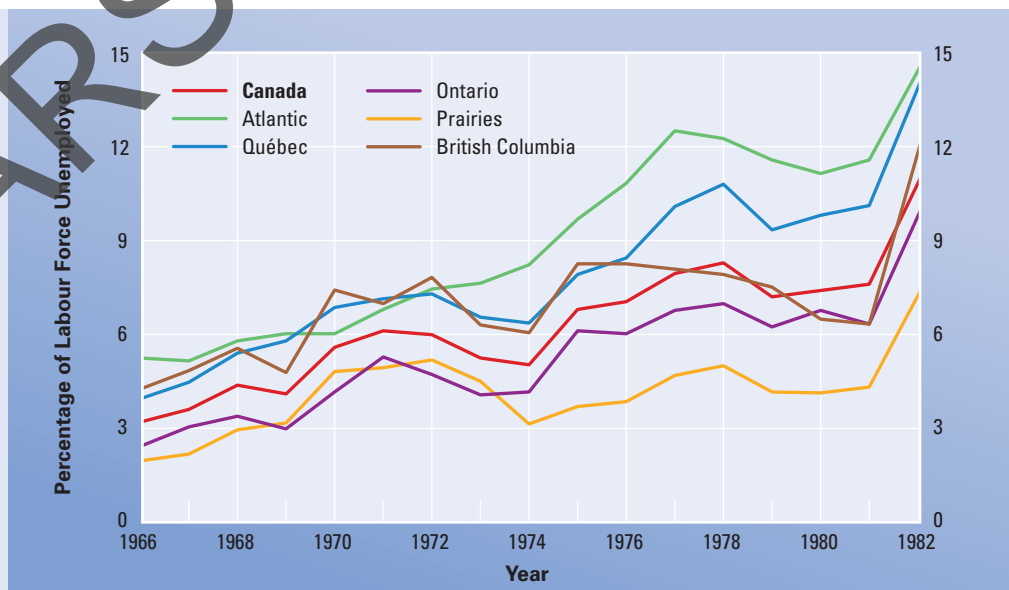
The second problem of **Western alienation** had long existed. Many Westerners believed that Ottawa's policies favoured Central Canada at the expense of the West. In the 1970s, Westerners were shocked when, in response to the oil crisis, the federal government froze the price of domestic oil and gas and imposed a tax on petroleum exported from Western Canada. The money raised by the tax would subsidize the cost of imported oil in the East. These actions infuriated Albertans. Along with their premier, Peter Lougheed, they felt that Alberta had the right to charge world prices for its oil:

*The Fathers of Confederation decided that the natural resources within provincial boundaries would be owned by the citizens through their provincial governments.... We view the federal export tax on Alberta oil as contrary to both the spirit and the intent of Confederation.*

—Federal-Provincial Conference on Energy, 1974

**FIGURE 7-21** Regional unemployment rates, 1966–1982

**Reading a Graph** Which regions had the highest unemployment rate? Which had the lowest? How did the rate in British Columbia vary in relation to other provinces? What might account for the difference?





To deal with a renewed oil crisis and rising gas prices, the Liberals also brought in the National Energy Program (NEP). The NEP aimed to

- reduce the consumption of oil
- protect Canadians from rising oil prices
- make Canada self-sufficient in oil

The program provided funding to Canadian petroleum companies to drill for oil in promising sites in the Arctic and off the coast of Newfoundland. It also encouraged consumers to switch from oil to gas and electric sources of power. Alberta, once again, reacted angrily. By 1984, oil prices had fallen and the NEP had been dismantled, but the bitterness it caused in the West would linger for years to come.

## FAST FORWARD

### The Future of Energy

The energy crisis of the 1970s resulted from the Arab world's response to Western support for Israel in the 1973 Arab–Israeli War. Today's energy crisis is caused by a vastly increased world demand for hydrocarbons. To meet demand, and to diminish the climate-changing effects of burning petroleum and coal, new technologies are now in widespread use. Many governments actively promote energy conservation; some even use tax incentives. In January 2010, the government of Ontario signed a \$7 billion deal with Korean technology company Samsung to develop green energy technology and to construct solar and wind power facilities in that province. Selling the green technology developed under this scheme is expected to create jobs and bring financial benefits.



**FIGURE 7-22** Solar collectors like this one may soon be a common sight in some areas of Canada. Wind turbines also produce energy and are situated in areas with consistent strong winds, such as in the Prairies or on coastlines.

## Expanding Horizons

During the 1970s, Canadians were again asking themselves whether the United States had too much influence over the Canadian economy. Prime Minister Trudeau was particularly interested in finding new trading partners so that Canada would no longer depend so heavily on the U.S. as the major customer for its exports. Trudeau tried to interest the European Economic Community in expanding trade with Canada. Those countries, however, were more eager to strengthen trade links among themselves. And the newly industrialized countries of Southeast Asia, the so-called “Asian tigers,” showed little interest in a special agreement with Canada.

Reluctantly, the Trudeau administration accepted the reality of Canada's continuing economic dependence on the United States. The government tried to strengthen its control over the economy and culture through programs and agencies such as the NEP, the CRTC (see Chapter 6), and the Foreign Investment Review Agency (FIRA), which reviews all major proposed foreign investments to determine whether they serve Canada's national interest.

- What measures has Canada taken to promote a distinct Canadian identity?

# Innovations

## The Information Age

The Second World War spurred a wave of new technology that continued into the 1960s and 1970s. Computers and other communications technologies were revolutionizing the way Canadians worked, played, and communicated. Canada had entered the information age. With satellite broadcasting, Canadians had access to hundreds of television stations. Satellite links also allowed for cheap long-distance telephone calls, making it easier for Canadians to communicate with family or friends and businesses abroad.



### Giant step for mankind

Space travel became a fact in the 1960s. U.S. astronauts from the *Apollo 11* spacecraft landed on the moon in the lunar module “Eagle.” The first person to set foot on the moon’s surface was Neil Armstrong on July 21, 1969.



### Happy baby, happy mom

Disposable diapers hit the marketplace in 1961. The first Pampers were marketed for use during special away-from-home outings. Sales of disposable diapers increased dramatically over the next few decades and greatly reduced women’s work around the home.

**Information to go** The first computer microchip, invented in 1971, revolutionized computer technology. Computers had been in use since the end of the Second World War, but they were very big and slow at processing information. The microchip made computers smaller, more portable, and cheaper. The first flexible disk drive was invented in 1976.



**Information at your fingertips** The Internet was formed in 1969 when the U.S. Defence Department and four U.S. universities linked their computers to create the Advanced Research Projects Agency Network (ARPAnet). Its aim was to decentralize the Defence Department’s computer system and make it less vulnerable to attack by the Soviet Union.

### Transplanting futures

The 1960s and 1970s saw dramatic advances in medicine. The first successful heart transplant took place in 1967.



## The Environmental Movement

Canada's prosperity was won at a great cost. Many environmental challenges facing the world today had their roots in this period. It was not until 1962 that North Americans began to be aware of the extent of environmental damage. In that year, an American scientist, Rachel Carson, published a widely read book titled *Silent Spring*. In it, she warned that pollution of air, water, and soil was threatening life on Earth. She criticized the chemical industry for producing toxic pesticides such as DDT and claiming that they were safe.

At first, business and governments resisted any attempts to limit pollution, but public concern over the environment rose steadily. Environmental groups were established to lobby governments to control pollution and as awareness grew, legislation changed. Greenpeace was created in 1970 by a small group of activists in British Columbia to draw attention to environmental concerns.



**FIGURE 7-23** Initially, little was done to address the issues raised in Rachel Carson's groundbreaking book, *Silent Spring*.

### up close and personal

## Greenpeace: Warriors for the Environment

In the fall of 1971, 11 people with a shared vision of a green and peaceful world set sail from Vancouver on an old fishing boat. They were headed toward Amchitka Island, Alaska, to “bear witness” to underground nuclear testing by the United States. Not only were they concerned about the immediate effects on the region's ecology, including the possibility of earthquakes and tsunamis along Pacific coastlines, but they also had a strong anti-nuclear message to spread.

Although their mission was unsuccessful, and the U.S. detonated its bomb, it was that country's final nuclear test in the area. Some believe that this voyage and the global environmental awareness that resulted was the beginning of the end of the Cold War. Today, Greenpeace is an international organization with more than 40 offices, and 2.8 million members around the world. Through direct action, Greenpeace seeks to

- protect biodiversity in all its forms
- prevent pollution and abuse of Earth's oceans, land, air, and fresh water
- end all nuclear threats
- promote peace, global disarmament, and non-violence



**FIGURE 7-24** Crew of the boat *Phyllis Cormack*, also known as Greenpeace; inaugural protest mission

## PRACTICE QUESTIONS

1. What economic problems arose in the 1970s? How did Trudeau propose to deal with them? What was the outcome?
2. What would be the effect of high inflation on
  - a) people on fixed incomes and pensions?
  - b) workers who were not in unions?
  - c) a family seeking a loan to buy a house?
3. How did the problems of this period influence the growth of regionalism and Western alienation?
4. **Perspectives** How do you think space travel changed people's perspective about planet Earth?



- What was Canada's involvement in the Cold War?

## KEY TERM

**Bomarc missiles** nuclear missiles that Canada agreed to accept from the U.S. during the Cold War; led to a rift in Canada/U.S. relations



**FIGURE 7-25** For many people, the 1961 construction of the Berlin Wall to separate the German city into two zones—one communist and one capitalist—was a frightening symbol of Soviet power and aggression. It appeared that the Cold War was still going strong.

## A More Independent International Policy

As the Cold War intensified during the early 1960s, tensions developed between Canada and the United States. Even at the personal level, the leaders of the two countries did not get along: Prime Minister John Diefenbaker and U.S. President John Kennedy strongly disliked each other; President Johnson treated Lester Pearson with contempt; Trudeau had nothing but scorn for President Richard Nixon. These differences were particularly obvious during the most serious crisis of the Cold War: the Cuban Missile Crisis, which took the world to the brink of nuclear war. Later, the Vietnam War further strained Canada's relations with the United States.

### The Nuclear Issue in Canada

The Cuban Missile Crisis caused a debate about Canada's defence policy and the government's stand on nuclear weapons. Should Canada accept nuclear weapons on its territory, as the United States wished? When the Avro Arrow was scrapped (see Chapter 6), Canada accepted U.S. **Bomarc missiles** that were capable of carrying nuclear warheads. The years that passed before the missiles were actually installed, however, allowed time for second thoughts.

In 1963, the ruling Conservative Party was divided on the issue. The Minister of External Affairs felt Canada should be a non-nuclear nation. He argued that it was hypocritical to urge the United Nations to work for disarmament while accepting nuclear weapons. The Defence Minister, in contrast, insisted that nuclear weapons were vital in protecting Canada against communist aggression. Meanwhile, the anti-nuclear movement was growing among Canadian citizens. Many were starting to realize that nuclear war would amount to global suicide.

During the election campaign of 1963, the Liberals, under the leadership of Lester Pearson, proposed that Canadian forces accept nuclear weapons under certain conditions. Prime Minister Diefenbaker and the Conservatives, however, appealed to Canadian nationalism, including Canada's right to decide for itself on international matters. Many business

leaders and influential newspapers supported the Liberals, fearing that Diefenbaker's anti-Americanism would injure trade with and investment from the United States. The nuclear issue split the country. Diefenbaker was narrowly defeated in the election of 1963, and the Liberals formed a minority government. This federal election was the first to be fought over Canada–U.S. relations since 1911.

**FIGURE 7-26** Prime Minister Trudeau and American President Richard Nixon are smiling in this staged photograph. In reality, Nixon and Trudeau disliked one another. Nixon particularly resented Trudeau's support of Cuba, which ran counter to American policy.





## case study

## The Cuban Missile Crisis: Canada–U.S. Relations Deteriorate

In 1959, Cuban rebels led by Fidel Castro overthrew Cuba's pro-U.S. dictator, Fulgencio Batista. The United States reacted angrily, imposing trade and economic sanctions on Cuba. In 1961, a group of Cuban exiles, supported by the U.S., landed in Cuba with the aim of overthrowing the Castro government. The "Bay of Pigs" invasion was a failure, which encouraged Cuba to turn to the Soviet Union for support.

In October 1962, U.S. surveillance showed that the U.S.S.R. was installing offensive nuclear missile bases in Cuba. Missiles launched from these sites were a direct threat to U.S. security. President Kennedy announced a naval and air blockade of Cuba. U.S. forces and NORAD were readied for war. Armed B-52 bombers were constantly in the air. The world seemed to be poised on the brink of war.



FIGURE 7-27 Projected range of Cuban missiles

At first, Soviet Premier Nikita Khrushchev refused to remove the missiles. He put the armed forces of the U.S.S.R. on full alert and Soviet ships steamed toward U.S. ships blockading Cuba. At the last minute, Khrushchev agreed to dismantle the missile bases in exchange for a promise that the U.S. would not invade Cuba.



FIGURE 7-28 On October 22, 1962, U.S. President John F. Kennedy gave a dramatic radio and television address explaining his position on the Cuban Missile Crisis to the American public.

After the Missile Crisis ended, relations between the U.S. and Cuba continued to be difficult. The U.S. tightened its economic embargo and restricted its citizens from doing business with or visiting Cuba. As of 2009, the embargo was still in place.

During the crisis, the United States expected Canada, its partner in NORAD, to provide unconditional support of its policies. Prime Minister Diefenbaker, however, preferred that the United Nations send a fact-finding mission to Cuba to verify the U.S. surveillance.

Diefenbaker was reluctant to have Canada drawn into a major conflict that seemed largely rooted in U.S. policy and interests. At first, the Canadian government refused to place Canada's NORAD forces on alert. Nor did it allow U.S. planes with atomic weapons to land at Canadian bases. The Americans were furious.

Diefenbaker believed he was defending Canada's independence, but a poll later showed that 80 percent of Canadians thought he was wrong. Canadian troops were eventually put on alert but the damage to Canada–U.S. relations had already been done.

### Looking Further

1. The Monroe Doctrine is a policy enacted by the U.S. government in 1823, which gives it the right to intervene if foreign governments interfere in countries in the Americas. Was President Kennedy justified in using the Monroe Doctrine to support his actions during the Cuban Missile Crisis? Explain.
2. In your opinion, should Canada have supported the United States during the Cuban Missile Crisis? Give reasons for your answer.
3. "At the time of the Cuban Missile Crisis, the U.S. had missiles of its own in Europe that were capable of striking Soviet targets." To what extent does this statement affect your thinking about the crisis?

- What was Canada's response to modern conflicts?

## KEY TERM

**draft resisters** citizens who refuse to join the army to fight in a war during conscription

## The Vietnam War

The war in Vietnam profoundly affected politics and society in the United States and Canada. Vietnam was divided, almost in half. North Vietnam had a communist government. The government in South Vietnam, more a dictatorship than a democracy, was supported by the United States. The Americans felt that if the south fell to communism, then it would not be long before other Asian states fell, a sort of domino effect. At first, the United States sent military advisors and economic help to the South Vietnamese, but by the 1960s it was sending troops as well. By 1966, there were 317 000 U.S. soldiers in Vietnam, and the number kept growing. At the same time, the U.S.S.R. and communist China supplied weapons and aid to North Vietnam.

Vietnam was the first war recorded by television cameras. Nightly news-casts brought the events of the war into the living rooms of millions of Americans. In 1968, the public was horrified to learn of a massacre of Vietnamese civilians by U.S. troops in the village of My Lai. That same year, North Vietnamese forces simultaneously attacked cities throughout South Vietnam during the Tet Offensive. They even briefly seized the U.S. embassy in the capital city of Saigon (today's Ho Chi Minh City). Americans, who had been assured that they were winning the war, were stunned.

As Americans watched Vietnamese villages being bombed, and their own young men returning home disabled or in body bags, many began questioning the war. As more and more Americans disagreed with their government's actions, massive anti-war protests swept across the country.

### Canada's Reaction to the War

Canadians were divided in their response to the war in Vietnam. Many people still saw communism as a real threat to Western security. However, as the war raged on, more and more Canadians turned against American policy. Until 1968, most opponents of the war were students, but opposition soon came from a much wider group of Canadians.



**FIGURE 7-29** Images of American soldiers in Vietnam encouraged anti-war sentiments.

**Identifying Viewpoints** How might seeing images such as this one in newspapers and on television influence young people to oppose the war? Why do you think today's wars do not generate so much interest from young people?



**FIGURE 7-30** Southeast Asia

During the Vietnam War, the U.S. drafted young men to serve in the armed forces. Beginning in 1965, thousands of American **draft resisters** and deserters who were opposed to the war came to Canada. Anti-draft groups were established in many cities to help them get settled and support their protests against the war. The U.S. government was unhappy about Canada accepting resisters.

The Canadian government tried its best to stay neutral during the Vietnam War, but its close relationship with the U.S. made this complicated. Canada did not send troops to fight in the war, although thousands of Canadians did join the U.S. forces voluntarily. Some Canadian companies benefited from the war by selling goods such as berets, boots, airplane engines, and weapons to the U.S. Defense Department. In 1965, when Prime Minister Pearson spoke out against a U.S. bombing campaign in North Vietnam, he was severely reprimanded by President Lyndon Johnson.

### *The Vietnam War Ends*

In 1969, President Richard Nixon took office in the United States, with a pledge to pull American troops out of Southeast Asia. By 1972, the Americans began to withdraw. The last American combat forces left South Vietnam in 1973. Less than two years later, a massive North Vietnamese military offensive crushed the South Vietnamese army. Vietnam, ravaged by decades of war and destruction, was unified under communist rule. Those who did not support the new regime were stripped of their property and forced into “re-education” camps, where they were pressured to support their new leaders.

Many anti-communist Vietnamese fled. They took to the seas in boats hoping to find freedom. These “boat people” made their way to refugee camps in Malaysia and Hong Kong where they applied for refugee status. Thousands of Vietnamese were accepted into Canada and became citizens.



