

### \* Stirring Up Support

In 1939, the hardships of World War I and the Great Depression were still fresh in the minds of many Canadians. Canadians stepped up to make a major contribution to the war, but many greeted it with a heavy heart. This war would once again call on Canadians to make major sacrifices. To stir up support for the war effort, the government started a massive poster campaign. One woman recalled how the newspapers were also urging readers to “do their bit” for the war effort.

*The newspapers, they were just propaganda sheets. My goodness, on the front pages, war, war, war, and in the insides, how to cook cheaper, how to do Victory Gardens, why we should have car pools, buy Victory Bonds and tell our friends they were traitors if they didn't load up on them too . . .*

*You remember those Sunday sections. They were jammed with war stuff. How to cook cabbage, make cabbage rolls, and then drink the cabbage juice. Did they think we didn't know that stuff, like how to make a dollar do the price of ten? You'd think the idiots in their big offices in Toronto and Ottawa didn't know about the Depression we just went through—10 years of nothing.*



1. a) What did the newspapers and posters urge Canadians to do for the war effort?  
b) What was this woman's reaction? Why do you think she reacted this way?
2. How does this quotation show that Canadians' attitudes to war in 1939 were different from attitudes in 1914 at the beginning of World War I?
3. Do you think all Canadians felt as this woman did? How would you have reacted to the declaration of war in 1939?

## Total War

While war was raging in Europe and the Pacific, important developments were taking place at home in Canada. By 1942, Canada was committed to a policy of "total war." As in World War I, **total war** meant that all industries, materials, and people were put to work for the war effort. The war affected everyone in Canada.

### Rationing

People were encouraged not to hoard (store away) food, and to stretch their sup-

*Rationing of goods was common during the war years. All necessary resources were directed toward the war effort.*



plies as far as they would go. Some goods became scarce because they were needed for the war. In 1942, the government set up the **Wartime Prices and Trade Board (WPTB)** to control prices and supervise the distribution of food and other scarce goods. Every man, woman, and child was issued a personal set of ration cards. **Ration cards** were needed to buy gasoline, butter, sugar, meat, tea, and coffee. Rationing means that the government limited the amount a person could buy, but it was also meant to ensure that everyone got a fair share of scarce goods.

Rubber tires, tubes, and antifreeze were very scarce. A family was limited to 545 litres of gasoline a year for its car. Some people simply put their cars up on blocks during the war. The government also set limits on the production of materials that were not considered essential to the war effort. Liquor and silk stockings, for example, became luxury items. Silk stockings were hard to find because the silk was needed to make parachutes. For most people in Canada, rationing caused little real hardship. Many had learned to live with shortages during the Depression. They also realized that they were lucky not to be in Europe where the real war was being fought, and where the hardship was much worse.

People tried to “do their bit.” In many kitchens, bacon fat and bones were saved to provide glycerine for explosives and glue for aircraft. People also gave up buying new aluminum pots and pans and new stoves so that more airplanes could be built. Children and teens became scrap gatherers. Scrap metal, rags, paper, rubber, foil, and wire coat hangers—anything that could be salvaged for the war effort was collected. Posters urged the whole family to help win the war.

As during World War I, people from many different ethnocultural and racial communities contributed to the war effort at home. They bought Victory Bonds and organized fund raising events. Chinese Canadians, for example, raised \$4 million in war relief funds and sent \$5 million to support the war effort in China. China and Canada were allies in the war against Japan. Many Polish scientists, engineers, technicians, and skilled workers who escaped their homeland after the Nazi invasion came to Canada. About 800 arrived between 1941 and 1942. Their expertise helped to change Canada’s industries to produce aircraft, armaments, and other war supplies. These are just two examples of communities that made contributions.

## Government and the Economy

In 1939, Canada was still in the grip of the Great Depression. Half a million people were unemployed and a million Canadians were still receiving social assistance. Six months after the war began, there was a labour *shortage* in Canada. World War II ended the Depression, provided Canadians with jobs, and brought an economic boom.

C. D. Howe, Minister of Munitions and Supply, quickly organized Canada’s war

economy. Twenty-eight Crown (government-owned) companies were created to produce everything from rubber to aircraft, explosives to uranium. Howe convinced a number of businesspeople and industrialists to work for his ministry for a dollar a year. They produced needed war supplies and became known as “Howe’s boys.” As Howe took more and more control over the Canadian economy, he became known as “Minister of Everything.” Howe transformed Canada’s economy, but he also had greater control over the lives of workers and businesspeople than any one person had ever had before.

Before the war, Canada was mainly a supplier of raw materials such as fish, wheat, and metal ores. During the war, Canada became an industrial power. Canadian munitions factories turned out bombs, shells, and bullets for small arms. Shipyards worked full blast building cargo ships, trawlers, mine sweepers, and landing craft. Shipbuilding became the second largest employer in the country. Aircraft manufacturers, such as De Havilland, produced everything from training planes to fighting craft.

In 1942, the government turned all automobile plants over to the production of war vehicles. The plants produced trucks, jeeps, Bren gun carriers, and artillery tractors. It has been calculated that half of the vehicles used by the British in the North African campaign were stamped “Made in Canada.” The Nazi general Rommel gave orders to his troops to capture Canadian-made jeeps because they did not get stuck in the sand as the German ones did. Other industries were also switched over to produce war materials.

All kinds of military vehicles, tanks, radar equipment, and penicillin were produced in large amounts. Steel output doubled, while aluminum production increased six times. Canadian farms and

*The Canadian Car and Foundry plant in Amherst, Nova Scotia, was converted to producing aircraft in 1942. Many Canadian plants were turned over to producing munitions and other supplies for the war.*



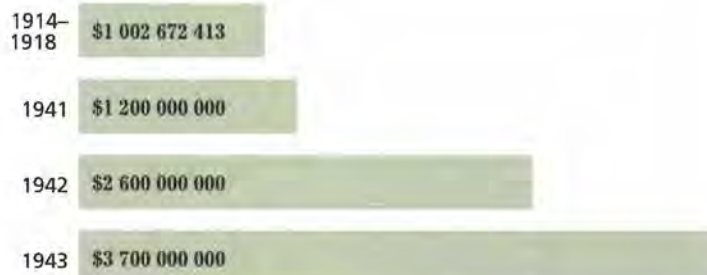
### Canada's Unemployment Rate

1939	11.4 %
1940	9.2
1941	4.4
1942	3.0
1943	1.7
1944	1.4
1945	1.6

Source: Dominion Bureau of Statistics.

fisheries provided astonishingly large amounts of wheat, flour, cheese, canned salmon, fish oil, bacon, ham, canned meat, and dried eggs for Britain and the Allies. Canadian industries also produced engines, synthetic rubber, electronic equipment, and other goods they had not manufactured before. Many of these industries remained an important part of the Canadian economy after the war.

### War Productions



### Other Government Actions

Government also took a greater role in providing social support, such as unemployment insurance, for Canadians. After 10 years of Depression and six years of war, many Canadians believed they should be ensured of a better life after the war. The war had clearly demonstrated the power of government action. The CCF also convinced

many Canadians that government action could improve the lives of Canadians.

In 1940, the government passed the Unemployment Insurance Act (today called employment insurance). Both workers and employers contributed money to the program. Now when they were unemployed, workers could collect insurance.

In 1944, the government introduced Family Allowance, and the first “baby bonus” cheques were mailed the following year. Mothers now had more funds to help take care of their children’s needs. Due to a wartime housing shortage, the government also helped reduce the cost of mortgages and built pre-fabricated homes in many cities. Many of these houses are still there today. Though they were meant to be temporary, they were very sturdily built. This greater role for government would continue for decades after the war.

## Canadian-American Relations

As the war progressed, Canada developed closer ties with the United States. Even before the outbreak of hostilities, President Roosevelt signalled his country’s interest in Canada. He declared at Kingston, Ontario, in 1938 that his nation “would not stand idly by if domination of Canadian soil [was] threatened by any other [than the British] empire.” Although Americans were neutral until 1941, much was done to assist Canada and Britain before the US entered the war.

- **1940 Ogdensburg Agreement.** This Agreement provided for a Canadian-American Permanent Joint Board on Defence. The Board aimed to improve the defence of both countries.
- **1941 Lend-Lease Act.** This Act made it easier for Britain to buy American military supplies while the United States was still neutral. It allowed the United

States to increase production of war materials and to send them to any country if it was in American interests to do so. Britain was also allowed to postpone payments on the goods.

- **1941 Hyde Park Agreement.** Since Britain could easily buy war materials from the United States after the Lend-Lease Act, Britain would buy less from Canada. The Hyde Park Agreement ensured that the United States would buy more war supplies from Canada. It also stated that Britain could buy Canadian war materials under the Lend-Lease Act and not have to pay upfront. With the Hyde Park Agreement, the war economy was clearly becoming more continental in scope.
- **1942-43 Alaska Highway.** To protect against Japanese attack, this project was financed and built almost entirely by Americans. The highway, however, crossed 2500 km of Canadian soil from Dawson Creek, British Columbia to Fairbanks, Alaska. This remote area of Canada almost became an American state during the construction period. A pipeline was also built.

Canadians and Americans also co-operated in military operations. In Italy, they created a joint elite commando force. When the war ended, Canada’s focus had permanently shifted away from Great Britain and closer to the United States.

## Camp X

There was another example of co-operation between British, Canadians, and Americans during the war—Camp X. From 1941 to 1944, **Camp X**, or Special Training School #103, was one of the most top-secret projects of the war. What seemed like a deserted farm on the shores of Lake Ontario near Oshawa was actually the first wartime spy training camp in North



### Netsurfer

For some first person accounts of the war at home and overseas visit <http://sites.netscape.net/appdad/ww2.html>



America. Its purpose was to train Allied agents in the techniques of secret warfare for the Special Operations Branch of the British Secret Intelligence Service. The Camp was also established to train Americans in the art of secret warfare. It opened just a few days after the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor. The site in southern Ontario was chosen for its easy access to the United States. The project is considered by some to be a forerunner of the US Central Intelligence Agency (CIA).

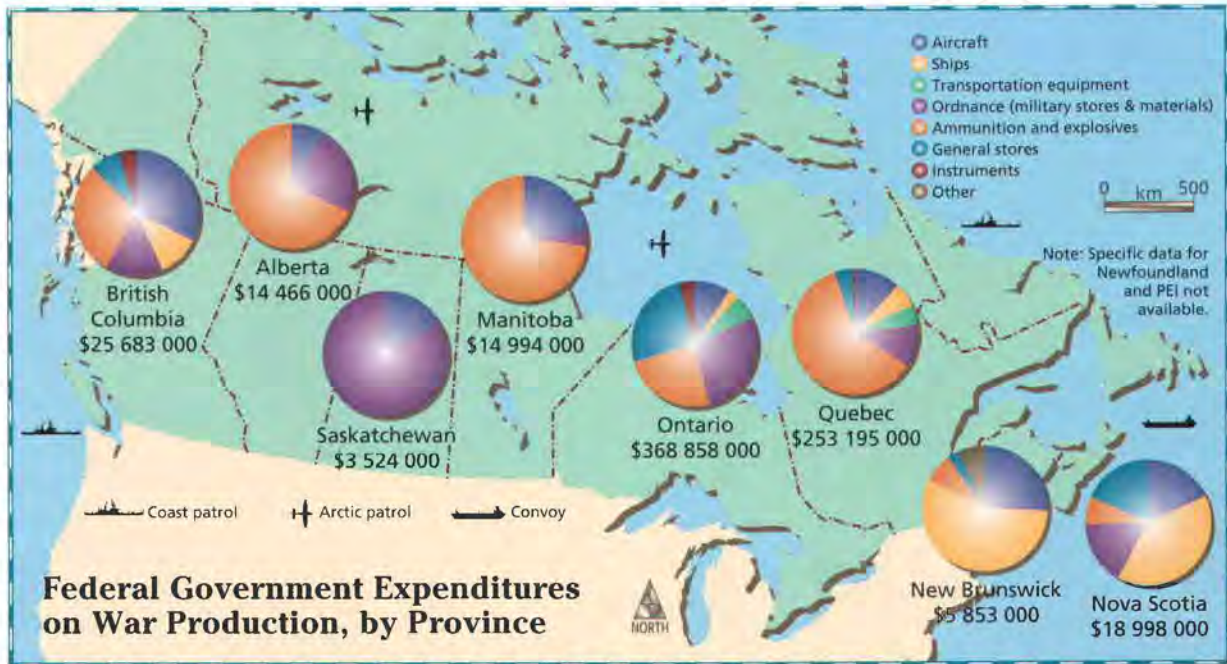
The Camp's director was a Canadian, William Stephenson (code name "Intrepid"). Though most of the training officers were British, many Canadians were recruited to work and train at Camp X. Britain, the United States, and Canada all used the Camp to train secret agents in undercover work. Some trainers included Iroquois (Haudenosaunee), who taught agents in the skills of hiding in forested areas and fields. The camp trained both



men and women. Among those trained at Camp X were

- secret agents and spies for enemy-occupied Europe. Technicians provided secret agents with false passports and other documents for use behind enemy lines. Costume experts produced European-style wartime clothing, eyeglasses, soap and toothpaste, and battered suitcases. In case of arrest or interrogation, everything an agent carried had to look right to enemy eyes.
- French-speaking Canadians for undercover work in France. These agents were parachuted into Nazi-occupied France to blend in with the local population. They trained French Resistance workers in the use of weapons and sabotage. They also set up important Resistance networks and helped to capture a number of Nazi collaborators.
- Yugoslav Canadians. These agents were sent into their occupied homeland, where they destroyed German railway tracks, trains, roads, and power lines. Their goal was to strike any blow they could at the Nazi war machine. When the agents cut telephone wires, they were trained to take the wire with them so that the lines could not easily be restored.

