



YEARS OF CHANGE

1970-1982

The twelve years between 1970 and 1982 were turbulent ones for Canada, especially in French-English relations. The period began with the October Crisis in Quebec. One government official was kidnapped and another was murdered during this crisis. The events deeply shocked Canadians and illustrated the serious rift between Quebec and the rest of the country.

The period ended with the patriation (bringing home) of Canada's constitution from Britain. Prime Minister Trudeau had promised to reform the constitution to answer the complaints of Quebec. Instead, the rift between Quebec and the rest of Canada only seemed to get wider.

At the same time, Canada was becoming a more racially and ethnoculturally diverse country. Trudeau's government adopted multiculturalism as an official policy in 1971. In 1978, the Immigration Act was revised. Many more people from developing countries came to Canada.

Canada's economy remained closely tied to that of the US, but a growing sense of nationalism prompted the Trudeau government to pass laws that gave Canadians greater control over their economic affairs. Women and Aboriginal nations continued to fight for greater equality in society, and the environmental movement came to the forefront. In technology, advances in computers, telecommunications, and nuclear energy changed Canadian society and the world.

1. This painting by Janet Mitchell is entitled *A Day in the Street* (1978). What aspects of everyday life can you identify in this painting?
2. Describe the forms and colours the artist uses. Why do you think she chose these techniques?
3. What impressions of everyday life in 1970s Canada does this painting present?





1970

October Crisis occurs in Quebec
Trudeau government passes the War Measures Act
The Royal Commission on the Status of Women issues its report
Environmental group Greenpeace is founded

1971

Multiculturalism is declared an official government policy



1972

Canada-Russia Summit Series in hockey grabs national attention
Margaret Atwood publishes *Survival: A Thematic Guide to Canadian Literature*
Great Lakes Water Quality Agreement is signed

1973

Foreign Investment Review Agency (FIRA) is formed
Heritage Canada Foundation is established

1974

Quebec Official Languages Act (Bill 22) is passed
Trudeau government introduces wage and price controls

1975

James Bay Agreement is signed



1976

Parti Québécois forms the government in Quebec
Montreal hosts the summer Olympic Games

1977

Bill 101 is passed in Quebec
Mackenzie Valley Pipeline Inquiry issues its report



1978

New Immigration Act is passed

1980

Quebec votes "No" to sovereignty association
National Energy Program is established
O Canada is declared Canada's official national anthem



1982

Constitution Act is signed by Queen Elizabeth
UN recognizes extended Canadian fishing zone

Strands & Topics

Communities: Local, National, and Global



Canadian Identity

- multiculturalism becomes an official government policy
- many more immigrants from the Asia Pacific and Caribbean regions add to Canada's growing ethnocultural and racial diversity
- *O Canada* is declared the official national anthem in 1980
- Constitution is brought home from Britain in 1982
- Canadian Radio-Television and Telecommunications Commission and Heritage Canada Foundation promote Canadian culture



External Forces Shaping Canada's Policies

- debate over American influence on Canadian culture and economy continues
- OPEC's oil embargo leads to a national energy crisis



French-English Relations

- War Measures Act is invoked to deal with the October Crisis in 1970
- separatist Parti Québécois forms government in Quebec, 1976
- Quebec language bills promote use of French in the province
- Quebecers vote "No" to sovereignty association in 1980 referendum



War, Peace, and Security

- Canada follows a policy of nuclear disarmament
- Trudeau government reassesses Canada's role in NATO and NORAD
- Canada continues its role in international peacekeeping

Change and Continuity



Population Patterns

- immigration levels rise
- baby boom generation enters the workforce



Impact of Science and Technology

- Canadarm is developed
- Telesat Canada is established to set up a nation-wide satellite telecommunications network
- computers come into more widespread use
- nuclear power is developed for peaceful purposes



Canada's International Status and Foreign Policy

- Canada expands its foreign aid
- Canada continues its role in the United Nations and peacekeeping
- Trudeau government establishes relations with People's Republic of China
- Canada joins La Francophonie
- Foreign Investment Review Agency (FIRA) is established

Citizenship and Heritage



Social and Political Movements

- Royal Commission on the Status of Women makes its report
- Aboriginal nations gain a stronger voice, particularly on land claims
- environmental issues come to the forefront; Greenpeace is founded



Contributions of Individuals

- Pierre Trudeau and René Lévesque are prominent political leaders

- Mel Hurtig leads economic nationalists
- Laura Sabia and Florence Bird are at the forefront of women's activism
- Canadian writers such as Margaret Atwood and Alice Munro gain recognition
- Terry Fox, Lincoln Alexander, and Matthew Coon Come are other prominent individuals

Social, Economic, and Political Structures



The Economy

- economic nationalism arises
- National Energy Program is introduced
- wage and price controls are instituted
- regional disparities continue



The Changing Role of Government

- War Measures Act is invoked during October Crisis in 1970
- Constitution Act and Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms are passed in 1982
- government takes further steps to protect Canadian culture and economy from external influences

Methods of Historical Inquiry



Skill Development

- formulating a thesis
- preparing a research essay
- making predictions based on evidence

Activities

- pp. 393–395, 414–416, 432–433

Expectations

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

- analyze developments in French-English relations
- explain how changes in government policy such as multiculturalism contributed to the development of Canadian identity
- evaluate changes in Canada's immigration policy and their effects
- describe the impact of the baby boom on Canadian society
- evaluate Canada's changing relations with the US
- assess changes in the Canadian economy
- describe the contributions of various individuals to Canadian culture and society
- evaluate developments in the women's movement
- analyze developments in the movement by Aboriginal nations for recognition of their rights
- describe Canada's changing role in world affairs and the global economy
- analyze the impact of technological developments in nuclear power, space research, computers, and telecommunications
- formulate an effective thesis statement
- write a research essay
- make predictions based on evidence

Canada's Changing Identity

The October Crisis

5 October 1970, 8:15 a.m. – The doorbell rings in the home of the senior British trade commissioner in Montreal, James R. Cross. Two men carrying a gift-wrapped package tell the person who opens the door that they want to deliver it to Mr. Cross. Inside the house, they pull a rifle from the package and seize James Cross.

11:30 a.m. – A radio station receives ransom demands from the kidnappers. They identify themselves as members of the FLQ and demand the release of 23 political prisoners being held for bombings and terrorist activities. They also demand transportation to Cuba or Algeria, \$500 000 in gold bars, and publication of the FLQ Manifesto (statement of beliefs). The government has 48 hours to comply or Cross will be killed.

8 October – The government refuses the demands of the kidnappers, but the FLQ Manifesto is read on the radio and television net-



Soldiers stood on the streets of Montreal during the October Crisis in 1970.

works of Radio Canada. It calls the people of Quebec to revolution and ends with the words "Long live free Quebec!"

10 October – Quebec Labour Minister Pierre Laporte is in his front yard tossing a football with his nephew. Suddenly, a blue Chevrolet stops. Four men with machine guns shove Laporte into the back seat and speed away. The No. 2 man in the Quebec

government has been kidnapped. The Quebec government now begins to take this crisis very seriously. Premier Bourassa takes refuge in the Queen Elizabeth Hotel surrounded by armed guards. Laporte's kidnappers identify themselves as a second cell of the FLQ.

12 October – In Ottawa, federal troops take up positions around government buildings and provide escorts for important politicians.

16 October, 4:00 a.m. – On the advice of the Quebec government, Prime Minister

Trudeau proclaims the War Measures Act. It is the first time the act has ever been used in peacetime. The **War Measures Act** takes away the civil rights of all Canadians. It makes membership in the FLQ a criminal offence and bans political rallies. The police anywhere in Canada can hold people without charge for up to 21 days and without trial for up to 90 days. Police and military can arrest people just on the suspicion of belonging to the FLQ.

Trudeau argues that the act is justified because the kidnappings are the beginning of a conspiracy to overthrow the government. Asked by a reporter how far the government will go, Trudeau replies, "Just watch me."

In pre-dawn raids the police round up, among others, 50 members of the Parti Québécois. A total of 465 people are eventually arrested.

18 October – In the early hours, the body of Pierre Laporte is found in the trunk of the car used to kidnap him. He had been choked to death with the religious chain he wore around his neck. Amazingly, the car is parked near the armed forces base at St. Hubert.

4 December – Police surround a house in suburban Montreal where James Cross has been held for 59 days. After hours of bargaining, the armed kidnappers and their lawyer drive to the Expo 67 site. The kidnappers surrender Cross, and in exchange, are flown to Cuba.

28 December – Three FLQ members accused of assassinating Laporte crawl out of a tunnel hidden under a farmhouse south of Montreal. They surrender to the police and are charged with murder. The FLQ crisis is over.

1. Do you think Prime Minister Trudeau was justified in invoking the War Measures Act? Why or why not?
2. Do you think the federal government would send in the army today if Quebec were to separate? Explain.

Quebec and Canada

The relationship between Canada and Quebec reached a crisis in the 1970s and led to new questions about the country's unity and identity. Many Canadians were shocked by the October Crisis. Kidnapping and murder of prominent government officials was something that happened in other countries, not Canada. The crisis woke up many Canadians to the seriousness of the independence movement in Quebec.

In Quebec, many people supported the steps Ottawa had taken in the heat of the crisis. The FLQ terrorists were a very small group in the province. But the idea that Canadian soldiers had to move in to keep peace in the province was disturbing. And while most people did not support the FLQ's violent tactics, they agreed with its belief that an English-speaking minority held all the positions of power and influence in the province. The end of the FLQ crisis did not end the differences or the turmoil between French and English Canadians.



The passage of the War Measures Act in 1970 was the first time the act was ever invoked in peacetime. Why did it cause controversy?

In time, the feeling grew that Ottawa had overreacted. Too many questions remained unanswered. Was there really a conspiracy to take over the Quebec government? If the trouble was in Quebec, why did the government take away the civil rights of every Canadian? Didn't the police already have the authority to deal with criminal activities? Was the federal government trying to put down the legal separatist movement in Quebec, not just the radical FLQ? These questions have never been fully answered. Bitterness still lingers among hundreds of people who were arrested during the crisis for nothing more than their nationalistic beliefs.