**FIGURE 7-31** This demonstration was one of hundreds of anti-war protests in Canada.

**Expressing Ideas** Do you think Canada was right to offer American draft resisters and deserters a safe haven?

## PRACTICE QUESTIONS

1. Identify the following and explain the role each played in the Cuban Missile Crisis: a) Nikita Khrushchev, b) Fidel Castro, c) John F. Kennedy, d) John Diefenbaker.
2. What questions about nuclear weapons did the Cuban Missile Crisis raise in Canadians' minds? Why did these questions divide Canadians?
3. What effect did the Cuban Missile Crisis and the Vietnam War have on Canada–U.S. relations?
4. How did U.S. policy deal with Cuba after the Cuban Revolution? How did Canada's policy differ?
5. How would you explain the war in Vietnam to someone who knew nothing about it? Answer the following questions: What? Where? When? Why?
6. List the ways in which Canada asserted its independence from the U.S. in the 1960s.



## Should Canada's foreign policy be independent of the United States?

As you learned in Chapter 6, Canada has a long history of international involvement and the Canadian military has been in many places in the world. Mostly, our troops have been part of United Nations peacekeeping missions, in Cyprus and Suez, for example. Peacekeeping allowed us to actively participate in international conflict while still maintaining a non-combative role—and a largely independent foreign policy. We were not directly involved in either the Cuban Missile Crisis or the war in Vietnam, even though both were very important to our superpower ally, the United States. However, in 1990, we joined the U.S.-led coalition against Iraq and sent ships and planes into that conflict. Although our commit-

ment was relatively small, it represented a shift in Canada's foreign policy. Lately, as part of NATO, Canada has taken on a more active combat role, particularly since the 9/11 attacks and the beginning of America's "War on Terror."

At the time of writing, Canadian troops are fighting in Afghanistan as part of the NATO force there. This is a significant departure from peacekeeping. Defeating the Taliban in Afghanistan is an important NATO goal, but it is also fundamental to the geopolitical goals of the United States. Is Afghanistan important to Canada? Should we be involved? Are we helping the U.S. achieve its goals rather than our own? In today's world, with the



**FIGURE 7-32** Two images of Canadian forces: above, combatants in Afghanistan, and left, under a UN peacekeeping mandate in Haiti

**Analyzing Images** Compare these images. What differences do you see in the soldiers? How might these differences be interpreted by citizens of the countries in which they are stationed?



- What measures has Canada taken to promote a distinct Canadian identity?

threat of international terrorism, is it really possible for a middle power closely allied to a superpower, as Canada is, to have an independent foreign policy?

Consider these opinions for and against Canadian participation in Afghanistan. The first is from an article in the *Tyee* newspaper, published in October, 2006. Byers argues that following the American lead has meant that Canada's peacekeeping reputation has been sacrificed. The second is from an interview in *Maclean's* magazine with commentator Andrew Coyne. Coyne thinks Canada's mission in Afghanistan is necessary. He also makes the point, in this excerpt, that helping the U.S. has other benefits.

#### Against:

*Wrapped up in the distinction between the peacekeeping opportunities in Lebanon and Darfur and the counter-insurgency mission in Afghanistan is the additional issue of reputation costs, most notably the cost to Canada's international reputation for independence and objectivity, and thus our ability to lead and persuade on a wide range of issues. Where would we gain the most in terms of our international reputation: continuing with a failing counter-insurgency mission in Afghanistan, or leading a humanitarian intervention to stop the genocide in Darfur?*

#### For:

*There's a crasser, more self-interested reason for why we should stay. Just now we're having a devil of a time convincing the Americans we're as serious about fighting terrorism as they are. The issue has all sorts of obvious implications for our trade relations. Sticking it out in Afghanistan would be a fine way to prove our credentials. Whereas clearing out before the job's done risks giving aid and comfort, not just to the enemy, but the French and Italians.*



FIGURE 7-33 Canadian peacekeeping missions

### Analyzing the Issue

1. In your opinion, does Canada have an international role that is different from, and independent of, that of the U.S.? How would you define that role?
2. Summarize Coyne's argument in a sentence and support it with two examples of Canadian military action from the 20th century. Do the same for Byers' argument.
3. Research Canada's participation in the Gulf War. Compare this with Canada's participation in the Afghan operation in terms of length of commitment, military resources provided, cost of the war, and casualties.
4. A Nanos poll in November 2009 showed that at least 60 percent of Canadians wanted troops withdrawn from Afghanistan. In your opinion, does this mean that the mission needs to be better explained to Canadians? Write a brief description of Canadian foreign policy goals as you see them and include an explanation of why or why not the Afghan mission fits the goals.

- What was Canada's involvement in the Cold War?

## KEY TERMS

**trade and aid** the process of stimulating the economies of developing countries with aid so that they can access global markets and trade with developed nations

**tied aid** aid given to a foreign country with conditions attached

## Trudeau's Foreign Policy

The Vietnam War and the Cuban Missile Crisis highlighted the differences between American and Canadian foreign policy. As prime minister, Pierre Trudeau reflected the changing attitudes of the time. One of his goals was to chart a course in foreign policy that was less dependent on U.S. approval.

This intention was clearly signalled in 1970, when Canada officially recognized the communist government of the People's Republic of China. Even though Trudeau defied U.S. policy, his decision made sense to most Canadians. Mainland China was a great power, a major purchaser of Canadian wheat and other goods, and potentially a significant trading partner.

At the same time, Trudeau did not wish to anger the U.S. Neither did he think Canada could act on foreign or economic affairs without considering the U.S. to some extent. He explained his views in a now famous speech:

*Let me say that it should not be surprising if these policies in many instances either reflect or take into account the proximity of the United States. Living next to you is in some ways like sleeping with an elephant. No matter how fitfully or even-tempered is the beast, one is affected by every twitch and grunt.*

*—Speech to the National Press Club, Washington, 1969*



**FIGURE 7-34** In 1976, Trudeau became the first leader of a NATO country to pay a state visit to Fidel Castro's communist Cuba. At the end of a speech, he surprised and delighted the audience by proclaiming "Viva Cuba" and "Viva Castro."

**Expressing Ideas** Why would his words be controversial in Canada and the United States?

### Defence Revisited

Trudeau's approach to national defence was a sharp departure from that of previous governments. Lester Pearson had referred to Canada and the United States as "defence partners." Trudeau believed that Canada needed to re-evaluate this policy. He took steps to scale back Canada's participation in the nuclear arms race with the Soviet Union in the hope that this would ease Cold War tensions. These steps included the following:

- From 1970 to 1972, Canada's NATO forces gave up their nuclear missiles in Europe.
- The Bomarc missile sites that Pearson had accepted in 1963 were dismantled. A new jet fighter, the CF-18 Hornet, was armed with conventional rather than nuclear warheads.
- The national defence budget was cut by 20 percent and Canada's NATO contingent in Europe was reduced to half its former strength.

Military officers, diplomats, and officials from the U.S. embassy in Ottawa were outraged, but the government pursued its new course.

At the same time, Canada continued to participate in NATO and NORAD, alongside the United States. American vessels and submarines armed with nuclear missiles were permitted to dock in Canadian ports. American branch plants in Canada accepted contracts from the U.S. Defence Department to develop nuclear technology or other war materials, sometimes over strong protests from Canadian pacifists.

## Canada's International Profile

Throughout Trudeau's period in office, the Cold War continued to dominate international affairs. The world remained divided between the West (the U.S. and its allies) and the East (communist China, the Soviet Union, and countries friendly to it). Trudeau wanted Canada to be a middle power, strong enough and respected enough to chart an independent foreign policy.

Outside the two rival power blocs, most of the world's people lived in countries not officially allied with either superpower. African and Asian nations emerging from colonial rule after the Second World War tried to remain detached from Cold War rivalries—at least for a time. But other divisions were emerging. Most new nations were located in the southern hemisphere. They were also, for the most part, far less industrialized than countries in the northern hemisphere. So, while the Cold War split the world politically between East and West, a huge economic gap separated the rich North from the poor South.

The Trudeau government aimed to bridge both gaps in order to promote world peace and understanding among nations. As a middle power, Canada could build links between East and West and North and South. Trudeau's efforts to reduce nuclear weapons and to establish trade and sporting links with communist states were part of this plan. Trudeau called for more aid for the poor countries of the world. He believed that the prosperous nations of the North should be helping the poverty-stricken countries of the South to develop their economies and improve the living conditions for their people. This policy of “**trade and aid**” became the cornerstone of Trudeau's foreign policy in bridging the North–South gap.

In 1968, a new government body known as the **Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA)** was formed. CIDA's responsibility was to boost foreign aid to less industrialized countries. Countries receiving aid would have to agree to use it to buy products manufactured in Canada. In this way, Canada would benefit as well. This was known as **tied aid**, and it made up more than half the total development aid Canada extended to less industrialized nations. During Trudeau's administration, the total amount of aid Canada extended to developing countries increased from \$278 million in 1969 to more than \$2 billion in 1984.



**FIGURE 7-35** Paul Henderson celebrates after scoring the winning goal for Canada in the Canada–U.S.S.R. hockey series in 1972. This popular event was one of many steps taken by Canada to lower Cold War tensions. Why do you think winning the series meant so much to Canadians?

### What If...

Imagine Canada had taken a stronger military stance during the 1960s and 1970s. How might Canada's image as a middle power have been affected? Would the Canada–U.S. relationship have been different?



**FIGURE 7-36** Canadian-sponsored immunization program in the Philippines

**Developing Understanding** How would Canadian programs, such as immunization, improve living conditions for less industrialized countries? How would improved living conditions promote peace?



## KEY TERM

**Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty (ABMT)** an agreement between the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. limiting strategic offensive weapons and defensive systems

## The Cold War Renewed

While Trudeau was trying to bridge the economic gap among countries during the early 1970s, tension between the United States and the Soviet Union eased, and the two countries agreed to reduce the number of their nuclear weapons. In 1972, at the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks (SALT I), the U.S. and the Soviet Union signed the **Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty (ABMT)** and an interim agreement on strategic offensive arms. This marked a breakthrough in relations between the two superpowers.

In 1979, however, the Soviet Union invaded Afghanistan. It also sent medium-range missiles to Eastern Europe. In response, NATO announced that it, too, was deploying more advanced missiles in Europe. In protest against the Soviet occupation of Afghanistan, many Western nations, including Canada, boycotted the 1980 Olympic Games held in Moscow.

## Sovereignty in the Arctic

Canada and the United States were soon drawn into a confrontation over territory. Canada claimed sovereignty, or possession, of the islands of the Arctic and the waterways between them, including the Northwest Passage. In 1968, oil was discovered at Prudhoe Bay in Alaska, and American oil companies were interested in establishing a regular tanker route through the Northwest Passage to the east coast of the United States—in other words, through an area Canada believed was its own. The following year, an American oil tanker, the *Manhattan*, travelled along this route without Canadian approval. The Canadian government became alarmed that the U.S. was treating the Northwest Passage as an international waterway, rather than as part of Canada's Arctic possessions.

Canada was also concerned about the fragile Arctic ecosystem. Greater tanker traffic through the Northwest Passage increased the likelihood of an oil spill that could spell environmental disaster. The government announced it was extending Canada's territorial limit from 3 to 12 miles (about 5 to 19 kilometres) offshore. In addition, it passed the Arctic Waters Pollution Prevention Act, creating a 100-mile (160-kilometre) pollution-free zone around the islands of the Canadian Arctic. Within this zone, strict environmental regulations would be enforced, and oil tanker traffic would be controlled. Despite protests from Washington, the oil companies involved in the Alaska development agreed to respect Canada's rules.

Canada won support for its moves in the Arctic region from a number of nations with Arctic territories. At the United Nations, a conference on a "Law of the Sea" was suggested, endorsing the idea that the nations of the world should act together to protect the oceans as "the common heritage of mankind." Canada renewed talks about a 12-mile territorial sea and a further 200-mile economic zone for every country whose land mass faced an ocean. Canada also suggested that oil or mining companies active in environmentally sensitive areas should pay a special tax and channel some of their revenues into local economic development. To date, these suggestions have been adopted by more than 160 nations as part of the Law of the Sea Convention.

### Prime Minister **Pierre Elliott Trudeau**

- born 1919, Montréal, Québec
- lawyer, law professor, author
- first elected to Commons in 1965
- prime minister 1968–1979, 1980–1984

#### Domestic Record

- changed the Criminal Code to decriminalize homosexuality, make it easier to divorce, and legalize abortions
- passed the Official Languages Act in 1969 to officially make Canada bilingual
- invoked the War Measures Act during the October Crisis in 1970
- campaigned against Québec separatism during the 1980 referendum
- passed the Constitution Act in 1982, which entrenched the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms in the Canadian Constitution
- appointed Jeanne Sauvé Canada's first woman Governor General in 1984

#### International Record

- won the Albert Einstein Peace Prize in 1984 for negotiating the reduction of nuclear weapons and easing Cold War tensions



## The Politics of Global Warming

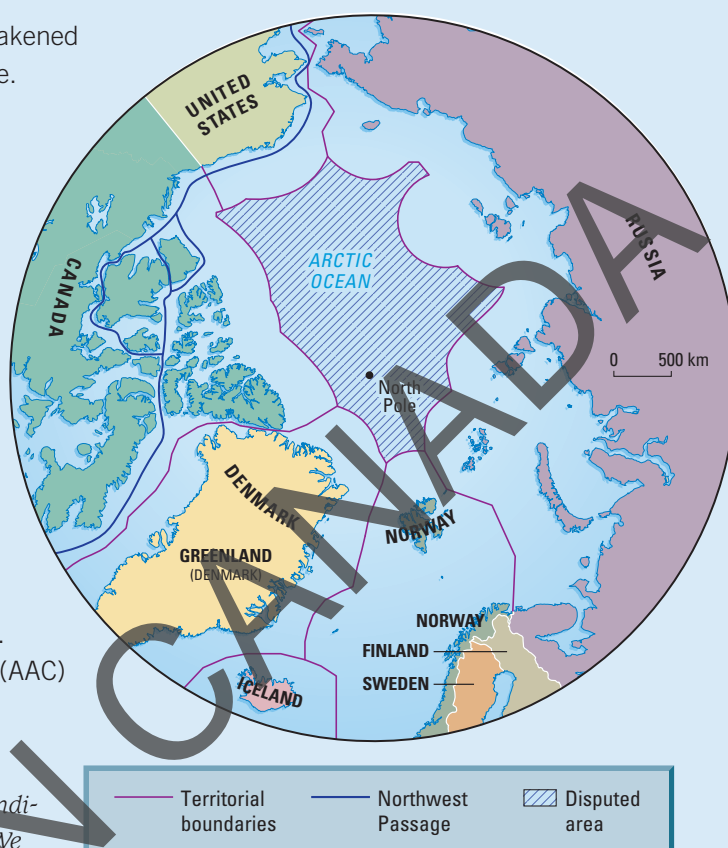
In recent years, global warming has severely weakened Arctic ice and made the region easier to navigate. Canada now faces a serious threat against what some see as its sovereign territory. Many countries lay claim to the region—and the seabed—of the Arctic Circle. At stake is the Arctic's many important resources: oil, natural gas, diamonds, gold, and silver.

The Northwest Passage is enormously beneficial to Canada as well. Prime Minister Stephen Harper announced that Canada will build a deep-water port in the High Arctic. Will this be enough to protect Canada's sovereignty in the Arctic? Though Inuit governments and organizations are generally positive, the Inuit have mixed feelings about these developments, which will significantly change their lives. Paul Kaludjak of the Arctic Athabaskan Council (AAC) expressed the council's view:

*The Canadian government does not have a strategy to assert our sovereignty. Instead, individual departments have reacted to events. We need a long-term plan that knits together federal and territorial agencies and Inuit organizations. We all have roles to play. Asserting Arctic sovereignty is a national, not a federal, project.*

—Arctic Athabaskan Council Newsletter,  
November 2006

Canada has until 2013 to submit evidence to the UN to support its claim to the Arctic.



**FIGURE 7-37** How might the extension of territorial limits affect Canadian sovereignty in the Arctic? Do you think Canada should defend its claims to the region?

## PRACTICE QUESTIONS

1. What do you think Trudeau meant when he said that living next to the United States is like sleeping next to an elephant?
2. List the ways in which Trudeau distanced Canada's foreign policy from that of the U.S. in the 1970s.
3. How did Trudeau try to bridge the gap between rich and poor countries?
4. In what areas of the world did Cold War tensions increase from 1979 to 1984? What was Canada's response?
5. What steps did Canada take in the 1960s and 1970s to uphold its rights in the Arctic? Have these efforts been effective?

## CHAPTER FOCUS QUESTION

**How did Canada's political, social, and economic policies reflect a new independence in the 1960s and 1970s?**

By 1967, Canada had a population of 20 million people, half of whom were under 25 years of age. The needs, views, and priorities of youth affected everything from politics to social priorities. In politics, Pierre Trudeau and his policies seemed to reflect the times. The country experienced a separatist crisis to which Trudeau responded forcefully. Canadians also thought a lot about their ties to the United States, particularly after Americans became involved in the unpopular Vietnam

War. And, perhaps for the first time, the environment became an important national and international issue.

1. Make a three-column chart like the one shown below for the key people, events, and ideas of the 1960s and 1970s. Use the information in the chapter to fill in the chart, including a brief explanation of each item and a sketch to help you visualize the concept.

Key People	Key Events	Key Ideas

## Vocabulary Focus

2. Create a series of study cards, one for each of the following terms. Write a definition for each term and then pass the cards to two other students, each of whom will add another layer of meaning to the definition by linking the term to two other terms on the list.