## The War Effort Across the Country



### British Columbia

The products of BC's forests and rivers were turned to the war effort. The entire 1942 salmon catch was shipped to Britain. Pacific ports vied with Atlantic ports in shipbuilding.

The Pacific Coast Militia Rangers was formed when Japan entered the war. Japanese forces took the Aleutian Islands off Alaska in 1942, but were later pushed out by a joint Canadian-American force. No further attacks were made on the West Coast.

### The Prairies

Industries on the Prairies were turning out guns, locomotives, ammunition, and uniforms. Farmers were harvesting bumper crops of wheat and producing new food goods such as pork, beef, dairy products, flax, and oil seeds to meet the demand. Many world-famous pilots of the RAF and the RCAF were trained on the Prairies.

### Ontario

Ontario's car and farm implement factories were manufacturing armoured vehicles, guns, and planes for the war. Many new plants were also established and were producing shells, explosives, and small arms.

### Quebec

Quebec produced 75 per cent of the asbestos used by the Allies during the war. The province was a new source of strategic war

metals and minerals. Aircraft, tanks, guns, shells, warships, and merchant vessels were produced in its industrial centres.

### Maritimes

Thirteen thousand vessels carrying 70 million tonnes of cargo sailed from Canada's eastern ports to Britain in 1943. Ninety-nine per cent of this tonnage reached Britain even though hundreds of ships were destroyed by German U-boats. Some U-boats made it up the St. Lawrence River.

Halifax was Canada's major shipping and naval centre during the war. Ships and soldiers from all parts of the Commonwealth stopped at Halifax. Convoys of ships set out with vital war materials across the Atlantic.

### Newfoundland and Labrador

During World War II, Newfoundland and Labrador were not part of Canada. The region was being run for a time by a British commission because of its financial problems during the Depression. However, large numbers of Newfoundlanders joined the Canadian or British forces. Important American and Allied air bases were located in Newfoundland and many Newfoundlanders worked on the bases to keep the planes flying. The Royal Navy bases on the island were crucial in the defence of the North Atlantic and in keeping the supply lines open. Many Newfoundlanders experienced at sea helped to keep the convoys of ships sailing to Britain.

- spy catchers for undercover work in Canada and the United States. Some agents at Camp X were instructed in how to look for subversive activities on the home front. They reported to the RCMP on possible Nazi or Japanese spies.
- espionage and intelligence gatherers. Some agents gathered intelligence in Central and South America. They intercepted, decoded, recoded, and then transmitted vital messages back to North America. Monitoring Nazi submarine radio signals helped to pinpoint the exact location of enemy submarines in the Atlantic. Historians credit this communications success with helping to win the Battle of the Atlantic.
- radio operators to transmit sensitive, top-secret information. At Camp X, there was a curious looking rectangular building with windows high above the ground. There was only one way in and

out. This building housed Hydra, the top-secret communications network. Giant antennae for receiving and sending radio messages were in the surrounding fields. Hydra acted as the clearing house for Top Priority information from Allied embassies around the world. Hundreds of amateur radio "ham" operators were recruited in Canada for jobs at Camp X. They had to be fluent in transmitting and receiving Morse code. Their work was so secret that workers at the camp never knew each other's last names.

Some military historians believe that the training done at Camp X helped to shorten the war and perhaps saved thousands of lives. For example, just before D-Day, the Germans tried to rush large numbers of reinforcements into Normandy when they realized the Allied invasion was coming there. All along the route, French-

*For these Vancouver students, the threat of the war was very real as Japanese submarines were sailing off Canada's West Coast. The students went through air raid drills and strapped on gas masks in preparation for a gas attack.*





Canadian saboteurs trained at Camp X were at work. They blew up bridges and railway lines, delaying the German advance. It took the German army three weeks to complete the repairs. By the time German reinforcements reached Normandy, it was too late to stop the Allied invasion.

## Conscription Again!

Conscription raised its ugly head again in World War II. Prime Minister Mackenzie King was determined that this time conscription would not tear the country apart as it had during World War I.

At the beginning of the war, Mackenzie King had promised that no one would be forced to fight overseas. The Liberals made this pledge primarily to French Canadians. They were determined to avoid the split between French and English Canadians that had occurred in 1917.

In 1940, the National Resources Mobilization Act required that all adult males register for national service, but only within Canada. No one would be forced to fight overseas. The Act drew some protest, especially from French Canadians who wanted no part of this European war or any form of conscription. Montreal Mayor Camillien Houde encouraged people not to register. The federal government suspended his mayoralty and he was interned for most of the war.

However, as the war went on and Hitler's forces scored major victories, the pressure to send more soldiers mounted. Prime Minister King found himself in a corner. Many English Canadians began to call for compulsory military service. Britain had introduced conscription from the start of the war. When the United States entered the war, it too brought in full conscription. Many Canadians whose relatives were voluntarily fighting overseas resent-

ed the fact that some Canadians were escaping wartime service.

In 1942, King decided to hold a plebiscite. In a **plebiscite**, all citizens have a direct vote on an issue of major national importance. Canadians were asked if they were in favour of releasing the government from its pledge that it would not introduce conscription for overseas service. Nine of the ten provinces answered with an overwhelming 80 per cent "Yes." But 72 per cent in the province of Quebec said "No." Some French Canadians threw their support behind the Bloc Populaire, a new political movement that was organized to fight conscription and defend provincial rights.

English Canadians were reassured by the vote. To satisfy French Canadians, Mackenzie King emphasized that conscription was not yet necessary. He promised that it would be introduced only as a last resort. His famous statement about the policy was purposefully vague. It could be taken favourably by either side. King said, "Not necessarily conscription, but conscription if necessary."



*How does this cartoon depict Prime Minister King's dilemma over conscription?*



### Netsurfer

For more on posters and propaganda during World War II, visit <http://web.arts.ubc.ca/history/ww2prop>

By 1944, the pressure to introduce conscription had increased even further. The army was desperately short of troops. Soldiers who had been wounded two or three times were being sent back to the front lines. King turned to Louis St. Laurent, the leading cabinet minister from Quebec. With St. Laurent's co-operation, the prime minister announced that a total of 16 000 conscripted soldiers would be sent overseas, but no more for the time being.

The motion to send 16 000 conscripts overseas passed in the House of Commons by a majority vote of 143 to 70. Only one minister from Quebec resigned from the cabinet. He protested that the government had broken its pledge to French

Canadians. There was some rioting in Quebec City and Montreal. However, the response from French Canadians was not nearly as violent as it had been in 1917.

Mackenzie King had won a victory for unity. Most French Canadians acknowledged that King had tried to prevent conscription. He had paid attention to French Canadian opinion. Although many French Canadians were unhappy about conscription, they gave Mackenzie King credit for doing his best.

Mackenzie King's conscription policy was probably one of his greatest political achievements. He had remembered and learned from the tragic experience of 1917. This time conscription did not tear apart the Liberal party or the country.



## Developing Skills: Analyzing Bias in Propaganda

### Historical Inquiry

Propaganda is the spreading of particular ideas and beliefs to influence people's thoughts and feelings, and to make them act in a particular way. During World War II, both sides used propaganda as part of their military strategy. It was often called "psychological warfare." For the people at home, propaganda was used to instill pride and confidence in the country, to inspire sacrifice, and to show the consequences of defeat. Propaganda also boosted military morale. It convinced soldiers that though they may have lost the battle, the war was being won.

In Canada, the Wartime Information Board was responsible for propaganda. Canadian institutions such as the CBC and the National Film Board (NFB) were active in producing propaganda for the Allied war effort. In fact, the NFB produced two award-winning series on the war effort, *Canada Carries On* and *The World in Action*. These played regularly in movie theatres across the country.

The propaganda generally appealed to people's emotions. Symbols, such as the flag, and

images of the family, the homeland, and the evil nature of the enemy were often used to influence people's behaviour. It was believed that a picture was worth a thousand words. Therefore, posters were a popular form of propaganda.

Wartime propaganda was aimed at four main targets: the enemy, the Allies, neutral countries, and the home front. For each of these targets, a specific message was emphasized.

The chart on the following page has six questions to ask when analyzing any examples of wartime propaganda. The answers are based on the sample poster.

Target	Message
The enemy	Eventual defeat
The Allies	Unity, loyalty, and victory
Neutral countries	The rightness of the cause countries
Home front	The need for effort and sacrifice to be victorious

## Sample Poster

(analyzed in chart below)



## Try It!

- Using the model, analyze the posters below.
- Think of examples of propaganda today. Who are the targets and what are the messages?
- Do you think propaganda should be used in wartime? Why or why not?
- In groups, make propaganda posters. Here are some target suggestions.
  - Allies—Britain or France
  - neutrals—the United States before 1941
  - the home front—the conscription issue



Question	Answer
1. Who is the intended <b>target</b> ?	men and women on the streets, therefore the target is the home front
2. Who is the <b>sender</b> of the message?	probably the government, who wants everyone on the home front to get this message
3. What is the <b>message</b> of the poster?	careless talk could be overheard by enemy spies and could end up costing the lives of our soldiers or civilians
4. What is the <b>purpose</b> of the poster?	to warn the general population to be very careful in any conversation because they may be giving away information to the enemy
5. <b>How</b> is the message <b>relayed</b> ?	the face of the dreaded enemy is skillfully drawn as a shadow on the wall with the thoughts of sabotage, and at the same time the viewer is reminded that the walls have ears
6. What is the <b>effect</b> of the poster?	clever, ominous; the conversation on the street seems harmless but the dominant image on the wall and several other small symbols contribute to the message that the walls have the ears of the enemy and careless talk can cost lives

Even comic books had a role to play in the propaganda effort. Restrictions on spending for non-essential foreign materials had dried up the supply of American comic books. Canadian artists and publishers filled the void with a new wave of Canadian action heroes.

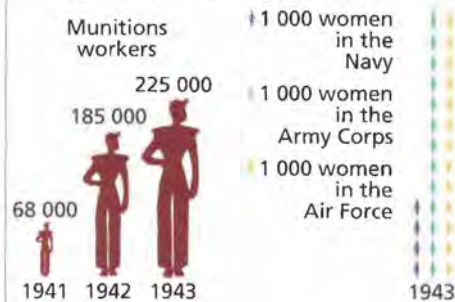


1. How is the enemy represented on this comic book cover?
2. How are the heroes depicted?
3. How effective do you think these comic books would be in influencing the ideas of young people during the war?
4. These Canadian comic books were no longer produced after wartime restrictions ended in 1945. A new wave of American comics flowed into Canada. What influence do you think American comic books have had on Canadian young people?

## New Roles for Women

In World War I, women had served as nurses behind the front lines and made a major contribution to the war industry at home. In World War II, they again did the same, but they also became an active part of the armed forces for the first time. Women pushed to be accepted into official military service. In 1941, the Canadian army, air force, and navy each created a women's division—the Canadian Women's Army Corps (CWAC), the Canadian Women's Auxiliary Air Force

### Women's Roles, 1941–1943



(CWAAF), and the Women's Royal Canadian Naval Service (WRCNS). By the end of the war, Canadian women in uniform numbered 50 000. Another 4500 women were in the medical services.

Women were not sent into front-line combat, but they did essential work behind the lines. Some worked as radio operators, guiding back planes and ships from battle missions. Others were mechanics, welders, armourers, or workers in armed forces headquarters. In first-aid posts and in hospitals in Europe and Britain, nurses and Red Cross workers treated the wounded and dying.

A woman who served near the front recalled her wartime experiences:

*I was a Red Cross worker. We had to do all we could to help. Some men were cheery, asking for a cigarette, joking. Some were in shock through loss of blood and just torn-up bodies, and some of these were the ones who were dying. You got to know. They had this look about them, a whiteness, a look in their eyes. Some would die while you sat beside them. One did once, a young boy from Ontario, and he died as I was reading the last letter he got from his mother. He let out this kind of sigh and his head fell down a bit and I knew he was gone. He had a lot of steel in his chest. I suppose he never had much of a chance.*

*It was a time when you could work twelve hours a day and another four if you wanted to, and you'd crawl into the tent just dead. The bombing didn't bother us. The shelling. Sometimes it sounded like thunder rolling across the lake, just like at home at the cottage.*

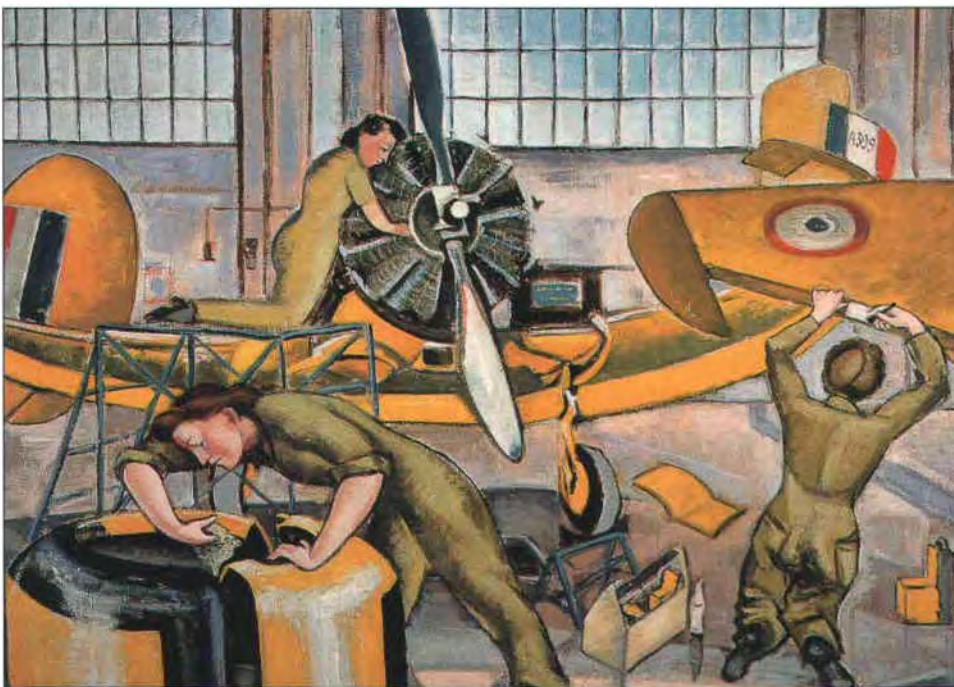
Women also played a vital role in war industries at home. The war once again proved that women could perform jobs in industries and services as well as men. In 1939, there were 638 000 women in the workforce in Canada. By 1944, there were 1 077 000. Traditionally, only unmarried women worked. But during World War II, it became patriotic for all women to help "fight Hitler at home."