The Language Crisis

Quebec was facing another crisis in the 1970s. Before World War II, the birth rate among French Canadians had been the highest in Canada. By 1970, it was the lowest in Canada. At the same time, an increasing number of immigrants who spoke neither French nor English were coming to Quebec. Most of these immi-

grants settled in the Montreal area and preferred to educate their children in English. Many immigrants believed that if their children spoke English, they could move anywhere in North America to find work and feel at home.

The Quebec Liberal government became increasingly concerned about the survival of French-Canadian culture in Quebec. They believed protecting the French language was the most important way to keep French-Canadian culture alive. In 1974, the **Official Languages Act, Bill 22**, was introduced. It proclaimed French the official language of the civil service in Quebec.

Bill 22 limited immigrant parents' rights to choose the language in which their children would be educated. Only children who passed a test showing that they knew English could attend English schools. All others were required to go to French language schools.

The legislation was widely criticized by non French-speaking Quebecers and recent immigrants. Many Canadians outside Quebec who were struggling to become bilingual also thought the legislation was unfair. Premier Bourassa argued that French-speaking Quebecers were like a tiny island surrounded by an ocean

The Miracle of Survival

1976: 4.5 million French Canadians in Quebec
 1 million English-speaking people in Quebec
 1.5 million French-speaking people in the rest of Canada

The 6 million French-speaking Canadians represent about 3 per cent of the total English-speaking population of North America. The fact that a small French-speaking minority survived and flourished in North America has been called the "Miracle of Survival."

of English-speakers. Strong measures had to be taken if the French language and French-Canadian culture were to survive. But Quebec nationalist groups and some labour groups felt the bill did not go far enough. They wanted French to be the only official language in Quebec.

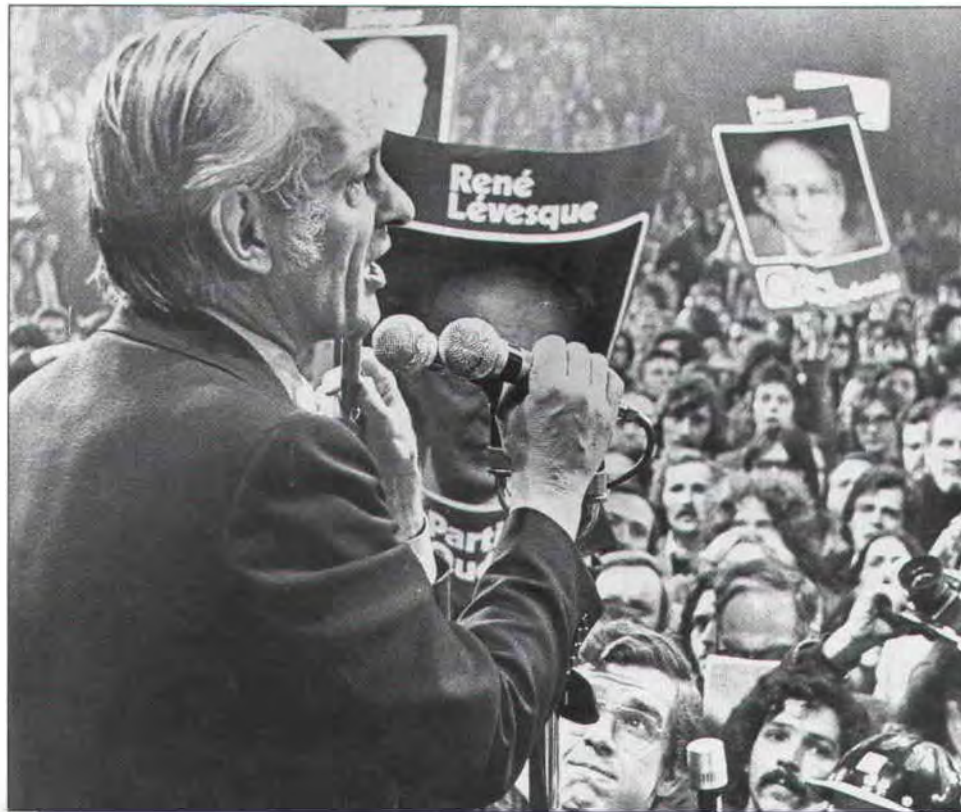
Parti Québécois Victory!

In November 1976, public opinion polls suggested that René Lévesque and the Parti Québécois could win the provincial election. Outside Quebec, few people wanted to believe that a separatist government could come to power. As the first election results began to pour in, it was clear that “the impossible” was happening.

A huge crowd gathered on the night of 15 November 1976 in the Paul Sauvé

arena in Montreal. Over and over they chanted the slogan “Quebec to the Quebeckers.” When René Lévesque arrived, a frenzy of cheering broke out. It was a full five minutes before they allowed him to speak. The Parti Québécois had driven the Liberals from office, winning 71 of 110 seats. For the first time, Quebeckers had elected a government dedicated to establishing an independent Quebec. In an emotional speech, Lévesque put forward the challenge, “Now we have to build this country Quebec!”

The Parti Québécois victory sent shockwaves across Canada. For the first time since 1867, Canadian Confederation faced the genuine possibility that one of its largest provinces might separate. For many Quebeckers, however, 15 November 1976 announced the “hour of freedom.” Others said, “Quebec is awake now ... We



Supporters gather around Parti Québécois leader René Lévesque. What was the PQ's platform for Quebec?



SPOTLIGHT ON...

Gilles Vigneault

A rebirth in the arts accompanied the surge in nationalistic feelings in Quebec. This was especially true in music and poetry. The singer and poet Gilles Vigneault is the Quebec artist most often associated with the separatist movement. Over the course of his career, Vigneault has written more than 300 songs. His music helped to focus the Québécois drive to preserve their own language in their own country or *pays*. A song Vigneault first sang in a Montreal nightclub in 1964 had an electrifying effect on the public. *Mon Pays* quickly became the unofficial anthem of the Quebec separatist movement.

After a stage appearance in 1967, Vigneault was hailed by Montreal critic Louis Dudek as “the most gifted poet to appear in Canada since Emile Nelligan, whether in English or French. He is the true thing, a genius, that comes out of nowhere to delight the world.”

Vigneault’s “nowhere” was actually a small fishing village called Natashquan in the Saguenay district of Quebec. Growing up, he developed a love of the rugged Quebec landscape and the people who lived there. Surrounded by poverty, he began to question the social inequalities he met at every turn. Many of these inequalities seemed rooted in the political and economic systems that operated in Quebec at the time. Vigneault was convinced these systems favoured English speakers and repressed French speakers. In an interview in the *Montreal Gazette* in 1982, he talked about his



childhood and the way his political conscience developed.

Being an inspector meant that my father got \$300 more a year. He had to fish to survive. And I knew for how much my father could sell his fish—a cent and a quarter each—and I knew how much a pound of canned fish cost—40 cents.

I started trying to find out where the 38 other cents were going. And I found out my father was being robbed and I decided to try and correct that. Then I became socially conscious of my environment and how much was wrong. It was very tough and very insulting.

One summer I worked as a waiter on the big steamships which were on the Saguenay. And I lost the job because I did not know English enough, and then I discovered that a young man got the job because he spoke only English. That too helped my social conscience . . . a lot.

Vigneault took an active role in the Quebec referendums of 1980 and 1995. Bitterly disappointed over the failure of the 1980 referendum, he disappeared from public view for two years, then made a triumphant return to the stage with a series of Montreal concerts in 1982. He has always argued that it is impossible to separate art from politics. “If anyone,” he once said, “including an artist, pretends he has nothing to do with politics, that means he doesn’t pay taxes and doesn’t vote.”

English-speaking Quebecers and members of immigrant communities who were outraged by Bill 101 formed a group called **Alliance Quebec**. They tried to challenge the law in the courts. Other English-speaking Quebecers responded by voting with their feet. In the last half of 1977, 50 000 people left the province. Many English-speaking companies also left Montreal, moving their head offices to cities such as Toronto and Calgary. Other English-speaking Quebecers stayed and began learning French.

The Parti Québécois leaders explained that they were protecting their language and culture, just as the federal government was taking steps to protect Canada from being swamped by American culture. Those businesses that left the province were accused by the PQ of practising economic blackmail. Quebec's language laws would continue to spark controversy over the next decades.

The Referendum of 1980

The Parti Québécois stressed the importance of gaining independence for Quebec. But despite their election victory, polls throughout the 1970s showed that less than 20 per cent of Quebecers favoured independence. They seemed to draw back from a clean break. Some feared they would be swamped economically, culturally, and politically if they had to share the continent with the United States and Canada. At the same time, 84 per cent said they wanted some kind of change.

Lévesque promised that his government would hold a referendum before making any move toward independence. He told the Canadian Jewish Congress, "Whatever is going to happen is going to happen as democratically as we have

What does sovereignty association mean?

Sovereignty means that Quebec would be politically independent. It would collect its own taxes and have its own citizenship and immigration laws to protect French culture. No law passed in Ottawa would be binding in Quebec.

Association means that Quebec would still have close economic ties with the rest of Canada. The two "countries" would have the same trade policy with the same tariffs (taxes on imports) and other trade rules. They could share the same money. Quebec was proposing a common market with Canada, along the lines of the common market in Europe.

Mandate to negotiate means that Quebecers were just giving their government the power to work out a deal with the rest of Canada. The government promised that the people would get another chance to vote on any agreement.

acted in the last 10 years.... We will do our best to win the referendum. But, if we lose, it goes without saying that we will respect that decision."

By 1980, the Parti Québécois was ready to give Quebecers a chance to vote on their future. Lévesque knew that only a minority wanted outright independence, so he proposed **sovereignty association**. Quebecers were asked to vote "oui" or "non" to giving the Quebec government a "mandate to negotiate sovereignty association with Canada."