Québec nationalism  
October Crisis  
Flag Debate  
hippy  
Cuban Missile Crisis  
draft dodger  
NATO  
Red Ensign  
NORAD  
War Measures Act  
Vietnam War  
Canadian nationalism

## Knowledge and Understanding

3. Continue the ongoing timeline assignment for the history section of this course. Review the events that are covered in the chapter. Write the name and date of each event on the timeline and explain how the event contributed to Canadian independence.
4. What was the October Crisis? Why was this event a challenge to Canadian unity? How did Trudeau respond?
5. What efforts were made to celebrate Canada's identity in 1967?
6. How successful was the Canadian government in dealing with the economic challenges of the 1960s and 1970s? Provide evidence from the textbook.
7. What is inflation? What caused the inflation of the 1970s? Why would inflation affect Canadian unity? (Hint: Think about regionalism.) How did the National Energy Program add to the problem?
8. Write a summary explaining the Vietnam War to modern newspaper readers who know little about it. Answer the following questions: a) Who? b) What? c) When? d) Where? e) Why?

9. "The Vietnam War helped define Canada as a nation since it encouraged Canadian leaders to distance their country from U.S. foreign policy." Explain this statement in your own words.
10. How successful was Canada at keeping its independence from the U.S. during the 1960s and 1970s? Create a two-column chart like the one below. Provide examples of independence and rate their success.

Evidence of Canadian Independence from the U.S.	Success Rate (high/moderate/low)

### Critical Thinking

11. Using the chart from Question 1, select at least five events that you think were the most significant to Canada's independence during the 1960s and 1970s. Provide evidence to support your opinion.

#### Significance

12. Assess the impact of Québec nationalism both on Québec and on the rest of Canada.
13. List and then rank Trudeau's largest national and international challenges. Provide evidence from the textbook to support your choices.

#### Judgements

14. Trudeau was right to impose the War Measures Act in 1970. Present a reasoned argument for or against this statement.

### Document Analysis

15. The 1960s and 1970s were decades of varied and widespread social activism. Look at the photos in the collage below and respond to the following:
- How might these images influence other groups or individuals?
  - Analyze the photos and explain why each group was protesting.
  - Is there a common theme or goal for the groups?
  - Describe some of the methods used by the groups to achieve their goals.
  - Evaluate which methods were the most successful in drawing attention to the groups' causes and explain why this was the case.
  - Which of these methods are still used today?
  - From your knowledge, how successful were the groups in achieving their goals?



# 8

## Canada Shifts Focus: 1980 and Beyond

### GUIDING QUESTIONS

#### Society & Identity

- In what ways did Canadian society change after 1980?
- How did Canada's multiculturalism policy affect minority groups?
- How did changes to social policies affect women and minority groups in Canada?
- How did Aboriginal Canadians respond to challenges in the late 20th century?
- What was the impact of Québec nationalism on Canadian unity?
- What measures has Canada taken to promote a distinct Canadian identity?

#### Politics & Government

- How did changes to the Constitution impact Canadian society?

#### Economy & Human Geography

- How did the Canadian government respond to economic challenges after 1980?
- How does globalization affect living standards?

#### Autonomy & World Presence

- What factors contributed to Canada's emerging autonomy?
- What was Canada's involvement in the Cold War?
- What was Canada's response to modern conflicts?
- Describe Canada's involvement in the UN.



### TIMELINE



**1980**

First Québec referendum on sovereignty-association



**1982**

Constitution patriation



**1985**

Peak of the debt crisis



**1987**

Meech Lake Accord signed



**1990**

Meech Lake Accord dies  
Oka Crisis in Québec



**1990s**

Asian countries become major sources of immigration



**1992**

Charlottetown Accord rejected



## CHAPTER FOCUS QUESTION

How did Canada and Canadian identity change as a result of social, economic, and cultural trends at the end of the millennium and beyond?



### KEY TERMS

Multiculturalism Act  
self-government  
sovereignty-association  
distinct society  
amending formula  
notwithstanding clause  
Meech Lake Accord  
Bloc Québécois  
Free Trade Agreement (FTA)  
North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA)  
Rwandan genocide



In the summer of 1990, events in the Québec town of Oka made headlines across the nation. The town council decided to expand a golf course into long-disputed land that Mohawks at the nearby Kanesatake reserve considered sacred.

The Mohawks decided to stop construction of the golf course by blockading the land. In response, the mayor of Oka called in Québec's provincial police. On July 11, the police advanced on the Mohawk lines, gunfire broke out, and an officer was killed. It was not clear which side had fired the fatal shot.

From that point, events snowballed. The police blockaded Kanesatake. Mohawks from the nearby Kahnawake reserve barricaded the road to a bridge that ran through their reserve, blocking motorist access to part of Montréal. There were nightly violent confrontations involving the population of nearby Québec communities, the police, and the Mohawks. Across Canada, other Aboriginal groups demonstrated their support by blockading highways and railway tracks that ran through their reserves.

As the tense standoff continued, Québec Premier Robert Bourassa called in the Canadian Forces. Troops with heavy weapons moved into the area. Negotiations to end the crisis were tense. Toward the end of September, members of other bands persuaded the Mohawks of Kanesatake to end the standoff. Eventually, the disputed land was purchased by the federal government and given to Kanesatake.

1993

B.C. Treaty Commission established  
Collapse of the Conservative Party

1994

Widespread access to Internet

1995

Second Québec referendum

1997

Delgamuukw decision regarding Aboriginal land claims

1999

Nunavut created

2000

Nisga'a Treaty given royal assent

2001

Terrorist attack on New York's World Trade Center (9/11)  
Canadian Forces at war in Afghanistan

- In what ways did Canadian society change after 1980?

## Popular Culture and the Spirit of the Age

As the millennium approached, popular culture—which for the most part mirrored what was happening with young people—reflected some of the cynicism and confusion that seemed to characterize the era. The revolutionary optimism of the 1960s seemed almost naïve from the perspective of the 1980s, 1990s, and 2000s. Environmental disasters, economic shocks such as the stock market crash of 1987 and the economic crisis of 2008, and perennial high unemployment among young workers made for an uncertain future.

Youth culture tended to fragment into subgroups—each identifying with a style of music, a way of dressing, and an attitude toward life. The list of musical styles that came and went included new wave, punk, glam rock, heavy metal, grunge, alternative, pop, house, rap, hip hop, and gangsta. Fashionable looks ranged from mullets to big hair to neon-dyed buzz cuts, from dancewear to ripped jeans to belly shirts. Body piercing and tattoos became popular with everyone from punks to preppies.

These decades saw a huge rise in consumerism and materialism. Brand names and designer labels became extremely powerful marketing tools. Yet at the same time, people became more aware of the social and environ-

mental costs of their consumption. Some refused to buy products such as running shoes because they were produced in sweatshops, often by children, in developing countries. Naomi Klein's book *No Logo: Taking Aim at the Brand Bullies*, which criticized branding and globalization, became a best-seller.

### The Boomers and After

Most baby boomers were between the ages of 20 and 40 in the 1980s. They were still the largest demographic group in history, and eventually became the holders of power and wealth. As their parents retired, boomers moved into influential positions in government and business. The huge growth in the economy since the 1990s is due, in large part, to the fact that these were the peak earning and spending years of the boomers. Their comparative wealth changed the way people expected to live their lives. Travel had become less expensive and the price of consumer goods relative to wages dropped.

Financially secure boomers became known as “yuppies,” which stood for young urban (or upwardly mobile) professionals. Yuppies were not afraid to spend their money. They took expensive holidays, bought the latest electronics, fancy cars, and expensive houses. The opening decade of the 21st century saw a huge explosion in goods and services aimed at aging boomers, including retirement communities, health and anti-aging products, and cosmetic surgery.



**FIGURE 8–1** Canadian rap artist k-os. Rap and hip-hop culture, which emerged in the 1980s, incorporates music, language, and dance as well as fashion.

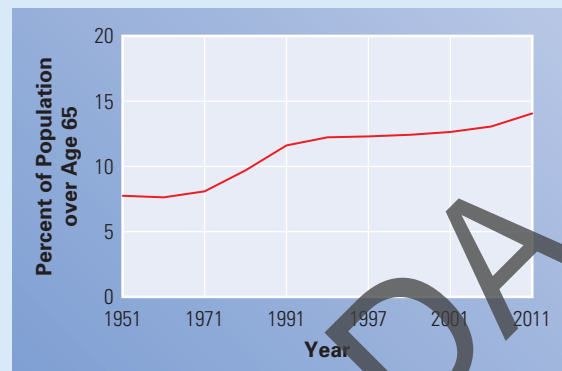


**FIGURE 8–2** *The Simpsons*, which began its phenomenally successful run in 1989, had an anti-establishment message. It mocked the lifestyle of the boomers.

## Aging Boomers

The disproportionately large size of the baby boomer generation, the increased longevity of the population, and declining birth rates all add up to problems for Canada in the future. As the boomers retire in large numbers, there will not be enough workers entering the workforce to replace them. Some experts predict that by 2020, Canada will face a labour shortage of 1 million workers. The skills and talents of the boomers will be sorely missed. In addition, pension costs, health services, and old-age benefits required by aging boomers will put huge pressure on the Canadian economy. The rising costs of these social programs will force young Canadians to pay higher taxes than previous generations.

1. What are some of the negative aspects of an aging population?



**FIGURE 8-3** This graph shows the number of Canadians over age 65 as a percentage of the total population.

**Interpreting a Graph** What trend do you notice on this graph? What factors do you think might account for this trend?

2. How might the large number of aging baby boomers impact your life?

## Generations X and Y

The generation immediately following the baby boomers was much smaller than its predecessor. Called Generation X, or the Gen Xers, they were the first of the so-called “latchkey kids,” children of single working parents or those who lived in households in which both parents worked. Canadian author Douglas Coupland, who wrote a novel called *Generation X*, described them as “underemployed, overeducated, intensely private and unpredictable.” Gen Xers were not, generally, as interested in politics and social change as the boomers. They came of age during times of economic difficulty when all the good jobs seemed to be taken. As a result, they tended to be more cynical and less optimistic about the future. The widespread introduction of computers and the Internet had a huge effect on the lifestyles of the Gen Xers. Popular television shows, such as *Seinfeld* and *Friends*, made fun of the supposed self-centredness of Gen Xers.

Generation Y, made up of people born between the mid-1970s and the end of the 1990s, was even more heavily influenced than the Gen Xers by new technologies such as computers, video games, and cellphones. The buying power of Generation Y forced manufacturers to keep up with its demands for better and faster computing and networking products, and these have fundamentally changed the way society operates.

Generation X, also known as Gen Xers	Generation Y, also known as Baby Boom Echo, Millennials
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• born between 1965 and 1976</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• born from the mid-1970s to the late 1990s</li> </ul>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• latchkey kids of working parents</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• born into nurturing, child-centric times</li> </ul>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• comfortable with technology</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• most technologically literate generation in history, plugged in 24/7</li> </ul>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• comfortable with diversity</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• celebrate diversity</li> </ul>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• over-educated, underemployed</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• success-oriented</li> </ul>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• independent, individualistic</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• confident, ambitious</li> </ul>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• cynical, pessimistic outlook</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• fun-loving outlook</li> </ul>

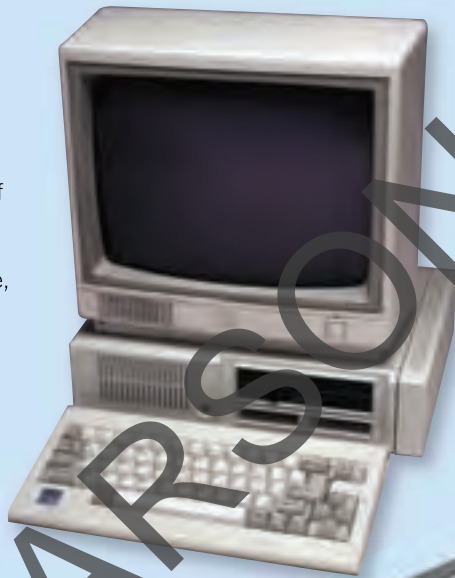
**FIGURE 8-4** Characteristics of Generations X and Y



## The Wave of the Future

In the early 1980s, personal computers had limited power and relatively few functions. By the end of the 20th century, most Canadian homes had relatively powerful computers and Internet access to a range of information and consumer services. In the 1990s, some Canadians began to “telecommute”: to work from their home or car, keeping in touch with the office via computer. In many industries, computers displaced humans. A new knowledge-based economy emerged, one in which knowledge, skills, and the ability to adapt to new situations became more important than ever before.

**What came before** One of the first home computers, the Commodore 64 (1982), had no hard drive, a very slow 1-MHz processor, and limited software. Nevertheless, it showed that desktop computers in homes were practical.



**At home, at work** Laptop computers were introduced in 1981. As they improved over the years, they gave people more freedom by allowing them to take their work with them wherever they went.



**Not pocket size** Cellphones were first made commercially available in 1983. The first cellphone cost nearly US\$4000. Early models were large and needed to be recharged frequently.



**Getting smaller** Today, cellphones are smaller and have more capabilities. Many people use them as personal organizers to store contact information, photographs, music, and videos. Many cellphones also have Internet capabilities.







**Home viewing** Video cassette recorders (VCRs), microwave ovens, and cable television came into widespread use in the 1980s.



**Easy listening** CDs were introduced in 1984 and largely displaced vinyl records.



**What's next?** Over the past few decades, computers and other communications technologies have revolutionized the way Canadians work, play, and communicate. The widespread use of the Internet has important social implications. People network with new friends, new social groups emerge, tastes in music and art shift rapidly, and notions of personal privacy change.



**Canada reaches out** The first *Canadarm* was designed and built by Spar Aerospace in 1981. The remote arm that is attached to NASA's space shuttles allows crews to launch and recapture satellites. Without this technology, much of the world's satellite communication would be impossible.

**Hello Dolly** Scientists announced the first cloning of a mammal, a sheep named Dolly, in 1996. This technological breakthrough raised ethical questions about human cloning.



- How did Canada's multiculturalism policy affect minority groups?

## KEY TERM

**Multiculturalism Act** or Bill C-93, was adopted in 1988 and provides a legal framework for multiculturalism in Canada

## Multiculturalism Becomes an Issue

During the 1980s, Canada became more multicultural than ever before. Government policies encouraged immigrants with money and business skills to create jobs by investing in existing companies or starting new ones. Figures 8–5 and 8–6 show how the countries of origin of immigrants changed over the years.

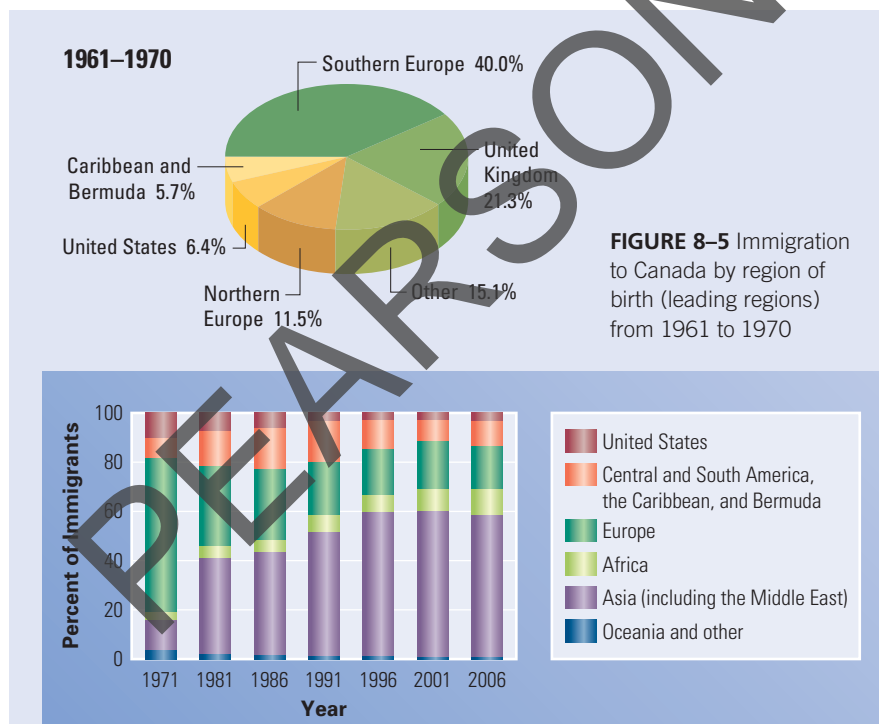
Unlike immigrants who had arrived earlier in the century in search of good farmland, later immigrants were drawn to Canada's cities. For instance, in 2006, 94.9 percent of Canada's foreign-born population and 97.2 percent of recent immigrants who had landed in the previous five years, lived in urban communities. This compared with 77.5 percent of the Canadian-born urban population.

As new cultures took root in British Columbia, some issues were raised. For example, traditional Canadian holidays, such as Easter and Christmas, are rooted in the Christian faith and culture. These holidays presented a challenge for schools with large multicultural populations. One solution was to highlight the festivals of groups represented in sufficient numbers in the school. For example, Chinese New Year, the Muslim holy month of Ramadan, and Sikh holy days such as Baisakhi were celebrated in some schools. These festivals offered students a better understanding of the beliefs and customs of Canada's multicultural society.

### Multiculturalism Act

The Canadian Multiculturalism Act (Bill C-93) was enacted by Parliament in 1988, to provide a legal framework for existing multiculturalism policies across Canada. In the spirit of the Bill of Rights and the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms (see Chapter 10), the Multiculturalism Act aimed to reinforce racial and cultural equality with legal authority. The Act ensured that all federal institutions took into account the multicultural reality of Canada.

The federal government further recognized the growth of Canada's multicultural communities by establishing the Department of Multiculturalism and Citizenship. Supporters say the government's multiculturalism policy helped strengthen national unity by drawing all Canadians closer together in mutual respect.



**FIGURE 8–6** Immigration to Canada by region of birth from 1971 to 2006

**Using Evidence** Based on these graphs, find evidence to support the following conclusion: The sources of Canadian immigration changed almost completely between 1961 and 2006.