Women in overalls and a bandana on posters everywhere became a symbol of service to Canada. By the thousands, women operated riveting machines in shipyards, welded parts in airplane factories, and worked on assembly lines in



**Private Roy; Canadian Women's Army Corps by Canadian war artist Molly Lamb Bobak. Women had new roles in the armed forces during World War II.**

munitions plants. In rural areas, they ran farms while men were away fighting. Jobs that had traditionally been done by men were now done effectively by women. These included work in lumber mills and as streetcar and bus drivers.



**This painting by Canadian artist Paraskeva Clark entitled Maintenance Jobs in the Hangar shows one aspect of women's contribution to the war effort and symbolizes a change in women's traditional roles.**

In Ontario and Quebec, the government established child care centres for women working in war industries. Married women were temporarily allowed to earn more money without their husbands having to pay higher income tax. Salaries for women rose significantly during this time. Women in the aircraft industry received an average weekly wage of \$31.00. This was more than double what women had earned before the war.

Many women who could not serve in uniform or work in war industries contributed as volunteers. They packed parcels for prisoners of war and knitted sweaters and socks for the fighting soldiers overseas. They worked in service clubs and canteens serving coffee and sandwiches to Canadians in uniform and Allied soldiers training in Canada.

In some ways, women's contributions to the labour force during World War II helped to expand the traditional roles of women in Canadian society. But for many women the new freedoms and opportunities were only temporary. Following the war, women often lost their jobs. Men returned from the war and were given their old jobs back. The tax breaks given to married women earning a wage were eliminated. The government-sponsored child care centres were discontinued. The women's service corps were disbanded. Women were expected to return to working at home or to traditional female occupations such as teaching, nursing, or domestic service.



### “Enemy Aliens”

One of the most significant events in the war at home was the internment of Japanese Canadians and other “enemy aliens.”

**The War Measures Act** gave the government sweeping powers to determine who was loyal and who was not. If you were

judged a security risk, you and your family could be sent away to an **internment camp**. Your property was disposed of. At the outset of the war, some German and Italian Canadians were rounded up for internment. Some refugees fleeing Nazi persecution, including Jews, found themselves interned as well. However, the most massive internment program involved Japanese Canadians on the West Coast.

### Internment of Japanese Canadians

Shock and anger gripped many Canadians when they heard that the Japanese had attacked Pearl Harbor. That same night the Royal Canadian Mounted Police swept through the Japanese community in British Columbia and began to make arrests. In the next few days, 38 Japanese Canadians judged to be “dangerous individuals” and “troublemakers” were rounded up.

In the months that followed, all Japanese nationals (people born in Japan but living in Canada) and Canadian citizens of Japanese descent were imprisoned under the War Measures Act. This act gave the Canadian cabinet the power to make any decisions during the emergency of wartime without debate in the House of Commons. Japanese were taken from their homes, packed into trains, and sent to internment camps in the interior of British Columbia. Some men were assigned to work on road construction in northern British Columbia and Ontario. Others were used as farm labourers in the sugar beet fields of Alberta and Manitoba. Men who resisted were separated from their families and sent to a prisoner-of-war camp in Angler, Ontario.

At first, only Japanese men without Canadian citizenship were held. But later it did not seem to matter whether the people were born in Japan or Canada. In fact,



*Japanese Canadians are rounded up and sent to internment camps.*

more than 14 000 were second-generation Japanese Canadians born in this country. Another 3000 were Japanese who had become Canadian citizens. It didn't seem to matter that 200 Japanese Canadians had fought in the Canadian army in World War I. Canada and Japan were at war, and all Japanese Canadians were considered to be potentially dangerous. One Japanese Canadian woman told how on the day the war broke out a man approached her on the street and spat in her face.

Most people of Japanese descent in Canada lived in British Columbia. The first Japanese immigrants had come to work on the railroads, in mines, and in lumber camps in the late 1800s and early 1900s. Later, they established permanent homes and businesses in Canada. Many owned small boats and fished for salmon along the British Columbia coast. Others worked in fish canneries or owned small plots of land where they grew fruit and vegetables for the Vancouver market. Others owned

shops, restaurants, and other small businesses. During their internment, their property was taken away and their businesses were ruined.

Japanese in the fishing industry were the first group to be evacuated. There were rumours that Canada would be attacked at any minute and that the Japanese were navy officers sent to spy on British Columbia waters. About 1200 fishing boats belonging to Japanese Canadians were seized by the Canadian government. Their owners were sent to the interior of British Columbia. One person remembered:

*To this day I don't know what they thought about these small fishing boats. They were our living. They were small boats made of wood. We had no radar, no radio, no echo sounder. Just tiny little vessels with their chuggy little motors and space for the fish we caught ... And they said we were charting the coast and waterways ... Why, we could go into*

*Vancouver any time and buy British Admiralty charts of every single kilometre of the coast. But try and convince people that we were not spies, that we were not spying ... But oh no, no way.*

The Canadian navy saw no further security problem once Japanese Canadians had been removed from the coast. Still, demands continued for the internment of all Japanese Canadians. People were nervous. Japanese forces had swept across the Pacific, occupying Indonesia, parts of China, the Philippines, Malaya, Burma, and Singapore. People feared British Columbia might be next. Feelings against Japanese Canadians ran high.

In February 1942, the Canadian government decided to move all Japanese Canadians away from the coast to inland centres. The government said there were two reasons for doing this: to prevent spying which could lead to an enemy invasion, and to protect Japanese Canadians from being harmed in anti-Japanese riots.

Most Japanese Canadians were sent on special trains to six ghost towns in the interior of British Columbia. They were allowed to take 68 kg of clothing, bedding, and cooking utensils for each adult. They were housed in crude huts. Two bedrooms and a kitchen had to be shared by two families. Until 1943, there was no electricity or running water. Living conditions were so bad that food packages from Japan were sent through the Red Cross to interned Canadians in British Columbia. In these remote communities, they were kept under constant surveillance by the RCMP. World War I veterans were paid to watch over the settlements and report anything out of the ordinary.

When Japan surrendered, the Canadian government considered sending all Japanese Canadians to Japan. This would have included many who had been born

in Canada and who had never been to Japan. The deportation never took place. A number of Canadian citizens protested that this would be dishonourable and unfair to the Japanese Canadians. However, about 4000 returned to Japan in 1946.

Those who remained in Canada did not have an easy time in the post-war years. Only a few went back to British Columbia. Instead, they spread out across the country. Citizens of Japanese descent were not given the right to vote in federal elections until June 1948. They did not have the right to vote in British Columbia elections until 1949.

After the war, many Japanese Canadians were bitter when they found out that their possessions had been sold, often at a fraction of their value. They had been told the government would hold their belongings in trust,

*When we left we had to turn over our property to the **Custodian of Enemy Property** for safekeeping. Now that meant to us that when the war business was over we'd get our property back.*

*It was a terrible shock when we learned that this safekeeping business meant nothing, that all of our stuff had been sold at auction. People would get a cheque or a credit saying so much was due to them, but there were some people who got no money at all. Now that wasn't right. That safekeeping thing caused a lot of bitterness. People would say, "That's all we had and now we've got nothing." It made a lot of people pretty mad. First they take us from our homes and stick us in a dump, and now this.*

One family's house sold for \$50.00 at a government auction, and its contents for \$8.50. One fishing boat sold for \$150, a fraction of what it was worth. Most people felt that they received from the govern-



ment between 5 and 10 per cent of the real value of their property and possessions.

In 1946, a **Japanese Property Claims Commission** was set up by the Canadian government. It was to review the claims of those who felt they had not been

treated fairly. Although in some cases additional money was made available, it never fully compensated for what had been lost. It was not until 1988 that the Canadian government formally apologized to Japanese Canadians and offered \$20 000 to every survivor of the internment.



## ArtsTalk



### Joy Kogawa

Joy Kogawa was six years old when her family was evacuated from their home in British Columbia and sent to an internment camp. She still has memories of the shack she and her family shared in Coaldale, Alberta. For years afterward while she was growing up, Joy Kogawa did not want to acknowledge her Japanese heritage. "In my conscious mind I did not identify with 'them': the 'other,' the 'slant-eyed,' 'the yellow peril,' ... They were the enemy and I was not them." Later, Joy Kogawa published books based on the Japanese experience in internment camps. These books include *Obasan*, *Naomi's Road*, and *Itsuka*. Her writing was influential in moving the Canadian government to formally apologize to Japanese Canadians and provide compensation for their treatment during World War II. Joy Kogawa has also been recognized with an Order of Canada.

#### WHAT DO I REMEMBER OF THE EVACUATION?

*What do I remember of the evacuation?  
I remember my father telling Tim and me  
About the mountains and the train  
And the excitement of going on a trip.  
What do I remember of the evacuation?  
I remember my mother wrapping  
A blanket around me and my  
Pretending to fall asleep so she would be happy  
Though I was so excited I couldn't sleep  
(I hear there were people herded  
Into the Hastings Park like cattle.  
Families were made to move in two hours  
Abandoning everything, leaving pets  
And possessions at gun point.  
I hear families were broken up  
Men were forced to work. I heard  
It whispered late at night  
That there was suffering) and*

*I missed my dolls.  
 What do I remember of the evacuation?  
 I remember Miss Foster and Miss Tucker  
 Who still live in Vancouver  
 And who did what they could  
 And loved the children and who gave me  
 A puzzle to play with on the train.  
 And I remember the mountains and I was  
 Six years old and I swear I saw a giant  
 Gulliver of Gulliver's Travels scanning the horizon  
 And when I told my mother she believed it too  
 And I remember how careful my parents were  
 Not to bruise us with bitterness  
 And I remember the puzzle of Lorraine Life  
 Who said "Don't insult me" when I  
 Proudly wrote my name in Japanese  
 And Tim flew the Union Jack  
 When the war was over but Lorraine  
 And her friends spat on us anyway  
 And I prayed to the God who loves  
 All the children in his sight  
 That I might be white.*

Source: Joy Kogawa, *A Choice of Dreams* (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1974), pp. 54-55.

1. Note three memories the little girl kept of the evacuation.
2. What is the meaning of the phrase "to bruise us with bitterness?"
3. Outline your personal reaction to the poem.
4. Can children ever forget difficult memories?

## **Effects of** **the War**

In 1939, Canada was unprepared for war. Nevertheless, the country made a vital contribution to the war effort. By 1945, Canada emerged with an important place in world affairs. Canada made a major contribution in people, munitions, food supplies, and raw materials. In 1939, Canada's

three military services had just over 10 000 people. By 1945, over 1 million Canadians had worn a uniform, and 50 000 were women. Fatal casualties numbered 22 964 for the army, 17 047 for the air force, and 1981 for the navy. In a nation with a population of just over 11 million at the end of the war, these figures represent a great loss.

In terms of war production, Canadians worked miracles. Starting from almost

nothing, Canadian plants turned out 800 000 motor vehicles, 16 000 aircraft, 900 000 rifles, 200 000 machine guns, 6500 tanks, over 400 cargo vessels, and nearly 500 escort vessels and mine sweepers.

### Economic Growth

As in World War I, Canada's economy was strengthened by the war. In 1939, Canada still suffered the effects of the Depression. Unemployment was widespread and the economy was just beginning to recover. By 1945, the Canadian economy was booming. The gross national production of goods tripled. Materials such as asbestos, aluminum, coal, manganese, chemicals, and paper all contributed to the war effort and Canada's industries expanded rapidly. The increased production of vital agricultural goods such as wheat, flour, bacon, ham, eggs, canned meat, and fish also contributed to the economic boom.

### International Status

On the world stage, Canada gained new status and recognition. It was clear the country could not retreat into the isolationist "fireproof" house it had dreamed of before 1939. Canada was prepared to accept new responsibilities in maintaining world peace. The nation became one of the founding members of the United Nations and was particularly active in its early years. In a very real sense, Canada grew up as a result of the war. The war had helped Canada establish its place as an important "**middle power**" among nations.

The liberation of the death camps also made clear what the refusal to accept Jewish refugees before the war had meant. Although slow to change, Canada eventually took in a higher percentage of Holocaust survivors relative to its population than any other nation. Canada was moving toward its role as a defender of human rights in the international arena. One Canadian, Edgar Bronfman, proved to be



*Prime Minister Mackenzie King sits with President Roosevelt of the United States, Prime Minister Churchill of Britain, and British envoy Athlone in Quebec. Canada emerged from World War II as a significant middle power.*

very effective in getting back the wealth that had been looted from the families of Holocaust victims. Canada also slowly evolved a more open policy toward refugees.

### Social Changes

The war increased the roles and expectations of women. Women still did not have equality with men, but they had gained more confidence in their goals. Canadians' attitudes to people of different racial and ethnocultural communities was tested during the war. Gradually, Canadians began to draw together to create a more open, multicultural society than they had ever envisaged before. French-English relations were strained, but not yet broken.

