Canada Comes of Age

Canada's Centennial

In 1967, Canada celebrated its 100th birthday. On 9 January, the Centennial Train left Victoria. It was a travelling museum that would make 83 stops before it reached the East Coast on 4 December. Across the country there were fireworks displays, festivals, parades, picnics, and pageants. Almost every city, town, and village dedicated a new park, library, or concert hall to the Centennial.

Centennial celebrations on Parliament Hill in Ottawa, 1 July 1967.

In Montreal, Canada hosted the world's fair—**Expo 67**. Sixty-two nations built pavilions to show the achievements of their artists, engineers, architects, and scientists. Kings and queens, presidents and politicians came to Canada from around the world that summer. In all, the fair attracted more than 50 million visitors. Everywhere, Canadians were celebrating the achievements of the past hundred years.

Canada had come a long way since the beginning of the century. By 1967, Canada had become an urban and industrialized nation. Canadians were people from many different ethnocultural and racial communities. Canadian artists, writers, architects, and scientists were gaining international recognition for their achievements. Clearly, Canada was no longer a British outpost. In one hundred years, Canada had come of age. Once a country rich in resources but of little strategic importance, it was now a middle power whose voice was respected in the world community.

But not every Canadian felt included in the country's good fortune. Aboriginal nations still faced discrimination and were organizing to fight for their rights. People who were poor and people with disabilities were still

sometimes overlooked or neglected. Many people of colour did not share in the same rights and opportunities most other Canadians enjoyed. Many French Canadians felt there was very little in the country's future for them. The 1950s and 1960s were also a time of tension and unease in Canada.

1. List some of Canada's achievements in its first 100 years as a nation.
2. If you had the opportunity to design a Canadian pavilion or car of the Centennial Train in 1967, what would you display in it? Why?
3. What challenges do you think Canada faces in the post-war years?

Canadian Identity

In the 1950s and 1960s, more Canadians began to consciously ask: What defines us as Canadians? Important contributions in two world wars had given Canadians a sense of national pride. At the same time, Canada had become a completely independent country, free to make its own decisions at home and on the world stage. But what characteristics defined Canada? One of the main things Canadians discovered was that their identity was changing.

Immigration and Cultural Diversity

From 1901 to 1913, Canada had experienced the greatest wave of immigration in its history. This wave had laid the foundation of Canada's ethnic diversity. But for more than 30 years afterward, immigration to Canada had been restricted. After World War II, Canada gradually opened its doors to more immigrants. There were two major waves of immigration. The first, in the years immediately after the war, were from three main groups: war refugees, war brides, and general immigrants. The second wave came as the economy improved and industries demanded skilled workers.

The First Wave

Between 1946 and 1954, almost 1 million immigrants came to Canada, most from Europe. Over one-third of this wave came from Britain. Earlier immigration policies had not changed, except that more immigrants were wanted. Prime Minister Mackenzie King announced in 1947 that new immigrants would boost Canada's population and the national economy. But the government would carefully control the number and selection of immigrants. The country still favoured immigrants from Britain, western Europe, and the United States. A new Immigration Act in 1952 gave immigration officers the power to exclude particular ethnic and racial groups. Canada still did not want immigrants from Asia, Africa, the Caribbean, and southern Europe.

Immediately after the war, however, Canada made special provisions for more than 47 000 war brides and 22 000 children to immigrate. These were the families of Canadian soldiers who had married overseas during the war. Not surprisingly, most came from Britain. Others came from Holland, Belgium, and France. Brochures were distributed and a Canadian Wives' Bureau was set up in London, England, to prepare many new brides for their lives in Canada.

The Canadian government provided the war brides with free passage to Canada. They were given information on everything from shopping with mail-order catalogues to sleeping arrangements on Canadian trains. But few were completely prepared for their lives in a new and very different country. Some found themselves alone on isolated farms. Others had to live with in-laws who were complete strangers until their soldier-husbands returned from Europe. A few were so homesick and discouraged that they went back to their own countries. However, most stayed, adjusted, and started new lives in Canada.

One war bride recalled:

I really hadn't the slightest idea what to expect when I arrived in Quebec. We stayed three months in St. Jean and then moved to Drummondville where we settled. Of course, I'd known that my husband was a French-speaking Canadian, but it was quite a shock to find that his relatives spoke no English at all. Although his family was a bit put out that he'd married une Anglaise *(and a Protestant one at that), they were very good to me.*

The band played "Here Comes the Bride" as the* Aquitania *steamed into Halifax harbour carrying more than a thousand war brides. What were they expecting in their new country?

Another major group of immigrants were those people displaced from their homelands because of the devastation and upheaval of war. They were sometimes referred to as DPs—displaced persons. The Canadian government introduced emergency measures in November 1946 to bring some of these refugees to Canada. As we saw in the last chapter, more than 186 000 refugees resettled in Canada between 1947 and 1953. Many were well-educated professionals and highly skilled workers. Some were sponsored by industries in Canada that needed workers. Often they had to take jobs below their skill levels until they could get established. Some were exploited and paid very low wages. But gradually, many succeeded in finding better opportunities.

People from Poland and the Netherlands were also given special provisions to immigrate because of wartime connections. The Polish army had fought alongside Canadian troops in northwest Europe and Italy. Polish fliers had trained in Canada, and after the war, many Polish people decided to make Canada their home. Doctors, lawyers, engineers, and highly trained technical people were among the Polish immigrants. Many, however, also had to take jobs below their skill levels to get established.

The Dutch had a soft spot in their hearts for Canada. Canadians had helped to liberate the Netherlands from the Nazis. After the war, 30 000 Dutch—mostly farmers—arrived in Canada. Crown Princess Juliana of the Netherlands had lived in Ottawa during the war. A room in the Ottawa Civic Hospital had been declared Dutch territory so that her third daughter could be born on "Dutch soil." For years, the Netherlands expressed its gratitude to Canada with an annual gift of tulip bulbs. These tulips bloom each spring in Ottawa's parks during the Tulip Festival.

FAST FORWARD

Pier 21 in Halifax was the landing spot for 1.5 million immigrants to Canada between 1928 and 1971. Today the Pier is a museum and permanent monument to Canada's immigrants. The Immigration Exhibition focuses on the physical and emotional experiences of immigrants and refugees who came through Pier 21. The Exhibition includes a "Welcome Pavilion" showcasing Canada, an "In Transit Theatre" with a film on the processing experience at the pier, and a "Multicultural Hall" for cultural functions.

Other immigrants came from Great Britain, Italy, the United States, Germany, Greece, and Portugal before 1954.

The Second Wave

Between 1954 and 1967, a second wave of almost 2 million immigrants came to Canada. In 1957 alone, 282 000 people arrived. Many were Hungarians fleeing the Soviet armies that had crushed a revolution in their homeland. The majority of others were British immigrants.

In 1962, new immigration regulations were introduced. They made education and job skills the number one criteria for admitting immigrants. They also withdrew special provisions for British, French, and American applicants. What brought this change?

In the late 1950s, Canada's economy went into a slump. Not enough skilled workers were coming into the country. In fact, many professional and skilled workers were leaving Canada for the United States. Over 75 000 were lured south between 1953 and 1963. On average, over 5000 professional workers were leaving Canada every year.

The regulations opened the door for more non-white immigrants, provided they had education and skills. But the regulations still had some discriminatory aspects. Canadian citizens could not sponsor family members from Asia and Africa.

In 1967, immigration regulations changed yet again. A universal **point system** was introduced. People who wanted to come to Canada were given points based on education, occupational demand, age, and knowledge of French or English. If a person received 50 points or more, he or she was eligible to immigrate. The changes were designed to eliminate the discriminatory policies of the past. In 1960, the Diefenbaker government had introduced a Bill of Rights that rejected discrimination on the basis of race, national origin, colour, religion, or gender. The government could hardly justify its discriminatory immigration policies in the light of this new legislation.

Activists who protested the discriminatory policies also played an important role. In 1954, for example, representatives from the Negro Citizenship Association (NCA) presented a brief to Canada's Minister of Immigration. Their recommendations included changing the definition of "British subject" to include British West Indians regardless of race. (Today, we refer

Netsurfer

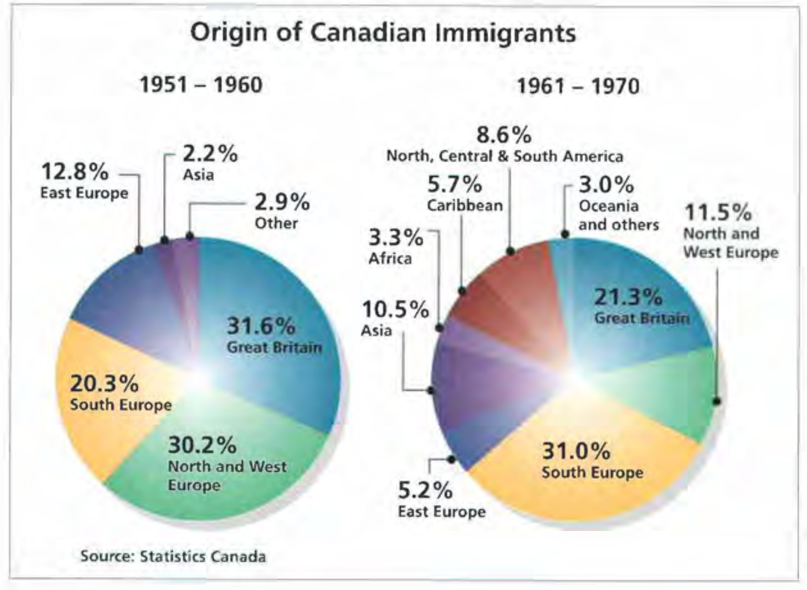
Visit the web site of Pier 21 to learn more about Canada's immigrants and immigrant experiences at http://www.pier21.ns.ca/stories/topf.html.

In official immigration records the categories for immigrants' place of origin changed in the 1960s. How did they change? Why did they change?

to the former West Indies as the Caribbean region). They also urged the government to set up an Immigration Office in the British West Indies. Their proposals were supported by organizations such as the United Church and the Canadian Labour Congress. They also got support from other countries in the Commonwealth (British and West Indian countries). Britain had already opened immigration to people of colour in 1948. Canada's restrictions went against a policy Britain wanted to see adopted throughout the Commonwealth. The NCA report put significant pressure on the government to change its immigration policies.

With the policy changes of the 1960s, the number of non-white immigrants increased for the first time in Canadian history. The increase in immigrants from Jamaica, Trinidad, Guyana, Haiti, and Barbados is a good example. From 1950 to 1959, 10 682 immigrants came to Canada from the Caribbean. Although this number was a significant increase over previous years, it represented only 0.69 per cent of total immigrants, the same percentage as in the 1940s.

In 1962, Britain "closed the door" to Caribbean immigrants. Many therefore chose Canada. From 1960 to 1969, the number of Caribbean immigrants rose to 46 030. Similarly, the number of people who came from eastern and southern Asia rose from 27 120 before 1961, to 81 780 from 1961 to 1970.



IMPACT ON SOCIETY

AN HONOUR ROLE OF NEW CANADIANS

A number of immigrants who came to Canada in the 1950s and 1960s made significant contributions to Canada in a variety of fields including politics, the arts, science, and medicine. These are the stories of just some of these individuals.

Novelist Austin Clark was born in Barbados and came to Canada as a student in 1955. He became a university teacher/writer in residence and a journalist. In 1963, the CBC sent him to conduct one of the most extensive interviews ever with the Black activist Malcolm X. Austin Clark's novels include a well-known trilogy about Caribbean immigrant life in Toronto: *The Meeting Point* (1967), *Storm of Fortune* (1973), and *The Bigger Light* (1975). He was vice-chairman of the Ontario Film Review Board from 1984 to 1987.

The poet Rienzi Crusz was born in Sri Lanka and came to Canada in 1965, where he found work at the University of Toronto Library. His poetry first appeared in 1968 and his first published work came out in 1974.

Senator Anne Cools immigrated to Canada from Barbados in 1946, when she was 13 years old. Committed to public service, she was a student activist in the 1960s and became a social worker and administrator of shelters for battered women and children. In 1980, she entered politics and four years later became the first Black person appointed to the Canadian Senate. She has worked to reform family law and helped produce "For the Sake of the Children," a 1998 report on child custody and access.

Rosemary Brown, a politician and university professor, was the first Black woman elected to political office in Canada. She was born in Kingston, Jamaica, in 1930. She immigrated to Canada in 1951. In 1972, she was elected to the British Columbia Legislature. There, she helped bring in legislation to stop discrimination on the basis of sex or marital status. She also created a committee to eliminate sexism in textbooks and educational curricula.

Rosemary Brown received the Order of Canada in 1996.

Rosemary Brown was also the first woman of colour to run for leadership of a federal political party. She was defeated by Ed Broadbent in the NDP leadership election in 1974. In 1986, she became a professor of Women's Studies at Simon Fraser University and a speaker on issues of peace, women's liberation, and human rights. In 1993, she started a three-year term as the Chief Commissioner of the Ontario Human Rights Commission. In 1995, Rosemary Brown received the Order of British Columbia. She continues to be a distinguished human rights activist.

Herb Dhaliwal is another successful politician. Appointed as federal Minister of Fisheries and Oceans in 1999, he also served as Minister of National Revenue from 1997 to 1999. His service to Canada involves work on the world stage. He has participated in a trade mission to India, a parliamentary delegation to Cuba and UNESCO, and has been cited by the Red Cross for his work in helping Kurdish refugees. Dhaliwal was born in India in 1952 and immigrated to Canada in 1958, when he was six years old. After graduating from university, he started a small business that grew into several operations and employed over 500 people. His political career began in 1993 when he was first elected to the House of Commons.

Many new Canadians also made contributions in the fields of science and medicine. **Thomas Ming Swi Chang**, born in China, came to Canada where he attended McGill University. He invented the world's first artificial cell in 1957, and later developed the first artificial blood. **Ray Chu-Jeng Chi**, born in Japan in 1934, got his PhD at McGill University in 1970. His work in techniques for heart surgery was a milestone. He pioneered a procedure for adapting a piece of back muscle to resemble the heart muscle. A pacemaker works on the back muscle to help the heart's contractions.

Yoshio Masui, from Japan, invented several techniques to study cell division. He also discovered the cell growth switch. This was declared one of the most important biomedical science discoveries of the last 50 years. **Tak Wah Mak** discovered the T-cell receptor, a key to the human immune system, in 1983. Tak Wah Mak was born in China in 1946 and came to Canada for his doctorate, which he received from the University of Alberta in 1971. His work since then at the Ontario Cancer Institute and the University of Toronto has contributed to research for cures of diabetes, multiple sclerosis, and rheumatoid arthritis.

1. Research other individuals who immigrated to Canada during this era and present their contributions to Canadian society.

The Nation Expands

It was not only the population of post-war Canada that was growing. The political boundaries of the country were also changing. On 1 April 1949, Newfoundland and Labrador became Canada's tenth province. Feelings about joining Confederation in the new province were mixed. Some people hung black flags out their windows and wore black armbands in protest. Others gathered in community halls to celebrate becoming Canadians.

Since 1855, Newfoundland and Labrador had been self-governing. Newfoundland flatly rejected Confederation in 1867, preferring to keep its historic ties with Britain. Sir John A. Macdonald was disappointed when the colony rejected Confederation. He had once remarked, "The Dominion cannot be considered complete without Newfoundland. It has the key to our front door."

The worldwide depression of the 1930s had hit Newfoundland and Labrador hard. The government was near bankruptcy, and in 1934 had to accept British administration and assistance. After World War II, the British government no longer wanted the financial responsibility for the colony. Joseph R. Smallwood and others began to urge fellow Newfoundlanders and Labradorians to join Canada. Smallwood, a former organizer of a fishing

Are You in This List?

To All Mothers: Confederation would mean that never again would there be a hungry child in Newfoundland. If you have children under the age of 16, you will receive every month a cash allowance for every child you have or may have.