## Does Canada need a multiculturalism policy?

The federal government established the Department of Multiculturalism and Citizenship in 1989 with the aim of promoting multiculturalism in all areas of government policy. Despite this initiative, Canadian attitudes toward multiculturalism are complex. Canada's official multiculturalism policy has fierce defenders and critics. Many Canadians believe the policy benefits Canada. They feel multiculturalism plays a positive role in the nation's development, and that it helps create national unity, as Pierre Trudeau had claimed it would in 1971. Supporters also feel that multiculturalism allows people of all ethnic, racial, religious, and cultural backgrounds to feel welcome here, and to play a positive role in the development of the nation. It gives Canadians an awareness of other cultures, an asset when dealing with problems that may arise in various communities. Furthermore, they say the policy helps promote values such as tolerance, equality, and support of diversity.

Opponents of multiculturalism claim that it is not good for the country to promote differences in cultures. They say this approach weakens the country's unity. Others feel that ethnic groups should maintain their own cultures in Canada if they wish but that the government should not provide financial support to these groups. As examples, they point to countries such as Rwanda and the former Yugoslavia, where ethnic diversity has ripped communities and families apart. It would be better, they say, to follow the "melting-pot" model of the United States, where cultural groups were encouraged to assimilate—that is, to give up their identities and take on the mainstream culture to a greater extent.

### For:

Hedy Fry, the Member of Parliament for Vancouver Centre, has expressed the following view:

*Multiculturalism is the key to Canadian unity. We must understand that people of different races can have a strong sense of belonging to one nation while maintaining their original cultural identities.... Multiculturalism and respect for our differences are important reasons why this country has been ranked as the best nation in the world by the United Nations.*

### Against:

During a House of Commons debate in 1994, Saskatchewan Member of Parliament, Lee Morrison, said:

*Every few years a politician will stop in your community... and patronizingly solicit your votes... to preserve cultural diversity. Now lest any hon. member dismiss my deeply held convictions... as the insensitive views of one white guy in a suit... I would like to [quote]... Dr. Rais Khan... a very wise new Canadian... "I did not come here to be labelled as an ethnic or as a member of the multicultural community or to be coddled with preferential treatment, nurtured with special grants and then sit on the sidelines and watch the world go by.... If I want to preserve my cultural heritage, that is my business. If I want to invite you into my home to eat some spicy traditional food, that is our business. If I expect you to pay for my cultural activities, that is your business."*

### Analyzing the Issue

1. In a group, survey a variety of Canadian newspapers, magazines, and television programs to determine the extent to which they reflect Canada's multicultural nature. Use a three-column chart to record your findings, according to the media types surveyed. Summarize your findings, and present them to the class.
2. Why do you think views differ on multiculturalism?
3. Imagine you are the federal minister responsible for multiculturalism. Prepare a speech announcing that you are going to do one of the following:
  - a) continue the policy of multiculturalism or
  - b) make changes to it
 Justify your decision, taking possible consequences into account.



- How did changes to social policies affect women and minority groups in Canada?

## Toward a More Just World

The rights movements of earlier decades (see Chapter 7) continued to gain strength during the 1980s and 1990s. Equality rights for women were enshrined in the Constitution in 1982. In 1985, Aboriginal women won the right to Aboriginal status even if they married non-Aboriginals. Tests for job suitability, such as height and strength requirements that favour men, were challenged in the mid-1990s. Gay rights activism also accelerated during this period. Although some bills that prohibited discrimination based on sexual orientation failed to pass the House of Commons in the 1980s, such discrimination was outlawed by the mid-1990s. In 2005, Canada had become the fourth country in the world to legalize same-sex marriage through the passage of the Civil Marriage Act. You will read more about each of these rights in Chapter 10.

### *A Spirit of Generosity*

A renewed sense of responsibility to help out those in need became part of the world view of many Canadians in the 1980s. In 1984, CBC reporter Brian Stewart brought the world's attention to the famine in Ethiopia. Canadian recording stars such as Neil Young, Bryan Adams, Joni Mitchell, and Robert Charlebois got together to form the supergroup Northern Lights and recorded the song "Tears Are Not Enough" to raise money for famine relief. Proceeds from the recording eventually raised more than \$3 million. American musicians also created a similar supergroup. USA for Africa recorded "We Are the World" in 1985. Bob Geldof founded Band-Aid in 1984—comprised of Irish and British musicians—and recorded "Do They Know It's Christmas?" This recording, along with the Live-Aid concerts that followed, each raised money for international aid efforts. Similar concerts continued into the next century.



**FIGURE 8–7** The Northern Lights



In 1978, 21-year-old Terry Fox, who had lost a leg to cancer, decided to run across Canada. The goal of his run, which he called the Marathon of Hope, was to raise money for cancer research. Terry started his run by dipping his leg into the Atlantic Ocean in St. John's, Newfoundland, on April 12, 1980. He intended to run all the way to the Pacific Ocean on the west coast of Vancouver Island.

Terry set himself a gruelling pace—42 kilometres per day. By the time Terry reached Southern Ontario, crowds of people were lining his route cheering him on.

When Terry was approaching Thunder Bay, he was forced to stop his run due to pains in his chest. He went to the hospital where doctors discovered that the cancer had spread to his lungs. He died in 1981, and was mourned across the country.

Canadians honour Terry Fox with annual Terry Fox runs and have donated hundreds of millions of dollars to the cause he championed. He is considered one of Canada's heroes.

1. Terry Fox hoped to raise \$21 million for cancer research. So far, his organization has raised more than \$400 million worldwide. Why do you think his goal has been surpassed on such a grand scale?



**FIGURE 8–8** Terry Fox had a special brace fitted for his run but endured pain and discomfort nevertheless.

## PRACTICE QUESTIONS

1. How did Canadian immigration policies and patterns develop between 1960 and 2000? Present your answer in the form of a timeline or chart.
2. Explain how the Canadian model of a “cultural mosaic” differs from the American model of a “melting pot.”
3. Québec has long pressed for a greater share of immigrants to Canada and a greater say on who can enter. Why do you think this is so?
4. **Cause and Consequence** What impact has computer technology had on Canadian society?
5. How did Canadian youths express their individuality during the late 20th century?
6. Describe the lifestyle of many baby boomers.
7. Which technological innovation has had the most impact on your life? The least? Might this change in the future? Explain.
8. Why do you think Canada introduced an official policy of multiculturalism? Do you think the policy had its intended effect? Support your views with examples.

- How did Aboriginal Canadians respond to challenges in the late 20th century?

### Prime Minister Stephen Joseph Harper

- born 1959, Toronto, Ontario
- author, economist
- first elected to Commons in 1993
- prime minister 2006–

#### Domestic Record

- helped found the Reform Party of Canada in 1987
- co-founded the Conservative Party of Canada in 2003
- in 2006, proposed to reform Senate so positions were elected rather than appointed
- tabled the “Québécois nation motion” in 2006, recognizing that “the Québécois form a nation within a united Canada”
- officially apologized to Aboriginal peoples for the Canadian government’s residential schools in 2008

#### International Record

- launched plans for a strong military presence in the North to protect Canadian sovereignty in the Arctic

## The Fight for Aboriginal Rights

The crisis in Oka, Québec, which you read about at the beginning of the chapter, ended after about two and a half months of tense and sometimes violent confrontation. Oka served as a wake-up call to the government and people of Canada. Canada’s Aboriginal peoples had demonstrated again that they were prepared to fight for their rights.

## The Legacy of Residential Schools

Even though the residential school system had been dismantled by the final decade of the 20th century, its effects continued to haunt Aboriginal people who had lived through it. In 1990, a new aspect of the residential school legacy was brought to light. The Grand Chief of the Assembly of Manitoba Chiefs, Phil Fontaine, spoke out about the physical and sexual abuse he suffered at a residential school. Others soon came forward with horrifying stories of abuse. Eighteen years later, Prime Minister Stephen Harper read an official apology to Aboriginal people in the House of Commons. It said, in part:

*The treatment of children in Indian residential schools is a sad chapter in our history.... The government now recognizes that the consequences of the Indian residential schools policy were profoundly negative and that this policy has had a lasting and damaging impact on Aboriginal culture, heritage and language. While some former students have spoken positively about their experiences at residential schools, these stories are far overshadowed by tragic accounts of the emotional, physical and sexual abuse and neglect of helpless children, and their separation from powerless families and communities.... The Government of Canada sincerely apologizes and asks the forgiveness of the Aboriginal peoples of this country for failing them so profoundly.*

–Stephen Harper, 2008

**FIGURE 8–9** Assembly of First Nations National Chief Phil Fontaine is presented with a citation by Prime Minister Stephen Harper (left) at a ceremony in the House of Commons on June 11, 2008, where the Canadian government officially apologized for more than a century of abuse and cultural loss involving Indian residential schools.



## TIMELINE

### Residential Schools

1850s–1860s	Assimilation of Aboriginal people through education becomes official policy.
1892	Federal government and churches officially partner in operation of residential schools.
1920	Indian Affairs Minister Duncan Campbell Scott makes residential school attendance mandatory.
1958	Indian Affairs inspectors recommend abolition of residential schools.
1970s	Residential schools begin to be transferred to Indian bands.
1986	United Church apologizes for its role in residential schools. Eventually Anglican, Presbyterian, and some Catholic churches also offer apologies.
1996	Last government-run residential school closes.
2006	Government, Assembly of First Nations, and churches sign \$4-billion residential schools settlement agreement.
2008	Residential schools Truth and Reconciliation Commission launched to examine claims of abuse at residential schools. Prime Minister Stephen Harper apologizes to former students of the residential schools.

## KEY TERMS

**self-government** the right of a colony or cultural group to define the structure, laws, and policies that will govern its affairs

**specific claims** First Nations' claims to land based on the belief that the government did not fulfill its obligations under a treaty or other agreement related to money, land, or other assets

**comprehensive claims** the assertion of the right of Aboriginal nations to large tracts of land because their ancestors were the original inhabitants

### WEB LINK

Visit the Pearson Web site to find out more about residential schools.

## The Path to Self-Government

In 1982, the Assembly of First Nations was formed to represent Aboriginal peoples in their dealings with the federal government. During the constitutional negotiations (see Chapter 10), the Assembly pressured political leaders for legal recognition of Aboriginal rights. As a result, Aboriginal rights were entrenched in the Charter of Rights and Freedoms. In 1985, Parliament also passed Bill C-31, which gave Aboriginal band councils the power to decide who had the right to live on Aboriginal reserves. Previous decisions of this sort had been made by the federal government's Department of Indian Affairs.

The increase in band council powers raised the question, "What other powers should be transferred from the federal government to the band councils?" The stage was set for discussions about **self-government**. Aboriginal peoples argued that self-government would give them the right to manage resources and gain control of their education, culture, and justice systems. This would then give them the tools needed to tackle social and health concerns in their communities.

But how would self-government work in practice? Should reserves be run as municipal or town governments by the band members? Or would Aboriginal lands and reserves across Canada eventually join together to form something like a province? Furthermore, by what means could Aboriginal nations lay claim to lands that they considered to be theirs?

Aboriginal land claims have been of two types. **Specific claims** have arisen in areas where treaties between Aboriginal peoples and the federal government have been signed, but their terms have not been kept. For example, the agreed-upon size of a reserve may have decreased as land was taken away to build highways or other projects. **Comprehensive claims** have questioned the ownership of land in large parts of Canada that were never surrendered by treaty.



**FIGURE 8–10** The eagle and the bear in the logo of the Assembly of First Nations are symbols of strength.

### WEB LINK

Visit the Pearson Web site to find out more about Aboriginal self-government.





**FIGURE 8-11** Prime Minister Jean Chrétien congratulates Joseph Gosnell, president of the Nisga'a Tribal Council, on the passage of the Nisga'a Final Agreement Act in the House of Commons. Assembly of First Nations Chief Phil Fontaine (second from right) and Indian Affairs Minister Robert Nault look on.

## Land Claims in British Columbia

Most land claims in British Columbia have been comprehensive, as Aboriginal nations never officially gave up their claims to most of what is now British Columbia. In addition, when the British took over Canada, the Royal Proclamation of 1763 declared that “any lands whatever, which, not having been ceded to or purchased by us, ...are reserved to the ...Indians.” Treaties were not signed except in a few areas, such as the province’s northeast corner and parts of Vancouver Island.

Opponents of comprehensive claims argue that the 1763 proclamation cannot be valid in parts of Canada, such as the North and British Columbia, that were not known to the British at that time. They assert that Canada exercised the traditional rights of “discoverers and conquerors.” In any case, without written records, it is difficult for some First Nations to prove continuous occupation of the land.



**FIGURE 8-12** Aboriginal land claims in B.C. amount to 110 percent of the province. The B.C. government stated that it favours a total land settlement of approximately 5 percent, reflecting the Aboriginal percentage of the population of the province.



## TIMELINE

### Nisga'a Land Claims in British Columbia

- **1887** The Nisga'a, the original occupants of the Nass Valley in the northwest, begin asserting their land rights.
- **1912** The Nisga'a become the first group to make a land claim against the Canadian government.
- **1927–1951** Although the Indian Act makes it illegal for the Nisga'a to raise funds for land claims, they continue their struggle.
- **1968** The Nisga'a take their land claim to court.
- **1991** The B.C. government recognizes Aboriginal title and the Nisga'a right to self-government; tripartite framework agreement is signed.
- **1996** The Nisga'a are offered a settlement that entitles them to a very small percentage of their original claimed land, ownership of the forests, and partial profits from salmon fisheries and hydro development. The Nisga'a also win the right to develop their own municipal government and police. The government offers to pay the Nisga'a \$196 million for lost land. The Nisga'a agree to become taxpayers, giving up their tax-exempt status under the Indian Act.
- **1997** The Supreme Court of Canada defines Aboriginal title in its ruling on the Delgamuukw case. It rules that Aboriginal groups could claim ownership of land if they can prove that they occupied the land before the Canadian government claimed sovereignty, and that they occupied it continuously and exclusively. This was a landmark ruling that would have application in other parts of the country.
- **1999** The Parliament of Canada passes the Nisga'a deal.

*Today, the Nisga'a people become full-fledged Canadians as we step out from under the Indian Act—forever. Finally, after a struggle of more than 130 years, the government of this country clearly recognizes that the Nisga'a were a self-governing people since well before European contact. We remain self-governing today, and we are proud to say that this inherent right is now clearly recognized and protected in the Constitution of Canada.*

**Nisga'a Chief Joseph Gosnell on the Nisga'a deal receiving royal assent in 2000**

## Nunavut

Self-government and land claims continue to be important issues in many other parts of Canada. The creation of the territory of Nunavut in 1999 resulted from the largest treaty ever negotiated in Canada. It gave the Inuit of this northern area political control over 2 million square kilometres of the eastern Arctic. Aboriginal land claims and self-government will continue to be a powerful force for change in shaping the nation into the 21st century.



**FIGURE 8–13** Celebrating the creation of Nunavut in Iqaluit, the territory's capital, in April 1999

## What If...

Opponents of the Nisga'a settlement demanded that a provincial referendum be held on the issue. But the government refused, arguing that the rights of a minority can never be fairly decided by a vote of the majority. What do you think the outcome would have been if the government had not made this decision?

Aboriginal art is an important part of Canadian culture, and Aboriginal writers and artists are recognized and have won acclaim around the world.

**Tomson Highway** (born 1951) is a Cree from Manitoba. After studying music and literature in Ontario and in England, he joined a performing arts company. He is a playwright whose works include *Dry Lips Oughta Move to Kapuskasing* and *The Rez Sisters*. He became Artistic Director of Native Earth Performing Arts in Toronto, one of only a few Aboriginal theatre groups in North America.

**Daphne Odjig** was born in 1919 on Manitoulin Island, Ontario. Her grandfather was a stone carver who told her about the history and legends of her people. Odjig later moved to British Columbia, where her paintings were inspired by the landscape of the B.C. interior and the West Coast islands. She published her memoirs, *A Paintbrush in My Hand*, in 1992, and in 1998 received the Achievement Award in Arts and Culture from the National Aboriginal Achievement Foundation.

**Joseph Boyden** (born 1966) is a highly acclaimed Canadian novelist and short story writer of Irish, Scottish, and Ojibwa descent. His first novel, *Three Day Road*, is about two young Cree, Xavier and Elijah,

who sign up for the military during the First World War. It is inspired by Ojibwa Francis Pegahmagabow, the legendary First World War sniper. Boyden's second novel, *Through Black Spruce*, follows the story of Will, son of one of the characters in *Three Day Road*, and his niece, Annie, who has returned to the bush from the city where she has been searching for her missing sister. Joseph Boyden won the prestigious Scotiabank Giller Prize for *Through Black Spruce* in 2008.

*I ask Elijah where I can find rounds for the Fritz rifle. Elijah'd promised me more a while ago, and only a handful is left now. I think he is holding out. Elijah covets this gun, but I am responsible for taking down the Hun sniper who loved the dead. The night of the day I killed my first human was the first time I felt like an ancestor, an awawatuk raider and warrior. I prayed to Gitchi Manitou for many hours on that day and the following day, thanking him that it was I who still breathed and not my enemy. Since that time I am able to shoot at other men and understand what I do is for survival, as long as I pray to Gitchi Manitou. He understands. My enemy might not understand this when I send him on the three-day road, but maybe he will on the day that I finally meet him again.*

*Excerpt from Three Day Road*



**FIGURE 8–14** *The Indian in Transition* by Daphne Odjig. Painted in the late 1970s, the mural outlines the history of Aboriginal peoples in Canada.



**FIGURE 8-15** Douglas Cardinal designed the First Nations University of Canada, in Regina.

**Douglas Cardinal** (born 1934) is a distinguished architect from Calgary, Alberta. He is best known for designing the Canadian Museum of Civilization. In his words, “the Museum will speak of the emergence of man from the melting glaciers; of man and woman living in harmony with the forces of nature and evolving with them.”

**Bill Reid** (1920–1998) discovered in his teens that his mother was Haida. He became interested in traditional Haida carving techniques and began to create wooden masks and totem poles using traditional techniques. Reid’s work inspired other Aboriginal artists to return to traditional art forms.