Before World War II, most politicians felt government should interfere as little as possible in the lives of its citizens. Little was done to ease the pain of Canadians during the 10 lost years of the Depression. However, the war had demonstrated the power of an active government in harnessing the might of the nation. Perhaps success on the battlefield could be extended to the political, economic, and social front. Certainly the post-war years were an era of increasing government involvement in social support for Canadians. The fabric of a welfare state was woven. Canada had been transformed by the war years.



## Activities

### Understand Facts and Concepts

1. Add these new terms to your *Factfile*.

total war	conscription plebiscite
Wartime Prices and Trade Board	War Measures Act
ration cards	internment camp
Ogdensburg Agreement	Custodian of Enemy Property
Lend-Lease Act	Japanese Property Claims Commission
Hyde Park Agreement	middle power
Camp X	
2. Describe how people and families at home contributed to the war effort.
3. Canada's accomplishments in turning its industries to wartime production during World War II has been called "an industrial miracle." Provide three points of evidence to support this statement.
4. Explain each of the following in a sentence.
  - a) why many English Canadians wanted to have compulsory military service during World War II.
  - b) why many French Canadians did not want to have compulsory military service during World War II.
  - c) why the Liberals did not want to introduce conscription.
  - d) what the plebiscite told the government.
  - e) what the government decided to do about conscription in 1944.
5. Describe the role of women in World War II.
6. Where were most people of Japanese descent living in Canada in 1941? What occupations did they hold? Describe what happened to them and their property after Japan bombed Pearl Harbor.

### Think and Communicate

- a) Rationing is often introduced in times of war or severe economic hardship. Make a list of the "luxury" items you would have to give up if Canada were at war. Do you think it would be easier or more difficult for you to give up these goods than it was for Canadians in World War II? Why or why not?
- b) Which household items do you think you would be able to reuse or recycle? Explain.
- c) If your family's food needs had to be reduced to a minimum, how much bread, milk, sugar, flour, apples, potatoes or rice, meat, and cereal do you think your family would need for one week? Create ration cards showing the minimum amounts. Explain your decisions.

8. Twice in the twentieth century the issue of conscription nearly tore the Canadian nation apart. Use an organizer like the one below to compare the two situations. Account for the different outcome in 1944.

Conscription Issue	World War I	World War II
Party that introduced conscription		
Reasons for introducing conscription		
Groups who supported conscription		
Groups who opposed conscription		
How the decision was reached		
Efforts to accommodate opposition of French Canadians		
Reaction in Quebec		
Effects of decision on national unity		

9. a) What were the effects of the war effort on women's roles in society?  
 b) How were these roles similar to or different from roles women played in World War I?  
 c) What changes came about at the end of the war? Did these changes improve or hinder women's struggle for equality?
10. Role play a meeting in which some or all of the following people discuss whether or not Japanese Canadians should be interned during World War II.
- Prime Minister Mackenzie King
  - an officer of the RCMP
  - a British Columbia politician
  - a Canadian-born leader of the Japanese community
  - a person with a son in a Japanese prisoner-of-war camp overseas
  - a citizen of British Columbia fearful of a Japanese attack

### Apply Your Knowledge

11. a) People said that Canada had developed as a nation by the end of World War II. What did they mean?  
 b) Are there any areas in which you think Canada still had some "growing up" to do? Explain.
12. a) During the war the government established a daycare program for children whose mothers were working in war industries. How important do you think this program was in getting women involved in the war effort?  
 b) Today, there are over a half million children under the age of six whose mothers work. What community services do you think should be offered to assist working mothers? Can society afford these services that allow women to work?  
 c) Are these services seen as important priorities in your community?





## UNIT 5

# CANADA IN THE POST-WAR ERA

## 1946-1969

**I**n 1946, Canadians were still celebrating the end of World War II. Important contributions to the war and a healthy economy were renewing Canada's self-confidence. Canadians were more prepared to get involved in international affairs and the problems of those less fortunate at home. As a middle power in world affairs, Canada worked for world peace and provided aid to less developed areas of the world.

But World War II was hardly over before the Cold War began. Canadians were faced with the threat of nuclear attack. Canada helped to form the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) and joined the United States in the North American Air Defence Command (NORAD).

Despite these concerns, the economy remained strong and became more industrialized. Couples could afford to have more children. The post-war years were the years of the baby boom. Canada also opened its doors to war refugees and an increasing number of immigrants. The 1950s and 1960s were a period of remarkable population growth.

In Quebec, a growing independence movement led to renewed tensions between that province and the rest of Canada. Canadians became increasingly concerned about American control of our economy and culture. People protested for peace, civil rights, women's liberation, and Aboriginal political and land rights.

1. In *Confedspread* (1967), what symbols does the artist Joyce Wieland use to celebrate Canada? In what specific ways does she use them?
2. What does the use of a quilt as the artform express about Canada?
3. What materials does Wieland use to make the quilt? Why do you think she chose these materials?



**1945** — Igor Gouzenko exposes spy ring

**1947** — General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade is reached

**1948** — Liberal Louis St. Laurent becomes prime minister

**1949** — NATO is formed  
Newfoundland and Labrador join Confederation



**1950** — Canadian troops serve in Korea

**1951** — Indian Act is revised

**1952** — CBC makes its first TV broadcast

**1956** — Canadian Labour Congress (CLC) is formed



**1957** — Lester B. Pearson receives Nobel Peace Prize

Canada Council is founded  
NORAD agreement is signed

**1958** — Diefenbaker wins landslide election

**1959** — St. Lawrence Seaway opens



**1960** — Quiet Revolution starts in Quebec  
Aboriginal peoples win the right to vote

**1961** — New Democratic Party (NDP) is formed

**1962** — Cuban Missile Crisis threatens world peace

**1963** — Lester Pearson becomes prime minister  
Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism is set up



**1965** — Canada unfurls its new flag  
Auto Pact is signed between Canada and the United States

**1967** — Canada celebrates its Centennial



**1968** — Pierre Trudeau is elected prime minister

**1969** — Official Languages Act is passed

## Strands & Topics

### Communities: Local, National, and Global



#### Canadian Identity

- Canada gets a new flag (1965) and celebrates its Centennial (1967)
- new immigrants add to Canada's growing cultural diversity and make important contributions
- artists and writers contribute to a distinctly Canadian identity
- Canada Council, Order of Canada, and Canadian Film Development Corporation are formed



#### External Forces Shaping Canada's Policies

- agreements such as GATT and Auto Pact contribute to globalization of the Canadian economy
- controversy continues over American influences on Canada's economy and culture
- Canada develops policies on immigration of war criminals and holds first war crimes trials



#### French-English Relations

- Quebec nationalism grows through the Quiet Revolution
- the separatist Parti Québécois is formed
- Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism urges equal partnership between French and English Canadians
- Official Languages Act is passed in 1969



#### War, Peace, and Security

- Gouzenko Affair reveals Soviet spy ring in Canada
- Canada plays role in Cold War and continental defence through NATO and NORAD



- Canada's armed forces contribute to UN peacekeeping

## Change and Continuity



### Population Patterns

- immigration levels increase
- urbanization continues with growth of suburbs
- baby boom occurs
- some Aboriginal communities are relocated



### Impact of Science and Technology

- television, nuclear power, and plastics change Canadian life



### Canada's International Status and Foreign Policy

- Canada contributes to United Nations through peacekeeping, help for war refugees, and other committees
- Canada takes leading role in developing Universal Declaration of Human Rights
- St. Lawrence Seaway and Auto Pact change Canada's relationship with the United States
- Canada gains further autonomy from Britain and establishes a new role in the Commonwealth

## Citizenship and Heritage



### Social and Political Movements

- women's movement and organized labour make strides
- Aboriginal peoples form National Indian Brotherhood and challenge White Paper on Aboriginal policy



### Contributions of Individuals

- Vanier family and John Humphrey take leading roles in advocating human rights
- Thérèse Casgrain and Rosemary Brown contribute to the women's movement
- Marshall McLuhan writes about new social and cultural realities
- leaders such as Harold Cardinal promote Aboriginal rights
- Lester Pearson wins Nobel Peace Prize

## Social, Economic, and Political Structures



### The Economy

- Canadian economy diversifies
- government introduces policies to deal with regional inequities
- Canadian industrialists contribute to economic development



### The Changing Role of Government

- new social support programs are introduced
- government organizes infrastructure projects and signs new economic treaties
- government promotes Canadian culture

## Methods of Historical Inquiry



### Skill Development

- making oral presentations
- interviewing
- interpreting data in tables

### Activities

- pp. 303–305, 331–333, 361–363

## Expectations

**At the end of this unit, you will be able to:**

- demonstrate an understanding of Canada's role in the Cold War
- recognize Canada's contributions to the United Nations
- analyze Canada's changing relationship with the United States and Britain
- identify the major groups that immigrated to Canada and their contributions
- explain the impact of the baby boom
- demonstrate an understanding of the post-war economic boom and globalization
- assess the contributions of social and political movements in the post-war years
- demonstrate an understanding of the Quiet Revolution in Quebec, the growing separatist movement, and the federal government response
- describe the impact of technological developments on Canadian life
- evaluate the role of government in promoting Canadian identity, economic development, and social support programs
- appreciate the contributions of individuals
- practise effective oral presentation skills
- demonstrate and apply interviewing skills
- effectively analyze statistics in tables

# Canada on the World Stage

## Soviet Spies in Ottawa!

On the evening of 5 September 1945, an international drama was unfolding in Ottawa. Igor Gouzenko was a young clerk in Ottawa's Soviet embassy. He wanted to break his ties with the Soviet Union and live permanently in Canada. But this would be very difficult. In 1945, the Soviet Union had a communist government that restricted the contacts its citizens could have with non-communist countries. The Soviet leader, Stalin, was becoming openly hostile to Western governments.

But Gouzenko was determined to defect to the side of the West. He decided to smuggle 109 top-secret documents out of the embassy under his shirt. His plan was to turn the secrets over to authorities in return for protection and a new life in Canada.

For 36 hours, no one took Gouzenko seriously. A member of Prime Minister King's staff even suggested that he return to the Soviet embassy and replace the documents.



By this time, Gouzenko was desperate. The theft had been discovered. Soviet embassy officials broke into Gouzenko's apartment. A neighbour called the Ottawa police and they arrived just as Gouzenko was being hustled away by Soviet officials. Finally, the RCMP were convinced that Gouzenko was telling the truth.

The documents Igor Gouzenko turned over contained shocking information. A massive spy ring was operating out of the Soviet embassy in Ottawa. The police discovered several Soviet agents working in Canada, the United States, and Britain. In Canada, the agents included high-ranking military officials, a Member of Parliament, and clerks in government offices. In the United States and Britain, the trail led to scientists who had worked on the first atomic bomb.

Fearing Soviet retaliation, the RCMP provided Gouzenko and his family with personal security. The family was given a new

identity and moved to Camp X, where they were under constant police protection. They remained there for a few years and then were moved again. Igor Gouzenko died in 1982.

1. Examine the photo. Why is Igor Gouzenko's face hidden?
2. Why was the Canadian government reluctant to believe Gouzenko at first?
3. Why might the Soviet Union want to plant spies in Canada?

## The Post-War World

Canadians were shocked by the news of the **Gouzenko Affair**. It was less than a month since the end of World War II. Now they were astounded to learn that the Soviet Union, a former wartime ally, had spies in Canada. But nations that are allies during a war often quarrel when the war is over. This was certainly true after World War II.

While the battles of World War II had ended in 1945, another type of “war”—the **Cold War**—was just beginning. Two new superpowers had emerged after World War II—the United States and the Soviet Union. Their large populations, massive wealth in land and resources, and great military might made them stronger than all other nations. They could be expected to compete for influence over defeated countries.

The term “Cold War” originally meant that the two opposing sides would try to defeat each other by any means short of actual fighting. This war would be fought through espionage (spying), propaganda, and political pressures, not guns. The United States and the Soviet Union never openly declared war on one another, but

they were involved in several conflicts around the world. Canada came to play a crucial role both in peacekeeping and in the new conflicts of the post-war era.

## Canada's Foreign Policy

The end of World War II marked an important turning point in Canada's relations with the world. The outbreak of the war had made it clear that Canada could not sit back in an isolationist “fireproof house.” It was impossible to be untouched by events in other parts of the world. Canada's strong economy also meant that it was one of the few nations that could help the war-shattered world. In the post-war years, Canada made important changes in its foreign policy, its action plan for dealing with other nations in the world. Canada set new directions in areas such as foreign aid, peacekeeping, immigration, and trade.

Obviously, Canada could not influence international affairs as much as the world powers—the United States, Soviet Union, Britain, France, and China. But neither was Canada a small, weak, or completely unimportant country. With its

*Both Mackenzie King (right) and his successor as prime minister, Louis St. Laurent, were determined that Canada should take a more active role in world affairs after World War II.*



abundant natural resources, new military might, size, and political stability, Canada was an important “middle power.” Prime Minister King was determined to use this power to the country’s advantage.

Canada’s foreign policy from 1945 to 1969 focused on these major areas:

- promoting world peace and awareness of human rights issues
- co-operating with the United States in continental defence through NATO and NORAD
- forming new global and continental economic agreements
- increasing foreign aid to less developed nations, through United Nations agencies and the Commonwealth
- extending Canada’s autonomy within the Commonwealth
- further defining relations with the United States.

## Formation of the United Nations

Even before the war ended—while the Soviet Union was still an ally—plans were begun for peace. The Allies agreed that the old League of Nations formed after World War I had to be replaced. It had failed to prevent another world war. A new organization was needed, with real power. President Roosevelt of the United States, Prime Minister Churchill of Britain, and General Secretary Stalin of the Soviet Union were determined to set up an international organization that could settle differences among nations before they led to war.