To All War Veterans: Canada treats her Veterans better than any other country in the world. She has just increased their War Pensions 25 per cent. Under Confederation you will be better treated than under any other form of government.

To All Wage-Workers: All wage-workers will be protected by Unemployment Insurance. Newfoundland, under Confederation, will be opened up and developed. Your country will be prosperous. Your condition will be better.

To All Over 65: You would have something to look forward to at the age of 70. The Old Age Pension of $30 a month for yourself, and $30 a month for your wife will protect you against need in your old age.

To All Railroaders: You will become employees of the biggest railway in the world, the CNR. You will have security and stability as CNR employees. Your wages and working conditions will be the same as on the CNR. Under any other government you face sure and certain wage-cuts and lay-offs. You, your wives and sons and daughters and other relatives should flock out on June 3 and vote for Confederation.

To All Building Workers: Under Confederation Newfoundland will share fully in the Canadian Government Housing Plan, under which cities and towns are financed to build houses. 1000 new homes will be built in St. John's under this plan.

To All Light Keepers: You will become employees of the Government of Canada. Your wages and working conditions will be greatly improved.

To All Postal-Telegraph Workers: You will all become employees of the Government of Canada, at higher salaries and much better working conditions.

To All Fishermen: The cost of living will come down. The cost of producing fish will come down. The Government of Canada will stand back of our fisheries. The Fish Prices Support Board of Canada, backed by Canada's millions, will protect the price of your fish.

To All Newfoundlanders: The cost of living will come down. The 120 000 children in our country will live better. The 10 000 Senior Citizens of our country will be protected in their old age. Newfoundland will be linked up with a strong, rich British nation. Newfoundland will go ahead with Canada.

Source: *The Confederate*, May 31, 1948.

union, was also a publisher and radio personality. He became the driving force behind joining Confederation.

It was a tough fight. Anti-Confederationists warned that joining Canada would mean the loss of local power, identity, and values. People were very proud of their historic ties with Britain and the fact that Newfoundland was Britain's first overseas colony. They also argued that Confederation would bring economic ruin. Goods from Canada would be so cheap that Newfoundland products would not sell. The Canadian government would probably tax their boats, fish, and fishing tackle. The Roman Catholic Church feared that Confederation would mean the end of the Roman Catholic school system.

Joey Smallwood was convinced that Newfoundland and Labrador had to join Canada to move into the modern era. Belonging to Canada would provide much needed money to build schools, hospitals, and roads. It would also provide jobs for the people and other important government benefits. The excerpt from *The Confederate* in 1948 is an example of some pro-Confederation propaganda.

Fierce debates over Confederation kept everyone glued to their radios. Referendums (direct public votes) were held on whether or not to join Canada. There were three options for the people of Newfoundland and Labrador to consider: the "status quo" (that is, to stay the same); joining Confederation; or going back to the situation in 1934.

In the first direct public vote on the issue, there was no clear decision. But because it received the lowest number of votes, the first option was dropped from the ballot. In the second referendum, the people voted by a narrow majority—52 per cent to 48 per cent—to join Canada. Smallwood, a new Father of Confederation, became the province's premier. By

Joey Smallwood signed the agreement admitting Newfoundland and Labrador into Confederation.

the terms of union, Newfoundland and Labrador received the same financial benefits as other provinces. It also got special assistance because of its uncertain economy and relatively low standard of public services. The federal government took over the province's public debt and the operation of the Newfoundland Railway.

French-English Relations

While Newfoundland and Labrador joined Canada in 1949, an independence movement was gaining momentum in Quebec. In the post-war years, the country was forced to re-examine its relationship with French Canada.

Quebec Before the Quiet Revolution

Feelings of loyalty to French-Canadian traditions and values were strong in Quebec. Maurice Duplessis, who had been premier of Quebec from 1936 to 1939, was premier again from 1944 to 1959. He was called *le chef*, the chief, and he dominated his Union Nationale government. Duplessis was determined to stop any federal government interference in Quebec's affairs and to develop Quebec's resources. He refused some federal programs and grants for education and health care that would

affect traditional life and values in Quebec. Many schools and hospitals in Quebec were run by the Roman Catholic Church.

Duplessis saw no problem with encouraging English-Canadian and American investment in Quebec, however. English-speaking business people established new factories and businesses. Quebec became more urban and industrialized under Duplessis. But the development also came with scandal and accusations of corruption. For almost every bridge, road, or hospital built, Duplessis expected something in return. He demanded political favours, campaign funds, or votes—and he got them.

In September 1959, while visiting northern Quebec, Maurice Duplessis died. His "iron hand" rule was over. Pressures for change were suddenly let loose in Quebec. Reforms began almost immediately. But the real change came when the new Liberal government under Jean Lesage was elected in 1960. It was the beginning of the Quiet Revolution.

The Quiet Revolution

Lesage gathered around him an impressive team of cabinet ministers. They included René Lévesque as Minister of Natural Resources. Lévesque would later become a very influential premier. Lesage's new government promised to do two main things. One was to improve the economic and social standards of the people of Quebec. The other was to win greater recognition for all French-speaking people and give them greater control over their own futures. These changes under the Lesage government came to be known as the **Quiet Revolution** in Quebec.

One of the government's first moves was to take control of the hydroelectric companies. Control over hydroelectric power would give Quebeckers more say in

A new group of painters in Quebec reflected the wave of change. This painting by Paul-Émile Borduas entitled **The Circular Path, Nest of Aeroplanes,** ***represents a move to a more abstract style.***

their economic future. The government also supported the building of the Manicouagan Power Dam, one of the largest in the world. French-Canadian engineers from all parts of Canada returned to Quebec to work on the project. The catch phrase was "*on est capable*,"—"we can do it!"

Another slogan of the Quiet Revolution was "*Maîtres chez nous*," meaning "Masters in our own house." The government wanted more control for French Canadians over affairs in Quebec. Many businesses were run by English Canadians, and French-Canadian workers often earned less than workers in other parts of the country.

Quebeckers of British origin were at the top of the economic ladder. Their average annual wage in 1960 was $4940. Average wages then declined through a number of other largely English-speaking ethnic groups: Scandinavian, Jewish, German, Polish, and Asian. Almost at the bottom of the economic ladder were French-Canadian Quebeckers. Their average annual wage was $3185.

Most top management jobs in the province were held by English-speaking people. Twice as many English as French Canadians held high-paying, high-status professional and managerial positions. French-speaking Quebeckers, 80 per cent of Quebec's total population, were among the least favoured in their own province.

The Lesage government also began to replace programs previously run by the Church. These included hospital insurance, pension schemes, and the beginnings of medicare. To do this, the Quebec Liberals had to struggle with Ottawa for a larger share of the tax dollar.

One of the most sweeping reforms was the modernization of the school system. In the past, the schools of Quebec had been run by the Church. Priests and nuns provided a good education, but not in business and technology, which was what Quebec now needed. Lesage wanted a government-run school system that would equip a modern Quebec with experts in engineering, science, business, and commerce.

The new freedom of expression in Quebec gave rise to a flood of books, plays, art, and music about the French culture in Quebec. Gratien Gélines became one of the most popular contemporary playwrights. New film directors such as Claude Jutra began to emphasize themes drawn from Quebec life in their films. Of all the artists, the singers of Quebec in the 1960s used political themes and messages the most.

But relations between French- and English-speaking people in the province were tense. Author Hugh MacLennan wrote about the "two solitudes" in Canada. English and French Canadians seemed to live parallel but completely separate lives.

Separatism and the Independence Movement

Some Quebeckers suggested that the only solution to Quebec's problems was **separatism**. Separatism expressed the desire of a province to break away from the Canadian union. During the Quiet Revolution of the 1960s, a small but influential group began to talk seriously about separation. Separatists demanded immediate independence for Quebec. They argued that as long as Quebec was associated with the rest of Canada, French Canadians would never be treated as equals. The separatist slogan was "*Québec libre*" or "Free Quebec."

The **Front de Libération du Québec (FLQ)**, founded in 1963, was a radical group of separatists. The FLQ had no leader, but was a collection of separate cells or groups. Their idea was to use terrorism as a weapon to achieve indepen-

A mailbox bomb explodes in Montreal. Why did some Quebec separatist groups use these measures?

dence for Quebec. A number of bombs were exploded, mostly in Montreal, and at least one person was killed.

Another separatist group, the *Armée de Libération du Québec (ALQ)*, used even more violent methods. They robbed banks to get money and raided Canadian Armed Forces depots for ammunition. They set off bombs in mailboxes in the English-speaking districts of Montreal. Between 1963 and 1970, there was a terrorist bombing somewhere in the province almost every 10 days.

In the Quebec provincial election of 1966, the Union Nationale party under Daniel Johnson was elected. Their slogan was "Equality or Independence." Johnson warned Ottawa that unless Quebec was given "special status" in Confederation, it would have to go its own way. This demand included control over economics, social welfare, housing, and tax dollars to carry out these responsibilities. Quebec also wanted to deal directly with foreign governments in matters of culture and education.

"Vive le Québec Libre!"

The visit of France's president, Charles De Gaulle, created an incident that rocked Canada's Centennial celebrations in 1967. De Gaulle came to Canada at the invitation of the Quebec government to visit the magnificent site of Expo 67.

At a reception held by the city of Montreal, De Gaulle appeared on a balcony to address a wildly cheering crowd. He told the people that he felt that day as he had on the day France was liberated from the Nazis in 1944. He ended his speech with the resounding cry, "*Vive le Québec libre!*" ("Long live free Quebec!"). "*Québec libre*" had been the well-known slogan of Quebec separatists since 1963. De Gaulle

Why did De Gaulle's remarks at Expo 67 stir up a wave of controversy?

seemed to be giving his enthusiastic support to the separatists in their struggle for the "liberation" of Quebec.

Many Canadians watching De Gaulle on television were stunned by his comparison of their government with the Nazis. Prime Minister Pearson was outraged by De Gaulle's interference in Canadian affairs. Pearson issued a sharp statement to the press, labelling as "unacceptable" De Gaulle's encouragement to "the small minority of our population whose aim it is to destroy Canada." The prime minister went on to say that: "The people of Canada are free. Every province in Canada is free. Canadians do not need to be liberated. Indeed, many thousands of Canadians gave their lives in two world wars in the liberation of France."

President De Gaulle cancelled the rest of his trip and returned immediately to France. Until De Gaulle's retirement in 1969, relations between France and Canada continued to be tense because of this affair.

The *Parti Québécois*

The independence movement continued to gain momentum. In 1968, René Lévesque formed the ***Parti Québécois***. Lévesque was a fiery broadcaster and former politician. He spoke passionately about Quebec's rights and the wrongs that had been done to French Canadians. He was a hero to a new generation who preferred to be called *Québécois*, not French Canadians.

Lévesque proposed **sovereignty** for Quebec. In other words, he believed the future for Quebec was as an independent country, running its own affairs without interference from the rest of Canada. Lévesque always opposed terrorism and insisted on democratic and moderate means for achieving independence.

Searching for Identity

In 1963, the Liberals had won the federal election and Lester Pearson became Canada's Prime Minister. The dramatic changes in Quebec during the Quiet Revolution made it clear that this new government had serious issues to work out. Above all, the country needed a renewed, stronger sense of its identity. How could the conflicts between Quebec and the rest of the country be resolved? What should Canada's relationship with the United States be? Was Canadian culture under threat?

The Bi and Bi Commission

In its first year in office, the Pearson government set up a **Royal Commission on**

Bilingualism and Biculturalism ("Bi and Bi Commission") to examine the relations between French and English Canadians. It was also to consider Quebec's role in Confederation. The commission studied the issue for several years. It concluded that Canada was passing through its greatest crisis. The commission warned that unless there was a new and equal partnership between French and English Canadians, a break-up was likely to result. Among the commission's major recommendations were the following:

- Canada should be officially declared bilingual by making French and English the official languages of the federal Parliament and courts.
- New Brunswick and Ontario should officially declare themselves bilingual provinces.
- Provinces where the minority group is more than 10 per cent should provide government services in both English and French.
- The region of Ottawa-Hull should be made a national capital area and should be officially bilingual.
- Students in all provinces should be given a chance to study both official languages.
- More French Canadians should be employed in the federal government.
- In Quebec, French should be the main language of work, government, and business.

To carry out many of these recommendations, the federal government needed the co-operation of the provinces. Some provincial governments resisted legislation that promoted French language and culture. So, although New Brunswick became officially bilingual, Ontario did not. Ontario improved its French language practices, and a later Ontario act allowed for government services in French in designated areas. In 1968 an Ontario law guaranteed the right to education in French at the elementary and secondary levels.

Despite these changes, French-speaking communities outside Quebec continued to struggle for recognition. It was not until the 1980s and 1990s (see Chapter 18) that communities in Manitoba, Ontario, and New Brunswick saw definite improvements in French language rights.

A New Flag for Canada

Before 1965, Canada's official flag was the Union Jack, Britain's national flag. But the Red Ensign was also commonly raised on flagpoles. The Red Ensign was originally flown by the Canadian Merchant Marine. It had a red background with the Union Jack in the top left corner and the Canadian coat of arms diagonally opposite. Many French Canadians objected to the Union Jack and the Red Ensign because of their close association with the British Empire and the conquest of New France in 1759. Other Canadian citizens also thought it was time Canada shed its colonial past and had its own distinctive flag. As new immigrants came to Canada from around the world, Canada was clearly establishing a new and more multicultural identity.

Proposals for a new flag began as early as the 1920s. Prime Minister Mackenzie King tried to have a national flag adopted in 1925 and again in 1946, but failed. In 1948, Quebec adopted its own flag, the *fleur-de-lys*.

During the Suez Crisis in the late 1950s, Canada sent troops as part of the UN peacekeeping force. But the Egyptians objected to the clearly British elements in the Canadian flag. Britain had invaded the Suez. The Egyptians did not trust the Canadians to be impartial in light of these British symbols.

With these incidents in mind, the Liberals submitted a design for a new flag to

The flag in the top right is the Red Ensign, which was replaced by the flag with the single red maple leaf.

Parliament in June 1964. The design purposely avoided British and French symbols—the Union Jack and the *fleur-de-lys*. Instead, there were three red maple leaves sprouting from a single stem on a white background. At each end of the flag were vertical blue bars to suggest the Atlantic and Pacific oceans.

In Parliament, John Diefenbaker led the opposition to "Pearson's Pennant." Diefenbaker, proud of Canada's British connections, wanted to keep the Red Ensign. He was not alone. Many veterans who had fought bravely under the Red Ensign in two world wars did not want to see it replaced.

Months of controversy followed. Finally, an all-party parliamentary committee recommended a new design. It was a single red maple leaf on a white background with red borders at each end. Diefenbaker and some of the opposition hoped to delay the passing of the flag bill by using filibuster. Filibustering means talking on endlessly until the plan has to be dropped so the government can go on with other business.

For 33 days, opposition members stated and restated their reasons for rejecting the new flag. Neither side would give in. Finally, the Liberal government ended the flag debate by using closure. Closure is a special rule limiting the amount of time a bill may be discussed in Parliament. At 2:30 in the morning of 15 December 1964, Canada's new red maple leaf flag was officially passed. It was a scene full of emotion. As the vote was announced (163 for, 78 against), the MPs rose to their feet to sing *O Canada*. Two days later the Senate gave approval, and Royal assent was granted on 28 January 1965. The new Canadian flag flew for the first time on 15 February 1965.

The Official Languages Act 1969

The Bi and Bi Commission had recommended a policy of official bilingualism. It was up to the federal government to respond. Pierre Trudeau, who became Prime Minister in 1968, described bilingualism as the most important issue in French-English relations since the con-

Netsurfer

To find out more about Canada's symbols, visit this web site http://canada.gc.ca/canadiana/symb_e.html

scription crisis. In 1969, his government passed the **Official Languages Act**. The act declared:

The English and French languages are the official languages of Canada for all purposes of the Parliament and Government of Canada and possess and enjoy equality of status and equal rights and privileges as to their use in all the institutions of the Parliament and Government of Canada.