**John Kim Bell** (born 1952) was born on the Kahnawake Mohawk reserve in Québec. He studied violin and piano as a youth. In 1980, he was appointed apprentice conductor of the Toronto Symphony Orchestra. He went on to devote his time to promoting opportunities for Aboriginal artists and, in 1993, he established the National Aboriginal Achievement Award.

**Susan Aglukark** (born 1967) was raised in Arviat, Northwest Territories, now part of Nunavut. She has developed a distinctive musical style, fusing traditional Inuit chants with modern pop melodies.

1. What themes and concerns are evident in the works of the Aboriginal artists featured here?
2. Explain the importance of these artists to young Aboriginals in Canada.



**FIGURE 8-16** One of Bill Reid’s most famous works, *The Spirit of Haida Gwaii*, sits in the foyer of the Canadian Embassy in Washington.



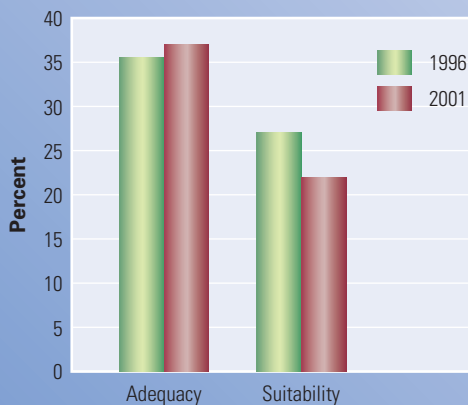
## The Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples

In 1991, one year after the Oka Crisis, the federal government launched an extensive study of the issues that affected Aboriginal peoples. The Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples travelled across the country for five years, gathering information and talking to Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal Canadians. It released a five-volume report of its findings in 1996. The report concluded that sweeping changes were needed to help mend the relationship between Aboriginal peoples and the government. The report also presented strategies to close the economic gap between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal peoples and improve social conditions.

Ten years later, the Assembly of First Nations put out a “report card” describing the progress that had been made on the recommendations of the Royal Commission. The report card stated the following statistics:

- One in 4 First Nations children live in poverty compared to 1 in 6 Canadian children.
- Life expectancy for First Nations men is 7.4 years less, and 5.2 years less for First Nations women, compared to Canadian men and women respectively.
- Unemployment is over 50 percent, and rises to over 60 percent for those without high school completion.

The report card also noted that Canada was one of two countries that voted against the UN Declaration on the Rights of Aboriginal People in June 2006. The report card concluded that “Canada has failed in terms of its action to date.”



**FIGURE 8-17** Percentage of Aboriginal homes meeting Canada's standards for adequate housing and suitable living conditions

### PRACTICE QUESTIONS

1. What was the government's response to demands that it acknowledge its part in the ill treatment of Aboriginal children in residential schools? Do you think this response was adequate? Give reasons.
2. Explain the importance of
  - a) the Assembly of First Nations
  - b) specific land claims
  - c) comprehensive land claims
  - d) the Nisga'a Treaty
  - e) the Delgamuukw decision
3. **Evidence** What percentage of British Columbia land do Aboriginal groups claim? What Aboriginal land settlement percentage does the B.C. government favour? What issues do these percentages raise?
4.
  - a) Why do you think the creation of Nunavut is significant?
  - b) What challenges do you think are posed for Nunavut by having 29 000 people politically control 2 million square kilometres of land? How do you think e-mail and other modern technologies can help?
5. Summarize the contributions of Aboriginal artists to Canadian society.
6. What were the conclusions of the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples? Does this surprise you? Explain.
7. Make a list of at least five events that contributed to Aboriginal Canadians affirming their identity and position in society. Explain why you chose each item.



## Constitution and Discord

In the 1970s, the October Crisis and the election of the Parti Québécois (PQ) made it clear that the threat of Québec separatism was very real. Concerns about separatism contributed to Prime Minister Trudeau's determination to **patriate** Canada's Constitution. He hoped that a "made in Canada" Constitution would make Québécois feel more comfortable about their position. Québec discontent and the Constitution continued to define Canadian affairs well into the 1990s. Twice during this time, PQ governments tried and failed to win referenda that would have separated Québec from the rest of Canada.

### The 1980 Referendum

In 1980, the PQ government of René Lévesque called a referendum on Québec sovereignty. Lévesque asked Québécois to give his government a mandate to negotiate a new agreement with Canada based on what he called **sovereignty-association**. Québec would become politically independent, or "*maîtres chez nous*," yet maintain a close economic association with Canada. This partnership would include

- free trade between Canada and Québec
- a common currency for the two nations
- common tariffs against imported goods

Prime Minister Trudeau asked Québec to remain part of a strong, united, and forward-looking Canada. He promised to negotiate a new Constitution, which proved popular among Québécois who wanted a Constitution that recognized Québec as an equal partner in Confederation and as a **distinct society** within Canada.

In the referendum, only 40 percent of Québécois voted "yes" to sovereignty-association. Lévesque accepted defeat but promised that, one day, they would realize their dream of a sovereign Québec.

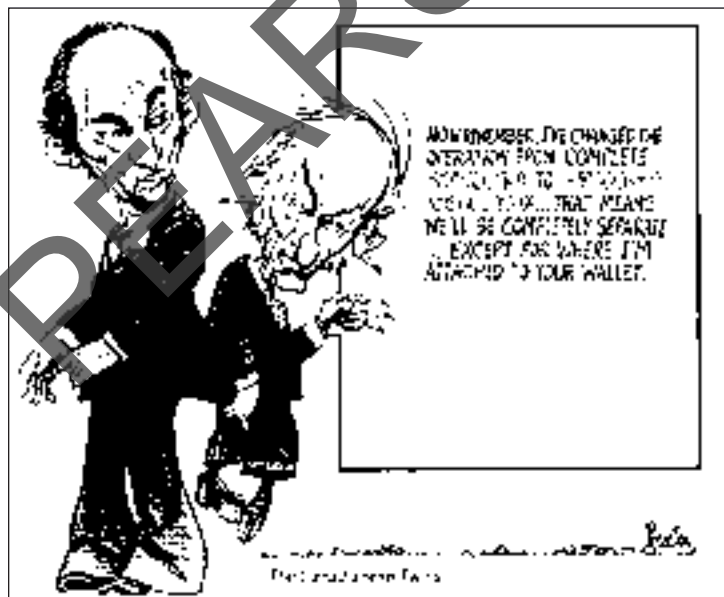
### KEY TERMS

**patriate** to take control of power over a document from a former colonial government

**sovereignty-association** a proposal by Québec nationalists that Québec have political independence yet retain close economic ties or association with Canada

**distinct society** a phrase that refers to the recognition of the unique nature of Québec within Canada. It often has the sense that Québec should have special powers and privileges to protect its language and culture

What was the impact of Québec nationalism on Canadian unity?



**FIGURE 8-18** This cartoon showing Prime Minister Trudeau and Premier Lévesque offers one view of sovereignty-association.

#### Interpreting a Cartoon

According to the cartoonist, how did sovereignty-association differ from separation? What was this cartoonist's view of Lévesque? How do you know?

- What factors contributed to Canada's emerging autonomy?

- How did changes to the Constitution impact Canadian society?

## KEY TERMS

**amending formula** a process by which changes can legally be made to the Canadian Constitution

**notwithstanding clause** a clause in the Canadian Constitution (Section 33[1]) that enables Parliament or the legislature of a province to allow an Act to stand even though it contravenes the Charter of Rights and Freedoms

## WEB LINK

Visit the Pearson Web site to find out more about the Constitution debates.

## Patriating the Constitution

The British North America (BNA) Act had been Canada's Constitution since 1867. The Act set out the powers of the federal and provincial governments and guaranteed the language and education rights of Québec's Francophone majority. Since the BNA Act fell under British jurisdiction, no changes could be made without the British Parliament's approval.

### Amending the Constitution

Prime Minister Trudeau wanted to patriate the Constitution so that the Canadian government would have sole authority to make changes to it. Trudeau hoped, above all, to include in the Constitution a clear statement of the basic rights to which all Canadians were entitled. You will read more about the Charter of Rights and Freedoms in Chapter 10.

As a first step, Trudeau needed to come up with a formula for amending, or making changes to, the Constitution. Questions such as the following needed to be considered: How many provinces need to be in agreement to make a change to the Constitution? Should Québec, as the Francophone partner in Confederation, be given veto power? Getting both the federal and provincial governments to agree to an **amending formula** was difficult.

While Québec pushed for more power, the Western provinces saw patriating the Constitution as a way to have more say in affairs that affected them. Most of the provincial premiers outside of Québec felt that the Charter would make the courts more powerful than provincial legislatures. In Québec, Lévesque feared that the Charter could be used to override his language laws or any other legislation that might be passed to protect Québec's distinct society.

A series of meetings failed to resolve the concerns that divided the provinces and the federal government. In a final attempt to reach an agreement, the prime minister and the premiers met in Ottawa on November 4, 1981. Over late-night cups of coffee in the kitchen of the National Conference Centre, federal Justice Minister Jean Chrétien and the justice ministers from Saskatchewan and Ontario hammered out what came to be called the "Kitchen Accord." The provincial premiers were awakened in their rooms at the Château Laurier Hotel and asked to approve the deal.

### Including a Notwithstanding Clause

The premiers agreed to accept the Charter if an escape clause were added. This was the **notwithstanding clause**, which allowed the federal government or any of the provinces to opt out of some of the clauses in the Charter. An agreement on the amending formula was also reached. Changes to the Constitution could be made only with the agreement of "seven out of ten provinces representing 50 percent of Canada's population." This meant, in effect, that Québec could be excluded as long as Ontario was included.

René Lévesque argued against the deal but Trudeau accepted the compromise. He maintained that the federal government had so many members from Québec that it could speak for that province. Lévesque and the people of Québec felt that the federal government and the other provincial premiers had ganged up to deny Québec recognition of its distinct status. The Québec provincial government refused to sign the proposed Constitution.

Trudeau went ahead without Québec's agreement. On April 17, 1982, Queen Elizabeth II and Prime Minister Trudeau signed the new Constitution Act into law. As the rest of Canada celebrated, flags in Québec flew at half-mast and Premier Lévesque led an angry demonstration through the streets of Québec City. The last step toward making Canada a completely independent nation had been taken, but the process had revealed cracks in national unity that would continue to trouble Canadians in the years that followed.

## Trudeau Steps Down

Trudeau's dream of a Canadian Constitution had become a reality. He felt he had played his part and was growing tired of politics. On February 28, 1984, he left his official residence at 24 Sussex Drive in Ottawa for a walk through the snowy streets of the capital. It was then that he decided to retire from politics. The Trudeau era had come to an end.

John Turner, who had served in the Cabinet under both Pearson and Trudeau, won the leadership of the Liberals. He called an election soon after, and the Liberals suffered a disastrous defeat to Brian Mulroney's Progressive Conservatives, winning only 40 seats in the House of Commons. When the Liberals under Turner lost the next election as well, Turner resigned his position and was replaced by Jean Chrétien.



**FIGURE 8–19** Queen Elizabeth II arrives to sign Canada's Constitution Act, April 17, 1982.

**Thinking Critically** Why would the Canadian government want to have the Queen sign the Act in Canada?

When you defend a position on an issue, you present arguments that you hope will persuade others. Argument and persuasion are important components of many forms of communication, including opinion pieces, essays, editorials, speeches, and debates. When you prepare an argument to defend your position on an issue, you need to use facts and anecdotes that support your position. Remember that a well-structured argument is very different from simply expressing opinions or ideas on a subject.

Defending a position on an issue means that you must do the following:

**Know what you are talking about.** Understanding the basis for your argument is the key to defending it. Do research to gather facts and evidence to support your position.

**Clarify your position.** You should begin by clearly stating your point of view. This statement is the thesis of your argument and needs to be as specific as possible.

**Understand the terms.** Learn the meaning of the terms that you are using. The proper use of terminology is fundamental to defending your position.

**Anticipate objections.** Knowing your position well means that you also know what objections might be raised by those who disagree with you. Be ready to counter objections with well-reasoned and well-supported points.

### Practising the Skill

Québec separation has been a major issue in Canada for many decades. Below are three positions on separatism: the first by a Grade 11 student from Kitchener, Ontario; the second from a Québec sovereigntist group's Web posting; and the third from a grand chief and chairman of Québec's Grand Council of the Crees. Summarize the position each writer has taken on the issue of separatism and describe how you would defend it.

1. *The separation of Québec would have a large impact on our lives as Canadians, perhaps not directly, but indirectly. If Québec were to separate, we would have to take many things into account, such as how we would connect with the eastern provinces, how to organize trade with Québec, and how the rest of the world will view us if Québec does secede.*

*It is my belief that as citizens in this country, we must be conscious of this movement and take action to convince Québec to stay. We have so far spent billions of dollars on protecting the French language and the Québec way of life.*

*We have even let the rights of Anglophone citizens (English-speaking people in Québec) be violated for the sake of the French culture in acts such as Bill 101.*

*There is evidence to show that if Québec ever did separate, its language and culture would be even more at risk than it is now. Canada is one of the main reasons that the French language is as strong as it is today. We have passed many laws to protect it and provided funding for the spread of the French language throughout the rest of the country.*

*—Claire Lehan, "Separatism is an issue for all of Canada, not just Québec," 2006*



2. French is Québec's official language. Nevertheless, Québec's English-speaking community has always had the right to maintain and develop its own institutions, especially in the fields of health and education, and it is quite possible for an English-speaking person to live and even work in Montréal in English. Despite these guarantees, some people regard the measures taken to protect French as excessive and systematically fight against it with the aid of the Canadian government. It is our view that all citizens, regardless of their origins or the communities they belong to, are entitled to freedom of expression; and indeed Québec's Bill of Rights is among the most progressive on that score. This individual freedom of expression can, in our view, coexist harmoniously with the legitimate promotion of the French language which, in the North-American context, requires appropriate legislation.

*—Québec Sovereignty: A Legitimate Goal posted on the Internet by Intellectuals for the Sovereignty of Québec (IPSO)*

3. In the past few years, Québec secessionist leaders have stated that their right to separate from Canada is based on a right of self-determination under international law. When faced with the issue of the Crees' competing right of self-determination as a First Nation and a people, Lucien Bouchard, now the Premier of Québec, resorted to a blatant double standard. He simply declared that the right of self-determination belonged to the "Québec people," but not to the Indians.

The fundamental and constitutional rights of Aboriginal peoples in Québec are clearly a major obstacle for the secessionists. They claim that they have a historic right to determine their future on the basis of a distinct language, history, and culture. On what ground can they possibly deny, as they do, that we too have this right? The separatists claim that they have the right to choose to end their ties with Canada. On what basis can they possibly claim, as they do, that the Crees and the Inuit do not have the right to choose instead to maintain and renew our relationship with Canada?

*—Grand Chief Matthew Coon Come, speech at the Canada Seminar, Harvard Center for International Affairs and Kennedy School of Government, October 28, 1996*

## Applying the Skill

- Evidence** Which opinions in each argument could be strengthened by citing specific, credible evidence?
- Explain why knowing your subject and knowing the meaning of terms is important to defending a position on an issue.
- With a partner, scan blogs, newspaper or magazine articles, or TV news shows for issue statements that you think state a position that needs to be defended or is being defended. Assess the strengths and weaknesses of each statement.
- Pick a Canadian issue that you think is important and develop a position on that issue that is clearly stated and defensible. Use the guidelines for defending a position to help you. Share your work with others in a small group and get feedback. Use your fellow students' comments to strengthen and further clarify your position.

- What was the impact of Québec nationalism on Canadian unity?

## KEY TERMS

**Meech Lake Accord** a package of constitutional amendments that would define Québec as a distinct society within Canada

**Bloc Québécois** a federal party dedicated to Québec separation from Canada

## WEB LINK

To learn more about these constitutional debates, visit the Pearson Web site.

## Mulroney and the Constitution

By 1984, most Canadians outside Québec felt that the issues of the Constitution and Canadian unity had been settled. Yet, when John Turner called an election later that year, Brian Mulroney, the leader of the Progressive Conservatives, returned to the issue of the Constitution. To build support from separatists in Québec during the election campaign, Mulroney promised to repair the damage of 1982 by obtaining Québec's consent to the Constitution "with honour and enthusiasm."

Once elected, Mulroney looked for an opportunity to make good on his promise. The time seemed right when René Lévesque retired and the pro-federalist Liberal Party, led by Robert Bourassa, took office in Québec. Mulroney's first priority was to negotiate an agreement to have Québec sign the Constitution. But by then, other provinces had their own demands. For example, Newfoundland and Alberta wanted more control of their resources—Newfoundland of its fisheries, and Alberta of its oil industries. As well, both Alberta and Newfoundland demanded reforms to the Senate that would give them a stronger voice in Ottawa.

Western alienation, which had grown through the oil crisis of the 1970s, had come to a head once again over a government contract to repair air force jets. Ottawa awarded the multibillion-dollar contract to the Bombardier company of Montréal, even though Bristol Aerospace of Winnipeg had made a better proposal. Westerners were convinced that the contract went to Bombardier just to "buy" Conservative votes in Québec.

### The Meech Lake Accord

Prime Minister Mulroney called the premiers to a conference to discuss the Constitution at Meech Lake, Québec, in 1987. He proposed a package of amendments that included an offer to recognize Québec as a distinct society. The package also included giving more power to the other provinces. All provinces, for example, would have the power to veto constitutional change. In a radio discussion, Premier Bourassa announced Québec's support for the accord:

*History will say... that [the] Meech Lake Accord was a unique chance for Canada. If it is accepted Canada will be and could be a great country. If it is rejected, it is hard to predict what will be the future.*

—Robert Bourassa



**FIGURE 8-20** Some critics thought Mulroney had made a mistake in reopening the Constitution debate.

**Interpreting a Cartoon** What point of view about Mulroney and the Meech Lake Accord is this cartoonist expressing? Do you find the cartoon effective? Explain.