From April to June 1945, representatives of 50 nations, including Canada, met at San Francisco. They signed a charter that established the **United Nations (UN)**. The opening words of the charter read: “We, the



*Lester Pearson, as Canadian ambassador to the United Nations, signed all UN agreements for Canada.*

peoples of the United Nations, determined to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war, which twice in our lifetimes has brought untold sorrow . . . do hereby establish an international organization to be known as the United Nations.”

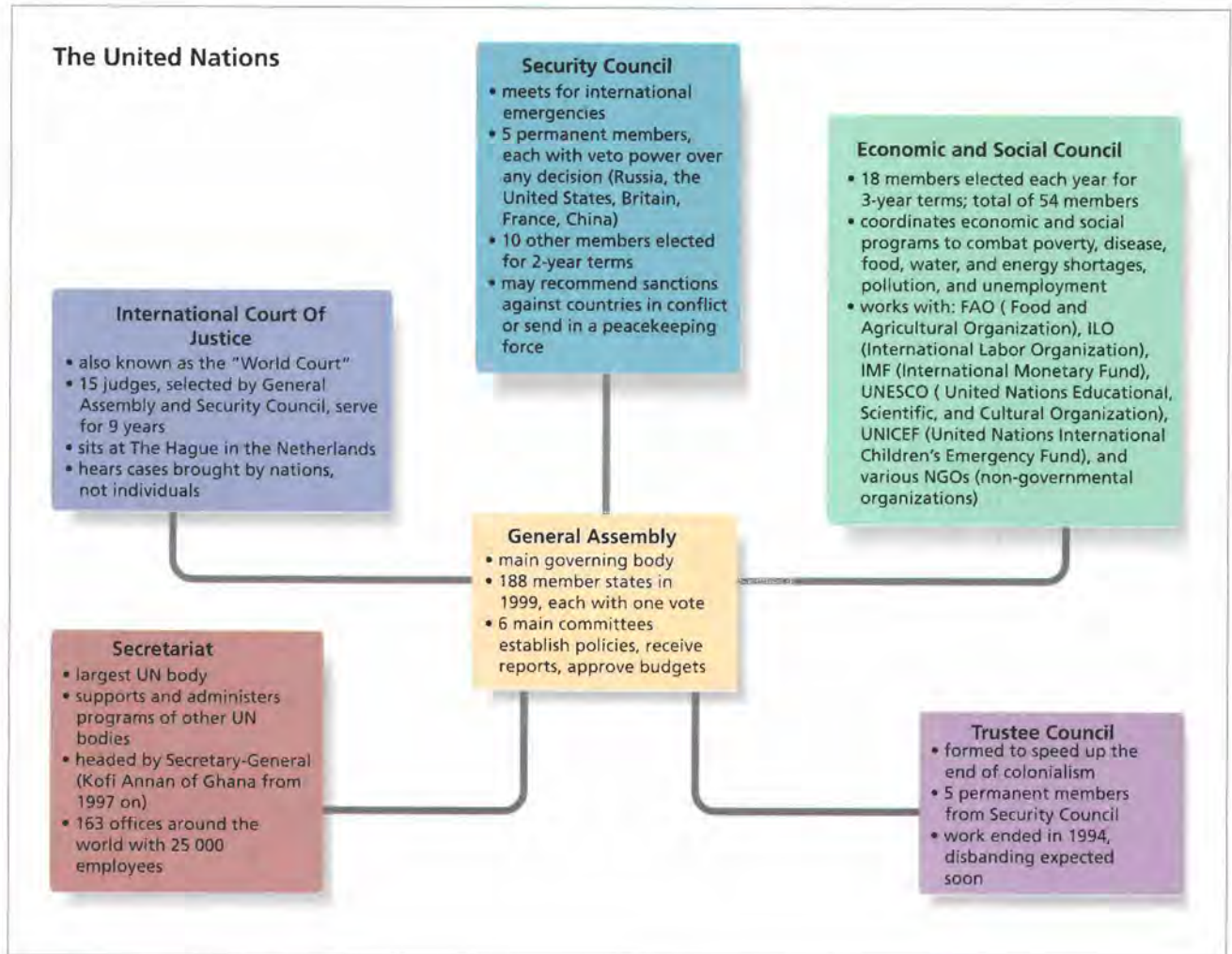
The charter stated that the UN's aims were:

- to band together to avoid war (collective security)
- to encourage co-operation among nations
- to defend human rights
- to improve living conditions for people around the world.

Canada strongly supported the United Nations and the idea of collective security. Two world wars had emphasized the need for nations to stand together against aggression. By signing the charter, Canada offered money and support for world peace.

The major nations were anxious that the United Nations should succeed. The old League of Nations had used sanctions (economic and political penalties) to try to stop countries from fighting. That policy had not worked, so it was agreed that the United Nations should have an army made up of troops from member countries. Sometimes the UN forces would be posted between enemy sides to keep peace. At other times, soldiers would work as observers.

The League of Nations had also been weak because some important countries, such as the United States, had not joined. President Roosevelt was determined that the United States would be a full member of the UN. The permanent headquarters of the organization was built in New York City. All the major powers in 1945 had a key role in the United Nations. Since that time, other nations have also joined.



### Canada's Role

Canada's participation in the UN has been wide-ranging. Lester Pearson served as president of the General Assembly from 1952 to 1953. Canada has served a record six terms on the Security Council, first in 1948-1949 and most recently in 1999-2000.

Canada also played an important role in forming the Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO). At a conference in 1943, Lester Pearson helped delegates reach a compromise when disagreements arose over the economics of providing food needs. He was a role model in how to mediate conflicts and create a long-term

vision. Pearson proposed the need for a conference Declaration, and he helped to write it. It began:

*This Conference, meeting in the midst of the greatest war ever waged, and in full confidence of victory, has considered world problems of food and agriculture and declares its belief that the goal of freedom from want of food, suitable and adequate for the health and strength of all peoples, can be achieved.*

Pearson became Chairman of the interim commission that, over the next

two years, developed the FAO as the UN's first permanent agency. At its first session in Quebec, chaired by Pearson, 39 nations became members and began the work Pearson helped envision: raising levels of nutrition, improving food production, and bettering conditions for rural populations.

In 1944, Canada provided the permanent headquarters of the International Civil Aviation Organization (ICAO) in Montreal. Canadian R. M. MacDonnell was the ICAO's third Secretary General from 1959 to 1964. Another Canadian, Dr. Brock Chisholm, became the first director of the World Health Organization (WHO) in 1948. Throughout the UN's history, Canada has also supported the United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund (UNICEF) through programs such as fundraising by school children.

## War Refugees

In addition to keeping peace, the United Nations set out to help war refugees. The situation in war-torn Europe was desperate. About 20 million people were without a home. Families were walking the streets carrying everything they owned tied up in bundles. Some of these refugees had left their homes to avoid the fighting; others had left to escape the Nazis. Many people simply didn't have a home any more. Millions of houses had been damaged or destroyed during the war.

Even before the war was over, the UN Relief and Rehabilitation Administration worked to help resettle and provide relief for millions of Europeans. Forty nations co-operated in the effort. Canada played a major role. Lester Pearson was chair of the Supplies Committee and toured many refugee camps.

One woman described her experience in a refugee camp in 1945:

*We were put in a camp, a refugee camp. It was fine there. We had pillows, blankets, food, and clothes. There was a cupboard there, toothpaste, and a toothbrush! My God, we hadn't seen one for years. Or soap. We got packets from the Red Cross. I always give something now to the Red Cross when people are collecting. No more lice. I was free!*

At the end of the war in 1945, another group of refugees needed assistance. During the war, the Soviet army had poured into eastern Europe. People had fled their homelands to escape the Soviet troops. The Soviet Union demanded that the refugees be returned to their homelands, but many did not want to live under a communist government.

The UN established the International Refugee Organization (IRO) in 1946. The IRO and the Red Cross took over old military barracks and prisoner-of-war camps to provide shelter for the refugees. Some Jewish refugees did not want to return to their former towns and villages. Many chose to go to the state of Israel when it was founded in 1948. Canada provided funds (approximately \$18 million) to the IRO, and many Canadians worked in the program.



### Netsurfer

Visit the official site of the United Nations at <http://www.un.org>. For a more Canadian perspective on the UN, go to the site of the United Nations Association of Canada at <http://www.unac.org>.

***A family huddles on the street in Warsaw, Poland, after the war. Many people were homeless and famine-stricken.***



## SPOTLIGHT ON...

### The Vaniers

The Vanier family played an important role in supporting humanitarian causes after World War II. Georges Vanier was a young Montreal lawyer when he enlisted in World War I. He was a founding officer of the Vingt-deuxième Regiment (the famous “Vandoos”) and later became its commanding officer. For his services in the war, during which he lost a leg, he was awarded the Military Cross and the Distinguished Service Order (DSO).

After the war, Vanier became a member of the Canadian diplomatic corps. He represented Canada at the League of Nations. As World War II loomed on the horizon in 1939, he was serving as Canada’s minister to France. He and his wife Pauline (née Archer) escaped to England as the Germans marched into Paris.

Georges and Pauline Vanier shared a common conviction—they were determined to work for disadvantaged people and support humanitarian causes. In England, they provided comfort to French refugees who were in hospitals. When they returned to Canada in 1941, they tried in vain to convince the government to relax immigration regulations and accept Europeans, particularly Jews, as refugees of war and Nazi oppression.

In 1944, Georges Vanier returned to France as ambassador. The following year, he toured the newly liberated Buchenwald Nazi death camp. This experience intensified his attempts to change Canada’s immigration policy. He said on a CBC broadcast, “How deaf we were then to cruelty and the cries of pain which came to our ears, grim forerunners of the mass torture and murder which



were to follow.” The Vaniers, together with other groups, were able to get the immigration rules relaxed. Between 1947 and 1952, Canada accepted 186 000 refugees.

In 1959, Georges Vanier was made the first French-Canadian Governor General. These were challenging years for Canada, especially with the growing separatist movement in Quebec. Georges and Pauline continued to take a special interest in Canada’s families, working for youth and the poor. Georges died in 1967 at the age of 79, and Pauline in 1991 at the age of 93.

The Vaniers’ son, Jean, has continued the humanitarian work of his parents. After serving in the British and Canadian navies from 1945 to 1950, he became a theological scholar and teacher in France. In 1964, he set up his first co-operative self-help community. Its aim was to integrate people with mental disabilities into society and help them lead productive lives. He called the home *l’Arche* (“the ark”). There are now dozens of similar homes throughout the world, including several in Canada, the US, India, and Africa. In 1987, Jean Vanier was named Companion of the Order of Canada.

1. Describe what the fate of thousands of war refugees might have been without Georges and Pauline Vanier’s influence.
2. What experiences in life do you think help to make people like the Vaniers devote so much energy and time to humanitarian causes?



### Refugees to Canada, 1956-1980

Year	Approximate Number	Country of Origin
1956-57	38 000	Hungary (following a revolution against Soviet control over the government)
1968-69	13 000	Czechoslovakia (following the Soviet invasion)
1970	228	Tibetans (following the occupation by the army of Communist China)
1972-73	5 600	Ugandan Asians (fleeing persecution by Idi Amin's government)
1976	4 500	Chileans (fleeing a military dictatorship)
1978-80	50 000	Vietnamese ("Boat people" fleeing the communist government)

Most countries in the world put a limit on the number of refugees they would accept. Often elderly or sick people were not admitted. Many families had to decide whether to stay in a refugee camp as a family, or to leave behind a sick or elderly grandparent. The UN had resettled around one million refugees by 1952, and shut down the IRO. The office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) took its place.

In November of 1946, Prime Minister King brought in emergency measures to allow some European refugees to come to Canada. Between 1947 and 1952, Canada accepted more than 186 000 war refugees. This was a major change in Canada's immigration policy. Just before the war, Canada had turned away Jewish refugees fleeing Nazi persecution. In 1945, the world was slowly becoming aware of the

horrors in the Nazi death camps. This realization, continued pressure from humanitarian and ethnocultural groups in Canada, and a shortage of labour prompted the government to change its policy. Throughout the 1950s and 1960s, Canada continued to accept refugees from countries where people faced revolution, civil war, or persecution.



### Human Rights

The United Nations also took a leading role in the cause of human rights. Again, a Canadian played an important part. In 1946 a Montreal lawyer, John Humphrey, set up the Human Rights Division of the UN Secretariat and became its first director. With the help of others, he wrote a first draft of a **Universal Declaration of Human Rights**. He also guided the

## FAST FORWARD

Since the 1950s, Canada has accepted more refugees per capita than any other country. In 1986, Canada was awarded the Nansen medal by the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) for its willingness to accept so many of the world's refugees.

development of the final version, which was adopted in 1948. It was a groundbreaking document. Even more remarkable was its appearance in the early days of the Cold War. An atmosphere of tension, suspicion, and hostility was steadily building around the world.

The Declaration was also in part a response to the Holocaust. The violations of human rights by the Nazi regime were among the most horrific people had ever seen (although the full horror was only beginning to be realized). In Canada, Jewish leaders spoke out strongly on the issue. Rabbi Abraham Feinberg declared at a mass rally in 1945: "I am here on behalf of 6 million Jews who were slaughtered . . . for no reason other than being Jews. . . . The ghost of Hitler still walks in Canada."

Before the war, human rights had been a domestic issue—each country was responsible for its own standards, and one country would not interfere with the human rights affairs of another. The Holocaust convinced many that this was no longer an acceptable policy. It was time to agree on what rights were fundamental to all people. Put simply, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights states:

- Human rights for all are the basis for freedom, justice, and peace.
- The denial of human rights has led to horrific events. A world where humans enjoy freedom of speech and belief, and freedom from fear, is the greatest goal.
- Human rights have to be protected by law.
- Friendly relations between nations must be promoted.
- Equal rights for men and women must be achieved to gain a better life with freedom for all.
- To achieve respect for human rights and freedoms, there must be an understanding of what these rights and freedoms mean.