In other words, the act guaranteed that both French and English Canadians could deal with the federal government in their own language. All documents, reports, speeches, and pamphlets issued to the public were now to be published in French and English. In parts of Canada where there was a sizeable French-Canadian minority, government services were to be available in both languages.

The expanded use of the French language provoked many Canadians. Do you agree that products in Canada should have labelling in English and French?

Federal funds were provided to the provinces to promote bilingualism. Facilities for French language radio and television in provinces outside Quebec were expanded. Regulations required bilingual labelling on products sold across Canada. The government also pledged to provide more jobs in the federal government for French-speaking citizens. Until that time, only 14 per cent of the top government jobs were held by French Canadians, even though they made up 25 per cent of the population.

There was widespread criticism of the Official Languages Act outside Quebec. Many Canadians felt that the federal government was trying to "ram French down people's throats." There was a feeling that French Canadians were getting special treatment, and that a dual language system was wasteful. Some people questioned why so much money was spent on making French services available in parts of the country where few people spoke the language. And was Canada not becoming more multilingual, a country in which many different languages were spoken? The issues of French-English relations in Canada, and whether Canada was a bicultural or multicultural country, were far from resolved.

Promoting Canadian Culture

In the 1940s and 1950s, radio, films, books, television, art, music, and even sports in Canada were all in danger of being swamped by American influences. Canadian nationalists had long fought against the influence of American culture on Canada. In many ways, it seemed the development of arts in Canada was dependent on the US.

In 1949, influential Canadian cultural organizations persuaded the government

ArtsTalk

Aboriginal Artists

A number of artists from Aboriginal nations were gaining international recognition in the 1950s and 1960s. Their work increased awareness of Aboriginal cultures. Two prominent artists were Norval Morrisseau and Pitseolak Ashoona.

Norval Morrisseau

In the fall of 1962, the work of a young Ojibwa artist caused excitement in Toronto. The artist was Norval Morrisseau, and it was his first exhibit. On opening night, all his paintings were sold. Such success was remarkable.

Morrisseau's paintings represented subjects from the oral tradition of the Ojibwa people. Many showed the Manitous, the spirits of the Ojibwa. For a long time Morrisseau wondered whether it was proper to paint and exhibit these spiritual subjects. Eventually, he had a vision in a dream which told him it was all right to do so.

Morrisseau had no formal art lessons, although his grandfather had shown him how to make pictures on birchbark. His earliest pictures were in black and shades of brown on paper. Later, he began adding brilliant colours and painting on canvas in acrylics.

Morrisseau has created large murals for public buildings and his works now hang in major collections all over Canada. His work influenced a new generation of Aboriginal painters in eastern Canada such as Benjamin Chee-Chee and Carl Ray. Like Morrisseau, they interpreted traditional stories of their people.

Pitseolak Ashoona

Her prints hang in the National Gallery in Ottawa and in museums in Europe and the United States. They show traditional Inuit scenes. Her energetic drawings capture the spirit and the customs of the traditional life on the land. They show families on hunting expeditions, hooded figures in sealskin boats, and little girls learning to catch a goose. But the way of Inuit life the pictures show has largely disappeared in the North.

The artist is Pitseolak Ashoona. She was born in 1904 on Nottingham Island in the Arctic. For most of her life, she lived a traditional camp life moving with her husband and family in search of good hunting.

The Water Spirit, Mishapishoo, by Norval Morrisseau.

Women Juggling Stones by Pitseolak Ashoona.

After her husband's death, Pitseolak was very poor. In 1957, she heard that Inuit at Cape Dorset were learning to make stone cuts and prints from drawings. Pitseolak decided to try drawing to earn a living. She had never drawn before, but her talents were quickly recognized. Her first drawings were eagerly bought at the Cape Dorset Co-operative. Before she died in 1983, she had created more than 7000 drawings showing the ways of her people. She received many honours for her artistic achievements. In 1977, she was awarded the Order of Canada.

1. In the 1950s, the government encouraged Inuit artists to sell their traditional artistic creations through cooperative marketing. Discuss the pros and cons of this commercialization of Inuit art.
2. Today, a number of artists, writers, and performers from Aboriginal nations are gaining increasing recognition nationally and internationally in many different fields. Investigate some of these artists. For visual artists, you could create a short portfolio to represent their work. For musicians or others, you could present a short biography and list of achievements or an audiotape. Consider some of the following people and investigate others.

John Kim Bell
Tantoo Cardinal
Graham Greene
Tom Jackson
Rita Joe
Jerry Alfred
Tina Keeper

Buffy Sainte-Marie
Tomson Highway
Carl Ray
Kashtin
Ruby Slipperjack
Lawrence "Wapistan" Martin
Doreen Jensen

Daniel David Moses
Thomas King
Susan Aglukark
Douglas Cardinal
Daphne Odjig
Bill Reid
George Littlechild

to set up a **Royal Commission on National Development in the Arts, Letters, and Sciences**. The commission's investigation was the broadest of its kind ever done in Canada. Vincent Massey, who was to become Canada's Governor General, chaired the commission. The "Massey Report," released in 1951, suggested that the government set up an independent organization to promote the Canadian arts, especially the ballet, the theatre, and orchestral groups. The report pointed out that no writer, composer, or playwright could make a living from his or her work in Canada. Gifted Canadians "must be content with a precarious [uncertain] and unrewarding life in Canada, or go abroad where their talents are in demand." The report also recommended that the CBC take over national television.

Six years after the Massey Report, the **Canada Council for the Arts** was established. Two prominent industrialists, James Dunn and Izaak Walton Killam, provided funds for the Council. While the Council reported on its activities to the government, it was meant to be independent so that it could not be used for propaganda purposes. The Governor General's Literary Awards, which had been started in 1936, were now administered by the Canada Council. The formation of the Council was timely. In the late 1950s and early 1960s, there was a great outburst of Canadian artistic activity, although the debate over American influences continued.

The Theatre

In the same year that the Canada Council was formed (1957), the Festival Theatre was built in Stratford. Stratford's theatre community had been active for several years already. Businessman Tom Patterson had persuaded the famous director, Tyrone Guthrie, to become the artistic director of a tent theatre in the town in 1952. In its first season in 1953, the Stratford Shakespearean Festival put on *Richard III*. Opening night was hailed by the drama critic of *The Globe and Mail* as "the most exciting night in the history of Canadian theatre." Year after year the

The Stratford Theatre opened in 1953. Many of Canada's most talented actors got their start at Stratford.

crowds continued to come and the festival outgrew the tent. A permanent theatre was constructed.

Stratford's success became an inspiration for theatres across the country. Drama lovers built the Neptune Theatre in Halifax, the Manitoba Theatre Centre in Winnipeg, Theatre New Brunswick in Fredericton, and similar theatres in many other centres across Canada. Thanks to Stratford and these other theatres, Canadian actors have become internationally known. These include Kate Reid, Jessica Tandy, Lorne Greene, Margot Kidder, William Shatner, Kate Nelligan, Christopher Plummer, Donald Sutherland, Brent Carver, Richard Monette, and Gordon Pinsent. Though some of these performers went to the United States or Europe to establish their reputations, many got their start in Canadian theatres such as Stratford.

The Ballet

In 1951, a 29-year-old ballerina named Celia Franca founded the National Ballet of Canada. Franca, with Betty Oliphant, travelled more than 8000 km across Canada in search of talent. Three hundred auditions were held in schools and public halls. Twenty-eight dancers were chosen. The company could only afford to pay the dancers $25 per week, and $5 more for performances. But they opened their company that year to rave reviews from audiences wherever they danced. Similar companies, such as the Royal Winnipeg Ballet and *Les Grands Ballets Canadiens* in Montreal, have also won an important place in the hearts of Canadians.

Karen Kain graduated from the National Ballet School in 1969 and joined the National Ballet Company. During her career, she was one of the most renowned ballet dancers in the world.

The Printed Word

Some of Canada's most internationally acclaimed novelists and poets emerged in the 1950s and 1960s. Many of them were recognized in Canada with Governor General's Awards. Farley Mowat's first book, *People of the Deer*, was published in 1952. Mowat wrote many other non-fiction and autobiographical works through the 1950s and 1960s. He won the Governor General's Award in the Juvenile Category in 1956 for *Lost in the Barrens*. This adventure story dealt with two boys, one Caucasian and one Cree, who were trying to survive in an arctic winter. Their lives were saved by an Inuit boy.

In the following year, 1957, one of Canada's most important post-war literary figures won the Fiction award—francophone (French-speaking) writer Gabrielle Roy for the novel translated as *Street of Riches*. Roy was already famous for her novel *Bonheur d'Occasion (The Tin Flute)*, published in 1945, about the lives of working-class people during the war. In 1959, new categories of awards were introduced to honour francophone writing.

This period also saw the emergence of such writers as Brian Moore (*The Lonely Passions of Judith Hearne*, 1955; *The Luck of Ginger Coffey*, 1960), Alice Munro (*Dance of the Happy Shades*, 1968), and

Margaret Laurence (*The Stone Angel*, 1964; *A Jest of God*, 1966; *The Fire Dwellers*, 1969). Laurence's *The Stone Angel* was a milestone in Canadian literature and introduced Canadians to the fictional town of Manawaka, where many of Laurence's works are set. It was also the first Canadian novel chosen as required reading for the "aggregate" examination in France's universities.

Another landmark Canadian novel, *The Apprenticeship of Duddy Kravitz* by Mordecai Richler, appeared in 1959. It is the story of an ambitious Jewish entrepreneur in Montreal. Although Canadian publication in 1969 came a full 10 years after the first British and American editions were published, it was followed by a movie in 1974 and a stage version in 1984. Winners of the Governor General's Award for poetry in this period included Leonard Cohen (who declined his 1968 award) and Margaret Atwood in 1966.

Watching television became a family activity in the 1950s, replacing other pastimes such as reading, craftwork, and board games.

Television and Film

Before 1952, very few Canadians had television sets. Those who did watched American programs. When the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC) broadcast the first Canadian television show in Montreal on 6 September 1952 (and two nights later in Toronto), only 26 per cent of the population could see it. By 1954, the number of viewers had risen to 60 per cent of the population. The CBC became the second largest producer of television programming in the world. By 1957, both the English- and French-language networks were broadcasting 10 hours a day, and 85 per cent of Canadians had access to them. The person credited with the rapid introduction and expansion of Canadian television was J. Alphonse Ouimet.

The 1950s were referred to as the "Golden Age" of television because of the quality of programming. Shows such as *Front Page Challenge* and *La Famille Plouffe* were from this era. During the 1960s, CBC produced dramas such as *Wojeck* and *Quentin Durgens MP*, as well as information programs such as *This Hour Has Seven Days*, *Man Alive*, and *The Nature of Things*. Children were not left out: *Mr. Dressup* and *The Friendly Giant* were big favourites. Of all programs available starting in the 1950s, none was more popular than *Hockey Night in Canada*. Soon after it appeared in 1952, this program became a national institution—many have claimed that it brought the country together.

On 1 October 1966, the CBC started broadcasting television in colour. To promote Canadian programs, government rules mandated that Canadian broadcasts must be at least 80 per cent Canadian-owned. Still, Canadians were extremely eager for American programming.

American influence was also strong in the Canadian film industry. Canada's National Film Board (NFB), established in 1939, had become one of the world's largest film studios by 1945. But it was no competition for the Hollywood movie-making machine. By 1947, the US motion-picture industry dominated Canadian film theatres, taking $17 million out of Canada yearly.

C. D. Howe, Canada's Minister of Trade and Commerce, was faced with a dilemma. Should Canada try to keep American films out of Canada and promote the Canadian film industry, or find ways of making money from the spread of American movies into Canada? The Canadian Co-operation Project came up with this solution. Canada would give Hollywood movies access to the Canadian market provided Hollywood:

- improved its coverage of Canada in pre-movie newsreels
- made short films about Canada
- released NFB films in the United States
- inserted Canadian scenes in Hollywood films
- promoted Canada in radio ads read by Hollywood stars
- made a film about the trade imbalance between Canada and the United States (Canada was importing far more from the US than it was exporting to the American market)
- hired a Canadian government representative to oversee the co-operation project (this representative would live in Hollywood and make sure American films included some dialogue that mentioned Canada and some location shots that showed Canada).

The Canadian Co-operation Project was in effect from 1947 to 1951. In 1954, the government took a small step in sup-

The Technological Edge

IMAX FILMS

In 1967, a Canadian company unveiled a new innovation in film technology at Expo 67. The company was Multi-Screen Corporation. The innovation was a large-screen process for movies that we now know as "IMAX." It was a revolutionary technology that allowed viewers to be completely immersed in what they were watching. No one who watches an IMAX movie leaves the theatre without being amazed.

The idea came from the large-screen experiments at Expo 67. It was developed by Canadians Graeme Ferguson, Roman Kroitor, Robert Kerr, and William Shaw. The system uses 70mm film (twice as wide as usual commercial film), which is turned on its side. When projected, it is 10 times the size of regular movies, with an image 8 stories high. In 1970, the world saw the first IMAX film, *Tiger Child*, commissioned by the Fuji Corporation of Japan for Expo 70. In 1971, the first permanent IMAX cinema was opened in the Cinesphere at Ontario Place in Toronto. In 1973, IMAX had introduced another innovation—OMNIMAX, an IMAX dome cinema with a curved screen.

Apart from developing the technology, IMAX also makes movies (now over 100), distributes them, and designs theatres in which to show them. There are more than 129 IMAX theatres around the world. Many filmmakers from the National Film Board have also made IMAX films and reflect the excellence of Canadians in the field of documentary filmmaking. In 1986 and again in 1997, IMAX won Academy Awards for scientific and technical achievement in movies.

In 1991, IMAX also won an award for contributions to Canadian culture from the Canadian Department of Communications. But like many other Canadian companies, IMAX was sold to an American company in 1994.

1. Have you ever seen an Imax film? Describe the experience. What was the subject of the film?
2. What effect do you think the sale of IMAX to an American company will have on its filmmaking?

porting Canadian film by granting a 60 per cent tax deduction for money invested in it. But it was not until 1967, with the founding of the Canadian Film Development Corporation (now Telefilm Canada) that the Canadian feature film industry was seriously supported by the government.

The Order of Canada

With growth in national pride came new ways of honouring Canadians and their culture. Appointments to the **Order of Canada** were first made in 1967 as part of the Centennial celebrations. Any Canadian who can claim distinguished or outstanding achievement can be appointed to the Order. There are limits on the number of people appointed at any one time, and there are three levels of membership: Companions, Officers, and Members.

Companions are people of "outstanding achievement and merit of the highest degree." There can be no more than 150 Companions at any one time. Officers are people with "achievement and merit of a high degree." A limit of 46 are appointed each year. Members are people who have performed "distinguished service in or to a particular locality, group, or field activity." Up to 92 Members are appointed each year. The badge of the Order is in the shape of a six-point snowflake with a maple leaf at the centre. The motto on the award is *Desiderantes meliorem patriam* ("They desire a better country").

Popular Culture

The 1950s and 1960s were also an era of new directions in popular culture. It was the age of rock'n'roll, hippies, and protest songs. Again, foreign influences—from both Britain and the United States—had an effect on popular culture in Canada. But Canadians also developed some of their own unique talents, particularly in the area of folk music.

Rock'n'roll hit the world in 1954 when American Elvis Presley made his first recordings. Elvis had star quality, youth, sex appeal, and a dynamic singing style. By 1957, Elvis Presley had become the most important symbol of North America's new youth culture. It was a culture that was changing music, everyday pastimes, and social values. When Presley visited Toronto in April 1957, 24 000 teenagers packed Maple Leaf Gardens for two shows. He gyrated through his hits "Love Me Tender," "Hound Dog," and "Heartbreak Hotel." The show ended with Elvis flinging himself to his knees, sweat pouring down his face, and people screaming and crying for more.