## TIMELINE

### Québec Nationalism

1960

Jean Lesage elected premier; Quiet Revolution begins

1963

Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism

1968

Founding of Parti Québécois

1969

Official Languages Act

1970

October Crisis

1974

Bill 22

However, the accord had many critics. Former Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau argued that the designation of Québec as a distinct society would create “two solitudes” in Canada. It would, he said, simply isolate the Francophones of Québec and make them less, rather than more, a part of Confederation. Many Québécois, on the other hand, saw this clause as a way of protecting French culture and language. Other critics also focused on the “distinct society” clause. They worried that it might be used in Québec to override the Charter and deprive specific groups of their rights. Aboriginal peoples pointed out that they too had a distinct society that needed to be recognized and protected. Others argued that Canadians had not been given enough opportunity to have their say on the issue.

Two provinces, Manitoba and Newfoundland, withheld their support from the Meech Lake Accord, and it died in June 1990. The failure of the accord was seen as a rejection of Québec itself, even a “humiliation.” Support in Québec for separation had soared to 64 percent. Lucien Bouchard, a powerful Québec member of Mulroney’s Cabinet, resigned in protest and formed a new national party, the **Bloc Québécois**. The Bloc would run in federal elections but it remained committed to Québec separation.



**FIGURE 8-21** Elijah Harper, a Cree member of the Manitoba legislature, opposed the Meech Lake Accord because it did not recognize Canada’s Aboriginal nations as a distinct society.

### *The Charlottetown Accord*

Prime Minister Mulroney was not willing to let the Constitution debate end. He appointed a “Citizens’ Forum,” a committee that travelled across the nation to hear the views of Canadians on the Constitution. Eventually, Mulroney and provincial premiers proposed a package of constitutional amendments called the Charlottetown Accord. It answered Québec’s concerns in ways similar to the Meech Lake Accord, but it also advocated the principle of Aboriginal self-government. In addition, the Charlottetown Accord proposed reforming the Senate. In response to pressure from the Western provinces, the Senate would become an elected body with equal representation from all parts of the country.

The Charlottetown Accord was put to a national referendum in October 1992. Although Mulroney warned that rejection of the accord would endanger the very future of the nation, 54.3 percent of Canadian voters rejected it. The greatest opposition came from British Columbia, where 68.3 percent voted “no.” B.C. voters felt that the accord gave Québec too much power and they objected to the guarantee that Québec would always have 25 percent of the seats in the House of Commons, regardless of the size of its population. Many voters in Québec, on the other hand, believed that the Charlottetown Accord did not give them enough power because most of the Senate seats would go to the West. They also objected to Aboriginal self-government because it would affect a large portion of northern Québec.

● How did Aboriginal Canadians respond to challenges in the late 20th century?

1976

Parti Québécois  
under René  
Lévesque elected

1977

Bill 101

1980

Referendum on  
sovereignty-  
association

1982

René Lévesque  
rejects the  
Constitution

1991

Founding of the  
Bloc Québécois

1995

Referendum on  
separation





**FIGURE 8-22** In 1995, people came to Québec from across Canada to tell the people of Québec that they wanted them to stay in Canada.

**Using Evidence** How does this photograph demonstrate support for the “no” side? How does a symbol such as the Canadian flag play a part in national events such as the referendum campaign?

## Referendum of 1995 and After

Perhaps angered by events in the Constitution debates, Québécois again elected the separatist Parti Québécois in 1994. In 1995, Premier Jacques Parizeau called a provincial referendum on full sovereignty. The “yes” forces reminded Québécois of their “humiliation” in the rejection of the Meech Lake Accord. On October 30, 1995, the nation held its breath as the referendum votes were counted. The results: 49.4 percent of the people of Québec had voted “yes” to sovereignty. The close vote shocked Canadians.

The threat of separatism lessened somewhat in the following years. Lucien Bouchard, who became Québec’s premier in 1996, talked periodically of a new referendum, and the federal government under Prime Minister Jean Chrétien prepared guidelines for any future vote, stressing that the costs of sovereignty would be high for Québécois. Chrétien also sent the question of how Québec might separate to the Supreme Court of Canada and followed up on the Court’s ruling with his controversial **Clarity Act**. This set down in law, for the first time, Ottawa’s insistence on a clear question in any future referendum. Also, Ottawa would only negotiate Québec separation if a substantial majority of Québécois voted for it.

As the century closed, support for separatism appeared to decline. Liberal gains in Québec in the 2000 federal election and the resignation of Premier Bouchard seemed to support Chrétien’s tough stand on separation.

## Chrétien to Martin to Harper

In 2002, Jean Chrétien announced that he would not seek a fourth term as prime minister. In 2003, the new leader of Canada’s Liberal Party, former finance minister Paul Martin, became prime minister. Martin called an election and the Liberal Party won, although it lost its majority.

In 2005, a scandal involving the misappropriation of government funds by the Chrétien government threatened the stability of the Martin government. Martin himself was not involved in the scandal, but Canadians had lost confidence in the Liberal Party. In the 2006 election, the Conservatives won 36 percent of the vote and Stephen Harper became prime minister.

## PRACTICE QUESTIONS

1. Would you describe Lévesque’s plan for sovereignty-association as a plan for separation from Canada? Why or why not?
2. Why was it difficult to patriate the Constitution?
3. Why do you think that it was so difficult for the provinces and the federal government to agree about the Constitution?
4. Do you think Lévesque was betrayed by the Kitchen Accord? Why or why not?
5. Why did Brian Mulroney reopen the Constitution debate? Why did the Meech Lake Accord fail? Why did the Charlottetown Accord fail?
6. How did the Québec referendum of 1995 differ from that of 1980?
7. Why did the results of the 1995 Québec referendum shock Canadians? What action did the federal government take?
8. **Cause and Consequence** How might the rest of Canada have changed if the 1995 referendum had passed?



## New Economic Ideas

By 1981, the oil crisis, inflation, and high interest rates had all taken a toll on Canada's economy. As the world slipped into an economic recession, many Canadians faced serious financial difficulty. The recession meant more unemployment and poor job prospects for young people. Canadians looked back wistfully on the confident 1950s and 1960s.

During the boom years, Canada had been a nation of savers. Now it was becoming a nation of spenders. But there was an important difference. In the past, Canadians had bought most of their goods with cash. Now they were experiencing the credit-card revolution, and consumerism was to become a way of life for the next decades. At the same time, governments cut public services and transfer payments to the provinces to deal with the national debt. Such measures dramatically changed Canadians' expectations.

## An Uncertain Future

When Trudeau decided to retire in 1984, the government faced huge economic problems. Years of high unemployment and interest rates had resulted in a faltering economy. The National Energy Program (NEP), which was intended to shelter Canadians from soaring world oil prices, had failed.

High unemployment meant that government revenues fell as fewer people paid income tax and more required government assistance. The government had to borrow money to pay for social services, and the **national debt** grew tremendously. Both provincial and federal governments often ran a **deficit** as government expenditures (the amount of money spent) were greater than revenues (the amount of money taken in, mostly through taxes). Although reluctant to do so, the Trudeau government had begun to cut social programs and offer tax breaks to corporations to help stimulate the economy.

## Mulroney and the Debt Crisis

Brian Mulroney's Progressive Conservatives came to power in 1984 with a promise to address Canada's economic problems. Mulroney's approach was inspired by conservative governments in the United States and Britain, which were cutting back on the role of government in the economy. President Ronald Reagan thought the solution to economic problems lay in the hands of corporations and wealthy citizens. He believed that if they were given large tax breaks, they would reinvest in the economy and create new jobs for everyone else. This became known as the "trickle-down effect." In Britain, Conservative Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher took a similar line. She lowered taxes and drastically cut spending on social benefits.

Mulroney planned to use this approach to cut the debt. He would save money by trimming social programs, and the savings would help to pay off the debt. He would also stimulate the economy by cutting taxes. At the same time, the Mulroney government tightened economic links with the United States. Over the years, some Canadians continued to express concern that U.S. companies controlled too much of the Canadian economy. Some measures had been put in place to limit U.S. investment, such as the Foreign

- How did the Canadian government respond to economic challenges after 1980?

### KEY TERMS

**Clarity Act (Bill C-20)** legislation passed by the Chrétien government requiring separatist referendums to pass with a "clear majority" rather than 50 percent plus 1, before Québec could negotiate separation

**national debt** the amount of money owed by a federal government; most of Canada's national debt money is owed to Canadians who hold government of Canada savings bonds, treasury bills, and so on



**FIGURE 8-23** Brian Mulroney built close ties with the U.S. and shared the economic and political ideals of President Ronald Reagan. The Mulroney government reversed many of the programs previously enacted by Trudeau's Liberals.

### What If...

Imagine the federal government had not cut transfer payments to the provinces. Would supporting Canada's social safety net be worth running a deficit?

## KEY TERMS

**Free Trade Agreement (FTA)** the agreement that came into effect in 1989 between Canada and the United States to allow goods produced in each country to cross the border tariff-free

**North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA)** the agreement signed in 1992 and implemented in 1994 between the United States, Mexico, and Canada to create a free trade zone among the countries

Investment Review Agency (FIRA), which was formed by the Trudeau government in 1973 to block any foreign investment that seemed not to be in Canada's interest. Now Mulroney announced that Canada was "open for business." He dismantled FIRA and replaced it with Investment Canada, a body that would encourage suitable foreign investment. Mulroney also came to believe that free trade with the United States would help businesses to thrive, raise the employment rate, and increase government revenues.

Mulroney's plan to cut the debt did not work as planned. Canada was hit by a recession in 1990. Businesses failed and workers lost their jobs. Once again, the debt increased and the government was forced to increase, rather than cut, taxes. Failure to tackle the debt contributed to the defeat of the Conservative Party in 1993, when only two Tories won seats in Parliament.

## Down the Road to Free Trade

In 1987, Mulroney started negotiations that led Canada into the **Free Trade Agreement (FTA)** with the United States. The agreement removed tariffs on goods crossing the border, and opened Canada to U.S. investment as well as opening the United States to Canadian investment.

Free trade proved to be a very controversial issue for Canadians. Supporters of free trade made arguments that included the following:

- By eliminating tariffs, Canada would attract more U.S. investment. This would help Canadian industry grow and benefit the whole economy.
- Free trade would give Canada access to the larger U.S. market, which would increase our productivity and growth. With more demand, Canadian products could be sold at lower prices to compete with imports.
- A free trade agreement would attract U.S. firms to Canada to take advantage of our natural resources, skilled workers, and well-planned transportation system.

People who were against the Canada–U.S. Free Trade Agreement put forward arguments that included the following:

- Once protective tariffs were removed, U.S. branch plants that had moved to Canada to avoid paying tariffs would simply return to the U.S. As a result, hundreds of thousands of jobs would be lost.
- Canadian businesses could not compete against giant U.S. companies that would flood the Canadian market with cheap goods and services.
- Free trade threatened Canada's independence. Economic union would also lead to pressure for political union.



**FIGURE 8–24** Free trade was a popular topic for cartoonists.

**Interpreting a Cartoon** What opinion about free trade does the cartoonist express? How do the relative sizes of the hands help to put across this message?

After much heated debate, the FTA was established in 1989. It included the following points:

- Tariffs between Canada and the U.S. would be eliminated. Complete free trade would be achieved by 1999.
- Cultural industries were exempt from the agreement, allowing Canada to retain protection for publishing, television and films, and the arts.
- The agreement included mechanisms to ensure fair competition between the two countries and fewer conditions on investment.

In 1992, the Mulroney government expanded the free trade zone by signing the **North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA)**, which included free trade with Mexico. This agreement also proved to be controversial. The major fear of NAFTA's opponents was that companies operating in Canada would move to Mexico to take advantage of the low wages and less strict anti-pollution laws. Those who supported NAFTA argued that while a few companies might move to Mexico, most would remain in Canada because Canadian workers are better educated and skilled. Canada had other attractions, such as transportation and communication systems, social services, and social stability. Although the Conservatives were defeated in 1993, their policies linked Canada's political and economic fortunes much more closely to those of the United States.



**FIGURE 8-25** Protests against NAFTA continued into the new century. This protester holds a sign outside the B.C. Supreme Court in Vancouver in 2001.

### Prime Minister Martin Brian Mulroney

- born 1939, Baie-Comeau, Québec
- lawyer, author
- first elected to Commons in 1983
- prime minister 1984–1993

#### Domestic Record

- passed the Multiculturalism Act in 1985 to recognize and promote multiculturalism as an essential part of Canadian heritage and identity
- launched the Meech Lake Accord (1987), which proposed giving the provinces more say in federal matters and declaring Québec a distinct society within Canada
- apologized in 1988 to Japanese Canadians for their internment during the Second World War
- introduced the Goods and Services Tax (GST) in 1991
- tried to pass the Charlottetown Accord (1992), which proposed that provinces have more power, that the Senate be reformed, and advocated Aboriginal self-government

#### International Record

- negotiated the Free Trade Agreement with the U.S. in 1987
- expanded free trade to include Mexico in the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) in 1992

## PRACTICE QUESTIONS

1. How did Mulroney's ideas about government differ from those of the Liberals? What other politicians inspired Conservative policies?
2. What caused the debt crisis of the 1990s? How did Conservative and Liberal governments deal with debt?
3. How did Paul Martin deal with the deficit?
4. **Evidence** Describe the FTA and NAFTA. Why are these agreements controversial? Find evidence to show that NAFTA has benefited or damaged the Canadian economy.



- How did the Canadian government respond to economic challenges after 1980?

#### Prime Minister

### Joseph Jacques Jean Chrétien

- born 1934, Shawinigan, Québec
- lawyer
- first elected to Commons in 1963
- prime minister 1993–2003

#### Domestic Record

- first prime minister to win three consecutive terms since Mackenzie King
- supported federalism during the referendum on Québec sovereignty in 1995
- appointed Beverley McLachlin as the first female Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of Canada in 2000
- passed the Youth Criminal Justice Act, which came into effect in 2003, creating a separate criminal justice system for youths between the ages of 12 and 18

#### International Record

- led a series of “Team Canada” missions to improve international relations and trade
- supported Canadian involvement in NATO’s campaign in Yugoslavia (1999)
- refused to send Canadian troops to support the U.S. invasion of Iraq in 2003

**FIGURE 8-26** Prime Minister Jean Chrétien supported Finance Minister Paul Martin’s deficit-cutting measures, many of which went against Liberal policies set up while Chrétien was in Trudeau’s Cabinet.

**Expressing Ideas** How might cutting social programs change Canadian expectations and values?

## The Liberals Tackle the Debt

When Jean Chrétien and the Liberals came to power in 1993, they inherited a staggering national debt of close to \$459 billion. Their solution was to inject \$6 billion into the economy through public works such as road repairs and new bridges. These projects would create jobs, and workers would then spend their earnings and boost the economy.

Chrétien’s Liberals had little opportunity to judge the effectiveness of their policy. At the end of 1994, interest rates shot up. Provincial and federal governments used 43 percent of revenues to pay interest on the debt. Martin announced that Canada could no longer afford “big government” nor could it fund social services as it had in the past. He eliminated more than 40 000 jobs in the federal civil service and drastically reduced money transfers to provinces for post-secondary education, health care, and welfare. The provinces were thus forced to cut programs as well. To try to enhance the effects of the cuts, Martin put extra money into the Canada Pension Plan and Employment Insurance—programs essential to Canada’s “social safety net.”

The government was reducing the deficit, but Canadians paid a high price. For example, universities and colleges had to raise their tuition fees. Through the 1980s and 1990s, health care costs rose rapidly. New drugs and technologies were expensive and an aging population meant more demand on the system. At the same time as the federal government was cutting transfer payments to the provinces, less money was available for health care. Hospital wards were closed, the length of hospital stays was reduced, staff was cut and registered nurses were replaced by aides with less training. Some patients went to the United States for treatment because the services they needed were not available in Canada.

There were other problems. Growing numbers of Canadian children were living in poverty. More Canadians were homeless, and many had to rely on food banks. Food banks reported that 40 percent of their users were children, although only 26 percent of Canada’s population was children (see Chapter 10). In the new millennium, social services were more hard pressed than ever to meet the needs of Canadians.

## A New Era of Globalization

When the Liberals came to power in 1993, one of Chrétien’s priorities was to expand Canada’s trading opportunities. He sent “Team Canada” trade missions to Asia and Latin America to secure deals for Canadian investment and

exports. The Canadian government also signed free trade agreements with Chile and Israel, and joined APEC (Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation) to promote cooperation, freer trade, and economic growth among Pacific Rim countries.

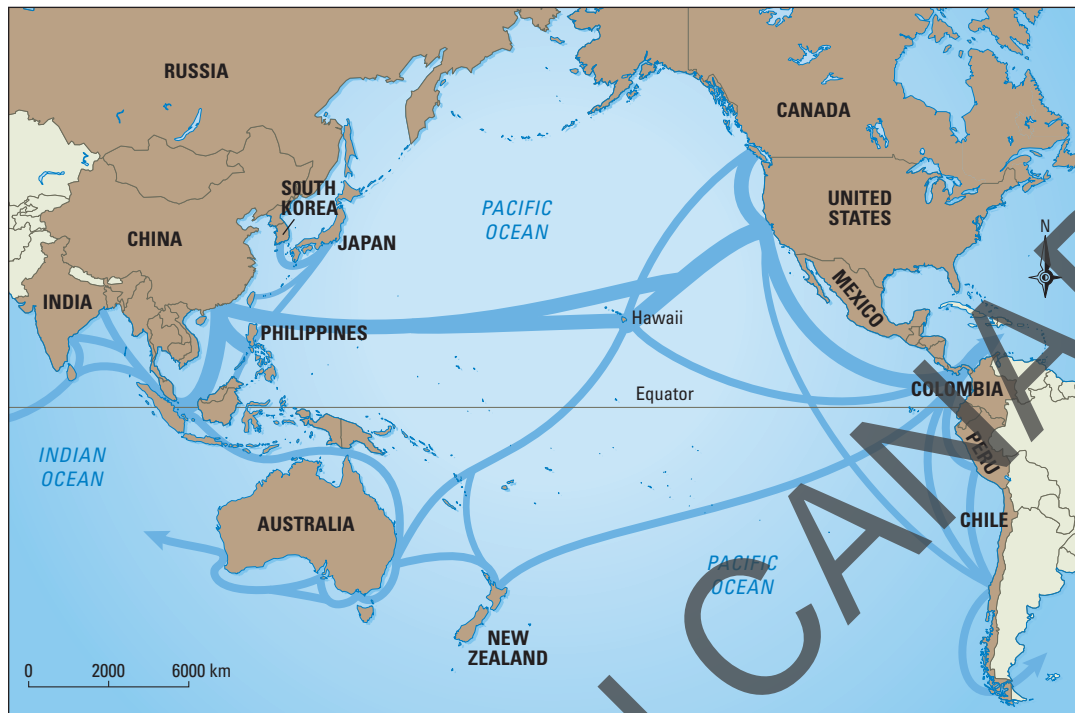




These trade initiatives were part of a **globalization** trend sweeping the world by the end of the 20th century. Globalization was partly the result of rapid changes in communications technology and the fall of communism. Goods could be shipped easily around the world, and the Internet made it possible to do business online from almost anywhere on the planet.