John Humphrey served more than 20 years at the UN. In 1966, he went back to his former position at the law faculty of McGill University, and continued working on human rights issues. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights he created has been used worldwide as a model for human rights statements, including the Bills of Rights of Canada and Ontario.

*John Humphrey, as chairman of the Commission on Human Rights, with American representative Eleanor Roosevelt.*



## War Criminals

In 1945 and 1946, former Nazi leaders, indicted as war criminals by the International Military Tribunal, were tried in Nuremberg, Germany. Canada was not one of the four nations involved in these events. (They were: the US, Britain, the Soviet Union, and France.) Canada did, however, hold its own war crime trials in Germany at this time. In its first trial, in 1945, the Canadian Army prosecuted Kurt Meyer, a major-general in the military wing of the SS. Soldiers under Meyer's command had shot and killed Canadian prisoners of war in Normandy in 1944. Meyer was held responsible for his men's actions. It was suspected that he had at least indirectly ordered the shootings.

The trial posed several legal problems. First, there was no law that specifically covered war crimes. Second, Meyer was judged by a five-member panel of Canadian army officers. There were questions about whether the jury was unbiased. The members of the jury had been Meyer's enemies during the war. Third, Meyer's lawyer was also a Canadian army officer. Some argued he did not present a vigorous defence of his client. Meyer was found guilty of several charges and sentenced to death.

Afterward, because of the questions about whether Meyer had received a fair trial, the Commander of the Canadian Army Occupation Forces changed the sentence to life in prison. The Canadian public was outraged, but the sentence was not changed. Six other war crimes trials were held in 1946. All of the defendants were accused of murdering members of the Royal Canadian Air Force. They were all found guilty, and four were executed by firing squad.

In 1947, Canada's investigations of war crimes all but stopped. The government withdrew its military personnel from Europe and handed its war crimes cases over to the British army. One year later, Britain also decided to stop prosecuting war crimes. There was a feeling that the trials were too grim a reminder of the war. While no one wanted to repeat past mistakes, dwelling on them was judged wrong. Also, with the Cold War emerging, there was a different enemy now. Some people believe Britain wanted to appease West Germany by turning a blind eye to former Nazi war crimes. Canada was informed of Britain's decision to end the prosecutions, and made no comment about it.

Although the Canadian government had stopped pursuing war criminals, it certainly did not want them living in Canada. But keeping them out of the country



*A Canadian military court put Kurt Meyer on trial in Aurich, Germany. Why was this trial controversial?*

was not an easy task. Immigration officials could not check on European DPs (displaced persons), whose records were lost or in the hands of newly set-up communist governments. Canada was also desperate for farm and forestry workers, so immigration teams were reluctant to turn away applicants. Only known communists were guaranteed rejection.

Canada's stance against communism was so strong that some people accused the government of sympathizing with the Nazis. For example, 2000 Ukrainian soldiers who fought as part of an SS division were admitted into Canada. The points in their favour included the fact that they had fought against only Soviet forces, not against the other Allies. There was no proof that they had committed war crimes. If they were not allowed safe haven in the West, they would be punished by the Soviets for supporting the Nazis. So, in spite of vigorous protests from Canadian Jews, the Ukrainians were admitted into Canada.

Another controversial group were Slovakian exiles. They had supported a pro-Nazi regime in Austria after the war. But they were fervently anti-communist, and so were viewed positively. It is also possible that some immigrants who had once collaborated with the Nazis were planted

as spies in Canada by US and British intelligence agencies. Their work as anti-communist agents made them useful "soldiers" in the Cold War.

How far did the Cold War dictate Canada's immigration decisions at this time? It is difficult to say. The old immigration records have been destroyed. Officially, Canada's immigration policy changed as follows.

*1949* Canada did not allow past members of the Nazi party, the German armed forces, and collaborators to immigrate.

*1950* Restrictions against Nazi party members were withdrawn.

*1951, 1953* Restrictions were further relaxed.

*1962* All 1949 restrictions were withdrawn.

The issue of just how many war criminals came to Canada, and what the government should do about them, would become hotly debated in later years (see Chapter 19).

## Canada and the Cold War

In the years following World War II, tensions in the Cold War "heated up." During World War II, the Soviet army had occupied countries of eastern Europe. The Soviet leader, Stalin, refused to withdraw Soviet troops from these countries after Hitler had been defeated. The nations of eastern Europe became Soviet "satellite states." A communist government was set up in each country that Stalin controlled. Soviet advisers moved in. Anti-communists were sent to labour camps. Stalin was creating a buffer zone to protect the Soviet Union. He was determined that it would never again be attacked from the west.

The Soviet satellite nations were sealed off from contact with non-commu-

nist countries. Travel was restricted and trade was cut off. Even news from outside was not allowed to enter these countries. Other nations watched as eastern Europe became communist. Fear grew in Canada, the United States, and western Europe that communism would take over the world, just as Hitler and the Nazis had tried to do.

There were fundamental differences between the communist government of the Soviet Union and the democratic governments of Canada, the United States, and other Western nations. In the communist Soviet Union, the government controlled most of the property and businesses. It also controlled the individual freedoms of the people, including where they lived, worked, and travelled. Individual freedoms were considered secondary to the needs of the state and the people as a whole. In democratic governments, on the other hand, property and businesses were mainly owned by private individuals and groups. Basic individual rights and freedoms were set out in the countries' constitutions. The democratic nations of the West, including Canada, did not want to lose these basic rights in a communist takeover.

In 1946, British Prime Minister Churchill gave a speech in the United States. Referring to Europe, he told Americans that "an **iron curtain** has descended across the continent." On one side were the democratic countries of western Europe. On the other side were the communist countries controlled by Stalin. Of course, there was no real iron curtain. But there were minefields to stop people fleeing to the West. There were armed soldiers ready to shoot anyone attempting to escape.

## Canada and NATO

The year 1948 was a crucial one in the Cold War. The Soviet Union first tried to

take control of the city of Berlin. Then, Soviet troops moved into position to seize control of Czechoslovakia. Mackenzie King stated his view of the Soviet threat:

*So long as communism remains a menace to the free world, it is vital to the defence of freedom to maintain a preponderance of military strength on the side of freedom, and to ensure that degree of unity among nations which will ensure that they cannot be defeated and destroyed one by one.*

In 1949, the Soviet Union also exploded its first atomic bomb. The United States, Canada, and other Western powers viewed this development with alarm. The atomic bomb was a weapon of mass destruction. The Cold War was no longer just a struggle over power and influence, it now involved a frightening arms race. It was possible that Soviet spies in Canada had obtained

secret information about making the atomic bomb from atomic energy research at Montreal. Some new defence measures had to be taken. Furthermore, many nations had lost faith that the United Nations was in a position to guarantee world peace because of the lack of cooperation on the Security Council.

In 1947 Escott Reid, a Canadian Department of External Affairs officer, first publicly spoke about an Atlantic defence alliance. Canada's Prime Minister Louis St. Laurent, who became Canada's leader after Mackenzie King's retirement in 1948, was also a strong supporter of such an alliance. St. Laurent realized that the weakness of the United Nations was that it had no permanent armed force of its own. The United Nations was not able to defend Canada against a possible Soviet threat. St. Laurent said in the House of Commons, "We are fully aware of the inadequacy of the United Nations at the present moment



*By 1955, Europe was divided into two hostile camps—the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) and Warsaw Pact nations.*

to provide the nations of the world with the security which they require.”

On 4 April 1949, the **North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)** was formed. Twelve nations signed the treaty. They were Canada, Belgium, Britain, Denmark, France, Iceland, Italy, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Norway, Portugal, and the United States. By 1955, these countries had been joined by Greece, Turkey, and West Germany. From the beginning, Canada had wanted the alliance to expand into other areas such as economic and social co-operation. This was put into a clause and became known as the “Canadian article,” but it was never put into practice.

The NATO alliance committed its members to collective security. All members promised to defend each other in the event of an attack. It was hoped that the combined strength of the NATO alliance would discourage the Soviet Union from taking any hostile action against NATO members. Canada sent 6500 troops and 12

fighter squadrons to stations in western Europe.

The Soviet Union responded in 1955 by forming its own military alliance, the Warsaw Pact. Its members were the Soviet Union, Albania, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, East Germany, Hungary, Poland, and Romania. Thus in 1955, just 10 years after World War II, Europe was once again divided into two hostile camps—the NATO and Warsaw Pact countries.



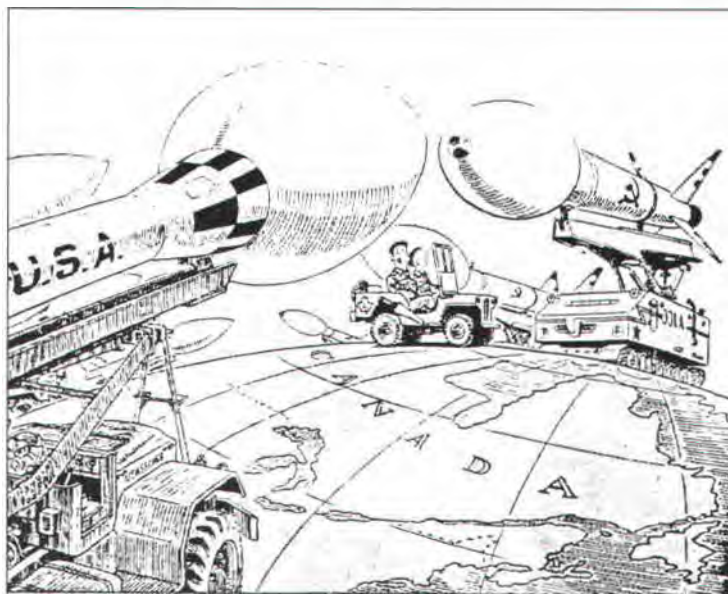
## Canada and NORAD

By the mid-1950s, both the United States and the Soviet Union had nuclear missiles. Atomic bombs had been followed in the 1950s by hydrogen bombs (H-bombs). The United States exploded its first hydrogen bomb in 1952. The Soviet Union exploded its H-bomb in 1953. Hydrogen bombs were 40 times more powerful than the atomic bomb dropped on Hiroshima. The nuclear warheads were capable of wiping out a large city.

Canada was in a crucial position, located between the Soviet Union and the United States. Missiles fired at the United States would probably come across the North Pole. They could reach their targets in a matter of hours. A means of early detection had to be found. Suddenly, the Canadian Arctic became of immense strategic importance. Canada seemed to have little choice but to become involved in an even closer military alliance with the United States.

Three chains of radar stations were built to detect an air invasion of North America. The Pinetree Radar System was built along the Canadian-American border. The Mid-Canada line ran along the 55°N parallel, and the Distant Early Warning Line (**DEW Line**) was situated along the Arctic coastline. Ships and aircraft pro-

*What view does this cartoon present of Canada's position in the nuclear arms race?*



**Drop in the Bucket**

“Doesn't it seem kind of academic to be debating whether we should have nuclear weapons?”

vided radar surveillance on both the Atlantic and Pacific coasts.

This defence co-operation between Canada and the United States increased in 1957 when the **North American Air Defence Command (NORAD)** was set up. NORAD brought the air defence of the two countries under a fully-integrated joint command. The commander was an American; the deputy-commander was a Canadian.

The main operation centre for NORAD was built deep within the Cheyenne Mountain in Colorado. A NORAD centre was also constructed at North Bay, Ontario. If there was a nuclear attack, the defence of North America would be directed from NORAD headquarters. From there, nuclear missiles could be fired against the Soviet Union. It was hoped that the NORAD defences would stop the Soviet Union from striking at North America.



## IMPACT ON SOCIETY

### THE DEBATE OVER NUCLEAR WARHEADS

After the NORAD agreement, the United States moved to station 56 Bomarc-B anti-aircraft missiles at Canadian NORAD sites. The missiles were equipped with nuclear warheads. In 1960, when Canadians became aware that there were nuclear warheads in the country, there was an uproar. Should Canada adopt nuclear weapons? Was this a result of United States' domination of Canadian defence policy?

Both the Canadian and American governments had to agree to put the armed forces on any alert, but the NORAD forces were clearly under an American commander. The atmosphere became even more tense when federal Civil Defence authorities distributed pamphlets with plans for making underground shelters. These shelters were to protect people from nuclear fallout. While experts debated on whether these shelters would serve any purpose, about 2400 were built in Toronto alone, at a cost of about \$4000 each.

Anti-nuclear protesters, convinced that the arms build-up would not stop the Soviets from attacking the West, demonstrated across the country. People understood that a nuclear war could mean complete and utter destruction.

The controversy over nuclear weapons in Canada led John Diefenbaker, who had become prime



*A Civil Defence fallout shelter is inspected by Metro Chairman Fred Gardiner in Toronto in 1960. Canadians took the threat of nuclear war very seriously.*

minister in 1957, to refuse nuclear warheads for the Bomarc missiles. He felt that arming the Bomarcs with nuclear warheads would set back the hopes for nuclear disarmament in the world. He preferred storing nuclear warheads south of the border until they were needed. His opponents argued that Bomarc missiles without nuclear warheads were useless.

The question became critical during the **Cuban Missile Crisis** in 1962, when the world came dan-

gerously close to nuclear war. Cuba was a communist country. The Soviet Union had installed missiles in Cuba. From the Cuban launch sites, missiles could attack most major American and Canadian cities. The United States demanded the Soviet missiles be removed. It blockaded the shipment of Soviet military equipment to Cuba.

The United States asked Canada, as its defence partner, to put all Canadian forces on alert. War was the next step. Canada hesitated to put its forces on alert, causing a deep rift between the American and Canadian governments. Canada's Bomarc missiles were still not armed with nuclear warheads.