The referendum campaign was intense. Lévesque and the PQ wanted the vote to be a resounding "oui." A "oui" vote would be an enormous boost for the independence movement and a grave setback for Canadian national unity. The provincial

Mon Pays

by Gilles Vigneault

*Mon pays ce n'est pas un pays
c'est l'hiver.**Mon jardin ce n'est pas un jardin
c'est la plaine.**Mon chemin ce n'est pas un chemin
c'est la neige.**Mon pays ce n'est pas un pays
c'est l'hiver.*This my land I call home
is a blanket of snow.This my garden is barren
where nothing will grow.This my road that I
travel has no place to go.It's a homeland called Winter—
a country of snow.

1. Do you think artists should use their art to support political causes? Give reasons for your position. Refer to other artists who have spoken out (or have refused to speak out) for other political causes in Canada.
2. Reread the lyrics to *Mon Pays*. Why do you think this song has been embraced by Quebec separatists as their “unofficial national anthem”?

have stood up and we shall not sit down again.” The triumphant slogan “Frogs have teeth” was chalked on walls all over Montreal.

Bill 101

One of the first steps the Parti Québécois took was to pass the controversial language bill, known as **Bill 101**, in 1977. This bill went even further than Bourassa's language legislation, Bill 22. More restrictions were placed on the use of languages other than French in Quebec. French was to be used in government, the courts, and business. No business could display a sign in a language other than French.

French also became the language of the workplace. Until this law was passed, an English-speaking business owner could insist on running a factory or office in English, even if all the employees were French-

speaking. Now Quebeckers had the right to use French on the job. French-speaking Quebeckers who didn't speak English could enter jobs they had been excluded from before. Bill 101 became known as the “Charter of the French Language.”

Probably the most controversial part of the bill concerned the language of education. Immigrants to Quebec could not send their children to English-language public schools. There would still be English-language schools, but only for children already enrolled in them, or for children with at least one parent who had attended an English elementary school.

Some companies announced that they were having difficulty getting employees with school-aged children to accept transfers to their Montreal offices. Even on a temporary transfer, the employees would have to send their children to French schools.



*"A House Divided."
Opinions over the
1980 sovereignty
association question
were decidedly mixed.*

Liberals under Claude Ryan were urging the people of Quebec to vote "non!" The Trudeau Liberals in Ottawa also encouraged a "non" vote. A resounding "non" vote would derail the independence movement—at least for the time being.

The "oui" and "non" sides placed ads in newspapers, in magazines, on television, and on radio. Quebeckers were bombarded with propaganda. Through it all, they had to decide if sovereignty association would benefit Quebec or not. What would be the losses, especially the economic ones?

Just six days before the referendum, Prime Minister Trudeau stood before 10 000 wildly cheering supporters in Montreal. "I am making a solemn commitment," said Trudeau, "that after a 'non' vote, we are going to set into motion the mechanism of constitutional renewal. We will not stop until it has been achieved!

"Now I address myself solemnly to Canadians in other provinces!" Trudeau continued. He pointed toward the 73 Quebec members of Parliament surrounding him on the platform. "We in Quebec are putting our heads on the block. When we

tell Quebeckers to vote 'non,' we are telling you that we will not accept that a 'non' be interpreted by you as an indication that everything is fine, that everything can remain the way it was before. We want changes made. We are putting our seats at stake to obtain these changes!"

On 15 May 1980, Canada held its breath as Quebec voted. There was an overwhelming turnout at the polls. Sixty per cent voted "non," and forty per cent voted "oui." Sovereignty association had been rejected, at least for the time being. But Trudeau had made a promise about constitutional reform to the people of Quebec that he would now have to honour.

Bringing Home the Constitution

The British North America Act, Canada's constitution, was still a British act. Any changes required the approval of the British government. For years, Canadian governments had considered patriating, or bringing home, the constitution but no agreement could be reached on the changes. Trudeau decided it was time to

act. If a new Canadian constitution could be worked out, Quebec might be persuaded to remain in Canada. A new federal system would have to recognize French-speaking Quebecers as equal partners in Confederation. But Quebec was not the only province dissatisfied with the current system. Other provinces also wanted more power to run their own affairs.

Less than a month after the Quebec referendum, Trudeau organized a conference with the provincial premiers. However, the premiers could not agree on how to revise the constitution. Trudeau then went on national television to tell Canadians that the federal government would act on its own, or unilaterally, to bring home the constitution.

In early November 1981, Trudeau made one last attempt to involve the provincial premiers in the patriation

process. At the last moment, a deal was hammered out. All of the provinces (except Quebec) and Ottawa reached an agreement. Quebec was left out of the final meeting. Lévesque said Quebec had been betrayed. The new constitution was meant to consider the needs of Quebec, but an agreement had been made without Quebec's consent. Lévesque complained that the deal confirmed what he had always suspected, that "Quebec is alone."

Three main points were included in the agreement:

1. the power to amend (change) the constitution would be brought home from Britain.
2. changes to the constitution could be made if the federal government and seven provinces (representing 50 per cent of the population) agreed.
3. a **Charter of Rights and Freedoms** would be added to the constitution.

On 17 April 1982, Queen Elizabeth signed the agreement that brought home Canada's constitution. Quebec representatives did not participate in the ceremony.



The Charter of Rights and Freedoms

The Charter of Rights and Freedoms guaranteed the democratic, civil, and legal rights of Canadians by formally writing them into the nation's constitution. Before this time, Canada had a Bill of Rights and many rights were ensured through tradition and long practice. But Prime Minister Trudeau argued that in an age of big and powerful governments, the only way to guarantee that the rights of Canadians would be protected was by formally writing them into the constitution. The Charter of Rights and Freedoms included the following:

Fundamental Freedoms

- freedom of conscience and religion
- freedom of thought, belief, opinion, and expression, including freedom of the press and other media of communication
- freedom of peaceful assembly
- freedom of association

Legal Rights

- the right to life, liberty, and security of person
- the right to a trial and a lawyer, and protection against arbitrary imprisonment

Equality Rights

- protection from discrimination on the basis of race, national or ethnic origin, colour, religion, age, sex, and mental or physical ability

Language Rights

- the right to use English and French in the government and courts of Canada and of New Brunswick
- the right to education in English or French where there are sufficient number of students

Aboriginal Rights

- recognition of the existing Aboriginal and treaty rights of the "Native Peoples" (Inuit, Indian, and Métis)

On 2 December 1981, the federal Parliament voted in favour of the patriation package. One MP left his hospital bed to vote. Liberals were all wearing red carnations in their lapels to "reflect the blossoming of a new country, the blooming of a new Canada!" But in Quebec, the PQ government ordered the Quebec flag to be flown at half-mast to signify the "insult done to Quebecers by English Canada."

A Canadian delegation went to London, England, to ask the British Parliament for approval to change the British North America Act and received it on 8 March 1982. It was 115 years to the day since the BNA Act had become law. At last, Canada's

status as a fully independent nation was recognized. The BNA Act was officially changed and renamed the **Constitution Act 1982**.



Growing Cultural Diversity

Along with the crisis in Quebec, the 1970s saw the continuation of what would be a major trend in Canada for the rest of the century. Canada was becoming more racially and culturally diverse. Before the late 1960s, the majority of immigrants to Canada had come from western Europe



Developing Skills: Formulating a Thesis

In Unit 2, you may have done a research report on a topic related to World War I. A research report, however, is different from a research essay. In a report, you present facts that *describe* or *explain* your topic. For example, your report may have described the kinds of planes used by both sides in World War I. Similarly, a newspaper journalist on assignment in Russia could write a report describing the everyday life of Moscow's citizens.

In a research essay, you present facts to support a *particular point of view* or *argument*. A research essay on World War I planes would do more than describe the planes. It might argue, for example, that aircraft were the most underused weapon of World War I. Similarly, the journalist could write an in-depth article arguing that Moscow residents are better off now than they were under the former communist government. Writing an essay can be fun because it gives you the chance to argue a case and try to persuade other people that your ideas have merit.

Every essay needs a thesis. A thesis tells the reader what you are trying to prove. It clearly states your point of view. Here are some steps to help you formulate a thesis.

Step 1 Understand Your Topic

Suppose your topic is "The Introduction of the War Measures Act in 1970." First, do your research. Use books, magazines, films, interviews, computer databases, and other resources to investigate your topic. Decide on three or four main sub-topics. For example, you need to know what the War Measures Act was, the background to the October Crisis, and the outcome.

Step 2 Formulate a Question

Next, review the information you have collected and let it ferment in your brain. As ideas twist and turn through your head, you will be formulating an opinion or point of view on the topic. For example, you may have found that the War Measures Act

Thesis	Comment
1. The War Measures Act, 1970	This is a topic, not a thesis statement.
2. Was the War Measures Act fair when it took away the civil rights of all Canadians?	This is a good question that might lead to a thesis, but it is not a thesis. It does not state a point of view.
3. The War Measures Act was invoked in 1970.	A statement of fact is a weak thesis. A thesis must take a stand that can be argued.
4. Something had to be done about the crisis in Quebec in 1970.	Weak thesis. What had to be done? Why? This statement is vague and does not take a clear stand that can be argued.
5. The War Measures Act should have been invoked because the country was facing a national emergency.	Good thesis. It clearly summarizes a point of view, is specific, and can be argued. You can find evidence to support this thesis.
6. The War Measures Act should not have been invoked because it took away the civil rights of all Canadians.	Good thesis. It clearly summarizes a point of view, is specific, and can be argued.

took away the civil rights of all Canadians. You do not think this was justified, since only a small radical group of people was actually involved in terrorist activities. This idea could become the basis for formulating a question, which you can then use to develop your thesis.

Question: *Was the War Measures Act fair when it took away the civil rights of all Canadian citizens?*

Step 3 State Your Thesis

Now you are ready to formulate a thesis statement clearly in a sentence. Your thesis statement should reflect the stand you are taking and be arguable.