## KEY TERM

**globalization** a process by which the regions and countries of the world are becoming economically and culturally interconnected



**FIGURE 8-27** The APEC trading area, including major ocean trading routes

## Globalization as an Issue

People have strong views on globalization and there have been fierce protests against it. Supporters believe that globalization is a powerful trend that will raise living standards for everyone, rich and poor. They argue that when large corporations invest in less-industrialized countries, jobs and economic opportunities are created for people. This, in turn, raises standards of living, which benefits everyone.

Opponents say that globalization makes businesses rich at the cost of workers everywhere. For example, in the 1990s, many multinational corporations moved production away from North America, Europe, and Japan to countries that had lower labour costs and fewer environmental regulations. As the 21st century began, China became the world's leading producer of manufactured goods of all kinds—and this trend continues. Meanwhile, thousands of Canadian factories have closed.

Globalization also raises ethical questions. For example, although no country has a perfect human rights record, should Canada build trade relationships with countries that consistently disregard human rights? Canada has introduced human rights as a topic in some of its trade talks, a move critics believe does little to change conditions in countries with poor human rights records.

● How does globalization affect living standards?

### *Environmental Action on a Global Scale*

Globalization has created strong economic links around the world. At the same time, the global community has come together to work on environmental issues (see Chapter 13). The Kyoto Protocol is an international agreement that sets targets for reducing greenhouse gas emissions. It was an important step in the fight against climate change. The agreement went into effect in 2005 and, by the end of 2009, 187 countries had signed. However, Canada, under Prime Minister Harper's government, did not meet its emission reduction goals. According to the David Suzuki Foundation: "As of 2006, Canada's emissions were 22 percent above the 1990 level. Our Kyoto target is 6 percent below the 1990 level for 2008–2012."



**FIGURE 8–28** Canada's record on responding to the crisis of climate change has been highly criticized. **Interpreting a Cartoon** What viewpoint does this cartoon express about Prime Minister Harper's action on environmental issues?

### **PRACTICE QUESTIONS**

1. Why did Jean Chrétien organize "Team Canada" trade missions?
2. Why do you think trade with Asian countries is especially important to British Columbia?
3. What is globalization? What are its benefits? What are its disadvantages?
4. What economic reasons might the Canadian government give for not reducing greenhouse gas emissions?

## A New Era of International Action

Canada's international role shifted over the decades as world events and government priorities changed. It became increasingly difficult for Canada to maintain its role as a middle-power that gave it the prestige to mediate international disputes. Canadian governments have always been aware of the consequences of close adherence to American foreign policy and of how important it is that Canada pursue its own goals on the world stage.

Canada's relationship with its closest neighbour continued to complicate its foreign policy. The extent of Canada's support for American decisions remained an issue for Canadian leaders. For example, Prime Minister Mulroney generally supported U.S. foreign policy while Prime Ministers Trudeau and Chrétien were much less inclined to do so.

The federal government was often forced to make hard choices. For example, after the events of 9/11, President George W. Bush told the countries of the world that they could either be "with us or against us."

### The Cold War Continues: Canada's Concerns

The Cold War continued to define international relationships throughout the 1980s. In 1981, the United States government announced a massive increase in its defence budget, with most of the money to be spent on modernizing its nuclear arsenal. The U.S. also continued its policy of fighting communism in the Americas and elsewhere. As a result, the U.S. supported numerous right-wing movements and governments that disregarded human rights. The U.S.S.R., on its side, supported pro-communist struggles.

In September 1983, Soviet jets shot down a Korean passenger jet that had strayed into Soviet air space. The next month, U.S. forces invaded the Caribbean nation of Grenada and deposed the pro-Soviet, left-wing government. The two superpowers accused one another of provoking hostilities.

Prime Minister Trudeau appealed to the United States and the Soviet Union to show more restraint. He visited a number of countries to enlist other political leaders in his campaign to mediate between the superpowers. Unfortunately, Trudeau's initiative had little effect.

● What was Canada's involvement in the Cold War?

● What measures has Canada taken to promote a distinct Canadian identity?

*Let it be said of Canada and of Canadians, that we saw the crisis; that we did act; that we took risks; that we were loyal to our friends and open with our adversaries; that we have lived up to our ideals; and that we have done what we could to lift the shadow of war.*

*—Prime Minister Trudeau's summary of his peace initiative delivered to Parliament in February 1984*



**FIGURE 8–29** In 1978–1979, there was a revolution in Nicaragua against a repressive military government. After a left-wing government was established, the U.S. gave support to right-wing, anti-government rebels called Contras. This support undermined American prestige around the world. An 87-year-old man of the first Sandino rebellion, armed with a double-barrelled shotgun, stands with an 18-year-old guerrilla holding an assault rifle in Leon, Nicaragua, June 19, 1979. "I fought against the Yankee invasion in the thirties and I'd like to fight today, but I'm too old," said the old man.

## TIMELINE

### The Cold War

1945	Second World War ends United Nations established Gouzenko Affair
1949	NATO formed
1950–1953	Korean War
1955	Warsaw Pact established
1956	Suez crisis
1957	Canada and U.S. sign NORAD agreement
1962	Cuban Missile Crisis
1963	Canada accepts Bomarc missiles
1966	190 000 U.S. troops in South Vietnam
1973	Last U.S. combat forces leave Vietnam
1983	Soviet jet shoots down Korean passenger jet U.S. announces “Star Wars” defence shield
1989	Fall of the Berlin Wall
1991	Collapse of Soviet Union

## The Mulroney Era: Closer Ties with the United States

Conservative leader Brian Mulroney became Canada’s prime minister in September 1984. His approach to international relations was the opposite of Trudeau’s. In many ways, Prime Minister Mulroney worked to forge closer links with the United States and developed a close personal relationship with President Ronald Reagan, with whom he shared a conservative philosophy.

In 1983, the U.S. government unveiled an ambitious plan to create a defence shield, part of which would orbit the Earth. This Strategic Defence Initiative (SDI), nicknamed “Star Wars,” had an enormous budget. Did Canada’s membership in the North American Aerospace Defence Command (NORAD) commit it to Star Wars? Across Canada, anti-nuclear groups protested Canada’s possible involvement. These groups believed that Star Wars would provoke other nations to develop similar weapons. Canada eventually declined to participate. However, the door was left open for private Canadian companies to bid on Star Wars contracts.

## The End of the Cold War

By the mid-1980s, Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev realized that the Soviet Union could no longer afford its costly arms race with the United States. He proposed massive cuts in the arsenal of both superpowers. Gorbachev then began a series of sweeping economic, social, and political reforms that would help the communist countries run more efficiently and create better conditions for their citizens. He also loosened censorship and allowed greater freedom of speech. These policies, called *perestroika* (reconstruction) and *glasnost* (openness), encouraged the people of East Germany, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, and Romania to demand similar reforms in their countries. By 1991, the Soviet Union had collapsed, and the Cold War was

**FIGURE 8–30** The Berlin Wall, a powerful symbol of Cold War tensions, fell in November 1989. A few days before this picture was taken, guards would have machine-gunned anyone who tried to cross the Wall.

**Expressing Ideas** Why do you think some historians called the end of the Cold War “the end of history”?





over. The various member republics of the Soviet Union regained their independence and a new Russia emerged under the leadership of Boris Yeltsin, an ex-communist who now supported democracy.

Communist China, too, experimented with a kind of *perestroika*, allowing capitalism to flourish in some areas of the economy. However, Chinese citizens' hopes for political freedom were brutally dashed in Tiananmen Square in June 1989. Red Army soldiers and tanks attacked students involved in the democracy movement, killing hundreds, perhaps thousands, of protesters.



**FIGURE 8-31** A protester stands in front of tanks approaching Tiananmen Square in Beijing, China, in June 1989.

## FAST FORWARD

### The Air India Tragedy

Canada's place in the world and international tensions were emphasized by the Air India tragedy. In 1985, a bomb exploded in the cargo hold of Air India Flight 182, causing it to crash into the Atlantic Ocean off the coast of Ireland. The flight was on its way from Montréal to London, England, en route to Delhi and Bombay. All 329 people on board died, including 280 Canadians. At the time, this was the largest number of people killed in an act of air terrorism. The plot to destroy the aircraft was hatched and planned on Canadian soil. The investigation and prosecution of the bomber suspects went on for 20 years, but only one person, Inderjit Singh Reyat, was convicted and imprisoned for five years on the lesser charge of manslaughter. It was not until 2005 that Ripudaman Singh Malik and Ajaib Singh Bagri, the final suspects who were arrested in connection with the bombing, were found not guilty of all charges. There were allegations that the case was mishandled by the RCMP and the Canadian Security Intelligence Service (CSIS).

1. Why was Flight 182 the target of a terrorist attack?
2. Why did the investigation take so long?
3. In what ways did the RCMP and CSIS mishandle the case?
4. Do you think justice was served in this case?



**FIGURE 8-32** The Air India memorial in Ireland, unveiled on the first anniversary of the tragedy

#### WEB LINK

Visit the Pearson Web site to find out more about the Air India disaster.

## PRACTICE QUESTIONS

1. Contrast Prime Minister Brian Mulroney's approach to foreign affairs with that of Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau. Present your information in the form of a diagram, chart, paragraph, poem, or other representation.
2. What brought about the end of the Cold War?
3. What actions did the Canadian government take during the last years of the Cold War?
4. Use the Cold War timeline. Make a list of the events in which Canada participated. Was Canada's involvement small, medium, or large?

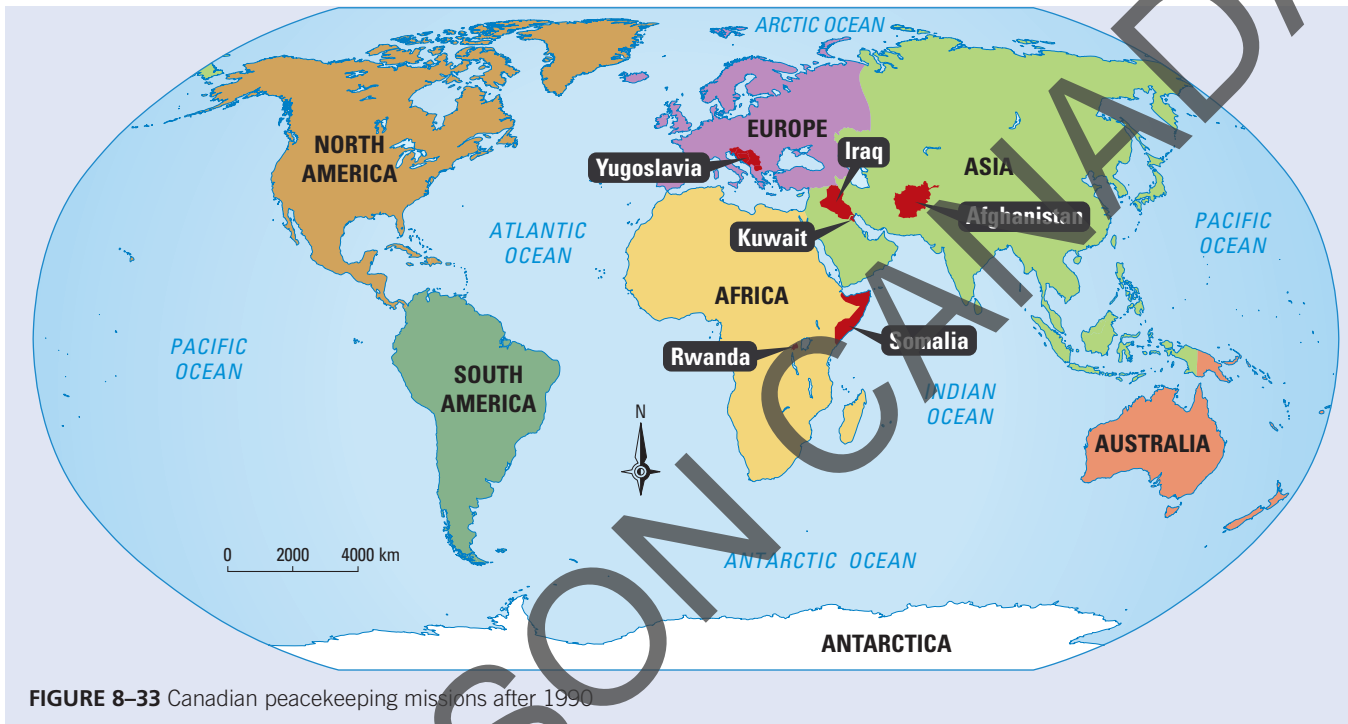
● What was Canada's response to modern conflicts?

● Describe Canada's involvement in the UN.

## Peacekeeping: A Tradition in Peril?

Many thought the end of the Cold War might bring a new era of world peace. Instead, regional conflicts and ethnic rivalries erupted, most notably in the Persian Gulf, the former Yugoslavia, and Africa. The United Nations looked for ways to solve these problems using its standard methods: negotiation, peacekeeping, and sanctions.

With the end of the Soviet Union, the United States was left as the only world superpower. Now unrivalled, it could enforce its will anywhere on the planet. It was not long before this new reality played out in the Persian Gulf, in the first international crisis of the post–Cold War era.



### *The Persian Gulf War*

In August 1990, Iraqi forces under the leadership of Saddam Hussein invaded the oil-rich country of Kuwait. Almost immediately, the United Nations demanded that Iraq withdraw and threatened economic sanctions if it refused. The United States insisted that military force be used to oust Iraqi forces.

For the first time since the Korean War, the United Nations authorized a multinational force against an aggressor nation. As in Korea, the United States would take the lead. The U.S. was joined by a coalition of forces from 35 other countries. Canada contributed two destroyers, a supply ship, a squadron of CF-18 fighter jets, a field hospital, and hundreds of military personnel.



**FIGURE 8–34** American marines near a burning oil well in Kuwait during the First Gulf War

Although the Canadian contribution was modest, there was considerable debate in Parliament before forces were sent into combat. Prime Minister Mulroney emphasized that Canada made its commitment to enforce United Nations resolutions against Iraq, not merely to support the United States. Critics argued that sanctions had not been given enough time to work.

In January 1991, U.S. and coalition forces began bombarding targets in an effort to drive Iraqi troops from Kuwait. The use of “smart” weapons, such as laser-guided bombs and cruise missiles launched many kilometres from their targets, significantly changed the nature of the war. By February 27, the Iraqis were overcome by the forces massed against them. The coalition had won a stunning victory, with only a few casualties. Not a single Canadian soldier was killed or injured in the fighting. In the end, the Gulf War destroyed the Iraqi fighting force and much of the country’s infrastructure.

After victory in the Gulf War, U.S. President George H. W. Bush proclaimed a “new world order,” one in which the United Nations would take a much more active role as a global police force. In the past, the UN had been dedicated to peacekeeping—negotiating settlements and keeping warring factions apart. Now it would have more of a peacemaking role: it would, where necessary, use military force to preserve long-term peace and security. As the only superpower remaining after the collapse of the Soviet Union, the United States would take the lead in this peacemaking role.

### Genocide in Rwanda

The population of the central African country of Rwanda is divided into two major groups—Tutsis and Hutus. Colonial administrations had put Tutsis in a position of dominance in the society. In 1994, after an incident in which a prominent Hutu was killed, the Hutus overthrew the Tutsi-led government and began murdering Tutsis and their supporters. France and Belgium, the former colonial powers in the area, sent troops to try to control the slaughter and the UN sent a small detachment of peacekeepers under the command of Canadian Lieutenant General Roméo Dallaire.

Dallaire sent a series of urgent appeals to United Nations headquarters and outlined an ambitious military plan to halt the killing. As he saw it, the UN needed to send a large multinational force to disarm the warring factions. His plan required two things: speed and the support of the United States, the only country that could provide enough troops on short notice. Unfortunately, the response from the UN and Washington was unenthusiastic. The U.S. feared a defeat similar to that in Somalia. Dallaire watched helplessly as close to a million people were murdered in the **genocide** that swept Rwanda.

### KEY TERM

**Rwandan genocide** the 1994 mass murder of nearly one million Tutsis in Rwanda



FIGURE 8–35 The Persian Gulf



FIGURE 8–36 Rwanda

## Disgrace in Somalia

Until 1991, Canadians tended to see their soldiers as peacekeepers. Although Canada was a member of NATO, which had military bases in Europe, Canadian soldiers were most often involved in peacekeeping. Peacekeeping is similar to policing in many ways. It rarely involves fierce fighting, since its purpose is to prevent conflict. Peacekeeping cannot work unless warring parties agree to the presence of the peacekeeping forces.

Canada's role in military conflicts changed with the Persian Gulf War, when Canadian troops were part of a large coalition against Saddam Hussein. Since then, Canadian soldiers have been involved in other conflicts and are sometimes called upon to fight and die in military operations. Changing the mission of the military has changed the way Canadians view themselves and the way the world sees Canada.