Diefenbaker accused the United States of pressuring Canada. He also accused Liberal leader Pearson of flip-flopping on the issue of nuclear arms. Pearson had opposed nuclear missiles in Canada, but in 1963 decided that Canada had an obligation to accept them. After Pearson was elected as prime



*What does this cartoon suggest about the nuclear missile issue in Canada in the early 1960s?*

minister in 1963, the Bomarc missiles were armed with nuclear warheads. The issue highlighted the controversy in Canada over fears of nuclear attack on the one hand, and the desire for a strong anti-nuclear policy on the other.

1. Do you think Canada should have accepted the nuclear warheads?
2. How would you have reacted to the Cuban missile crisis if you were living in Canada in 1962?
3. Do we face the same threat of a World War III, even more destructive than World Wars I and II today?

## Canada and Peacekeeping

While Canada and the US became increasingly concerned about defence in North America, conflicts were taking place in other parts of the world. The Cold War led to conflicts in areas such as Korea and Egypt in the 1950s. These conflicts had a major effect on Canada.

### The Korean War

The outbreak of the **Korean War** in 1950 was the first real test of the UN's peace-making ability. The Koreans had been an

independent people for centuries, but in the early 1900s they had been taken over by Japan. After World War II, Japan lost control of Korea. The Soviet army occupied the northern half of the country and a communist government was established there. American troops occupied the southern half. The 38°N parallel was the border. The United Nations had been trying to reunite the Koreans with no success.

Then, in June 1950, a powerful North Korean army invaded South Korea. It seemed likely that the heavily armed North Koreans would take over the entire country. The matter was brought to an





*War artist Edward Zuber painted scenes of battle involving Canadian troops in the Korean War. This painting is entitled Contact.*

emergency meeting of the UN Security Council. At that moment, the Soviet delegate was boycotting (refusing to attend) the Security Council. The Soviet Union was, therefore, not able to exercise its veto power. The Security Council agreed to take action. It ordered North Korea to withdraw its forces. It called on UN members to send military forces to Korea. The American general, Douglas MacArthur, was appointed to command these UN troops. Most troops were from the United States, but other nations, including Canada, contributed to the effort.

Canada sent one infantry brigade, eight naval destroyers, an air transport squadron, and about 27 000 soldiers in all. In April 1951, the Princess Patricia's Light Infantry won praise at the Battle of Kapyong in central Korea. The "Princess Pats," although outnumbered eight to one, dug in to defend Hill 677. They spent three days in terrifying hand-to-hand fighting.

But the Canadians held on, saved by an air drop of food and ammunition. The Canadian victory at Kapyong probably prevented Seoul, the South Korean capital, from falling to the North Koreans.

Five hundred and sixteen Canadians were killed in the Korean War, and over one thousand were wounded. Canada had shown the world that it was prepared to take a responsible role in the actions of the United Nations.

The Korean War ended in 1953 with a truce. Both sides agreed to stop fighting. However, the war did not succeed in uniting the two Koreas. The border between North and South Korea was back to approximately where it had been when the war started in 1950.

### **The Suez Crisis**

In 1956, a situation arose which could easily have developed into a major war between the superpowers. Egypt's head of



### Netsurfer

For information on peacekeeping, visit this Government of Canada web site at

<http://www.dfait-maeci.gc.ca/peacekeeping/menu-e.asp>

*Lester and Maryon Pearson with the Nobel Peace Prize in December 1957. Why was this a momentous event for Canada?*

state, President Nasser, decided to take over the Suez Canal from British and French control. The canal was a vital trade route in the East. Ships could travel from the Mediterranean Sea to the Red Sea and the Indian Ocean through the Suez Canal without sailing around Africa.

The Egyptian action greatly alarmed Israel, Britain, and France. These nations responded by attacking Egypt. The Soviet Union threatened to send missiles to support Egypt. The United States warned that it would step in if the Soviet Union interfered. An explosive situation was building.

Frantic activity took place at the United Nations. Members desperately looked for a way to reduce the tension. Lester B. Pearson was at that time Canadian Secretary of State for External Affairs. Pearson persuaded the General Assembly to order all foreign troops out of Egypt. He convinced the UN to set up a **United Nations Emergency Force (UNEF)**. This would be an international police force. It would keep peace between the rival armies until a settlement could be worked out. As Pearson explained on November 2, 1956,

*We need action not only to end the fighting, but to make the peace ... My own government would be glad to recommend Canadian participation in such a United Nations force, a truly international peace and police force.*

The UNEF was Pearson's brainchild. Its members would be drawn from middle powers that had no individual interest in the dispute. The force would not fight unless attacked. Instead, it would observe, investigate, mediate, and report back to the UN General Assembly. The force would be composed of 6000 soldiers. One thousand were Canadians. Major-General E. L. M. Burns of Canada commanded the UN force. The UNEF was a change from the UN action in Korea. There armed forces from UN member countries had engaged in active combat in an attempt to bring peace.

In the days that followed, Egypt, Israel, Britain, and France obeyed the ceasefire. The UNEF succeeded in bringing peace to the region. Much credit for this success was given to Lester Pearson. For this achievement, Pearson was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize in 1957. It was a great honour for him and for Canada. In his Nobel address, Pearson said: "In the end, the whole problem always returns to people ... to one person and his own individual response to the challenge that confronts him."



## Canada in the Global Economy

While Canada was looking beyond its borders as a peacekeeper in the post-war years, it was also seeking to expand its economic links with other nations. Some of this economic expansion involved the US, but much of it was geared to countries across the globe.

## Foreign Aid Programs

One way in which Canada expanded its economic connections was through foreign aid programs. Canada's motives for giving aid were threefold. The first motive was humanitarian—a country as wealthy as Canada considered itself morally obligated to help less prosperous countries. The second motive was economic—if Canada wanted to expand its markets for the raw materials and goods it exported, it should help strengthen the economies of poorer countries. Third, giving aid to other countries had political benefits—a prosperous country is less likely to experience revolutions or dictatorships and more likely to support the aid-giver in world affairs.

Even before Canada took a leading role in large-scale programs, it was giving aid to war-torn Europe. Canada was invited to help with a US program called the **Marshall Plan** in 1948. This plan was partly a response to the Cold War and fears of communist expansion throughout the world. It was believed that countries struck by poverty and upheaval were more likely to support communism. Therefore, the United States was determined to help rebuild Europe and stop the influence of the Soviet Union.

Under the Marshall Plan, vast amounts of machinery, raw materials, food, and building supplies were sent to help Europe recover from the war. Financial aid was offered to any European country that requested it. The Soviet-backed nations rejected the plan because the offer was American—instead, they accepted a program from the Soviet Union called the Molotov Plan.

In the first year of the Marshall Plan, Canada shipped \$706 million in goods to war-torn countries. During the five years of the plan, \$13.5 billion of supplies were sent to 16 European nations by the United States and Canada. European countries

made remarkable progress. The Soviet Union never extended its influence over Western Europe.

In 1950, Canada helped develop the **Colombo Plan**. This plan was set up to give technical and financial support to developing countries in Asia. Leaders of the British Commonwealth decided that Asia needed an equivalent to the Marshall Plan. The plan was the first **multilateral** (involving more than just one or two nations) effort in providing foreign aid to Asia.

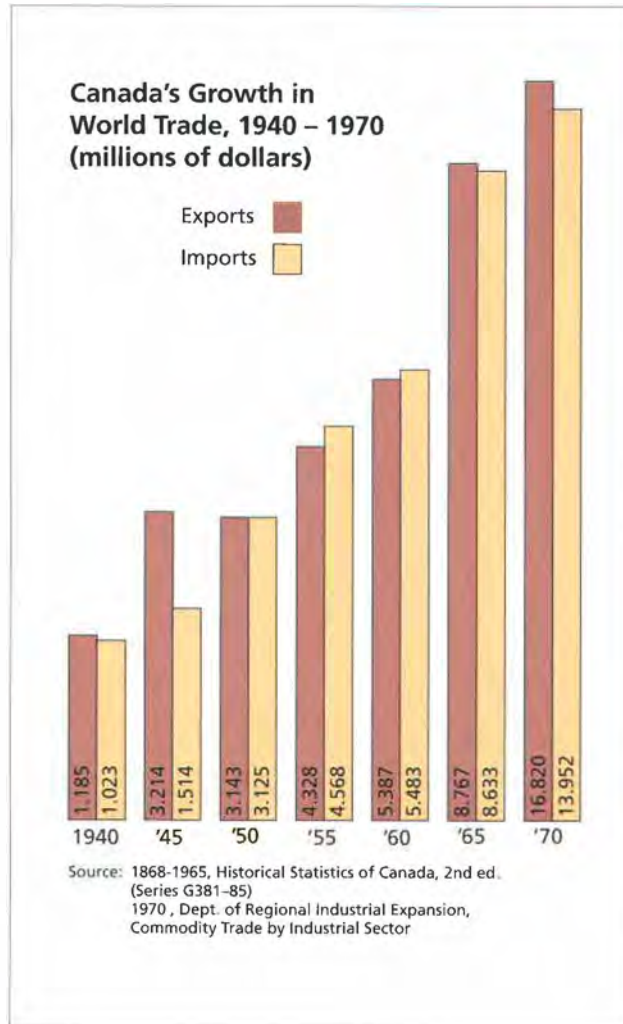
By the late 1950s, membership was granted to countries such as Thailand, South Korea, and Afghanistan, which were not in the Commonwealth. In the first year, \$25 million was pledged for factories and equipment. Canadians helped to establish a nuclear generating plant in India, a cement factory in Pakistan, and irrigation and transportation systems in several Asian countries. By 1973, Canada had contributed \$2 billion to the Colombo Plan.

Under the plan, students from developing countries could also attend Canadian universities, and work with Canadian governments and industries. Thousands of young people studied medicine, forestry, education, agriculture, and administration in Canada. Their studies abroad were referred to as “going on a plan.”

In 1968, the Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA) was formed to co-ordinate Canadian foreign aid programs. CIDA's overall goals are “to support sustainable development in order to reduce poverty and to contribute to a more secure, equitable, and prosperous world.”

## GATT

Co-operation among nations took place in the area of world trade as well. In 1947, Canada and 22 other nations signed the **General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade** (GATT), a specialized agency of



**What factors contributed to Canada's growth in imports and exports from 1940 to 1970?**

### Canada's Global Economic Connections

In addition to its foreign aid programs and GATT, Canada joined other organizations that supported economic and political connections among nations of the world after World War II.

- Canada became a member of the World Bank when it was founded in 1945. The organization provided aid to countries devastated by World War II. Later it provided money for economic development projects of member nations. The Bank is funded by annual fees paid by its member nations.
- Canada joined the International Monetary Fund (IMF) started in 1945. Its function is to stabilize exchange rates and to promote international trade among members. The IMF also loans money to countries that are in debt and face bankruptcy. By doing so, it not only relieves the country involved, but may prevent problems in the global economy. A country receiving a loan must guarantee that reforms proposed by the IMF will be put into place.
- In 1961, the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) was established. Its first chairman was the Canadian Finance Minister, Donald M. Fleming. The OECD promotes economic and social policies for its 27 members.

the UN. The agreement came into effect on 1 January 1948. It was aimed at reducing tariffs (taxes and other barriers) and stimulating world trade. Under the terms of the agreement, if one nation granted certain privileges to a favoured nation, it had to offer the same arrangement to all other members.

The GATT member nations have met several times since 1947 for talks to develop world trade policy. Before each meeting, Canadian representatives meet to find out the concerns of Canadian businesses. Businesses that export goods usually want the government to lower tariffs on imports. This is so that other countries will agree to accept Canadian exports. Businesses that manufacture goods in Canada want to keep Canada's tariffs high to avoid competition with imported goods. Canada has been strongly on the side of the exporters, since the export of raw materials has always been an important part of Canada's economy. Tariffs in 1947 were at a worldwide average of 40 per cent and have fallen steadily since then.

In 1948, Canada and the United States drafted a free trade agreement. At the last minute, Prime Minister Mackenzie King rejected the proposal. He did not want to

be so closely allied to the United States. He felt Canada's closest tie should remain with Britain, even though Canada's trade with Britain was minor as compared with the United States.

One of the reasons Canada has supported GATT is because of GATT's multilateral agreements, involving several trading partners rather than just one or two. By promoting freer world trade, GATT has helped to fuel the growth of the Canadian economy. But in reality, most of Canada's trade growth has been with the United States. The Canada-US relationship became so close that the Canadian government set the value of the Canadian dollar in terms of the US dollar.

In 1995, GATT was replaced by the World Trade Organization (WTO), which carries on with all GATT agreements.

### The Auto Pact

Canada signed another agreement that boosted its trade in 1965. As Canadians became more prosperous in the 1950s and 1960s, more of them bought cars. In the past, the Canadian government had placed tariffs (taxes) on cars coming into Canada from the US. But by the 1960s, all the car makers were American. Automobile manufacturing was dominated by the "Big Three"—Ford, Chrysler, and General Motors—which had assembly plants in Canada. There was no Canadian-owned car manufacturer for tariffs to protect.

The tariffs also meant that Canadians paid about 30 per cent more for their cars than American buyers. And since Canada was importing more cars from the United States than it was exporting, Canada had a large trade deficit (shortfall)

with the US. Canadian car buyers and the auto industry pressed for a special trade arrangement.

In 1965, Canada and the United States signed the Canada-US Automotive Products Agreement, better known as the **Auto Pact**. The Auto Pact allowed free trade in automobiles between Canada and the US. Canadians hoped the agreement would encourage American companies to expand production in Canada, create more jobs, and increase Canadian car exports to the US. Without a free trade arrangement, many Canadian auto workers feared they might lose their jobs, because it was cheaper to produce cars in the United States. Americans, on the other hand, wanted to keep their dominant share of the Canadian market.