Thesis Statement: *The War Measures Act should not have been invoked in 1970 because it violated the rights of all Canadian citizens.*

Step 4 Evaluate Your Thesis Statement

Once you have formulated a thesis statement, evaluate it. Use the criteria outlined in the chart on the previous page to check that your thesis is a sound one.

Step 5 Can You Support Your Thesis?

Finally, ask yourself if you can find evidence to support your thesis. Are resources with the informa-

tion you need available? You will find that either numbers 5 or 6 in the chart can be researched. Many resources about the War Measures Act, both pro and con, are readily available. Numbers 5 or 6 can be supported by evidence, and so are suitable thesis statements.

Practise It!

Read the following paragraph from a research essay. The first paragraph in a research essay should clearly state the thesis. Decide what is wrong with this paragraph. Then rewrite the paragraph to improve it. The topic is: "Should Quebec separate from Canada?"

For the Parti Québécois, the answer is perfectly clear: Quebec should separate from Canada. But many citizens in other parts of Canada do not agree. To decide whether Quebec should separate you have to examine several issues. Is the French-Canadian culture going to be able to survive within Canada? Would it be economically beneficial for Quebec to break away from the rest of Canada? When these questions have been answered, the correct future for Quebec will be obvious to everyone.

(especially Great Britain) and the United States. In the 1960s and the 1970s, the trend shifted. Many more immigrants came from the Asia Pacific region and countries in the Caribbean. What led to this shift? In the 1970s, an official policy of multiculturalism and a new immigration act were major factors.

Multiculturalism

Multiculturalism refers to a society in which many different cultural groups live together. The government's policy of multiculturalism actually came out of the crisis in French-English relations. To answer Quebec's concerns, the federal government had set up the Royal Com-

mission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism in 1963. In interviews and hearings across the country, the commission had heard not just from people of French and British heritage, but from other ethnocultural communities as well.

Many people from these communities had been in Canada for generations. They had suffered through the Depression and made important contributions through two world wars. Now they wanted full recognition as Canadians, while keeping their individual cultural identities. They wanted the right to practise the traditions that made them unique. They argued against the American tradition of a "melting pot," in which many different cultures

are assimilated into one. Instead, they thought Canadian society should be like a "mosaic." In a mosaic, each individual part keeps its own distinct identity while contributing to the picture as a whole.

The commission agreed. In its final report, it included recommendations to:

- recognize all Canadians as full and equal participants in Canadian society
- persuade Canadian institutions, such as businesses and government ministries, to encourage this cultural diversity through their programs and policies.

The Trudeau government accepted these recommendations. In 1971, Canada became the first country in the world to adopt multiculturalism as official government policy.

But not everyone was happy with the new the policy. There were three main objections:

1. Some people argued that multiculturalism would divide Canadians rather than unite them. As a result, it would

have a negative impact on Canadian identity.

2. Some people in English-speaking Canada complained the policy would erode the country's British heritage.
3. Some people in French-speaking Canada accused the government of using the policy to thwart Quebec nationalism. They complained that French Canadians would have no more status than other non-British ethnocultural groups.

But the majority of Canadians, especially in urban areas, supported the new policy. The growing ethnic diversity in large cities such as Toronto and Vancouver soon became obvious.

Multiculturalism, as a government policy, represented a new direction. For the first time, the Canadian government was officially recognizing the rights and distinct identities of the many different cultures in the country. The policy became law with the passage of the Canadian Mul-

Canada became more ethnically diverse during the 1970s. This was especially true of large cities such as Vancouver. Why do you think most immigrants in the 1970s settled in cities rather than in rural areas?



ticulturalism Act in 1988. Canadian governments could no longer see the country as just bicultural, with two founding nations (French and British). In fact, this view had ignored the rights of Aboriginal nations since Confederation.

Multiculturalism did not eliminate discrimination or racism. But it did reinforce the view that all ethnocultural and racial communities in Canada had a right to be treated equally. The policy was a basis for later laws that promoted equal access to jobs, housing, and education. Cultural festivals, heritage language classes, and other cultural events received government support. The policy's effects were also felt in the Immigration Act of 1978 and the Employment Equity Act of 1986.

The Immigration Act of 1978

After the changes to the Immigration Act in 1967, more people from Asia, Africa, the Caribbean, and Latin America came to Canada. But the points system favoured people who were fluent in English or French, were well educated, and had highly marketable skills. This meant that the majority of immigrants were still from Britain, western Europe, and the US.

During the economic boom in the 1960s and 1970s, fewer people wanted to leave these regions to try their luck in a new country. Canada, however, still needed skilled people from other countries to work in its own booming job market. The Trudeau government set about reforming the country's immigration policy.

The **Immigration Act of 1978** had three major objectives. The first was to attract people who would "promote the domestic and international needs of Canada." They would be assessed according to a point system in which education, training, experience, and personal suitability were the factors that counted. The second goal was to reunite families that

had been separated for one reason or another. The third was to accept "the displaced and the persecuted" for humanitarian reasons.

The act recognized three classes of immigrants.

- *Independent class* were individuals who had family members in Canada willing to sponsor them and help them get established. They were also people who had \$250 000 to invest for three years, or were willing to set up and work in a business. By 1987, the top source countries for business immigrants were Hong Kong, South Korea, Taiwan, the United States, and France. Independent class immigrants could also gain entry on a point system that awarded certain professions more points than others. For example, nurses and therapists who were urgently needed in Canada got 10 points. Doctors got zero points. Veterinarians got one point.

Which region of the world became the major source of Canadian immigrants after the late 1960s? Why did the shift occur?

Top Ten Source Countries for Immigrants to Canada, 1968–1994

1968	1984	1994
Great Britain	Vietnam	Hong Kong
United States	Hong Kong	Philippines
Italy	United States	India
Germany	India	China
Hong Kong	Great Britain	Taiwan
France	Poland	Sri Lanka
Austria	Philippines	Great Britain
Greece	El Salvador	United States
Portugal	Jamaica	Vietnam
Yugoslavia	China	Bosnia-Herzegovina

Source: Data for 1968 and 1984 from Leo Dreidger, *Multi-Ethnic Canada: Identities and Inequalities* (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1966), pp. 60-61. Data for 1994 from *A Stronger Canada: 1998 Annual Immigration Plan*, published by Citizenship and Immigration Canada.

- *Family class* were wives or husbands and unmarried children under 21, and parents or grandparents of people who were already citizens or permanent residents of Canada.
- *Refugee class* were persons who feared or suffered persecution in their own countries because of their political ideas, religion, race, or nationality. Refugees could apply for immigrant status from within Canada. Other immigrants had to apply for entry visas before coming to Canada.

Before this act, Canada had admitted refugees only by making special exceptions to immigration regulations. Normal rules and procedures were set aside to allow refugees into Canada in emergency situations. With the 1978 Immigration Act, the admission of refugees became part of Canadian immigration law for the first time. The law clearly signalled Canada's humanitarian commitment to resettling refugees. The

act also put a higher priority on reuniting families than earlier immigration acts had.

Between 1980 and 1986, immigrants from developing countries in Asia, Latin America, and Africa made up 65 per cent of the total. The new 1978 regulations increased the racial and ethnic diversity of Canada, especially in the major urban centres.

Refugee Experiences

Canada accepted many more refugees after the Immigration Act was passed in 1978. The first major refugee resettlement program was for the Vietnamese "boat people." For 20 years, Vietnam had been ravaged by a war between North and South. In 1975, the war finally ended. The communist forces were victorious and took over South Vietnam. The country was in economic ruin. Because of the bombing, much of the land was unusable for farming. Fear of what lay ahead and the desire to give their children a better life drove many Vietnamese to flee their country. In 1979, after a conflict between Vietnam and China, many Chinese-Vietnamese were expelled from their country.

In the midst of all these conflicts, over a million Vietnamese people escaped between 1978 and 1981. Crowded into small boats, they risked their lives on the South China Sea. Often, their boats were attacked by pirates. Food and water were scarce. Thousands perished in the cold waters. Hau Truong, who was only a small child at the time, remembers: "It was the middle of the night. I remember falling out of a small canoe and being so cold. My Mom caught me. Always these memories of water and darkness."

Thousands of these Vietnamese boat people made their way to Hong Kong or the Philippines, where they were crowded into refugee camps. When the camps became too full, new arrivals were turned

Between 1979 and 1981, Canada took in close to 60 000 Vietnamese refugees. In what way was this response different from Canada's reaction to the plight of Jewish refugees before World War II?



away. In desperation, many had to remain on board the boats for months. It was from these camps that many Vietnamese applied for permission to come to Canada.

Canada offered two forms of sponsorship. In some cases, the government sponsored the refugees. In other cases, an organization or family provided sponsorship. Many Canadian church groups and other individuals offered help. They provided food, shelter, and winter clothing. They also helped the people find jobs and places to live.

More than 1.5 million Vietnamese people left Vietnam after 1975 and several thousand came to Canada. Today, more than 100 000 Vietnamese Canadians are part of Canadian society.

Other refugees came from Latin American countries. They had to flee danger in their own countries and make challenging adjustments in Canada. Some highly educated refugees were not able to practise their professions in Canada. They found jobs as manual labourers to provide for their families. The experience of Felipe Gonzalez Guzman (not his real name) is an example. ("Guzman" did not want to use his real name for fear of endangering members of his family in El Salvador.)

In the late 1960s, the El Salvadoran government began cracking down on all labour unions. By 1974, union members suspected of being communists were being killed by government-sponsored police. Guzman had joined the teachers' union in 1973. After being arrested and released in 1974 for participating in an anti-government demonstration, he transferred to a school in another city. He helped build a new school there and was active in both community affairs and the teachers' federation.

In 1977, he was warned that the army was looking for him. He had to bribe an official to get transferred again, this time



Hau Truong escaped with his family from Vietnam in 1981. He went on to become a medical student at McMaster University in Hamilton, Ontario. When he graduates as a pediatrician, he hopes to join Doctors Without Borders, an organization that performs lifesaving work in war zones.

to the country's capital of San Salvador. His pay as a teacher was low, so he took on a second job in a hardware store. He began to fear for his life when he realized he was being followed. Soon afterward, his wife, also a teacher, received a death threat in the mail. Guzman borrowed money from relatives, and he and his family fled the country to Costa Rica, pretending to be tourists.