What made rock'n'roll so popular with the teenagers of the 1950s? For one thing, it was a way for them to express themselves against the adult world. It seemed to deal with the feelings and concerns of

Elvis Presley became the "King" of rock'n'roll. Why did rock'n'roll have such wide appeal for young people in the 1950s?

youth. A second factor was just as important. Teenagers in the 1950s had money to buy their own radios, records, and record players. Music became an obsession for many as youth-oriented radio shows gained large audiences.

By the 1960s, many young people were rejecting the values and materialism of their parents' generation. The term **"counterculture"** came into the language. The cultural standards among youth ran counter to everything they saw as part of the "establishment"—police, values of parents, government, big business. Mini-skirts, long hair, tie-dyed T-shirts, beads, and brightly coloured bell-bottom pants replaced the grey-flannel-suit look of their parents. Many young people "turned on" to drugs. Marijuana, LSD, amphetamines, and barbiturates were all part of the counterculture. In districts such as Yorkville in Toronto, mobile clinics were set up to rescue young people on "bad trips" from taking drugs.

The Beatles burst on the scene in the 1960s. They began a revolution in popular music.

A subgroup of the counterculture, **hippies**, rebelled by dropping out of society. Outwardly, they rejected many of society's values. Some went "back to the land" where they tried living in communes and raising organic foods. Many preached international peace and love. They wore their hair long and dressed exotically. And, like many of their peers in this generation, they experimented with drugs, especially marijuana.

In 1964, teenagers discovered the Beatles! To the shock of adults, young people copied shaggy Beatle haircuts, bought Beatle buttons, watches, wigs, dolls, and wallets, and repeated Beatle lyrics, such as "She loves you, yeah, yeah, yeah." Sociologists called **"Beatlemania"** a form of protest against the adult world. They said it could not last. The experts were wrong. The boys from Liverpool, England, made some of the most important advances in popular music in their era.

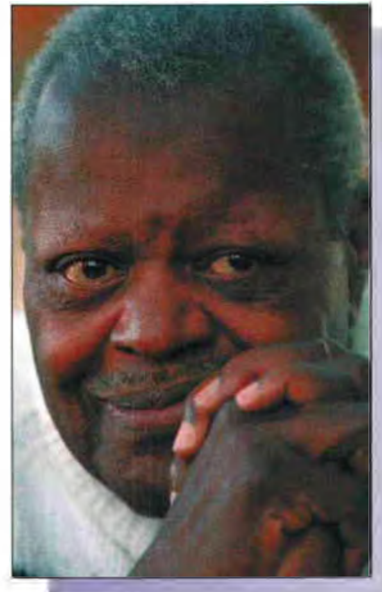
The 1960s was the decade of the "British invasion." Groups such as the Rolling Stones, the Dave Clark Five, Herman's Hermits, the Animals, and Peter and Gordon followed the Beatles' popularity in Canada and the United States. The 1950s was the era of the solo singer. But with the popularity of the Beatles, the 1960s saw the growth of musical groups. Songs by American groups such as the Beach Boys, Creedance Clearwater Revival, the Monkees, and Led Zeppelin went to the top of the charts. Some Canadian groups also prospered, such as the Guess Who and Lighthouse.

Motown music, designed to make music sound good on car radios and jukeboxes, featured Black singers such as Stevie Wonder, Aretha Franklin, and James Brown. Teenagers loved to dance in the 1960s. The driving music of Janis Joplin, Jimi Hendrix, and Jim Morrison and the Doors got everyone dancing.

Bob Dylan was known as America's foremost folk singer. Many of his songs,

such as "Blowing in the Wind," "The Times They Are a 'Changing," and "Don't Think Twice, It's All Right" became top 40 hits. As youth rebellions and protests against the establishment gained momentum, Bob Dylan's words and music became the anthems of a generation. A Toronto bar band gained international fame when it became linked to Bob Dylan. The band, known in the early 1960s as the Hawks, was the backing combo for Canadian rockabilly singer Ronnie Hawkins.

In 1965, the Hawks became Bob Dylan's new backing band. By 1968, the Hawks had renamed themselves The Band, and their first two albums (*Music From Big Pink* in 1968 and *The Band* in 1969) have been credited with redefining rock 'n' roll in the late 1960s. (Big Pink was the name of the pink house in New York where Dylan and The Band recorded many songs together.) The Band was made up of four Canadians—Robbie Robertson, Rick Danko, Richard Manuel, Garth Hudson—and American Levon Helm.



Canadian jazz pianist Oscar Peterson won widespread acclaim during the 1950s. He continues to be one of Canada's most respected artists.

Other important Canadian rock and folk voices in the 1960s included Ian and Sylvia, Gordon Lightfoot, Buffy Sainte-Marie, Joni Mitchell, and Neil Young.

Historical Inquiry

Developing Skills: Interviewing

An interview is a face-to-face meeting between people to talk about a topic or issue. Usually one or both parties want to obtain information. When you go for an interview for a summer job, you want to know about the job and whether you have the skills to do it. The employer wants to know whether you are the right person for the job.

Journalists make their living conducting interviews. Barry Broadfoot is a newspaper reporter and social historian who has collected information through interviews. He travelled across Canada talking to people about their experiences. The interviews are collected in books describing what life was like during the Great Depression and World War II. The books and interviews are an important part of our oral history.

There were three secrets to Broadfoot's success. He went armed with a tape recorder, he did thorough background research, and he went prepared with good questions. You can collect valuable information about the culture of the 1950s and 1960s by interviewing someone who was a teenager during one of those decades. Use the questionnaire on the next page or make up one of your own. Share with the class what you discover in the interviews.

Steps for an Effective Interview

1. Know your purpose. What information are you after? In this case, you want to know more about teenage culture in the 1950s or 1960s.

2. Prepare well in advance by researching the topic. You need to be well informed to ask intelligent questions. For example, some research will tell you that television did not come into most people's homes until the 1950s. With this knowledge, you can ask whether the person had a television and what shows were popular.

3. Write out questions beforehand. The right question is the only way to get the right information. You could decide on key topics you want to cover such as clothing styles, music, etc. These topics will help you focus your questions.

4. Be flexible. Think of secondary or follow-up questions to get deeper explanations. Listen actively to what the person is saying and encourage him or her to expand on a topic that may uncover some interesting information.

5. Make arrangements with the person to be interviewed at a convenient time and place. Make sure the arrangements are comfortable.

6. Write down as much information as you can or take an audio or video recorder. Always get permission to tape the interview from the person you are interviewing and know how the machine operates. Practise before the interview.

7. Finish the interview with an open-ended question such as: "Do you have anything else to add?" Valuable information may be overlooked if you use only your directed questions.

8. Expand your notes as soon as possible after the interview.

9. Practise good manners. Be on time. Thank the person at the end of the interview, and send a thank you letter afterward.

10. Share the results of your interview with your classmates.

Sample Questionnaire

Subject's Name: ______________________________

Interviewer's Name: ______________________________

Approximate age of the subject during the 1950s or 1960s: ______

1. *Background:* When and where did you attend high school? What are your best memories of high school?
2. *Fashion:* What styles of clothing do you associate with the 1960s? Describe your favourite outfit. Did you wear anything that could be described as outrageous? If so, describe it.
3. *Music:* What types of music did teenagers listen to in the 1960s? Who were your favourite male and female artists and groups? What were the themes of the popular songs?
4. *Movies:* Do you recall any movies that you watched during the Sixties? What were the themes of films during this time? Who were your favourite movie stars?
5. *Television:* Did your family have television in the 1960s? What were your favourite TV shows?
6. *Attitudes:* Did you feel there was a generation gap between you and your parents? If so, explain.
7. *Protests:* What protest movements do you associate with the decade? Were you personally involved in any?
8. What is your happiest memory of being a teenager? Do you have any other memories of the 1960s that you would like to share?

Activities

Understand Facts and Concepts

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

   Expo 67
   point system (of immigration)
   Quiet Revolution
   separatism
   Front de Libération du Québec (FLQ)
   Parti Québécois
   sovereignty
   Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism
   Official Languages Act
   Royal Commission on National Development in the Arts, Letters, and Sciences
   Canada Council for the Arts
   Order of Canada
   counterculture
   hippies
   Beatlemania

2. The Canadian population changed considerably after World War II. What factors brought about this change? Give examples.
3. What were the causes and goals of the Quiet Revolution in Quebec?
4. a) In the 1950s and 1960s Canadians became increasingly concerned about American domination of Canadian culture. What areas were at the most risk?
   b) What did the government do about the situation?

Think and Communicate

5. a) Using an organizer, outline the pros and cons of the "point system" of immigration.
   b) Do you think this system was non-discriminatory? Justify your answer. What other factors would you include?
6. If you were a French Canadian living in Quebec in the 1960s, would you have joined the separatist movement? Why or why not? Use a decision-making organizer in your answer.
7. a) What are the special symbols that represent your school or community? How do you feel when you see these symbols used?
   b) Why are symbols, such as a flag, important to a country? Do you think Canada should have gotten its own flag in 1964? Why would some groups of people be strongly opposed to a new flag?
   c) Identify some other symbols that represent Canada. What aspects of Canada do these symbols emphasize?
8. Is it important that cultural activities such as the ballet, opera, and orchestral music are protected when more popular culture is not? Present your point of view.

9. The following words are teenage slang expressions from the 1960s. Find out what the words mean. How do these expressions reflect the counterculture of the decade?
   a) bread
   b) rap
   c) groovy
   d) flower child
   e) far out
   f) out of sight
   g) good vibes
   h) psychedelic

10. a) Listen to music by Canadian performers from the 1950s or 1960s. What major themes are expressed in the songs? How do the songs reflect a decade in which youth rebelled or protested against the "establishment"?
    b) What influences from the 1960s can you still see in music and fashions today?

Apply Your Knowledge

11. Imagine you are asked to design a flag for Canada. Display your design on a card or create it on computer. It should be as simple as possible. Look at illustrations of flags from around the world to see which ones are the most effective. Points to consider in your design include: historical factors, desirable symbols, ease of recognition, and the impression you want to create of the country.

12. Do you think that Canadian students (outside Quebec) who take French in school are more likely to be sympathetic toward Quebec's aspirations? Explain your point of view.

13. Today, there are many American television shows from the 1950s and 1960s shown on re-runs. Using an organizer, show the differences between the shows of then and now.

Get to the Source

14. a) The Bi and Bi Commission challenged both English and French Canadians to make serious changes in their attitudes. Read the quote below from the Royal Commission.

> *From evidence so far accumulated, it appears to us that English-speaking Canadians as a whole must come to recognize the existence of a vigorous French-speaking society within Canada, and to find out more about the aspirations, frustrations, and achievements of French-speaking Canadians, in Quebec and outside it. They must come to understand what it means to be a member of a minority, or of a smaller partner people, and to be ready to give that minority assurances which are unnecessary for a majority. More than a century ago, Sir John A. Macdonald wrote to an English-speaking friend: 'Treat them as a nation and they will act as a free people generally do—generously. Call them a faction and they become factious! They have to face the fact that, if Canada is to continue to exist, there must be a true partnership, and that the partnership must be worked out as between equals. They must be prepared to discuss in a forthright, open-minded way the practical implications of such a partnership.'*

On the same evidence, it seems to us that French-speaking Canadians for their part must be ready to respond positively if there are to be truly significant developments towards a better partnership. It would be necessary for French-speaking Quebeckers to restrain their present tendency to concentrate so intensely on their own affairs and to look so largely inward. Problems affecting all Canada are their problems too. They would need to beware of the kind of thinking that puts 'la nation' above all other considerations and values. They too, like the English-speaking, should forget the conquest and any psychological effects they think it left. They would have to avoid blaming English-speaking Canadians for shortcomings which are their own and, at times, to remember that English-speaking Canadians have their feelings too. They, as well as the English-speaking must remember that, if a partnership works, each party must give as well as get.

a) Make a two-column chart in your notebook and label the columns "What English Canadians should do" and "What French Canadians should do." Summarize in your own words the recommendations to both cultural groups.
b) Do you think the recommendations were sound? Explain.

Prosperity, Protest, and New Politics

The Baby Boom

The post-war years in Canada were the era of the **baby boom**. In just 15 years between 1946 and 1961, Canada's population increased by 50 per cent, from 12 to 18 million. Hard times during the Depression and World War II had kept people from having big families in the 1930s and 1940s. People put off getting married. When they did marry, they put off having children for as long as they could.

The baby boom created a major demand for new schools.

In the 1950s, the future looked promising again. The post-war years saw an economic boom. People were ready to have more children. Four million Canadian babies were born in the 1950s alone. An improved health system also meant that fewer babies died. The baby boom made the 1950s and 1960s an era of youth, and many of these young people had pocket money and allowances to spend. They added to the new "consumer age."

But the baby boom also brought some challenges. Five years after the boom started there was a desperate need for more schools and teachers. The 1961 school population was twice that of the 1946 population! Since Canada was industrialized and moving into an era of technological innovation, workers needed to stay in school longer. In the mid-1960s, the baby boomers increased the demand for colleges and universities.

As the baby boomers started to enter the workforce or attend college, they challenged traditional values and actively worked for change. The 1960s was the era of protest movements. The women's liberation movement, the labour movement, Aboriginal political movements, and movements for peace, civil rights, and human rights were just some of them.

1. What was the baby boom?
2. a) How do you think the baby boom might benefit Canadian society and the economy?
   b) What challenges do you think it could pose?

Suburbs and Urbanization

With the population explosion in the 1950s, families needed new homes. Many people had been too poor in the 1930s to build or buy new homes. During the war, there had been a shortage of building materials. In the 1950s, people believed peaceful and prosperous times were returning, and many Canadians went on a home-buying spree. Men and women returning from the war and new immigrants also needed homes. **Suburbs** mushroomed around the major cities.

These new communities made home ownership possible for more people. Land was less expensive on the outskirts of cities than it was in the central downtown areas. As more Canadians bought cars and new transit lines were built, it was possible to live farther away from the workplace. Developers began to build planned communities centred around neighbourhood plazas or schools. The Central Mortgage and Housing Corporation (CMHC), formed by the federal government in 1946, also helped people own their own homes. It offered low-cost loans for mortgages and included a home-building program.

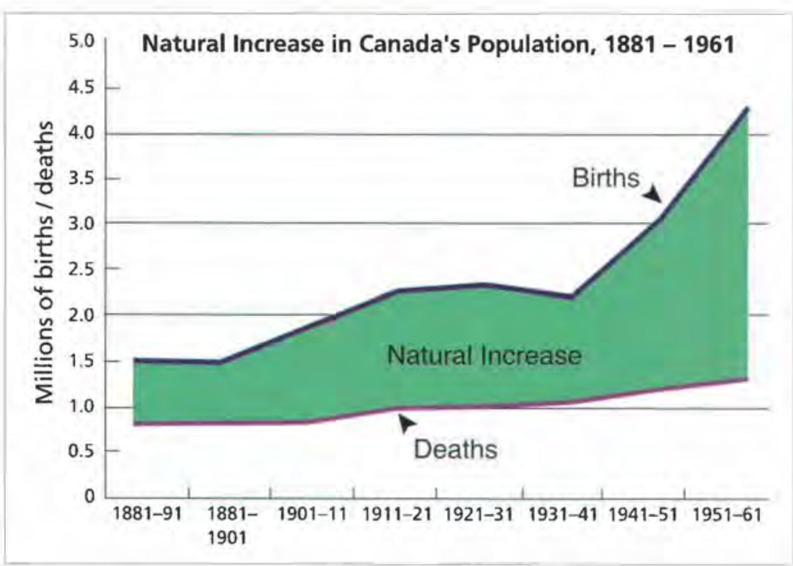
People flocked to new detached bungalows with big picture windows, spacious lawns front and back, and an attached garage or carport. New fads in home design and decorating took hold. Inside, white woodwork was popular. Living rooms often featured three walls painted one colour, with the fourth covered with wallpaper. Kitchens had the latest in new electrical appliances such as pop-up toasters and coffeepots.