Canada's more aggressive stance has had other results, some of which have hurt our international reputation. In 1992, the UN launched "Operation Restore

Hope" in Somalia. Somalia, an East African nation, was ravaged by a civil war that broke out in 1991. By 1992, many Somalis were starving. Canadian forces joined those from other countries in distributing food and other essential supplies to the desperate local population. The mission was directed by the U.S. which has important strategic interests in the "Horn of Africa."

One night, members of the Canadian Airborne Regiment arrested a Somali teenager found wandering in the Canadian base camp. During the night, the teen was tortured and beaten to death. At first, a military inquiry found that only a few low-ranking soldiers had committed this terrible, racist crime. As more evidence came to light, however, it became clear that there had been a high-level attempt to cover up the incident.

Canadians were shocked by the brutality of these events and, in 1995, the federal government disbanded the Airborne Regiment. A serious shadow was cast on the international reputation of Canada's armed forces.



FIGURE 8-37 Somalia

### Looking Further

1. How is peacekeeping different from combat? How would you describe the operation in Somalia?
2. How does the way Canada uses its military reflect on Canadians? On Canadian identity?
3. What kind of international operations do you think Canada's military should be involved in?



## Civil War in Yugoslavia

After the Second World War, a communist nation called the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia was created in Eastern Europe. It was made up of six small republics: Serbia, Croatia, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Macedonia, Slovenia, and Montenegro, as well as two autonomous regions, Kosovo and Vojvodina. Until 1980, Yugoslavia was run by political strongman Prime Minister Josip Tito, but after his death, internal divisions began to appear.

When Slobodan Milosevic became president of Serbia in 1989, tensions among the republics broke out into ethnic conflict. United Nations peacekeeping missions, which included Canadian forces, were sent into the area, but they were unable to control the situation. Eventually, the member countries of NATO threatened to take steps to end the fighting.

In May 1995, NATO forces launched a series of air strikes against the mainly Serbian forces of the Yugoslav army, which was perceived as the aggressor. The warring factions eventually agreed to a ceasefire, and American troops were sent to bolster the UN peacekeeping forces.

In 1998, Serbian forces moved into the province of Kosovo to ensure it would remain under Serbian control. The Albanian Muslims who made up the majority of the population in Kosovo were persecuted, murdered, and displaced. In spring 1999, after diplomatic efforts failed to stop the Serbian operations, the U.S.-dominated NATO alliance launched its first-ever military operation against an independent country. Canada, as a NATO member, engaged in the controversial air strikes on the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

Canada's participation in the bombings was the subject of heated debate at home. Some Canadians supported NATO's bombings, insisting that NATO was obligated to prevent the Serbian-Albanian conflict from spreading to neighbouring countries. Critics of the bombing argued that NATO should never have interfered in the domestic affairs of a sovereign nation, and that its involvement escalated the conflict. Some Canadians began to question NATO's role in the "new world order" and Canada's role in NATO.

Throughout the developments in the Persian Gulf, Africa, and the former Yugoslavia, the world watched with concern. The failure of UN efforts to keep the peace brought grave doubts as to the effectiveness of the organization.



**FIGURE 8-38** This map of the Balkans shows the political divisions of the former Yugoslavia after the civil war in the 1990s. Although still contested by Serbia, Kosovo has been recognized as an independent nation since 2008.



**FIGURE 8-39** A young Muslim girl pats a Canadian peacekeeper on the head as he walks by the front gate of the Canadian base in Visoko, Bosnia, in 1994.

**Interpreting a Photograph** What impression of the UN mission does this image convey?

- What was Canada's response to modern conflicts?

## The Attacks of 9/11

On September 11, 2001, terrorist attacks of unprecedented magnitude and severity shocked the world. Members of a fundamentalist Islamic group called al-Qaeda hijacked four passenger jets. Two planes flew into the Twin Towers of the World Trade Center in New York City. Another plane was flown into the Pentagon, the headquarters of the United States Department of Defense in Virginia. The fourth plane crashed in a field in Pennsylvania after passengers attacked the hijackers. In all, 2976 people were killed and many more were injured. Billions of dollars worth of property was destroyed or damaged.

In response to the attacks, President George W. Bush declared a “war on terrorism” and promised to strike back. Leaders of NATO countries and others rushed to show their support for the United States. Many Canadians agreed that significant anti-terror measures were necessary. The federal government enacted anti-terrorist legislation and began using security certificates, which allowed people suspected of terrorist activity to be tried in secret hearings and deported.

**FIGURE 8–40** On September 11, 2001, terrorists attacked the World Trade Center in New York City.



### *War in Afghanistan*

A month after the 9/11 attacks, the United States, with the support of the United Kingdom, attacked Afghanistan. The aim of the attack was to destroy al-Qaeda and its leader, Osama bin Laden, as well as the Islamic fundamentalist Taliban government that supported and protected the terrorists. The Taliban were soon defeated, and al-Qaeda members were either killed or forced to flee the country. However, the war was far from over. In the years that followed, the Taliban and al-Qaeda launched attacks to try to regain power.

The United Nations had not approved the original attack on Afghanistan. However, by December 2001, the UN Security Council authorized the creation of the International Security Assistance Force (ISAF) to conduct operations in Afghanistan. NATO assumed the leadership of the ISAF in 2003.

Canada's involvement in Afghanistan began in 2001 when it sent a naval task force to the Persian Gulf. A year later, a battle group from the Princess Patricia's Canadian Light Infantry was sent to Kandahar to assist in an offensive against Taliban and al-Qaeda forces. From August 2003 to December 2005, Canada's forces were mainly based in the capital, Kabul, as part of the ISAF. They provided security for elections, which were held in the fall of 2005.

As of the end of 2009, Western forces remained in Afghanistan to help local military and police forces secure the country from internal and external threats. Foreign countries also helped the Afghan government to reconstruct basic infrastructure, promote health and education services, and support other development initiatives. There were approximately 2500 Canadian personnel in Afghanistan, and 138 had died in the fighting.

When Canadian soldiers were first sent overseas in 2001, polls showed that about 20 percent of Canadians were opposed to military involvement in Afghanistan. However, as the operation wore on, Canadians became even less supportive. By 2009, 54 percent of Canadians opposed Canadian military participation in Afghanistan, while only 34 percent supported it.

### The Iraq War

In 2003, the United States government decided to invade Iraq to "disarm Iraq of weapons of mass destruction (WMD)." The U.S. was joined by forces from Britain, Australia, and Poland. The war was not supported by a broad coalition of nations, and the Canadian government was not convinced that the Iraqis had, and were prepared to use, weapons of mass destruction. As it turned out, no WMD were found in Iraq. The United States and Britain, with some contingents from other countries, defeated Iraq and occupied the country.



**FIGURE 8-41** Kandahar province is close to Taliban strongholds in western Pakistan and, for NATO troops, is one of the most dangerous parts of Afghanistan.

The Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade summed up Canada's role in Afghanistan this way:

*Canada's participation is guided by our core values of freedom, democracy, the rule of law, and respect for human rights, especially the rights of women and girls.*

## PRACTICE QUESTIONS

1. How and why have Canadians participated in conflicts after the end of the Cold War?
2. What did President George H. W. Bush mean when he proclaimed a "new world order"?
3. Is there a difference between using our armed forces for peacekeeping as opposed to peace-making? Which do you think is more "Canadian"?
4. Why did Canada become involved in the NATO action in Yugoslavia? Why was NATO's involvement controversial? Provide specific examples.
5. Why did the U.S. not respond to Lt. Gen. Dallaire's request for immediate assistance? What was the result due to the lack of U.S. troop support?
6. What was the stated purpose for the wars in Afghanistan and Iraq?

## CHAPTER FOCUS QUESTION

**How did Canada and Canadian identity change as a result of social, economic, and cultural trends at the end of the millennium and beyond?**

Canada experienced severe political and economic shocks in the final decades of the 20th century. Our Constitution finally came home, but attempts to bring Québec onside failed—Canadian unity barely survived two referenda on Québec sovereignty. The national debt rose and Canada experienced a severe recession. Gradually, our economy became more integrated with that of the United States, particularly after the signing of NAFTA. Globalization also became a fact of life and

manufacturing moved increasingly offshore. At home, women continued to enter the workforce in increasing numbers and Aboriginal peoples began to make significant progress in securing rights that had previously been denied or resisted by governments.

1. Create an organizer such as the one below. Provide as many examples as possible from the text for each category.

<b>Social Trends</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>•</li> <li>•</li> <li>•</li> <li>•</li> <li>•</li> </ul>	<b>Effects on Canadian Identity</b>
<b>Economic Trends</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>•</li> <li>•</li> <li>•</li> <li>•</li> <li>•</li> </ul>	<b>Effects on Canadian Identity</b>
<b>Cultural Trends</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>•</li> <li>•</li> <li>•</li> <li>•</li> <li>•</li> </ul>	<b>Effects on Canadian Identity</b>

## Vocabulary Focus

2. To practise your use of the chapter's Key Terms, refer to the Pearson Web site for a crossword puzzle activity.

## Knowledge and Understanding

3. This chapter covers the final steps to Canadian autonomy. Complete the timeline by writing the name and date of each event and explaining how the event contributed to Canadian independence.
4. Why do you think the Canadian government has not made more progress in dealing with Aboriginal issues?

5. Provide a list of ideas/solutions on how the issues of child poverty, life expectancy, and high unemployment could be solved in Aboriginal communities.
6. Do you think Canada should have signed NAFTA? Provide support for your opinion.
7. Compare how governments in the 1980s and 1990s dealt with economic crises versus governments during the Great Depression. Which do you think were most effective? Why?
8. How did the UN involvement in the Gulf War, Somalia, Yugoslavia, and Rwanda affect its reputation in the eyes of the world? Why do you think the traditional role of peacekeepers no longer seems to apply?



9. Compare and contrast the wars in Afghanistan and Iraq. Include information on the cause, countries involved in the war, and level of support for the war.

## Critical Thinking

10. Use the organizer from Question 1 to help you complete the following task.

Select five different trends and rank them from most impact on Canadian identity to least impact. Provide an explanation for each ranking.

For your top two selections (most impact), explain the long-lasting effects each will have on Canada.

11. “Canadian politicians should make every effort to have Québec sign the Constitution.” Create arguments for and against this statement. Prepare to discuss your position with the class.
12. If you lived in a developing country, how might globalization affect you? What would your attitude be toward developed countries?
13. **Significance** “Canada’s role as a peacekeeping nation has changed.” Provide specific evidence that would support this statement. Write a paragraph explaining if you think this change is permanent or temporary. Support your viewpoint.

## Document Analysis

14. Consider the following copy of a primary source document.

*Canada MUST redefine its independence on the world stage, and in particular set a course in foreign policy independent of the United States. There are already welcome signs of this, including... Canada’s advocacy role in trying to establish a world ban on the use of land mines.... There is much to recommend the long-standing relationship between Americans and Canadians across the longest undefended border in the world, but lock-step adherence to U.S. foreign (military) policy is not one of them. (A recent example of this kind of concern was provided on the CBC National News..., when the Minister of*

*Defence, Mr. Art Eggleton, ...opined that Canada should consider contributing to the resurgent, ultimately destabilizing and doomed-to-failure U.S. “Star Wars” missile defence program.)*

*In this way [by redefining its independence on the world stage], Canada will recover the world respect it deserves from an earlier time, and rediscover its mandate to provide a much needed forum of sober second thought, a necessary counter-measure to those “great powers” too often inebriated by their own self-righteous views....*

*—Professor Donald Fleming*

- When and why was this document produced?
- What is the nature of the document? For example, is it an official government document, a statement of personal opinion, or something else? Does the nature of the document influence how it can be used?
- What is Professor Fleming’s thesis and how effectively does he support it?
- Comment on the effectiveness of the language used. Does the professor state his case well? Explain.
- In your opinion, could a historian use this document to assess Canadian public opinion for the years leading up to 2000? Explain.

Use this Study Guide to continue synthesizing your learning about Canada's development as a country. As you work through the following steps, refer back to the Focus Questions for Chapters 6 to 8. Look for evidence in your understanding to answer these questions.

### STEP 1 Unpacking Knowledge

Create a triangle chart by writing a chapter focus question in each corner. Look through the unit and within the triangle, list all the items you could use as evidence in answering these questions.

The more specific the evidence is to a question, the closer to the question you will write it down. For example, if an item could be used to answer all three questions, you will write it in the middle of the triangle. If it is an item specifically about Canada/U.S. relations, it will be located closer to the top of the triangle.

*How did Canadian political decisions reflect a concern about the growing influence of the United States over Canada?*

*How did Canada's political, social, and economic policies reflect a new independence in the 1960s and 1970s?*

*How did Canada and Canadian identity change as a result of social, economic, and cultural trends at the end of the millennium and beyond?*

### STEP 2 Organizing Your Understanding

Examine your triangle chart from Step 1 and identify trends and themes in the evidence you have listed. What answer is emerging for each chapter focus question?

Using your triangle chart, create a ranking ladder for each question. Select the strongest pieces of evidence for each chapter focus question and write your choices in descending order of importance.

*How did Canadian political decisions reflect a concern about the growing influence of the United States over Canada?*

### STEP 3 Making Connections

Interview someone who grew up in Canada during the Cold War/post-war era (1945–1989). Write interview questions that address any gaps in your understanding of the chapter focus questions. You should have at least one question from each of the four course themes (Society & Identity, Politics & Government, Economy & Human Geography, and Autonomy & World Presence). Be prepared to share interview responses with the class. For sample interview questions, visit the Pearson Web site.

### STEP 4 Applying Your Skills

#### Assessing Viewpoints

Examine the following images and quotations, and discuss the points of view and perspectives reflected in each source. To what events do the sources refer? How might these sources be used as evidence in answering the three chapter focus questions? In what ways do they support or contradict the evidence you have already chosen? Remember to identify who made the statement, the circumstances under which the statement or image was produced, and the position that is being presented.

#### GROUP A

**SOURCE 1:** Lieutenant Commander Dr. Lalitha Rupesinghe at a visit to a girls' school in Kabul, Afghanistan



▼ **SOURCE 2:** Roméo Dallaire at the University of Saskatchewan, September 27, 2006

*The concept of peacekeeping has failed in this era. The Canadian army hasn't been in peacekeeping for the last 15 years.*

## GROUP B

▼ **SOURCE 3:** Prime Minister Trudeau's "Just watch me" impromptu interview with Tim Ralfe of the CBC and Peter Reilly of CJON-TV, October 13, 1970

**Ralfe:** *I still go back to the choice that you have to make in the kind of society that you live in.*

**Trudeau:** *Yes, well there are a lot of bleeding hearts around who just don't like to see people with helmets and guns. All I can say is, go on and bleed, but it is more important to keep law and order in the society than to be worried about weak-kneed people who don't like the looks of...*

**Ralfe:** *At any cost? How far would you go with that? How far would you extend that?*

**Trudeau:** *Well, just watch me.*

**Ralfe:** *At reducing civil liberties? To that extent?*

**Trudeau:** *To what extent?*

**Ralfe:** *Well, if you extend this and you say, ok, you're going to do anything to protect them, does this include wire-tapping, reducing other civil liberties in some way?*

**Trudeau:** *Yes, I think the society must take every means at its disposal to defend itself against the emergence of a parallel power which defies the elected power in this country and I think that goes to any distance. So long as there is a power in here which is challenging the elected representative of the people I think that power must be stopped and I think it's only, I repeat, weak-kneed bleeding hearts who are afraid to take these measures.*

▼ **SOURCE 4:** Reaction of the FLQ to the invocation of the War Measures Act, October 17, 1970; communiqué released on December 8, 1970

*The present authorities have declared war on the Québec patriots. After having pretended to negotiate for several days they have finally revealed their true face as hypocrites and terrorists.*

*The colonial army has come to give assistance to the "bouncers" of Drapeau the "dog." Their objective: to terrorize the population by massive and illegal arrests and searches, by large and noisy deployments, and by making shattering statements on the urgent situation in Québec, etc.*

**SOURCE 5:** Soldiers guard a side entrance to Montréal City Hall, October 15, 1970





## GROUP C

- ▼ **SOURCE 6:** Prime Minister Chrétien's remarks on September 6, 2002, to reporters who asked what kind of proof Canada wanted to see before backing a U.S. attack on Iraq.

*A proof is a proof. What kind of a proof is a proof? It's a proof. A proof is a proof. And when you have a good proof, it's because it's proven.*

- ▼ **SOURCE 7:** Jean Chrétien commenting on the fact that Canada needs UN approval before going to war in Iraq, House of Commons, March 17, 2003

*If military action proceeds without a new resolution of the Security Council, Canada will not participate.*

- ▼ **SOURCE 8:** George Bush Heads off to War



## STEP 5 Thinking Critically

Now that you have reviewed the Unit 2 content, practised skills, explored sources, and gathered evidence, it is time to synthesize your learning. Read the following comments from Canada25, a non-partisan organization dedicated to bringing the ideas of young Canadians into public policy debate, and then complete the activity below.

*As a relatively young country with a tradition of offering assistance to our allies to attain mutual goals, Canada needs to define its values and objectives, both at home and abroad. Although everyone agreed that our traditional role as peacekeeper and "helpful fixer" was a vital one that we should continue to fill, our international reputation in these areas has clearly suffered over the years, evidenced by our failure to facilitate consensus on important contemporary global issues. Perhaps it is a question of confidence and boldness where Canada has been weak in the past, but what underlies these qualities must be real. Are we hoping to restore the reputation of the Pearson/Trudeau years or create a completely new one... or is the answer somewhere in between? How important is our international reputation—is it really soft power? Is it enough that other nations "like us"?*

*—David Eaves, Canada25 2004 report,  
"From Middle Power to Model Power"*

These comments suggest a shift from Canada's role to Canada's goal. How do you think Canada should act on the world stage? On what principles or actions should we base our reputation? Prepare a position statement that clearly states your argument and defends it. Remember to follow the procedure for defending a position as outlined in Chapter 8.

**CHECK** the Pearson Web site for additional review activities and questions.