The Guzmans applied for and received refugee status in Costa Rica, but Guzman had little hope of finding a teaching job. There was a three-year waiting list. He struggled to support his family, picking produce on farms 12 to 13 hours a day, six days a week. After three difficult years, Guzman was encouraged to apply as a refugee to Canada. Two months after his interview at the Canadian embassy, the Guzman family received their papers and a loan to pay for plane tickets. They arrived in Vancouver on 1 July 1980 and were taken care of by an employee from Manpower and Immigration.

Within a month, the Guzmans were living in an apartment and learning English. A priest from a nearby Roman Catholic church helped Guzman get a job as a hotel janitor. After several years, Guzman found a better-paying job as a school janitor. The Guzmans were grateful for the safe home they found in Canada. As a former teacher, Guzman sometimes found it hard working in a school as a janitor. His English improved steadily over the years, but he felt he was too old to retrain as an English-speaking teacher. His greatest hopes were for his three children. In Canada, they had opportunities they would never have had in El Salvador.

Impact of the Baby Boom

Immigration was just one population factor that shaped Canadian society in the 1970s. The baby boom was another. As the boomers grew up—from children, to adolescents, teenagers, and adults—they had

a major impact on Canadian society. In many ways, this was simply because there were so many of them.

The first noticeable effect was an increased demand for schools and teachers. In the 1950s, new primary and secondary schools sprang up across the country. About 500 000 new students entered school each year. In the 1960s, new community colleges and universities opened, while existing schools had to increase their staffs.

In the 1970s, the first wave of baby boomers began to enter the job market. Highly educated and well trained, these young people expected good salaries and generous benefits packages. Both as teenagers and young adults, they often had money to spend. The baby boomers helped fuel the Canadian economy during the 1960s and 1970s.

As teenagers they lived at home and were not expected to contribute to family income, as many young people had been in earlier decades. Instead, their parents

FAST FORWARD

Canada Pension Plan Account
(in millions of dollars)

Year	Annual Receipts	Annual Payments	Annual Surplus	Accumulated Net Balance
1966	95	6	89	89
1967	600	8	592	681
1968	685	13	672	1 353
1969	785	30	755	2 108

Year	Annual Receipts	Annual Payments	Annual DEFICIT	Accumulated Net Balance
1994	13 368	14 589	- 1 221	40 951

Source: Receiver General for Canada, *Public Accounts of Canada 1969-1994*. Ottawa: Minister of Supply and Services Canada, 1969-1994.

What happened to the Canada Pension Plan Account in the 1960s? What had happened to it by 1994? How can you account for the change?

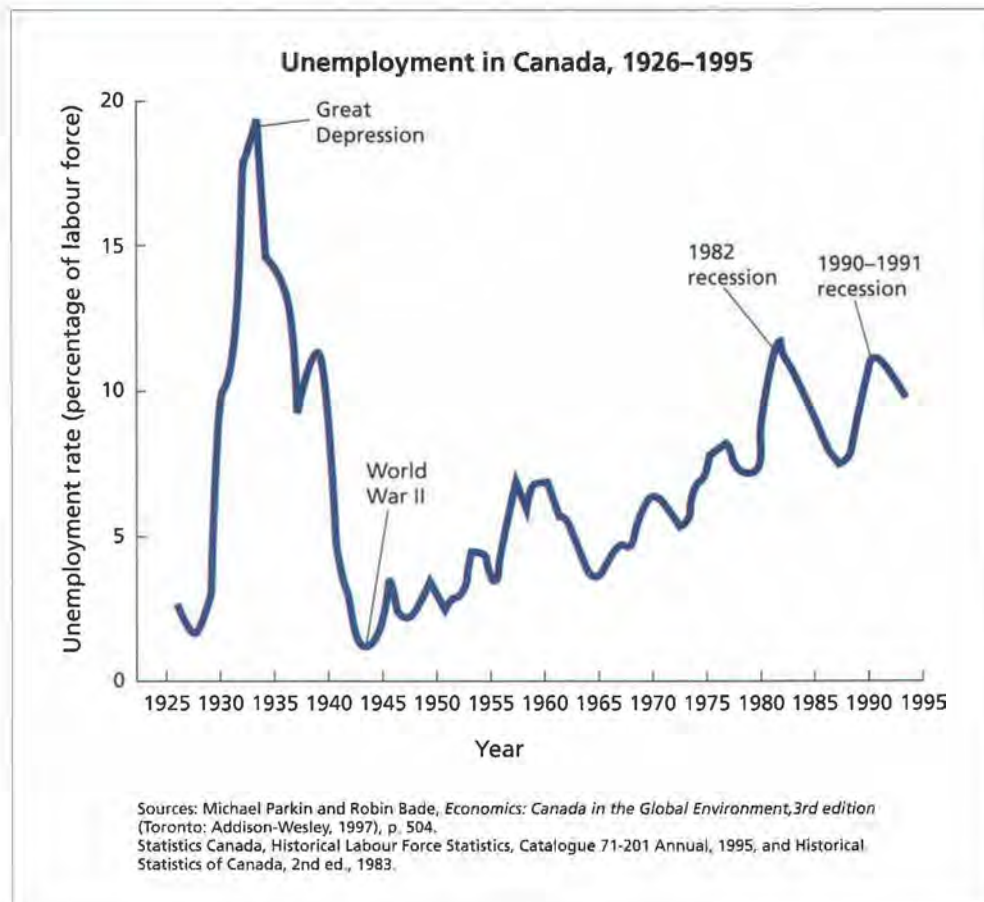
often gave them pocket money or allowances. The boomers created a market for fast food, clothing fads, popular music, and cosmetics. As young adults, many bought cars, televisions, stereo systems, and the latest fashions.

But as more and more baby boomers entered the job market, unemployment rates rose. Jobs could not be created fast enough to keep up with the numbers who were looking for work. Unemployment rates in the 1970s and early 1980s were higher than at any time since the Great Depression.

In the 1980s, many of the boomers reached the mid stage in their careers and began buying houses. The demand caused housing prices in major cities such as Toronto and Vancouver to skyrocket.

Owning a house moved beyond the reach of many young couples.

Today, many people are also asking what will happen when the baby boomers eventually retire from the working world. Will Canada's health care and pension services be able to withstand the strain? In the 1980s, there were six "producers" or working-age people contributing to the economy for each retired "consumer" of health and pension services. By the year 2031, when the youngest boomers reach 65, there will be only two working-age producers for each consumer. In other words, the number of people contributing to pension and health services will be shrinking just as the numbers who draw on these same services reach their maximum size.



Canadian unemployment rates began a dramatic rise in the 1970s as the baby boomers poured into the job market. The rate peaked in 1982-83 at about 12 percent, its highest mark since the worst years of the Great Depression.



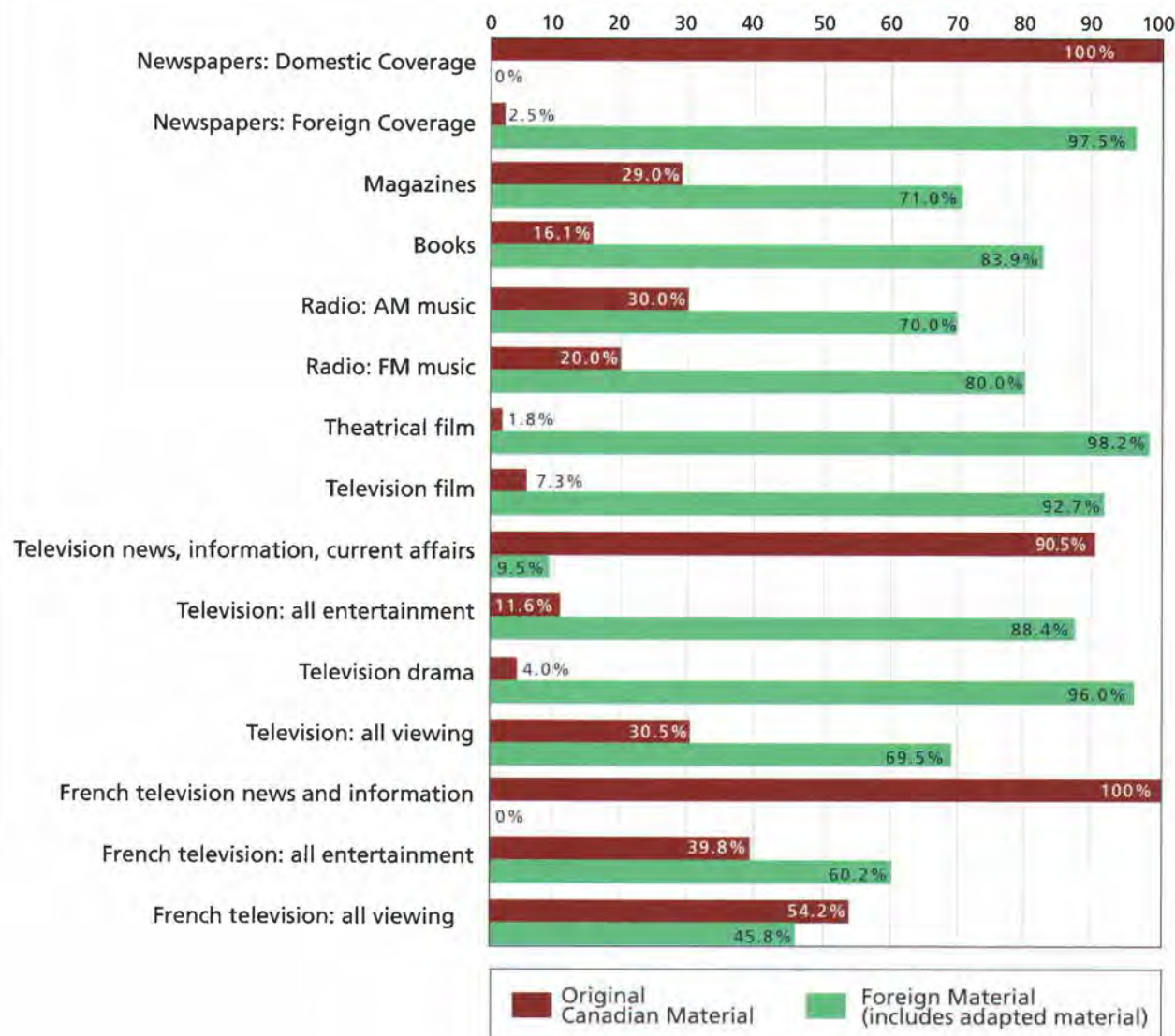
Popular Culture

In which media was foreign content highest in 1978? Why do you think this was so?