Living in the suburbs gave people not only more physical space, but also a sense of more "mental and emotional space." Each member of a family could have his or her "own space"—a room to themselves. Children often had a bedroom of

The Population Explosion

Number of births per 1000 women 1941	87
Number of births per 1000 women 1951	109
Average age a woman married 1941	25.4
Average age a woman married 1961	22

Immigration added to the population explosion. Two million immigrants came to Canada between 1946 and 1961. Most went to Canada's urban areas.



What happened to the natural increase in Canada's population after 1945?

their own. Many homes also had recreation rooms, often in basements, where children could gather and play. Living rooms featured a radio, television, and record player.

Not all Canadians could afford these new homes and fads, but suburban development was a phenomenon of the 1950s. By 1961, 11 million of Canada's 18 million people lived in urban places, many in the new suburbs.

Technological Changes

Technological changes accompanied the new lifestyle of the 1950s. The growth of suburbs went hand in hand with an upsurge in driving and new car styles. Canadians bought over 3.5 million passenger cars in the 1950s. Each year's model seemed to grow longer, lower, and wider. North Americans believed that "bigger was better," so enormous V8 engines and power steering became added features. Two-tone colours, plenty of chrome, and outlandish tail fins became the fads of the 1957 and 1958 models. They were sometimes called "chrome ships."

Gas was cheap and Canadians seemed to drive everywhere. Instead of shopping downtown or on "Main Street," Canadians headed for shopping centres. Shopping malls were another new invention of the 1950s. Plazas were designed to serve suburban communities and the automobile. Rows of stores faced a parking lot where customers could drive in for one-stop shopping convenience.

Television

More Canadians had money to spend in the post-war years, and Canada became a consumer society. The appliance that everyone wanted first was a television set. TV did not become widespread in Canada until the 1950s. The screens were small and the picture was in black and white, often lost in a snowstorm of dots. Even though both the picture quality and programs were limited at first, television caught on quickly in urban centres. Television was not available in the less populated regions of Canada until years later.

Family life underwent great changes because of television. Families that used to go to church on Sunday evening, play games, or visit relatives, suddenly found themselves watching the *Ed Sullivan Show*. If your family was the first on the block to have a set, you invited the neighbours in to watch. They were motioned to sit down and be quiet. There was no time for conversation. Eating habits changed when families bought TV tables so they could eat their meals in front of the set. Children were watching so much television that homework suffered. Children's viewing habits became an urgent topic at hundreds of parent-teacher association meetings.

Among the favourite Canadian shows and entertainers were comedians Wayne and Shuster, Tommy Hunter on *Country Hoedown*, *Front Page Challenge*, and *Hockey Night in Canada*.

Cars in the 1950s were large, long, and low with distinctive tail fins. They were a symbol of post-war prosperity.

Other Technologies

Television was not the only major technological change. The post-war years were a period of major discoveries. American Dr. Jonas Salk invented the polio vaccine and ended the scourge of infantile paralysis. The DNA molecule was discovered by British scientists James Watson and Francis Crick. The "big bang" theory about the creation of the universe was first published. The transistor, invented by Bell Telephone scientists, appeared. Jet airplanes took people around the world.

The 1950s and 1960s were also the "plastic age." No other industry brought about such dramatic changes in everyday culture. Many things once made of other materials began to be manufactured from plastics. These included building materials, clothing and accessories such as belts and handbags, hi-fi records, car interiors, and kitchen utensils. It became common to say "using the plastic," meaning the credit card.

Changes in technology, consumer products, and global trade went hand in hand in the 1950s and 1960s. Toy space guns were a good example. Before the "Space Race" between the United States and the Soviet Union began in 1958, science fiction characters such as Buck Rogers were popular. Children played with heavy metal toy space guns made in the United States. But when NASA began competing with the Soviet space agency to travel in space, children's space toys became much more sophisticated. Plastic allowed for more flexible designs and sturdier, more varied shapes. But American manufacturers were not as skilled in making toys with plastic as they had been with tin.

In the 1950s, there was no fad quite like hula-hooping—keeping a plastic hoop whirling around your body. The idea was supposed to have come from Australia.

Spotlight On . . .

Marshall McLuhan

Marshall McLuhan became famous in the 1960s for his studies on the way the mass media affect our lives and behaviour. Born in Edmonton in 1911, he studied literature in Manitoba and Cambridge, England. He later became a professor of English at the University of Toronto. His contribution to the field of communications and to the way we see the world was so important that his work has been compared to other great thinkers such as Sigmund Freud and Charles Darwin.

McLuhan believed that the print media (books and newspapers) produced a particular way of thinking. The arrival of the electronic media (television, radio, and computers), and its growth in importance over print media, permanently changed this way of thinking. Marshall McLuhan became famous for the phrase, "the medium is the message." In other words, the way in which we communicate is as important as what we communicate.

Another famous phrase coined by McLuhan is "the **global village**." He was describing the modern world, in which electronic media have removed the barriers that long distances used to pose. Today, we can find out about any event within minutes of it happening. McLuhan was a visionary in his development of these ideas. As early as 1964, he forecast the effects of the Internet and Virtual Reality. He also wrote about the power of mass media advertising in influencing people's ideas. McLuhan died in Toronto in 1980.

1. Television changed family life in a number of concrete ways. A later innovation predicted by McLuhan—the Internet—has also changed people's routines and interactions. Describe these changes. How do they compare with the changes television brought?
2. Each period of history takes its character from its major form of communication. The electronic age brings all parts of the world in contact with each other, making the world seem, as McLuhan described, more like a village than a set of distant, separate nations. What are the advantages and disadvantages of the global village?

Asian governments, such as those in Hong Kong, China, South Korea, and Taiwan, made plastics one of their top-priority industries. They limited imports of plastics into their countries to increase the demand for their own plastic products. With the large profits they made, the firms could reduce the prices on their exports. As a result, Asian plastic toys monopolized the North American market in the 1950s and 1960s.

Other regions of the world joined the plastics revolution. In the 1960s, European designers, especially in Italy, introduced inflatable furniture and molded "Go Go" chairs to consumers. Many improvements in sporting goods came from plastics research in the military. For example, the reinforced plastic invented for the Minuteman Intercontinental Ballistic Missile (ICBM) in 1959 was later used in golf club shafts, fly rods, and tennis rackets.

The New Prosperity

The 1950s and 1960s are often called an age of affluence. In other words, more people were well-off and had money to spend on homes, cars, and other consumer goods. Between 1946 and 1960, average incomes in Canada nearly doubled. Most Canadians enjoyed a higher standard of living than they had in the pre-war years.

Industries in Canada were expanding and taking advantage of new global markets. Farming was not as important to the Canadian economy as it had been before World War II. Workers were finding jobs in the growing manufacturing, oil and gas, and public service areas of the economy. Farm workers had made up 25 per cent of the total workforce in 1946, but by 1961 this figure had dropped to 11 per cent.

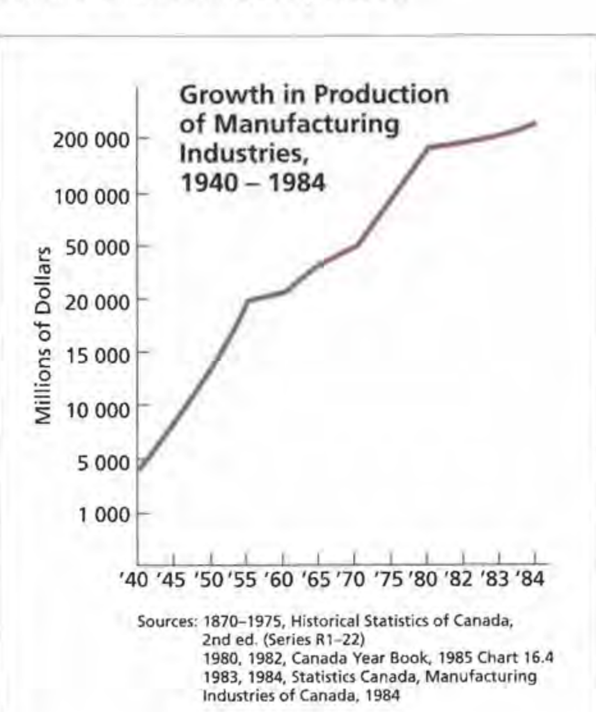
In a sense, the Leduc oil discovery in Alberta marked the beginning of the post-war economic boom in Canada. On 13 February 1947, a tall pillar of flame and smoke shot up into the Alberta winter sky. The Leduc Number 1 oil well near Edmonton had just come in!

Oil company crews had been exploring in Canada's West since 1913. But until the Leduc strike, about 90 per cent of Canada's total output was coming from the Turner Valley near Calgary and the Norman Wells in the Northwest Territories. By 1947, Turner Valley production was falling off by about 10 per cent a year. When Leduc Number 1 started pumping, oil hysteria swept the country again. Almost overnight, sleepy little towns near Edmonton became boom towns. Soon, more than 1200 wells were steadily producing in the Leduc area.

In every area of economic activity, new production records were set. At no time before had Canada experienced such tremendous expansion. The Ford Motor Company opened a huge automobile plant near Oakville, Ontario, and General Motors built a plant in Ste-Thérèse, Quebec. North Star aircraft were being manufactured in Montreal, and Hamilton steel mills were rolling out steel for Alberta oil pipelines.

New mining operations also sprang up across the country. When the Ungava Peninsula in northern Quebec became the centre of high-grade iron ore mining operations, tent cities sprang up in the bush. A great aluminum smelter was built at Kitimat far up the British Columbia coast. Construction began on a railway to Great Slave Lake to help develop mining resources in the Northwest Territories. Uranium from northern Saskatchewan and from Elliot Lake and Bancroft in Ontario went into the production of new American nuclear weapons. Britain and the United States contracted to buy as much uranium as Canada could produce.

Netsurfer
Visit the Statistics Canada site at http://statcan.ca for information on the Canadian economy.



Sources: 1870–1975, Historical Statistics of Canada, 2nd ed. (Series R1–22)
1980, 1982, Canada Year Book, 1985 Chart 16.4
1983, 1984, Statistics Canada, Manufacturing Industries of Canada, 1984

SPOTLIGHT ON . . .

Two Canadian Industrialists

Kenneth Colin Irving

"K.C. Irving is New Brunswick." This statement reflected the enormous amount of money K.C. Irving invested in the province of New Brunswick. Irving was a powerful Canadian industrialist who helped develop a wide variety of industries, including pulp and paper, oil refining, publishing, and broadcasting.

Irving was born into a well-to-do family in1899 in Buctouche, New Brunswick. He attended university in the Maritimes for a short time before joining the Royal Flying Corps in World War I. After the war, he took over a Ford motor agency and Imperial Oil service station. In 1924, when Imperial Oil withdrew his right to sell its products, he borrowed enough money to start the Irving Oil Company. He soon had many service stations and garages, and was competing with Imperial Oil head on.

In the 1930s, Irving took over some bus and trucking firms and opened new transportation routes. When his father died in 1933, he took over the family lumber business. "K.C." later purchased the New Brunswick Railway because it controlled a lot of timber land he wanted. In the process of harvesting timber, he also established reforestation practices.

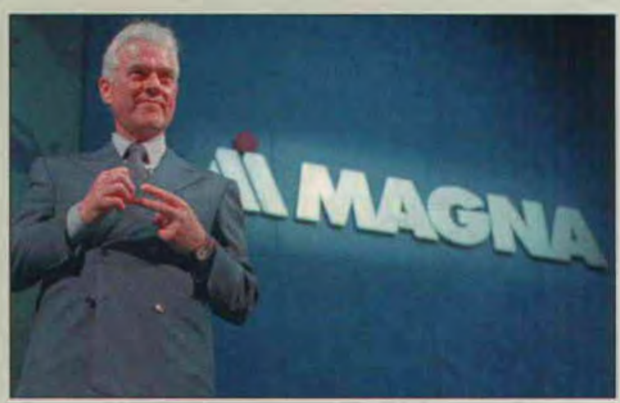
By 1951, Irving Pulp and Paper Ltd. dominated the New Brunswick timber industry. It gave Irving a ready supply of pulp for the many Maritime newspapers he owned. His network of service stations expanded, he started a tanker building operation, and in 1960 the Irving oil refinery was built in Saint John. Much of Irving's success came from vertical integration. In other words, he used his profits to buy more businesses that his companies relied on. The oil refinery supplied his gas stations, ocean tankers transported oil to his refinery, and bus lines bought his oil and gasoline.

K.C. Irving's industries created thousands of jobs in an area plagued by unemployment. He also provided training for his employees. But K.C. Irving was also a controversial figure. Some people felt he had too much control over New Brunswick's economy. He bought out most of his competitors and had a reputation for being anti-union. Everywhere they went, New Brunswickers were affected by Irving and his companies. When K.C. Irving died in 1992, he owned 300 different companies and was ranked as one of the top 20 richest people in the world.

Frank Stronach

Frank Stronach is one of the most successful Canadian businessmen of the post-war period. He was born in a small town called Weiz, Austria, in 1932. He grew up in a working-class neighbourhood and left school at 14 to become an apprentice in a tool and die making shop. In 1954, he immigrated to Canada with only a suitcase and a few hundred dollars. He opened his first business, Multimatic Investments Ltd., in Toronto in 1957.

From a modest beginning, Stronach's business grew into Magna International Inc., Canada's largest automotive parts manufacturer. Today, the company is the world's most diversified auto parts supplier, with 24 000 employees in 100 manufacturing facilities. Stronach gained business by using the company's own technical expertise to solve design and assembly problems for the big



auto manufacturers. While much of Canada's auto manufacturing was owned by American firms, Stronach built a major and highly successful Canadian company.

Stronach has been criticized for using non-union workers. He defends his policy by pointing to his "Fair Enterprise" system, which guarantees the right of employees, management, and investors to share in profits. Everyone who works at Magna has a stake in its success.

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1. What qualities do you think make industrialists such as K.C. Irving and Frank Stonach successful?
2. What are the advantages and disadvantages of these large business enterprises owned by major industrialists?
3. What is your opinion of Stronach's "Fair Enterprise" system? Find out if other companies use a similar system.

Potash development in Saskatchewan did much to improve the economy of that province in the 1950s. The construction of refineries, processing plants, and the world's longest oil and gas pipeline added to the prosperity of the West. The Prairie Provinces were finally able to shake off the 20 terrible years of dust bowl and depression.

New products and resources became the driving force behind Canada's economy. For a long time, wheat had been Canada's leading export. Now wheat stood in third place on Canada's trade list. Newsprint and lumber moved into first and second place. Next came resources that were unknown or reasonably unimportant exports before World War II—aluminum, uranium, asbestos, oil and natural gas, iron ore, and chemical products. With the development of these new industries, Canada's economy became more diversified. A number of prominent industrialists came to the forefront in this era of economic growth. It was a time in which companies expanded into new areas.

Differences Between Regions

Not every part of Canada benefited from the post-war economic boom. In the 1950s and 1960s, there were still differences in economic prosperity from one region of the country to another. These differences were referred to as **regional disparity**. Regional disparity was based on differing resources, climates, population densities, and manufacturing facilities. In the 1950s and 1960s, resource-based and manufacturing industries were the main source of wealth. Some regions had greater resource and industrial potential than others.

With the falling demand for coal, fish, and farm produce, many people in the Atlantic provinces found themselves out of work or making only a basic living. The region had few other natural resources to develop. Many people were forced to move to other areas of Canada. The region lost 15 per cent of its population between 1951 and 1971. As people and workers left,

the growth of the economy was hindered even more. It was a vicious cycle.

The West continued to be a supplier of resources to Central Canada (Ontario and Quebec). Wheat, timber, minerals, and other products were shipped eastward. Manufacturing industries in these regions had difficulty competing with industries in Central Canada because of continuing high transportation costs. Industries in Central Canada benefited most from the growth in manufacturing. In 1957, Ontario produced over 50 per cent of total manufacturing in the country.

In the 1940s, the government began to consider ways to deal with the problem of regional disparity. In 1957, the first **equalization payments** were made. Equalization payments are funds the federal government gives to provinces to ensure basic equality of services across the country. For example, provinces receive funds to raise education and social services to the national average. In 1962 and 1967, equalization payments increased. The provinces receiving these payments could spend them any way they wanted.