The Auto Pact did help to lower car prices in Canada and created thousands of jobs. But critics point out that Canada's automobile industry is dominated by American companies. The profits go to the United States and little money is spent on research and development in Canada.



### Netsurfer

Find out more about the IMF by visiting its web site at <http://www.imf.org>. For information on the World Bank, go to <http://www.worldbank.org>.

*The General Motors plant in Oshawa, Ontario. What effects did the Auto Pact have in Canada?*



## Developing Skills: Making Oral Presentations

Are you someone who prefers to talk about a subject rather than write about it? Oral presentations can allow you to use your skills. Even if you feel nervous about talking, especially in front of a group, some basic steps can help you feel comfortable and set you on the road to presenting an interesting and informative talk.

Giving oral presentations is an important skill. In many careers and occupations, you will need to give informed talks on some aspect of your work. Lawyers, salespeople, journalists, sportscasters, tradespeople, teachers, artists, and many others use speaking skills every day. You probably already use speaking skills more often than you think. When you talk about your hobbies, help friends with homework, or explain a new computer game, you are using some oral presentation skills.

The key to good oral presentations is practice. The more often you do them, the more comfortable you feel and the better your presentations become. Don't worry about making mistakes or sounding foolish. If you are prepared and enthusiastic, you deserve your audience's attention. Here are some helpful steps.

### Step 1 Plan

1. Make sure you understand the topic. Ask questions if there is anything you aren't sure about. Know when you will present and how much time you have.

2. Make a written plan of the full presentation just as you would do for a written report. Put the main ideas and sub-points in your own words.

The presentation should have:

- a) an introduction which states the main theme, issue, or purpose of the presentation. Try to make the opening powerful to catch the attention and interest of your audience. Consider using a personal reference, a thoughtful question, a startling statistic, a quotation, or a visual such as a slide or picture.

For example, one student started a presentation this way:

*My grandmother arrived in Halifax in 1946 as a war refugee. She was one of thousands who came to Canada after World War II. All she had with her was a small bundle of clothes and very little money.*

- b) content that includes ideas and facts to support your main theme.
- c) illustrations to clarify ideas and support your arguments. Your audience will find your presentation more interesting if you use examples and visuals to prove your points. You could use charts, pictures, slides, video clips, short tape recordings, or quotes.
- d) a clear, logical organization. Follow a written plan. Deal with one sub-topic at a time. Arrange your ideas in a logical sequence. This will help your audience focus on your theme and follow your thinking.

For example, an oral presentation on war refugees could ask and then answer each of the following questions:

- Who were the war refugees?
  - Why did they come to Canada?
  - What were some of the problems they had in adjusting to their new lives?
- e) a summary that reinforces your message and sums up what you have been showing. You may wish to end with a powerful anecdote, quotation, or even a thought-provoking question.

A sample summary might be:

*Some refugees had trouble adjusting to Canadian life. They were not always treated kindly. Many, however, like my grandmother, built a new life and grew to love their adopted country. They had families and friends, new and old. My grandmother told me she still keeps in touch with some of the others who came over on the ship with her to Halifax so many years ago.*

**Step II Rehearse**

3. Practise from your script but try not to read your notes.

4. Rehearse out loud in front of a mirror. Use gestures that come to you naturally as you talk and try to keep eye contact with your audience.

5. Vary the volume and pace of your presentation, just as you would in a conversation about something that interests you. Using visuals at key points in your presentation can help vary the pace. Listen to yourself on tape.

6. Rehearse over and over until you are comfortable with your materials and don't have to read from your notes.

7. Time your practice. Be sure to leave time for questions and discussions. Be ready for questions.

**Step III Deliver**

8. Sit or stand straight and keep eye contact with your audience so that they feel you are talking to them personally.

9. Show enthusiasm for your topic. If you enjoy it, your audience will too.

10. Have members of the class make notes during the presentation. This encourages them to listen carefully. Check with your teacher about this.

11. Have an outline or brief notes to refer to occasionally, but don't read from your notes. Mark off new points with a pause or vocal change. Repeat key points for emphasis but avoid repetition of certain words or phrases. Use simple language and explain difficult terms. Use language your audience understands.

12. Speak clearly and distinctly and make sure you can be heard. The presentation will lose a lot of its appeal if you cannot be heard or understood.

**Practise It!**

Now that you know the steps, practise them. Research and prepare an oral presentation on one of the following topics:

- war refugees in Canada
- the Gouzenko Affair
- a Canadian peacekeeping operation
- a Canadian foreign aid program
- Canada and the Korean War
- the nuclear arms race
- CUSO (Canadian Universities Service Overseas) programs or a similar program for students or young people overseas

## Canada's Growing Autonomy

After World War II, Canada took further steps toward full autonomy from Britain. One of the first steps centred on the issue of citizenship. The others focused on the role of the Supreme Court and the selection of the Governor General.

- Before 1947, there was no such thing as Canadian citizenship. All Canadians

were British subjects. Immigrants in Canada from places other than Britain could become naturalized British subjects. This involved swearing an oath of allegiance to the British Crown and living in Canada for at least three years. In May 1947, when the Canadian Citizenship Act was passed, Canadians could become citizens of their own country. New immigrants could become citizens after they had lived in Canada for four



### Netsurfer

Visit the official government web site for the Governor General at <http://www.gg.ca>. Find out about the history of the position and the Order of Canada, which is presented by the Governor General.



### Netsurfer

For more information on the activities of the Commonwealth, go to <http://www.col.org>

of the past six years. They also had to know some English or French and be of “good character.”

- The Statute of Westminster in 1931 had ended Britain’s right to make laws for Canada. But the “court of last appeal” was still the British Privy Council in London. In 1949, the nine justices of the Supreme Court of Canada became the final court of appeal for Canadians. In the same year, the British Parliament changed the British North America Act so that the Canadian Parliament could amend (change) its own constitution.
- In 1952, Vincent Massey became the first Canadian-born Governor General of Canada. Before 1952, all candidates for the position had been British. But a public opinion poll in 1950 had shown that only 22 per cent of Canadians favoured a Briton in the position. Massey’s appointment did not change the function of the office—by the Statute of Westminster, the Governor General was still a representative of the British Crown. To Canadians, however, a Canadian Governor General was like “cutting the apron strings.” In his years as governor general, 1952 to 1959, Vincent Massey travelled throughout Canada. He tried to give Canadians a feeling of pride in their country and a sense of national identity.



## Canada and the Commonwealth

In the post-World War II years, Canada also forged a new role for itself within the Commonwealth. In the 1950s and 1960s, Canada was developing closer economic and military ties with the US. Relations with Britain were largely limited to those involving the Commonwealth. But the Commonwealth was one world organization in which Canada could have a strong voice without the influence of the United States.

Canada supported the former British colonies (such as India, Pakistan, and Ceylon) as they applied for independence within the Commonwealth. In many ways, Canada played the role of intermediary between the old members and the new developing nations.

In 1961, Canadian Prime Minister John Diefenbaker led the Commonwealth in taking a strong stand against racial discrimination. He supported the African and Asian countries within the Commonwealth who wanted tough action against South Africa. South Africa had a policy known as apartheid. Under this policy, Black people in South Africa were not given the right to vote, even though they made up over 80 per cent of the population. They were also forced to live in areas separate from the white population, and could not go to the same schools or hospitals.

Diefenbaker’s criticism caused South Africa to withdraw from the Commonwealth in 1961. It was not allowed into the organization again until apartheid was abolished in 1991. Nelson Mandela became the first Black president of South Africa in that year. Diefenbaker’s action in 1961 had angered the British. It violated the rule of not interfering in the domestic affairs of member nations. But Canada was clearly taking a new leadership role in the Commonwealth.

The Commonwealth set up its permanent headquarters in London, England in 1965. The first Secretary-General was a Canadian, Arnold Smith. Canada continues to be one of the strongest supporters of the Commonwealth and is the main financial contributor to its programs.



## Arctic



## Sovereignty

In 1969, a United States’ oil tanker, the *SS Manhattan*, travelled through the North-



west Passage in the Arctic. The tanker was exploring a way to transport oil from Alaska to the United States. The voyage set off an intense debate between Canada and the US. The tanker had gone through the passage without Canada's permission. The United States claimed the Northwest Passage was an international waterway. Canada believed it had sovereignty (independent authority) over the passage.

As early as the 1880s, the Canadian government had sponsored voyages to the Arctic and claimed sovereignty over the region. The RCMP administered justice in the territory. Canada had always maintained that ships going through the Northwest Passage needed Canadian permission. If Canada did not have control over the Arctic waterways, would it lose its claim to sovereignty over the Arctic islands as well? Canada also had concerns about oil spills in the sensitive Arctic environment.

Canada sent the matter of the *Manhattan's* voyage to the International Court of Justice. The Americans did not pursue it, and the challenge died down. In 1970, Canada passed the Arctic Water Pollution Prevention Act. The act established a



coastal zone in which Canada had control over all shipping. Environmental and political concerns went hand in hand. When the *Manhattan* went on a second trip through the Northwest Passage, it was accompanied by a Canadian icebreaker and it followed Canadian safety standards. The Canadian-American debate over Arctic sovereignty, however, would come up again in 1985.

*The Canadian ice breaker John A. Macdonald accompanies the SS Manhattan through the Northwest Passage. Canada claimed sovereignty over the Arctic region.*

## Activities

### Understand Facts and Concepts

1. Add these new terms to your *Factfile*.

Gouzenko Affair

Cold War

United Nations

Universal Declaration of Human Rights

iron curtain

North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)

DEW Line

North American Air Defence Command  
(NORAD)

Cuban Missile Crisis

Korean War

United Nations Emergency Force

Marshall Plan

Colombo Plan

multilateral

Generalized Agreement on Tariff and  
Trade (GATT)

Auto Pact

2. In what ways did Canada contribute to the United Nations?
3. Give examples of Canada's cooperation with the United States during the Cold War.
4. What was Canada's attitude toward aid for less developed nations? Why?
5. By 1969, Canada was more independent from Britain than in it had been 1947. What specific steps did Canada take toward greater autonomy in the post-war years?

### Think and Communicate

6. a) Develop a mind map to illustrate the major aspects of Canada's foreign policy after World War II. Consider Canada's involvement in:
  - i) the United Nations
  - ii) NATO
  - iii) NORAD
  - iv) the Commonwealth
  - v) the global economyb) Describe Canada's foreign policy before World War II. In what major ways had it changed after the war?
7. Canada is a member of both the United Nations and NATO. What are the arguments for and against our memberships in these organizations?
8. Are there any advantages in having the United States responsible for Canada's defence? What are the disadvantages? Develop and complete an organizer outlining the pros and cons.
9. Create a poster, cartoon, button, song, or poem to show your point of view on the nuclear arms race if you had been living in Canada in the 1950s and 1960s.
10. In groups, script and present a short TV or radio report on one of the following events. Your reports could include short interviews with some of the key people involved or people on the street. Include an analysis of the events.
  - a) the Gouzenko Affair
  - b) the signing of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights
  - c) the Kurt Meyer war crimes trial
  - d) the formation of NORAD
  - e) the Cuban Missile Crisis
  - f) presentation of the Nobel Peace Prize to Lester Pearson
  - g) the voyage of the *Manhattan* in 1969

### Apply Your Knowledge

11. Discuss how Canada's foreign policy between 1945 and 1969 might have affected the attitudes of people in other countries toward Canadians.
12. Canada's contribution to NATO has cost hundreds of millions of dollars in armed forces and military equipment. Do you think this cost has been worth it for Canadians? Poll the class, then ask for explanations.

13. Governments and private organizations around the world do a great deal of work in foreign aid. These organizations require specific qualities from people who want to participate:

- |                   |                   |                   |
|-------------------|-------------------|-------------------|
| • tolerance       | • curiosity       | • warmth in human |
| • patience        | • open-mindedness | relationships     |
| • flexibility     | • adaptability    | • self-reliance   |
| • good health     | • nonjudgemental  | • sensitivity     |
| • motivation      | attitude          | • empathy         |
| • sense of humour | • energy          | • ability to fail |

Write to an organization explaining why you want to volunteer and identify the characteristics you have.

14. Select a United Nations agency (such as UNESCO, UNICEF, or WHO) and research its work. You may wish to write to the Information Division of the United Nations, New York City, for particular details or visit the UN web site. Present a short report to your class describing the agency's activities and evaluating its achievements.

### Get to the Source

15. At the beginning of the Cuban Missile Crisis of 1962, President Kennedy did not consult the Canadian government for five critical days. Later, Kennedy sent a US official, Livingstone Merchant, to inform Prime Minister Diefenbaker of the blockade on Soviet shipments to Cuba. The meeting between Merchant and Diefenbaker is described below by Pierre Savigny, Associate Defence Minister.

*[Livingstone] Merchant met with Diefenbaker ...—and explained what was happening. A cabinet meeting was immediately convened and the serious situation described.*

*Then something happened—one of those little things which have such an effect. President Kennedy announced on his own that he had the full cooperation of the Canadian government. ... Well, the only one who had spoken was me, saying that I would relay the information that Merchant was coming and would arrange for the meeting. Kennedy took it upon himself to jump the gun and say this, probably because he believed that he had the full cooperation of Canada.*

*At any rate, Diefenbaker got mad and said, "That young man has got to learn that he is not running the Canadian government," and so on. He said, "What business has he got? There is no decision which has been made as yet. I am the one who is going to decide and I am the one who has to make the declaration. He is not the one."*

Source: Peter Stursberg, *Diefenbaker: Leadership Lost, 1962-67* (1976), pp. 14-15

- What difficulties did President Kennedy cause for the Canadian government by making such a claim?
- Was Diefenbaker justified in reacting as he did? Why or why not?
- What does this incident tell you about American attitudes toward Canada in the 1960s?