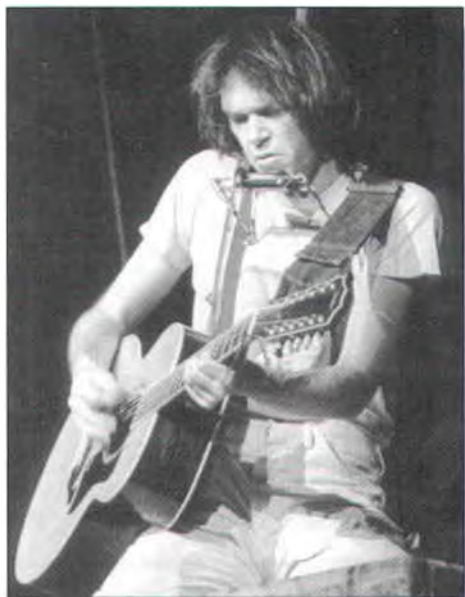
Popular culture in Canada during the 1970s was influenced by two forces: the tastes of the baby boomers and the “infiltration” of American culture. Young people continued to listen to rock music and to

watch movies and TV shows that originated in Hollywood. By this point, however, many more Canadians were expressing concern over the Americanization of Canadian culture. A story circulated of how a Canadian high school student was asked to identify Margaret Laurence and

Canadian and Foreign Content in Canadian Media, 1978



Source: Lorimer and McNulty, *Mass Communication in Canada* (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1987), P.36.



Neil Young and Anne Murray were popular Canadian musicians in the 1970s. Although both artists developed large followings in the US, their careers received a tremendous boost in Canada from CRTC regulations that demanded 30 per cent Canadian content on popular music radio stations.

Earle Birney, two of Canada's most respected writers. The student replied, "Never heard of them. They must be Canadian."

In 1968, the government had established the **Canadian Radio-Television and Telecommunications Commission (CRTC)**. The CRTC issued broadcasting licences to Canadian-owned companies. It made sure that 30 per cent of the music played on AM stations was Canadian. Canadians listened to entertainers such as Anne Murray, Neil Young, Bachman-Turner Overdrive, Rush, and Stompin' Tom Connors in addition to popular American artists. The law required that 60 per cent of primetime television be "made in Canada." Viewers watched Bruno Gerussi in *The Beachcombers*, Al Waxman in *The King of Kensington*, and Adrienne Clarkson in *The Fifth Estate*. All of these shows featured Canadian actors, writers, and producers.

The Canadian government also spent millions of dollars to help build a Canadian film industry. Films made in Quebec promoted French culture and won some major international awards. Claude Jutra won acclaim for his film *Mon Oncle*

Antoine (1971) about life in a Quebec asbestos town. In 1975, Michel Brault's film *Les Ordres* won an important award at the Cannes Film Festival. The following year, Jean Beaudin's *J. A. Martin, Photographe* won the award for best Canadian film.

The English language commercial film industry and the National Film Board also produced important Canadian films. These included *Goin' Down the Road* (1970), the story of two Maritimers trying to establish themselves in Toronto, and *Why Shoot the Teacher?* (1977), the story of a young teacher in a one-room school on the Prairies in the 1930s.

In 1973, the federal government established the **Heritage Canada Foundation**. Its goal was to preserve and educate people about significant historic, architectural, natural, and scenic sites in Canada. Since 1973, the foundation has preserved more than 75 heritage buildings across the country. Beginning in 1978, it also started a Main Street program that helped to revitalize many neglected downtown areas. To raise people's awareness of heritage issues, the foundation has lobbied to have the third Monday in February set aside as a holiday called Heritage Day.



Netsurfer

Find out more about the
Heritage Canada Foundation at
[www.heritagecanada.org/
English/index.html](http://www.heritagecanada.org/English/index.html).



ArtsTalk



Alice Munro

Alice Munro is one of the best-known short story writers in the world. Many of her stories are set in a small southwestern Ontario town, much like the one in which she was born. Readers around the world have become familiar with life in small town Ontario from her works.



After attending the University of Western Ontario for two years, Alice Munro moved to Victoria, BC. There she and her husband opened a bookstore, Munro's Books. Alice began publishing short stories in literary magazines. In 1972, she returned to Ontario and settled in Clinton, not far from her birthplace in Wingham.

Throughout the 1970s, Munro established herself as one of the finest fiction writers in Canada. Although she published one novel, she focused mainly on short fiction. A volume of stories called *Something I've Been Meaning to Tell You* appeared in 1974, and the story collection *Who Do You Think You Are?* won the 1978 Governor-General's Award. Altogether, she has published nine collections of stories and won the Governor-General's Award for fiction three times. Her 1998 collection, the *Love of a Good Woman*, won the prestigious Giller Prize. Many of Munro's stories first appeared in the well-known American magazine, *The New Yorker*.

In her earliest stories, Munro often focused on a young girl who felt at odds with herself and her surroundings. She explored the complicated relationship between mothers and daughters, and reflected on how the passage of time affects the way we think about past events. In her later work, she has written about aging and adult relationships. Asked once if her stories were based on her own experiences as a girl and a woman, she replied that her work was "autobiographical in form, but not in fact."

Margaret Atwood

Margaret Atwood spent much of her childhood in two different worlds. Her father was an entomologist who often took the family to the forests of northern Ontario in the summers. In the winters, the Atwoods lived in Ottawa or Toronto. The striking contrast between the bush and the city had an influence on Margaret Atwood and her later writing.



Margaret Atwood was born in Ottawa in 1939 and raised in Toronto. Her education was at the University of Toronto, Radcliffe College, and Harvard University. Under the influence of the well-known literary critic Northrop Frye at Toronto, Atwood developed a fascination with myths and their meanings. Another major theme in her work has been the relationship of Canadians with their harsh but beautiful land.

During the 1970s, Atwood published works that showed her to be a talented and insightful writer of poetry, fiction, and literary criticism. *The Journals of Susanna Moodie* (1970) was a poem cycle Atwood imagined being narrated by the nineteenth century Canadian pioneer Susanna Moodie. Through these poems, Atwood explored the conflict between European value systems and the hard life pioneers faced in a new land.

Three novels Margaret Atwood published during the 1970s—*Surfacing* (1972), *Lady Oracle* (1976), and *Life Before Man* (1979)—examined relations between the sexes from a feminist point of view. She also published an important work of literary criticism: *Survival: A Thematic Guide to Canadian Literature* (1972). In this controversial book, Atwood charged that Canadians had neglected their own literature. She challenged writers and readers alike to celebrate Canadian literary

achievements of the past, and to develop the tradition in the future.

Atwood's work has won an impressive collection of awards. These include the Governor-General's Award (twice), the Molson Prize, a Guggenheim Fellowship Award, the Giller Prize, and the Commonwealth Literary Prize. In 1981, she was made a

Companion of the Order of Canada, and in 1994 the government of France honoured her as a Chevalier dans l'Ordre des Arts et des Lettres. She has developed a wide international following, and is one of the Canadian writers as well known in the United States, Great Britain, Australia, and France as she is at home.

1. In what ways did the books Margaret Atwood published during the 1970s reflect the concerns of that time? List three of these concerns.
2. What were some of the key themes in Alice Munro's writing?
3. Read a story by Alice Munro or Margaret Atwood and write a brief appreciation of it. Tell why you would or would not read other stories by the same writer.

Canada's performing arts also blossomed, thanks in part to government financial support through arts councils. Suddenly, a whole group of small Toronto theatres began to flourish. Original Canadian plays were produced and made a stunning impact. David Freeman's *Creeps*, on the subject of cerebral palsy, was a hit and went on to New York. David Luscombe's production of *Ten Lost Years* was a moving stage portrayal of Canadian life during the Great Depression.

But new Canadian theatre was by no means emerging only in Toronto. Michel Tremblay's *Les Belles Soeurs* entertained both French and English language audiences. Talent from the Vancouver East Cultural Centre produced outstanding shows including *Billy Bishop Goes to War* and *Eighteen Wheels*.

Canadian writers also flourished, and the number of Canadian publishing companies almost doubled in the 1970s. In 1976, one of Canada's most famous critics, Northrop Frye, talked about "the colossal verbal explosion that has taken place in Canada since 1960." Mordecai Richler, Gabrielle Roy, Leonard Cohen, Margaret

Laurence, Robertson Davies, and W. O. Mitchell were just some of the writers gaining recognition. "Can Lit" became a recognized field of study at universities.



Canadian Sports

The 1970s witnessed a number of landmarks in Canadian sports. In 1976, Montreal hosted the summer Olympics. It was during these games that Nadia Comaneci, a 13-year-old gymnast from Romania, exploded onto the world stage by recording seven perfect marks of 10.00 for her routines. No gymnast before her had ever received one perfect mark at the Olympics. Canadian athletes also more than doubled their medal count over previous Olympics, winning 11 medals in total.

Cost overruns and politics to some extent overshadowed the sports activities at the Montreal Olympics. Even though Mayor Jean Drapeau declared that "the Olympics can no more have a deficit than a man can have a baby," construction fees for the different facilities created heavy debts for Montreal and the province of Quebec. The

Olympic Stadium alone had originally been budgeted for \$30 million, but wound up costing more than \$800 million.