Another series of programs was created in 1962. These programs did not use direct payments to provinces. Instead, their goal was to create employment opportunities through job training, the building of industrial parks, spending on schools and social services, and development of **infrastructure** (roads, bridges, power lines, hospitals, etc.—the basic structures needed for economic development). By 1967, the Department of Regional Economic Expansion (DREE) was in charge of these programs. It provided grants for new factories, job training, and health and social services in areas of need. In some provinces, federal and provincial governments shared the costs of the programs. In economically depressed provinces, the federal government paid a larger share of the costs.

But the effects were limited. One Atlantic official remarked that the millions of dollars Ottawa pumped into the region only "kept the gap [of regional disparity] from widening." The Diefenbaker government helped western farmers with measures such as crop insurance, but the programs did not eliminate the roots of many problems. Disparities continued to exist.

Canadian Output of Manufactured Goods by Provinces, 1968

Alta. 3.8%
Man. 3.1%
NB 1.6%
NS 1.6%
Sask. 1.4%
PEI 0.1%
Nfld. 0.5%
BC 8.2%
Quebec 29.2%
Ontario 50.5%

Source: James Peter, A Guide to Understanding Canada (1968), p.42

Infrastructure Development

The construction of the **St. Lawrence Seaway** was one of the most spectacular projects in the 1950s. It was also an example of the strong ties binding the Canadian and American economies.

For years, Canadian and American officials had talked of expanding this great inland waterway so that ocean-going ships could travel as far as the western end of Lake Superior. They also hoped to harness the rapids on the St. Lawrence River for hydroelectric power. Both Ontario and New York State desperately needed the extra power that this project could produce.

Although the joint plan had been discussed thoroughly, American officials

In its time, the St. Lawrence Seaway was the most advanced waterway engineering project in the world. The amounts of cargo shipped through the Seaway reached record levels of over 50 million tonnes a year in the late 1970s.

hesitated. American railroad companies were afraid they would lose business if ocean vessels could sail directly to cities such as Detroit and Chicago. In 1951, Canada decided to go ahead with the construction of the St. Lawrence Seaway on its own. Only at the last minute did the Americans decide to join in. The United States may have realized that once built, the Seaway would be entirely within Canadian territory and control unless the project was a joint agreement.

The planning and design of the seaway, and most of the construction, were carried out by Canadians. The control dam required by the power project flooded a large area between Cornwall and Iroquois in Ontario. Entire towns and villages had to be relocated, and new homes were built for 6500 people. Sixty-five kilometres of the CNR were rerouted and Highway 2 was relocated. The St. Lawrence Seaway was officially opened on 26 June 1959 by Queen Elizabeth II, representing Canada, and President Eisenhower, representing the United States.

A wild and bitter debate over American control of the Canadian economy broke out in Parliament in 1956. The Liberals had decided to finance the building of a **trans-Canada pipeline**. The pipeline would carry natural gas from Alberta to markets in Ontario, Quebec, and the United States. The company entrusted with building the pipeline was a private syndicate made up of more American than Canadian businesspeople.

In Parliament, the opposition asked pointed questions. Why was the government loaning $118 million to a pipeline company that was 83 per cent American-owned? How much of the natural gas would end up in the United States? Was the Trans-Canada Pipeline Company getting too generous a deal from the Canadian taxpayer?

C. D. Howe, the cabinet minister in charge of the pipeline, was impatient to get construction started. He did not want to sit around the House of Commons debating the issue. The government forced the bill through Parliament using closure (a rule limiting the time a bill could be discussed). The opposition raised a storm of protest, but the bill was passed by the Liberal majority.

Forcing the pipeline bill through Parliament hurt the St. Laurent government. Now John G. Diefenbaker, leader of the Conservatives, had a major issue on which to fight the next election. Diefenbaker claimed that by using closure, the Liberals had trampled on the rights of Parliament. He thundered that this was one more example of the American takeover of the Canadian economy.

In the federal election of June 1957, Diefenbaker's Conservatives won a minority government. By this time, Lester Pearson had become leader of the Liberal party. The following year, in another election, the Conservative party won a land-

slide victory. It was the largest majority any government had had since Confederation.

In 1958, Prime Minister Diefenbaker talked about his "vision" of Canada. He saw great promise in Canada's North. "Roads to resources" would be built to open the northland to development, settlement, and prosperity. Oil and mineral exploration would be increased. A great irrigation and power project would begin on the South Saskatchewan River. Federal money would help construct the Trans-Canada Highway. Diefenbaker also managed to arrange huge wheat sales to the People's Republic of China and other communist nations. In the 1950s prairie farmers were faced with massive quantities of wheat that they could not sell. Diefenbaker wanted all regions of Canada to share in the new prosperity.

In spite of his successes, Diefenbaker's appeal to Canadians began to fade. In 1959, both Canada and the United States went through an economic slowdown. Oil and mineral exploration in the North produced few results and not all government projects had succeeded. By 1962, unemployment figures in Canada had climbed higher than in any year since the Great Depression. In 1963, Lester Pearson and the Liberals were elected to government.

The Debate Over American Investment

In the post-war years, the debate over American investment in the Canadian economy was heating up. Before World War II, Canada's exports went mostly to Britain, and its imports came mostly from the United States. During the war, Canada's trade with Europe declined because of the U-boat menace. As a result, trade with the United States increased. In the post-war years, the United States became Canada's chief customer.

The American economy was booming after the war, and the United States was the fastest-growing market for goods in the world. As its close northern neighbour, Canada was in a position to take advantage of this huge market. Canada also had most of the resources the United States needed and wanted. The trade relationship between the two countries was strengthened by the tremendous flow of American capital (money and machinery) into Canada. American capital and technical expertise poured into the large-scale development of Canada's natural resources.

Many Canadians thought that American trade and investment was a positive development. Huge American markets for Canadian goods meant more jobs for Canadians and a high standard of living. Heavy American investment in Canada was helping to develop our resources and finance major industrial projects.

Some Canadians, however, warned that American domination of the Canadian economy was a serious threat. There was a real danger that some major industries such as oil, minerals, and paper could some day be completely owned by Americans. Canadian nationalists were alarmed by the growing trade imbalance: Canada was importing more goods from the United States than it was exporting across the border. As early as 1957, a royal commission on Canada's economic prospects, headed by Walter Gordon, warned of the danger of too much foreign ownership in the Canadian economy. It strongly advised the Canadian government to make policy decisions about this important issue.

Clearly, American control of large parts of the Canadian economy was a thorny problem. It was not until the 1970s that the government was poised to pass legislation that would put some control on foreign investment. By this time, the statistics spoke for themselves.

Historical Inquiry

Developing Skills: Interpreting Data in Tables

You have probably come across tables of data in magazines, newspapers, and in your science, math, and geography classes. Tables are also useful in history. Tables are just a short-form way of communicating information. It would probably take several paragraphs to describe in sentences all the information you can present in a simple table. The secret to using tables effectively is to recognize their main features and understand how they present information.

Helpful Hints

1. Read the title. The title tells you the main purpose of the table. Why was it prepared? What is it about? What are the limits of its contents?

2. Note the units. What are the actual units that the numbers represent? The units are usually given in the title, in the columns or rows, or in the footnotes.

3. Scan the format. Tables are set up in columns, which present information vertically, and rows, which present information across the page. In the table below, for example, the first column tells the year. The first row gives the Canadian export figures for three parts of the world in 1901.

4. Interpret the data. To determine any changes, increases, or decreases from the data in the table, you have to make comparisons. The table below is organized chronologically from 1901 to 1961. To see a pattern or trend in exports to each part of the world, you would have to read down the columns. But if you want to see which part of the world received most Canadian exports in 1901, you have to read across the top row.

If you want to know which area received the most exports at any time covered by the table, you have to use information from both columns and rows.

5. Note the source of the data. Knowing who compiled the data helps you to assess the accuracy of the information. Is it a reliable and unbiased source? The *Historical Atlas of Canada* is considered accurate and reliable.

Table 1
Canadian Commodity Exports, Selected Years, 1901–1961
(in millions of dollars)

	Column 1	Column 2	Column 3	Column 4
	Year	Canadian Exports to Britain and the Commonwealth	Canadian Exports to the United States	Canadian Exports to Other Countries
Row 1	1901	101	68	26
Row 2	1911	149	104	37
Row 3	1921	403	542	265
Row 4	1931	220	240	140
Row 5	1941	879	600	161
Row 6	1951	891	2 298	774
Row 7	1961	1 238	3 107	1 550

Source: *Historical Atlas of Canada, Volume III.*

Practise It!

Examine the information in Table 1. What conclusions can you draw from the data? Use the following questions as a guide.

1. In a sentence, state the purpose of the table and the years covered.
2. What are the two units used in the table?
3. a) In a sentence, explain what Column 3 tells you.
   b) Explain what Row 2 tells you.
   c) What does the figure in Column 3, Row 4 tell you?
4. a) What general trend or pattern over time do the data reveal about Canadian exports to Britain from 1901 to 1961?
   b) What is the general trend in exports to the United States over the same period?
   c) What is the general trend in Canadian exports to the rest of the world over the same period?
5. Which area of the world received the most Canadian exports in 1911? in 1951? in 1961?
6. Which part of the world received the most Canadian exports between 1941 and 1961? In which year did this occur?
7. Suggest reasons why exports fell off in 1931. Why were exports to Britain in 1941 higher than exports to the United States?
8. Who was Canada's best customer in 1901? Who was Canada's best customer in 1951?
9. Examine Tables 2 and 3 below. State two conclusions you can draw from each table.

Table 2
Canadian Commodity Imports, Selected Years, 1901–1961 (in millions of dollars)

Year	Imports from Britain and the Commonwealth	Imports from the United States	Imports from Other Countries
1901	47	107	24
1911	129	276	48
1921	266	856	118
1931	152	394	82
1941	360	1 004	85
1951	727	2 813	545
1961	910	3 864	995

Source: *Historical Atlas of Canada Volume III.*

Table 3
Percentage of Foreign Ownership in Canada, Selected Years, 1900–1961

Year	Percentage of British Ownership	Percentage of American Ownership	Percentage of Other Foreign Ownership
1900	85	14	1
1910	77	19	4
1920	53	44	3
1930	36	61	3
1945	25	70	5
1950	20	76	4
1960	15	75	10

Source: *Historical Atlas of Canada Volume III.*

Social Support Programs

T. C. "Tommy" Douglas is recognized as the father of socialized medicine in Canada. As premier of Saskatchewan from 1944 to 1961, he introduced the first provincial health care legislation.

After World War II, Canada, the United States, and many of the more prosperous countries in Europe made certain commitments to their citizens. One was basic health care. The second was a minimum amount of financial support for children, unemployed people, and elderly citizens. A third was special services to disadvantaged people. Countries that made these commitments became known as **welfare states**, because governments were involved in people's welfare, or well-being.

Economic prosperity and the booming birth rate of the late 1940s and early 1950s contributed to the push for social programs. More of everything was needed—more schools, more health facilities, more housing—and more social welfare. After the Depression and the war, citizens also expected more from their governments. They were convinced governments could take action to improve their lives, and they believed the government owed them a basic level of social services. Social services were seen more as a right rather than a privilege.

In Canada, there were also fears that unemployment rates would be high after the war. More than 800 000 veterans were returning looking for jobs, and many war industries (employing 900 000 workers) were shutting down. Until 1940, Canada's only social insurance measures were workmen's compensation (now called Workers'

FAST FORWARD

Every time a person deals with the government, he or she must produce a Social Insurance Number (SIN) card. This card was first introduced in April 1964, as part of a computer-monitoring system set up by the Unemployment Insurance Commission (UIC). Anyone who is employed must have a SIN, and employers are expected to check on this.

There are nine numbers on a SIN card. The first indicates the province of the cardholder; the last is a check number; the middle seven are the personal numbers of the cardholder. There are 99 million possible combinations. By 1998, 25 million cards had been issued.

Today, the SIN is used for more than just government business. It is often used as personal identification. For example, if you have ever been employed, your school records will have your SIN. But there are concerns about abuses. People are sometimes asked for their SIN in situations where it is improper, although not illegal. Examples include obtaining a phone or cashing a cheque. The biggest concern is that the SIN is a link to government data banks, which have extensive records on individual Canadians. Access to a person's SIN can lead to an invasion of the person's privacy. Many people expect that use of the SIN will decrease as more sophisticated computers are able to identify people without the SIN code.

Post-War Social Support Programs

Family Allowance	Family Allowance Act (1944) provided monthly cash allowances to families with children up to age 16. The amount of the allowance decreased after the fourth child. Some French Canadians, who as a group had a higher birth rate than English Canadians, accused the government of penalizing large families with this sliding scale. The sliding scale for the fifth child onwards was cancelled in 1949. A Youth Allowance to families with children between 16 and 18 was introduced in 1964.
Unemployment Insurance	Unemployment Insurance Act (1940) provided a limited take-home pay to urban, out-of-work wage earners. Unemployment Assistance Act of 1956 covered a greater range of people. Money was given on the basis of a person's *need*, rather than just his or her *means* (available income and savings). This was a great advance in the administration of social welfare. But it didn't work as hoped. Many people still suffered from poverty and inadequate assistance. Problems also arose with the assessment of need. Officials had to visit the homes of applicants and review their budgets, an intrusion that some people resented.
Health Care	In 1948, the federal government set up a system of national health grants to provinces. Health care was a provincial responsibility. This move came one year after Saskatchewan established the first universal public hospital insurance plan in Canada. A **universal plan** means that the service is available to everyone, rich and poor alike. With the Hospital Insurance and Diagnostic Services Act (1957), the federal government covered about half the cost of provincial hospital insurance plans. By 1961, all Canada's provinces and territories had public hospital insurance plans. Medical Care Act (1966) arranged cost-sharing between the federal government and the provinces to provide universal health care covering not only hospital costs, but also the costs of visits to the doctor. Blind Persons Act (1951) and the Disabled Persons Act (1959) provided allowances to these groups. The allowances were based on a person's means, not needs, and the rules of the programs were quite rigid.
Old Age Security	Old Age Security Act (1951) provided a universal $40 monthly pension from the federal government to all Canadians 70 years of age and older. The Old Age Assistance Act provided a $40 monthly pension, financed by both federal and provincial money, to Canadians between 65 and 69 years of age if they needed it. In 1965 the age of eligibility for Old Age Security payments dropped from 70 to 65. Canada and Quebec Pension Plans (1965) gave retiring workers an income that rose with increases in the cost of living. To finance the plans, workers and employers contributed to the fund every month. (The Quebec government did not want federal government interference in its provincial systems, so it introduced its own pension plan.) Guaranteed Income Supplement Plan (1967) guaranteed retirees a minimum income.

Compensation) and the Old Age Pension Act passed in 1927 (which only applied to poor elderly and "blind persons"). During the war, the government had introduced Unemployment Insurance in 1940 (now called Employment Insurance) and Family Allowance in 1944. Following the war, existing social programs were expanded and new ones were introduced. The chart on page 348 summarizes the major changes.

Paying for the Programs

As coverage increased, the social programs cost more. In 1963, governments were spending $3.9 billion on social support—about 12 per cent of the national income. The federal government's share was 69 per cent. Provincial governments contributed 28 per cent, and municipal governments paid for the rest. Some programs, such as the Canada and Quebec Pension Plans, were financed by employee and employer contributions.

A large share of government money for these programs comes from taxpayers—individuals, corporations, and countries exporting products into Canada (paying duties and "excise" taxes). Through the 1950s and 1960s, corporate income tax gradually contributed a decreasing share. Individual taxpayers paid more and more for social programs. But as the population got older, there were fewer individuals in the workforce paying income tax. Meanwhile, more people needed social assistance for the very reason that they were getting older.

In the 1960s, this was still only a problem in the making. The year 1961 was the peak of the baby boom, when youth made up 34 per cent of the total population. But people would begin to wonder if Canada's social programs could cope as the baby boomers got older (see Chapter 15).

How successful have social support programs been? Canada is admired by many other nations in the world for the quality and scope of its social "safety net." But the programs have not been without problems and criticism. Some people feel corporations should be contributing more to the programs. Corporations point out that they also provide their employees with benefits, and suggest there is abuse of government programs. Even global trade is an issue. Some people worry that Canada's involvement in free trade will force it to lower its spending on social welfare so that producers can compete with their counterparts in countries such as the United States and Mexico (where social welfare standards are generally lower).

In 1969, a Senate inquiry showed that 1 in 4 Canadians lived below the poverty line. In 1985, after several years of inflation and a recession, an estimated 1 in 6 Canadians lived on low incomes. In 1995, according to the National Council of Welfare, 57.2 per cent of all families headed by women under 65 years of age and with children under 18 were poor. In the same year, over 43 per cent of elderly single women lived below the poverty line. The poverty rate of single people under 25 was 64.1 per cent. Many people argue that social support programs have not done enough to deal with poverty.

Health care has been a particularly challenging issue for all industrialized countries. There is a debate about whether governments should cover *all* costs or just *much* of the cost. On the one side are supporters of "single tier" health care—access to hospitals and medical services without user fees or private insurance charges. People argue that this is the best system for protecting poor and elderly citizens, and those with disabilities who may not be able to afford the additional charges.

But to provide health care for everybody, the system can become bogged down with long waiting lists and, some say,

Health care cuts by the Ontario government in the 1990s led to demonstrations.

lower quality care. There is also the question of whether Canadian governments can continue to afford universal health care. Others argue that people should have the right to pay more for services they want, especially if they want higher quality, faster, or more experimental care. Today's federal and provincial governments are struggling to resolve these issues.

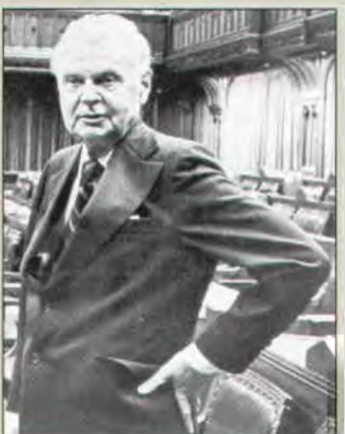
Canada's Economic Council claimed in 1983 that "Social goals and programs . . . contribute fundamentally to the smooth functioning of our economy, and they reflect the basic values of Canadians." Public opinion surveys back this up. Most Canadians do not want to see cuts to or cancellation of social programs. The challenge of the future will be finding ways to agree on who needs social welfare, and how to administer it fairly and efficiently.

SPOTLIGHT ON . . .

Two Prime Ministers

John Diefenbaker

Early one morning in 1909, a 14-year-old newsboy talked to Sir Wilfrid Laurier. The boy resolved then and there that one day he too would be prime minister. By 1958, John George Diefenbaker had reached his goal. He was the prime minister and leader of the party with the greatest majority in Parliament in Canadian history.



The road to political power had not been easy for John Diefenbaker. He was born in rural Ontario near Owen Sound, but his family settled on a homestead in northern Saskatchewan in 1903. He spent one summer as a travelling bookseller and slept "in almost every haystack in Saskatchewan." In 1919, he graduated with a law degree from the University of Saskatchewan.

In his early career, Diefenbaker suffered many defeats. Four times he was defeated in provincial and federal elections before he won a seat in the House of Commons in 1940. Twice he was rejected by the Conservative party for the leadership before they turned to him in 1956.

Diefenbaker was the first prime minister of Canada of neither British nor French heritage. He was intensely proud of his German background and was conscious that he represented a large number of Canadians who were neither British nor French. He brought into politics the sort of people who had not been there before: a Chinese-Canadian member of Parliament and a Ukrainian-Canadian minister of labour. He appointed James Gladstone as the first Senator from an Aboriginal nation in 1959. For the first time a woman, Ellen Fairclough, was named to the federal Cabinet. Fairclough's appointment as Secretary of State represented a breakthrough

in public service for all women. Diefenbaker chose Georges Vanier to be the first French-Canadian Governor General.

Diefenbaker was also proud that he had come from a homesteading family in the West. He saw himself as the champion of the common person. Indeed, he had the tremendous ability to appeal to Canadians and win their devotion. Experience as a criminal lawyer had made him a dynamic and persuasive speaker. On stage or before television cameras, he revealed a kind of political charisma. By the strength of his personality and his spellbinding oratory, he was able to stir many Canadians and win their support.

Lester Pearson

Lester Pearson became leader of the Liberal party when Louis St. Laurent retired in 1958. When Pearson was only 17, he interrupted his education to serve overseas in World War I. He enlisted in the army, but transferred to the Royal Flying Corps. An officer said to him, "Lester is not a very belligerent name for a man who wants to be a fighter pilot. We'll call you 'Mike.'" The name stuck.

After the war, "Mike" Pearson taught at the University of Toronto. In 1948, he joined the Department of External Affairs. Pearson enjoyed a successful diplomatic career, which included being Canada's ambassador to the United States. He was also active in the establishment of the United Nations. He was actually nominated as the first Secretary General of the UN, but the Soviet Union would not accept a Canadian in that post. The Soviets believed that a Canadian would tend to take the side of the United States. Pearson did serve as President of the UN General Assembly in 1952-1953.

Pearson gained international respect for helping create the UN Emergency Force in the Suez crisis of 1956. His friendly and modest manner and skilful powers of persuasion made him a major force in international affairs. For his contribution to world peace, he received the Nobel Prize for Peace in 1957.

Unlike Diefenbaker, Pearson was soft-spoken and never really seemed at home in the give-and-take of the Parliamentary debates. He was known in later life to sneak out of Cabinet meetings to watch World Series baseball games on television in a nearby room.

Pearson became Canada's prime minister in 1963. During his term, the government pushed forward reforms in many fields. A medical insurance plan and a Canada pension plan were set up. The Company of Young Canadians was established to help Aboriginal people and the urban and rural poor. Even after his retirement in 1968, honours continued to come Pearson's way.

1. Lester Pearson held at least six major jobs in his lifetime: wartime pilot, university professor, ambassador, politician, secretary of state for external affairs, and prime minister. What skills do you think Pearson must have had for these jobs?
2. What skills and characteristics did John Diefenbaker have that qualified him as prime minister?
3. Compare the leadership qualities of the two prime ministers. How were they similar and different?

The Labour Movement

For generations, labour unions had been seeking protection from unemployment. This put them in the forefront of the battle for unemployment insurance and old age pensions. In the post-war years, unions also made some gains in their struggle for rights and recognition.

A key breakthrough came in 1944 with Privy Council Order 1003. This act, passed during the war, gave workers the right to choose a union, bargain collectively, present grievances, and curb unfair industrial practices. A number of strikes in the late 1940s and 1950s brought other changes.

1945: 17 000 Ford workers strike
Result: the Rand Formula, by which workers who made union wages and enjoyed union benefits were obligated to pay dues.
1946: Stelco strike in Hamilton; woodworkers' strike in British Columbia
1947: Fishers strike in Nova Scotia
Result: Corporations were encouraged to compromise with unions, especially since their markets were dramatically improving. Wage scales in unionized and non-unionized firms rose as the Canadian economy grew.

Netsurfer
Visit the web site of the Canadian Labour Congress at http://clc-ctc.ca.

Asbestos workers return to the job after the major strike in Quebec in 1949.

Throughout the 1950s, there were a number of strikes across the country for higher wages and improved working conditions. Some of the largest included the 1949 asbestos miners' strike in Quebec, the National Rail Strike in 1950, the Ford Motors and General Motors strikes in 1955, and the Newfoundland loggers' strike in 1958.

In 1956, Canada's two major umbrella organizations, the Trade and Labour Congress (TLC) and the Canadian Congress of Labour (CCL), merged to become today's **Canadian Labour Congress (CLC)**. In 1961, the Congress worked closely with the CCF to help form a new political party, the **New Democratic Party (NDP)**. Workers, farmers, and some intellectuals felt that the Liberal and Conservative parties tended to reflect the interests of "Big Business." The New Democratic Party stood for full employment, free education, Canadian control of the economy, and public ownership of important natural resources. The NDP was especially involved in developing policy on universal free medical care and other expanded social support programs.

Many of the Canadian Labour Congress unions, with a membership of about 200 000, supported the NDP. This political achievement was a turning point for the Canadian labour movement. It gained a stronger political voice and became more independent than ever from its American counterpart.

Membership in unions passed the 1 million mark in 1949 (30 per cent of the labour force). Growth was slower over the next 15 years. But in 1965, union mem-

bership rose dramatically when government employees became unionized. Many women were at the forefront of this upsurge in union membership, because their wages and working conditions were worse than those of their male co-workers. Two postal strikes, in 1965 and 1968, involved tens of thousands of workers.

Other public sector workers, including teachers, hospital workers, and civil servants, wanted the same improvements in wages and working conditions granted union members in the private (non-government) sector. By the end of the 1960s, some of these public sector unions were the largest in Canada and among the most militant. The government fought back against strike actions with back-to-work legislation and compulsory arbitration (a hearing that imposes a settlement).

By 1969, about 8 million person-days had been lost in work stoppages. Most of these strikes were over wage increases as inflation (rising prices) gripped the country. In these work stoppages, the big unions asked for and were granted very large wage increases, anywhere from 20 to 30 per cent over two years. These wage increases, however, added fuel to the problem of rising prices.

Human and Civil Rights

Before 1960, some small steps had been taken to legislate certain human rights throughout Canada. Ontario, for example, had passed a Racial Discrimination Act in 1944. It prohibited the publication or broadcast of anything that discriminated on the basis of race. Ontario also passed a Fair Employment Practices Act (1951) and a Fair Accommodation Practices Act (1954). Saskatchewan was the first province to pass a wide-ranging Bill of Rights in 1947. Many of these acts were in response to pressure put on provincial governments by ethnocultural and racial groups that had experienced discrimination.

The Canadian Bill of Rights

One of the accomplishments that Prime Minister Diefenbaker was most proud of was the **Canadian Bill of Rights**. Most countries have a constitution that guarantees the rights of its citizens. In Canada, these rights had been upheld by custom and tradition rather than by law. In 1960, an act of Parliament was passed guaranteeing Canadians the traditional freedoms for the first time by law. These were:

- Freedom of speech (right to state an opinion without being afraid of government or law).
- Freedom of assembly and association (right to hold meetings, parades, and join clubs).
- Freedom of religion (right to worship as you please).
- Freedom of the press (right to publish opinions without fear of the government or law).
- Right of the individual to equality before the law (right to a fair trial, legal counsel, and protection against unfair imprisonment).

The Ontario Human Rights Code

The appearance of the federal Bill of Rights spawned other codes of rights elsewhere in the country. One was the **Ontario Human Rights Code** of 1962. It was enforced by the **Ontario Human Rights Commission (OHRC)** founded in 1961. The mission of the Ontario Human Rights Commission was commitment ". . . to the elimination of discrimination in society by providing the people of Ontario with strong leadership and quality service . . . to be accomplished by effec-

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To read the mission statement of the Ontario Human Rights Commission, visit its web site at www.ohrc.on.ca/mission.htm.

Non-Governmental Rights Groups

Non-governmental groups have also been active in safeguarding the rights of Canadians.

Canadian Civil Liberties Association (CCLA)	founded in 1964 in response to the Ontario government's proposal to increase police powers; the proposal was withdrawn after protest
	acts as a watchdog group to guard against threats to democratic rights
	activities include resisting film censorship, forced religious teaching in schools, and protecting the rights of political groups
	has a department that talks to students and teachers in schools, colleges, and universities
Elizabeth Fry Society (for women) and **John Howard Society** (for men)	voluntary organizations aimed at safeguarding the rights of prisoners and providing them with rehabilitation programs
	motivated by the belief that all individuals have worth and have potential to be responsible citizens; both organizations declare that people convicted of crimes should be treated with compassion, dignity, and equity
	lobby for changes to the criminal justice system to achieve this goal
	care for men and women both during their imprisonment and upon their release by providing counselling, emotional support, and training in life and employment skills

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Read about the mission of the Elizabeth Fry Society of Canada at http://home.ican.net/~edtoth/FRYTEMP/eprinciples.html and the John Howard Society at http://www.johnhoward.ca

tive enforcement of the code, and the promotion and advancement of human rights."

The OHRC provided a body that could investigate and pass judgement on cases of human rights abuse. It also helped to educate people about their rights. The first director was Dr. Daniel G. Hill, a Black Canadian and distinguished human rights activist. The Ontario Human Rights Code of 1962 became the model for similar codes in all other provinces.

Aboriginal Political Movements

After World War II, the plight of Aboriginal nations also came to the forefront. People around the world were becoming more concerned about human and civil rights. The social injustices Aboriginal nations in Canada faced could no longer be ignored. Television, radio, and press reports widely publicized issues such as land claims. During the 1950s and 1960s, more Canadians had moved into northern areas where Aboriginal nations were the majority. The goal was to develop northern resources. Aboriginal nations objected to mining, hydroelectric, and pipeline projects on their lands. They made their voices heard.

The experiences of Aboriginal war veterans also sparked movements for change. Serving in the Canadian forces overseas during the war, these soldiers lived with a "freedom" they had never known in Canada. At home after the war, they found they were once again treated as inferior by society and the political system. If they had volunteered for military service, did they not deserve better treatment?

The first step toward change was revising the Indian Act. Leaders of Aboriginal nations demanded that the Act be reviewed, and in 1951, they won their case. With the changes to the Indian Act,

Aboriginal bands gained more authority, Aboriginal women won the right to vote in band elections, and the bans on the Potlatch and Sun Dance were lifted. Band members no longer needed special permits to sell produce, and the veto right of the Indian Affairs minister over band decisions was reduced.

In 1950, the Inuit received the right to vote in federal elections. Other Aboriginal nations, however, were still denied this right. There was a concern among some Aboriginal nations that, while the vote would give them political equality with other Canadians, it might also be another way to assimilate them. When the government stated that receiving the vote would not result in changes to official status, opposition disappeared. In 1960, registered Indians gained the right to vote in Canada.

By the end of the 1960s, residential schools were phased out. Some bands created their own police forces and ran their own welfare services and public works. At Expo 67, the Aboriginal nations of Canada had their own pavilion. At the entrance a message read, "The Indian people's destiny will be determined by them, and our country, Canada, will be better for it." The pavilion was full of anti-assimilation messages such as, "Give us the right to manage our own affairs." An international audience witnessed this strong and proud statement of independence on the part of Aboriginal political organizations.

In 1969, the government published a White Paper (policy paper) on Indian affairs. It recommended gradually eliminating the special status of "Indians" set out in the Indian Act. Prime Minister Trudeau proposed that peoples of Aboriginal nations should move toward "full social, economic, and political participation in Canadian life."

Many Aboriginal leaders, including Harold Cardinal, Howard Adams, and Kahn-Tinehta Horn, strongly opposed this policy. They believed it would result in the loss of their cultures and heritage by absorbing them into mainstream Canadian society. They argued that they should be treated as independent nations. As nations, they had negotiated special protection of their lands and special rights through treaties. These leaders also believed in their Aboriginal right (rights as the first inhabitants) to lands not covered by treaties.

Some court decisions came down in their favour. A 1965 ruling in Saskatchewan said that all registered Indians had the right to medical insurance from the government even if they lived off reserves. Treaty No. 6, signed in the 1870s, had stated, "a medicine chest will be kept at the house of each Indian agent." This was taken to mean that the government had made a commitment to look after the health of the Aboriginal people whose ancestors had signed the treaty. The decision implied that treaties must be honoured by the government even within modern times and in modern terms. The federal government changed its policy

After the right to vote was extended to Aboriginal peoples, the first votes were cast by members of the Rice Lake Band near Peterborough, Ontario.

Netsurfer
For two different sides to Aboriginal issues, visit the Assembly of First Nations at http://www.afn.ca and the Department of Indian and Northern affairs at http://www.inac.gc.ca.

and established a forum to handle Aboriginal land claims, but many questions over rights and claims had still to be resolved.