Sports and Politics

The Olympics were also not without international political controversy. Just before the games began, 20 African nations withdrew their athletes. They were protesting the fact that New Zealand was at the games. The year before a New Zealand rugby team had toured South Africa. South Africa at this time had an official policy of apartheid. All Black people in the country were denied basic civil and democratic rights. Other countries in Africa strongly denounced apartheid. They wanted support from other world nations to pressure South Africa into abandoning its apartheid policy. Their boycott of the games was one way of making their point.

Then the Trudeau government created an international furor by refusing to allow Taiwanese athletes to compete under a banner that identified them as coming from the Republic of China. In 1970, the Canadian government had officially recognized the People's Republic of China and withdrawn recognition from Taiwan. This was called the government's one-China policy. The People's Republic of China was not participating in the Montreal games. But Trudeau did not want to alienate that country's leadership by allowing Taiwan to identify itself as the "Republic of China." Despite protests from several world leaders, including US President Gerald Ford, Trudeau refused to relent. The Taiwanese athletes left the country before the games began.

The Canada-Russia Summit Series, 1972

Perhaps the most memorable sporting event of the 1970s was the **Canada-Russia Summit Series** in 1972. Canadians

had long thought of hockey as their national sport. But in the 1960s and early 1970s, the Soviet Union completely dominated the world of amateur hockey. Canadians were tired of seeing their teams humiliated by the "full-time amateurs" the Soviet Union sent to the Olympics and other world events. If we could only put together a team of our best professionals, the thinking went, we'd show the world who produces the best hockey players. In 1972 this dream came true. The result was arguably the most exciting sporting event in Canadian history. The series also caused a national identity crisis, as the Soviet team pushed the Canadian players to the limit of their abilities.

On 2 September 1972, the Montreal Forum hosted the first game of the eight-game series. Before the game started, Canadian players and their fans believed victory was in the bag. Barely 30 seconds had gone by before Phil Esposito potted Canada's first goal. Six minutes later, Paul Henderson made the score 2-0. The rout appeared to be on.

By the end of the first period, however, the score was tied. The Soviets were in superb physical condition, while the Canadians, after their summer layoff, were far from their mid-season form. By the end of the third period, the Soviets had turned the tables. It was they who routed the Canadians, by a score of 7-3. The nation went numb with shock.

Although the Canadians beat the Soviets decisively in Game 2 in Toronto, Game 3 was a tie, and the Soviets roared back to take Game 4 in Vancouver 5-3. The Canadians left the ice with the boos of their fans ringing in their ears. "We're trying our best!" said Phil Esposito in the post-game press conference, but by then few were listening. When the team's plane left for Moscow, nobody showed up to wish them luck. Said team coach Harry Sinden: "The

entire nation seemed to turn away against the 35 players and coaches that made up the team. We really felt like we were on our own when we went to Moscow."

Canadian hopes seemed doomed after the team dropped the first game in the Soviet Union. Now the Canadians were down 3-1-1 and had to win all of the last three games to pull out a series victory. Incredibly, the Canadians scraped out one-goal victories in games 6 and 7. Each time, Paul Henderson shot the winning goal. Now the series was tied, and the stage was set for the final showdown.

The game was beamed to Canada by satellite. Although it was played at night in Moscow, it came through on Canadian TV sets and radios in the afternoon. A large part of the country shut down to watch. People stayed home from work. TV sets were placed in school gymnasiums so students could watch. University professors cancelled classes so they could see the game in the faculty lounge. On the ice, the players were locked in a desperate struggle. Asked years later what it felt like to play in that game, Phil Esposito denied it was a game at all. "It was a war," he said. "It was a stinking war."



The Soviets carried a 5-3 lead into the third period. Esposito scored, and then Yvon Cournoyer beat the Soviet goaltender to even the game at 5-5. When the announcer revealed there was one minute left, the crowd surged to its feet and

Paul Henderson scored the winning goal in the last 34 seconds of the deciding game in the famous series between Team Canada and the Soviet national team, 28 September 1972.



Netsurfer

Find out more about hockey, Canada's national pastime, at www.macabees.ab.ca/canada/hockey.html.



Students cheer Henderson's winning goal. Schools across the country set up televisions in classrooms and gymnasiums for students to watch the game. Why was this hockey series so significant?

roared encouragement at the Soviet team. Esposito brought the puck out of the Canadian end and passed to Cournoyer, who shot and missed. Henderson tried to get to the rebound, but went sprawling on his stomach. There was a mad flurry in front of the net until Henderson, on his feet again, scored the winning goal with 34 seconds left on the clock. The Canadian team had pulled out the series victory.

Although the series, and especially that final game, brought the whole country together in a unique way, Canadians were shocked to realize they could no longer take their supremacy in hockey for granted. The Soviets had demonstrated that with speed, teamwork, and accurate passing, they were a match for Canada's best. Over the long term, this series changed the style of Canadian hockey. It also opened the door in the NHL to players from the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe.



A National Anthem



at Last!

There is a strong connection between a nation's identity and its symbols. In a large and culturally diverse country such as Canada, national symbols can remind us of our unity and distinct identity. During the 1960s and 1970s, there was a drive in Canada to strengthen our sense of identity through these symbols.

In 1965, Canada had raised a new national flag with the red maple leaf. There was no trace in this flag of the British Union Jack. The flag signalled that Canada was shedding its colonial past and establishing a distinct identity of its own. The maple leaf, as a symbol, reflected a unique part of the Canadian landscape. Officials hoped it could be acceptable to Quebec and people in rest of the country.

But oddly enough, Canada had no official national anthem until 1 July 1980. On

that date, Parliament adopted *O Canada* as the country's official national anthem. The song had first been performed 100 years earlier, on 24 June 1880, at an official function in Quebec City during the St. Jean-Baptiste Day celebrations. Calixa Lavallée, a Quebec musician who had won fame in France and the United States, composed the music. The French lyrics were written by the Quebec poet and judge Adolphe-Basile Routhier. Many English versions appeared over the years. The most popular one was written in 1908 by another Quebec judge, Robert Stanley Weir.

By World War I, *O Canada* had become almost as popular as its two closest rivals for the honour of national anthem, *God Save the King* and *The Maple Leaf Forever*. *God Save the King* was the British national anthem. *The Maple Leaf Forever* had been written in 1867 by Alexander Muir, a Scottish immigrant. It was meant to celebrate Confederation and heralded events such as the British conquest of Quebec in 1759 and battles during the War of 1812. Though popular, like *God Save the King*, it did not recognize French Canadians or the other diverse peoples who were part of Canada.

By 1942, Canada was involved in World War II, and many people thought one of these songs should be officially proclaimed the national anthem. When Prime Minister Mackenzie King was asked, he replied that he did not think the time was right.

There are times and seasons for all things, and in this time of war, when there are other more important questions with which Parliament has to deal, we might well continue to follow what has become the custom in Canada in recent years of regarding God Save the King and O Canada each as national anthems and entitled to similar recognition.

There the matter rested until 1967, when the government tried to have *O Canada* declared the national anthem in time for the opening of Expo 67. Problems arose with the copyright to the lyrics.

Nothing more was done until 1980, when Governor-General Edward Schreyer proclaimed the Act Respecting the National Anthem of Canada. This act made *O Canada* an official symbol of the country.

O Canada!
Our home and native land!
True patriot love
in all thy sons command.
With glowing hearts
we see thee rise,
The True North
strong and free!
From far and wide,
O Canada,
We stand on guard
for thee.
God keep our land
glorious and free!
O Canada,
we stand on guard for thee.
O Canada,
we stand on guard for thee.

O CANADA



O Canada!
Terre de nos aïeux,
Ton front est ceint
de fleurons glorieux!
Car ton bras
sait porter l'épée,
Il sait porter
la croix!
Ton histoire
est une épopée
Des plus
brillants exploits.
Et ta valeur,
de foi trempée,
Protégera nos foyers
et nos droits,
Protégera nos foyers
et nos droits.

The official English and French lyrics of O Canada. There are more verses in each language, but they are rarely sung. What other symbols of Canada can you think of?



Activities

Understand Facts and Concepts

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

October Crisis

War Measures Act

Quebec Official Languages Act (Bill 22)

Bill 101 (Quebec)

Alliance Quebec

1980 Quebec referendum

sovereignty association

Constitution Act 1982

Charter of Rights and Freedoms

multiculturalism

Immigration Act of 1978

Canadian Radio-Television and Telecommunications Commission (CRTC)

Heritage Canada Foundation

Canada-Russia Summit Series

O Canada

2. Identify each of the following people and explain their roles in the October Crisis.

a) James Cross

b) Pierre Laporte

c) Pierre Trudeau

d) Robert Bourassa

3. What civil rights did Canadians lose when the War Measures Act was introduced?
4. a) Briefly explain why the Trudeau government wanted to encourage multiculturalism.
b) What were some of the long-term effects of the multiculturalism policy?
5. a) What steps did the Liberal government take in the 1970s and early 1980s to protect Canadian culture?
b) Describe the results.

Think and Communicate

6. a) Role play a conversation involving the following people just after the introduction of Bill 101 in Quebec.
 - i) a francophone Quebecker
 - ii) an anglophone Quebecker
 - iii) a new immigrant to Quebec of neither English nor French origin
 - iv) a Canadian outside Quebec
 b) Hold a debriefing session after the role play. Do you think the Parti Québécois government was justified in introducing the Bill? Explain your point of view.
7. a) Compare the text of Gilles Vigneault's *Mon Pays* to the text of *O Canada*. How do the two songs differ in tone? What mood does *Mon Pays* create when you read it? Why is it a fitting "anthem" for the Quebec separatist movement?
b) See if you can get a recording of *Mon Pays*. Do your thoughts about the song change after listening to it performed to music? If so, how?
8. Using a web diagram, chart the effects the baby boom had on Canadian society.
9. a) Using a chart like the one below, work in groups to compare patterns in immigration to Canada from 1896 to 1984.