Education was another key issue. When residential schools were phased out, Aboriginal children were integrated into regular provincial schools. But these schools did not address the cultural needs of students from Aboriginal nations. Many bands called for community control of schools for their children. This was granted in 1970 in Alberta. By 1973, the federal government endorsed schools run by Aboriginal nations.

Relocation

In the 1950s and 1960s, as suburbs sprawled around cities and resources were being developed in more remote areas, the government decided to relocate some Aboriginal communities from their traditional lands. From the government's point of view, the relocations were meant to provide the communities with better housing and job opportunities. In fact, the relocations freed land for development and made administration of Aboriginal populations easier. Promises for better housing and economic opportunities were not always fulfilled.

In one case, Inuit from Quebec were relocated to the High Arctic in 1953. They were promised that the land would be as good as, or better than, the land they lived on in Quebec. Furthermore, if they did not like the life in their new home, they could go back to Quebec in two years. When the Inuit arrived in the Arctic, they found a desolate and uninhabited area. Families had been split up in the move. When some Inuit requested a return to Quebec, their application was refused.

Later, in the 1970s and 1980s, some paid their own way back. Many believed the government wanted to protect the Arctic from international claims and assert Canadian sovereignty in the area. The government needed to prove people were living in the area to establish sovereignty. The government claimed the people went willingly, but in 1988 agreed to pay the costs of those wanting to return to their original homes.

Harold Cardinal, a member of the Sucker Creek band in Alberta, was an influential Aboriginal leader and author. He wrote a scathing attack of Trudeau's policies, demonstrating that they excluded Aboriginal nations from a just society.

New Political Organizations

Before World War II, some attempts had been made by leaders of Aboriginal nations to form political organizations. But these organizations had been stifled by government bans and restrictions, and so most disbanded. The diversity of Aboriginal nations also made unity difficult. The concerns of the different nations, and of treaty and non-treaty Indians, are often different. Progress was made when the National Indian Council was formed in 1961. Eventually, it split into the **National**

Indian Brotherhood (representing status and treaty groups) and the **Native Council of Canada** (representing Non-Status Indians and Métis). Both were heavily involved in the 1969 White Paper debate.

The Era of Protest

With all the movements for change in the 1960s, questions about the values society should have had never been more in the forefront. Most of these questions were raised by young people. The slogan was "trust no one over 30." Protests arose over rights for Aboriginal nations and Black North Americans. Young people also demonstrated against nuclear armament, American interference in Canadian affairs, and the Vietnam war.

Black Canadians, especially those in Nova Scotia, had been active in human and civil rights struggles long before the 1960s. Groups had succeeded in helping to get anti-racist legislation passed in the 1940s. In the 1950s, organizations such as the Negro Citizenship Association and the Canadian Association for the Advancement of Coloured People lobbied successfully for improved civil rights.

The movement was energized in the 1960s when Martin Luther King, Jr. and Malcolm X became public figures in the United States. In King's acceptance speech for the Nobel Prize for Peace in 1964, he referred to the "22 million Negroes of the United States...engaged in a creative battle to end the long night of racial injustice." The US civil rights struggle was characterized by peaceful protests and the more radical voices of the Black Nationalist Movement (under the Nation of Islam), the Black Power Movement, and the Black Panther Party.

The struggle for Black civil rights in the US was actively supported by many Canadians.

Canadians also held anti-war demonstrations demanding that the United States remove its military forces from Vietnam.

Although the Black Panthers did spread into Canada, and helped form the Black United Front in 1969, radical Black nationalism never became a strong political movement in Canada. This was partly due to the civil rights gains of the 1950s. It was also due to the strategy many Black Canadian leaders followed of working together with other ethnocultural and racial groups for change.

The Women's Movement

Many Canadian women in the 1960s were deeply involved in working for social change. The **Women's Liberation Movement** burst onto the scene in the 1960s. Women protested and marched for changes in employment practices, life choices, and politics.

Thérèse Casgrain worked to win the right to vote for women in Quebec, protested against nuclear testing, was active in human rights organizations, and served as leader of the CCF in Quebec.

After World War II, many women who had been working in factories and other industries were laid off from their jobs. If they were in "replacement positions," they were expected to give up their jobs to men returning from the war. Nurseries that allowed women with children to work during the war were closed. Women were expected to go back to their traditional roles as stay-at-home mothers and wives.

In reality, many women took jobs outside the home in addition to their household work. They needed the extra income to help pay bills. Many immigrant women had to work to make a living. With the economic boom, industries also needed more workers. Women's participation in the workforce rose from 18 per cent in 1921 to 39 per cent by 1971.

But many jobs held by women were lower paying and had less prestige than jobs held by men. Ninety-five per cent of all secretaries were female, but fewer than 7 per cent of doctors were women. By 1970, less than 4 per cent of women had management jobs. Women still met with discrimination when they tried to move into jobs previously done by men.

Women in the 1960s also had little voice in politics. There were only a handful of women Members of Parliament and just a scattering of women in local and provincial governments. Women's Liberationists wanted to be treated equally in the arena of politics just as in other fields. They also wanted more options in their lifestyles. Some women wanted the chance to combine career and family, while others wanted to devote their lives to their careers and advance professionally at the same rate as men.

There were two groups in the women's movement: the mainstream and the radical. The mainstream believed that change could be achieved by changes to laws and by publicizing their cause through the media. The radical feminists focused on the fact that men would not give up their power willingly, and therefore stronger actions had to be taken. They protested for radical changes in education, the division of labour in the home and workplace, and clothing styles. This more aggressive attempt to remove sexual stereotyping made some people view these women as "man-hating"

Highlights of the Women's Movement in the 1950s and 1960s

1940 women gain the right to vote in Quebec, the last province to grant women the franchise

1951 Female Employee Fair Remuneration Act (equal pay legislation) is passed in Ontario; other provinces pass similar legislation

Thérèse Casgrain becomes provincial leader of the CCF party in Quebec

Canadian Negro Women's Association is founded to represent the rights and concerns of Black women

1956 Federal government passes pay equity legislation for female government workers

1960 Voice of Women is formed to protest against nuclear armament and atomic weapons in Canada

1966 Mary Two-Axe Earley, a Mohawk from the Kahnawake Reserve in Quebec, helps found the Equal Rights for Indian Women organization. Aboriginal women who married a non-Aboriginal man lost their Indian status, their right to vote in band matters, and their right to live on their reserve. The complaint eventually went to the Human Rights Committee of the United Nations, which ruled that the Indian Act in this instance violated the human rights of Aboriginal women. The Indian Act was changed in 1985.

1967 The Canadian government establishes a Royal Commission on the Status of Women, headed by Florence Bird, a journalist and broadcaster. The Commission's purpose is "to ensure for women equal opportunities with men in all aspects of Canadian society."

Black, Asian, and immigrant women find that their concerns are not represented by the mainstream women's movement and form their own groups including the Canadian Negro Women's Association (later the Canadian Congress of Black Women), India Mahila Association, and the Korean-Canadian Women's Association.

women's libbers who wanted to overturn traditional values of home and family.

Women made some gains in the 1950s and 1960s. But as the Report of the Royal Commission on the Status of Women would show, there were many areas in which they still faced inequality (see Chapter 15).

Trudeaumania

As baby boomers became more powerful in the 1960s, they became tired of the same old faces in politics. They wanted someone new. It was in this atmosphere of change and rebellion that Pierre Trudeau, in 1968, became both leader of the Liberal party and Prime Minister. To many Canadians, Trudeau seemed to be the man of the hour. For one thing, he was a French-speaking Quebecker. Many felt he would be able to address Quebec's concerns. He was also youthful, casual, and stylish. He drove fast sports cars and had been photographed doing jack-knife dives into swimming pools and riding a camel.

As minister of justice, Trudeau had convinced people he was cool under pressure, logical, and scholarly. Even more appealing were his wit and confidence, which came through loud and clear in television appearances. Wherever Trudeau appeared to give a speech, it was like a rock concert. Young Liberals screamed themselves hoarse and the crowds swarmed around their hero.

Trudeau adopted a new campaign style. He arrived in many cities by jet, and would often descend into a suburban shopping centre parking lot by helicopter. He mingled with the crowds, shaking

Trudeau attracted large crowds and gained tremendous popular support in the 1960s. It was Trudeaumania.

hands and accepting kisses from admirers. Trudeau talked to the crowds about building a "just society," in which all Canadians were respected and shared in the country's prosperity. Hecklers were put down easily with quick-witted replies. He ended his speeches by challenging Canadians to take a chance on the future and vote for the Liberals. Smiling for the cameras, he then tossed the flower from his buttonhole to the crowd. He stepped back into the helicopter and was whisked away to his next rally. The crowds loved him. The press called it **Trudeaumania**.

Next to Trudeau, Robert Stanfield, leader of the Conservative party, appeared steady but dull. He was particularly uneasy in front of news cameras. He once complained, "You walk out [of the House of Commons] and they shove a bunch of microphones in your face, and in 30 seconds you are expected to produce a profound and intelligent answer to an extremely complicated national issue." Stanfield's answers were thoughtful and honest, but his slow manner of speaking made him seem indecisive and weak.

On the eve of the election, 24 June 1968, the St. Jean Baptiste parade was held in Montreal. Trudeau stood on the platform with the event's special guests. In the crowd were some radical separatists determined to demonstrate against Canadian federalism. The parade turned into a riot. Demonstrators began throwing rocks and bottles. Most of the guests on the platform dashed inside for safety, but Trudeau remained on the platform. The people of Canada, watching on television, saw their prime minister standing firm against the radical separatists.

Headlines the next day said, "Trudeau defies separatists." Citizens read the headlines as they went to the polls to vote. Trudeau won a resounding majority in the election.

Activities

Understand Facts and Concepts

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

   - baby boom
   - suburbs
   - global village
   - regional disparity
   - equalization payments
   - infrastructure
   - St. Lawrence Seaway
   - trans-Canada pipeline
   - welfare state
   - universal plan
   - Canadian Labour Congress (CLC)
   - New Democratic Party (NDP)
   - Canadian Bill of Rights
   - Ontario Human Rights Code
   - Ontario Human Rights Commission (OHRC)
   - National Indian Brotherhood
   - Native Council of Canada
   - Women's Liberation Movement
   - Trudeaumania

2. a) The Canada of the 1950s and 1960s was no longer mainly rural—it was urban and suburban. What were the causes of this change?
   b) How did this change affect the lives of Canadians?

3. Human rights have featured prominently in Western nations since the UN's signing of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. What have individual Canadians, Canadian governments, and private organizations done to protect individual Canadian rights?

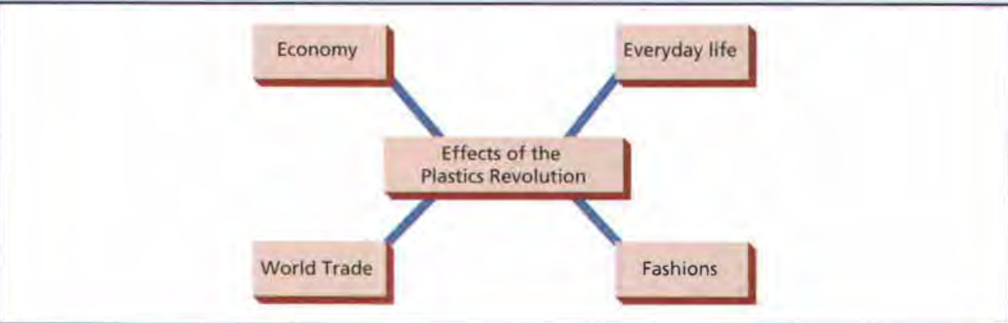
4. a) The post-war years have often been described as an era of prosperity. Provide examples that demonstrate this prosperity.
   b) Provide evidence that not everyone shared in the prosperity.

5. How was the St. Lawrence Seaway an example of the close ties between the American and Canadian economies?

Think and Communicate

6. Create a map entitled "Canadian Economic Development in the 1950s and 1960s." Start with an outline map of Canada, label the provinces and major cities, and devise symbols to represent the major types of development (mining, for example). Place the symbols on the appropriate areas on the map.
   a) Based on your map, describe the different characteristics of the economies in Canada's main regions.
   b) What are the main reasons for the differences? What effects do they have?
   c) What measures did the government introduce to deal with regional disparities? How effective were these measures?

7. Using a web diagram like the one below, outline the effect the plastics revolution had on life in the 1950s and 1960s.



8. a) Rank the human rights listed below (from the Canadian Bill of Rights, Part 1, Section 1) in order of importance to you.
   - right to life, liberty and security of person
   - right to equality before the law
   - freedom of religion
   - freedom of speech
   - freedom of assembly
   - freedom of the press

   b) Imagine the top three rights you have listed were taken away. How would this affect your everyday life?

9. a) Work in groups. Using a chart, outline the pros and cons of universal health care. Present your findings to the class.

   b) Hold a class survey on the question of whether or not Canada should continue to have universal health care. Discuss the results.

10. The federal government's White Paper on Aboriginal Policy of 1969 wanted Aboriginal peoples to become part of mainstream Canadian society. Leaders of Aboriginal nations were suspicious of the government's motive. Take on the role of a leader of an Aboriginal nation and explain why you were not in favour of the 1969 policy.

Apply Your Knowledge

11. In the 1960s, the community of Africville in Halifax, Nova Scotia, was demolished and all its residents were relocated. One writer, Donald Clairmont, wrote in a book called *The Spirit of Africville* in 1992 that the community should never be forgotten. Research the history of this community and why it was destroyed in the 1960s. Present your findings in a short report.

12. A number of prominent Black Canadians made important contributions in fields such as politics, education, the arts, and business during the 1950s and 1960s. Choose one of these individuals and prepare a profile. Include an assessment of the person's contributions. You may add others to this list.

Leonard Braithwaite
Daniel Hill
Howard McCurdy
Pearleen and William Oliver
Kay Livingstone
Oscar Peterson
Portia White

13. Design a bill of rights for your school. You can use the basic rights outlined in the Canadian Bill of Rights (Activity 8) as a model. Design rights specific to your school's situation and the needs of your student body.

14. "Campaign styles are more important than campaign issues." Discuss this statement with respect to Trudeaumania in 1968. Is this statement true of political leaders today? Explain.

15. In the book *Boom, Bust and Echo*, David Foot and Daniel Stoffman claimed that 1937 was one of the best years in the century to be born. One of the reasons was that relatively few people were born in that year, so people born in 1937 had little peer competition for jobs, etc., to deal with throughout their lives. On the other hand, 1961 was one of the worst years to be born. What unique challenges did people born in 1961 face?

Get to the Source

16. Henry Bishop, Curator of the Black Cultural Centre in Dartmouth, Nova Scotia, wrote about what it means to him to be Canadian.

> *Born and growing up as the youngest of 14 siblings in Weymouth Falls, Digby County, Nova Scotia, I began developing a keen interest in becoming an artist, cultural worker, and visionary at an early age.*
>
> *Realizing the significance of African heritage, it became my passport and foundation to security in future as a Canadian citizen. The contribution and meaningful achievements would be my salvation. I knew by comparison that everyone needs equal opportunity to succeed. My determination would not be destroyed by racism. Pride in my heritage would be an example to all Canadians. I would be an ordinary person doing extraordinary deeds that would reflect the purpose of a positive approach to life in the land where my [ancestors] settled and died.*
>
> *We, as Canadians, live in one of the greatest countries in the world. We must strive to understand the cross-cultural composition around us, learn to appreciate the mosaic of Canada from sea to sea, and from east to west. Let us join in the spirit of respect and dignity for all thus creating a proud identity as we stand on guard for these principles.*
>
> Source: Quoted in Sauvé and Sauvé, *Gateway to Canada* (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1997), pp. 88-89.

a) What were Henry Bishop's personal goals?
b) What key elements does he feel are the foundations of his Canadian identity?
c) What positive developments in the 1950s and 1960s contributed to the spirit of respect and dignity Henry Bishop talks about? What problems still existed?