Immigration	1896-1913	1920s-1930s	1945-1967	1967-1978	1978-1984
Objectives					
Major source countries of immigrants					
Criteria for admission					
Results (total numbers, contributions, etc.)					

- b) Briefly summarize the changes in immigration to Canada over these different periods.
10. a) One of the goals of official multiculturalism is to overcome discrimination on the basis of colour, cultural background, language, and religion. How do you think a multiculturalism policy might fight discrimination?

- b) Do you think it has been successful? Explain.
11. a) Create a bulletin board display entitled “National Symbols of Canada.” Do research to find out about the origin of the symbols. You could start with this web site: www.pch.gc.ca/ceremonial_symb/english/emb_anthem.html.
- b) Choose one or two symbols and write a short report explaining to what extent you think the symbols represent all Canada and all Canadians today.

Apply Your Knowledge

12. a) Is the War Measures Act ever justifiable in peacetime? Explain your answer.
- b) Suggest other ways the government might have handled the October Crisis in Quebec.
13. Take a stand. Social protest sometimes involves violence. The FLQ Crisis was an example. Do you think violence is ever justified in drawing attention to a group's goals? Explain your reasons.
14. Read a short story or poem by a Québécois writer that deals with life in Quebec. Report to the class summarizing the theme of the piece and describing your impressions.
15. Would the Canada-Russia Summit Series have had as big an effect on Canada without live TV transmission? Explain why or why not.

Get to the Source

16. There is controversy today over whether or not multiculturalism is beneficial to Canada. Read the two points of view below.

Multiculturalism ... has heightened our differences rather than diminished them; it has preached tolerance rather than encouraging acceptance; and it is leading us into a divisiveness so entrenched that we face a future of multiple solitudes with no central notion to bind us.

Source: Neil Bissoondath, *Selling Illusions: The Cult of Multiculturalism in Canada* (Toronto, Penguin, 1994).

Multiculturalism in the 1990s is about removing barriers to the full participation, full contribution, and full citizenship of all Canadians, regardless of their background and cultural heritage. Its policies are aimed at breaking down the barriers to equal rights and responsibilities—barriers such as racism, low literacy levels, and disregard for the rights of minorities.

Source: Senator Donald H. Oliver, *The Montreal Gazette* (Sept. 1, 1996), p. A6.

- a) Summarize each point of view in your own words.
- b) What is your view? Explain using specific examples.

New Directions in the Economy and Society

The Beaver and the Elephant

“Living next door to the United States,” said Prime Minister Trudeau, “is like sleeping in the same bed as an elephant. No matter how friendly and even-tempered is the beast, one is affected by every twitch and grunt!” If the elephant rolls over in its sleep, the Canadian “beaver must be ready

to jump.” Most of the time, the elephant and beaver get along very well. Once in a while, however, the elephant gets a little grumpy, or the beaver feels threatened. When this happens, these oddly matched neighbours sit down and talk about their problems.

In many ways, the comparison made by Trudeau was a good one. The United States is



certainly a giant—one of the richest and most powerful nations in the world. Its population and economic production are 10 times that of Canada. The United States also greatly overshadows Canada as a military power.

Throughout the twentieth century, Canadians have been alarmed over the amount of control the American “elephant” has on our lives. In the 1970s, the issue caused particular concern. Canadians became acutely aware of how our economy, culture, and foreign policy could all be affected by the twitches and grunts of the elephant.

1. Do you agree that the image of the beaver and elephant is a good one to describe Canadian-American relations? Why or why not? Provide specific examples to support your answer.
2. What other images would you suggest? Justify your choices.

Who Controls Canada's Economy?

In the 1950s and 1960s, American control over the Canadian economy had become a hotly debated issue. American investment in Canadian industries had been increasing since the beginning of the century. Until the 1970s, Canadian governments did not discourage this investment. Many government officials and business leaders believed that Canada needed investment from outside the country to develop its industries. The Canadian population was not large enough, they believed, to pay for its own economic development.

But in the 1950s, there was an upsurge in American ownership of Canadian industries, and alarm bells began to sound. Had Canada given up too much control of its economy to the United States? The 1950s and 1960s saw the rise of large multinational corporations, which usually had headquarters in the United States and a branch plant in Canada. Major decisions on how these corporations were run were made in the US.

Between 1957 and 1972, the federal government called for four reports on foreign investment in Canada. By the early 1970s, these studies had shown just how much of the Canadian economy was owned by foreign investors, especially Americans. One of these studies noted that, "No other country . . . seems prepared to tolerate so high a degree of foreign ownership as exists in Canada."

American control in some sectors of the Canadian economy was especially high. US ownership of the oil and gas industry was at 61 per cent in 1968. It was almost as high in the mining and smelting industry. Many people feared that if the trend continued, the United States would take over the Canadian economy.

Opponents of American investment argued that it:

- allowed profits to flow out of Canada to the United States
- meant top management jobs often went to Americans, not Canadians
- took Canada's natural resources out of the country for processing (Canada then had to buy back the resources as expensive manufactured goods)
- made us more "American" in our tastes
- discouraged technological advances in Canada (it was easier to borrow technological advances from the Americans)
- caused key decisions about expanding or shutting down a plant to be made outside the country
- sometimes restricted the trade of Canadian branch plants with countries considered unacceptable by the United States (an example was Cuba)
- brought American-based unions into Canada
- posed a threat to Canada's independence.

Canadians who favoured American investment in Canada argued that it:

- created thousands of jobs for Canadians
- provided money to help develop Canadian resources and industries when Canadians were unwilling to take the risks
- helped raise the standard of living in Canada to almost the same high level as that of the United States
- brought advanced technical knowledge and machinery into Canada
- contributed to the growth and welfare of Canada since American-owned companies paid taxes to the Canadian government
- increased business for Canadian-owned companies
- profited Canadians who bought shares in American-owned businesses

What does this cartoon suggest about American influences on Canadians?



- provided Canadians with a greater variety and the highest quality of manufactured goods
- made for friendly relations between Canada and the United States.

The reaction against American investment was led by a group of Canadians known as economic nationalists.

Economic Nationalists

An **economic nationalist** is a person who believes his or her country should have as much control as possible over its own economy. In the early 1970s, economic nationalists in Canada formed groups to raise public awareness. They wanted people to know about what they believed were the dangers of foreign ownership.

The Waffle wing of the NDP published a manifesto at the party's convention in 1971. The author of the manifesto was University of Toronto professor Mel Watkins. Watkins had led one of the government task forces that called for controls over foreign investment in Canada. The Waffle Manifesto was very clear in identifying Canada's biggest problem. "The major threat to Canadian survival today," it said, "is American control of the Canadian economy."

Several prominent Canadians formed the **Committee for an Independent Canada (CIC)** in 1971. They included writer Peter Newman, entrepreneur Mel Hurtig, publisher Jack McClelland, and Liberal politician Claude Ryan. Soon the CIC had more than 10 000 members across the country. The organization sent Prime Minister Trudeau a petition with 170 000 signatures. The petition demanded limits to foreign ownership of Canadian businesses.

The lobbying efforts of the economic nationalists had some success. The federal Liberal government under Trudeau introduced policies to limit foreign investment in the Canadian economy. These initiatives decreased foreign ownership from 36 per cent in 1970 to 26 per cent by 1981.

Foreign Investment Review Agency 1973

One of the first steps the government took was to establish the **Foreign Investment Review Agency (FIRA)** in 1973. Any takeover of a Canadian company and any new foreign-owned business or branch plant had to be approved by FIRA. The

In March 1979, economic nationalist Mel Hurtig announced in a speech that non-Canadians controlled:

- 65% of all our combined manufacturing, mining, petroleum, and natural gas
- 98% of our rubber industry
- 82% of chemicals
- 46% of pulp and paper
- 74% of the electrical apparatus industry
- 59% of transportation equipment
- 96% of the automobile and parts industry.



SPOTLIGHT ON...

Mel Hurtig



Mel Hurtig has been described as a passionate Canadian nationalist. Hurtig owned a chain of three successful bookstores in Edmonton, when in 1970 he became alarmed at the extent of foreign ownership in the Canadian economy. That year, he became one of the founding members of the Council of Independent Canadians (CIC). The CIC helped persuade the federal government to place controls on foreign investment.

In 1972, Hurtig sold his bookstore chain so that he could devote himself to publishing Canadian books. When he was invited to speak at schools, he often found himself in the school library. He noticed that all the encyclopedias were either American or British. If he used them to look up a Canadian reference, he often drew a blank. He worried that Canadian students had no convenient reference books that could tell them about their own country.

Hurtig's solution was to invest millions of dollars in producing the *The Canadian Encyclopedia*. The first three-volume edition appeared in 1985. In 1988, an expanded four-volume version was published, followed by the *The Junior Encyclopedia of Canada* in 1990. Hurtig sold his publishing

company to McClelland and Stewart in 1991.

McClelland and Stewart continued producing the encyclopedia. A CD-ROM version was published in 1995, and a new, unillustrated, one-volume edition came out in 1999.

Hurtig remained active in nationalistic causes. In 1985, he helped found a group called the Council of Canadians to oppose free trade with the US. In 1991, he wrote *The Betrayal of Canada*, a spirited attack

on free trade and foreign investment. The book turned out to be the best-selling title of the year in Canada. In 1999 he published *Pay the Rent or Feed the Kids*, a protest against child poverty in Canada. His autobiography, *At Twilight in the Country: Memoirs of a Canadian Nationalist*, appeared in 1996. The influential *Globe and Mail* columnist Michael Valpy called Mel Hurtig a "definitive Canadian hero."

1. Why do you think *Globe and Mail* columnist Michael Valpy called Mel Hurtig a "definitive Canadian hero?"
2. What criteria would you use to identify a "definitive Canadian hero?" Why?

FAST FORWARD

In the early 1980s, the Canadian economy went into a downturn. Foreign ownership was no longer an issue at the top of the national agenda. In tough economic times, the government did not want to talk about measures that would reduce investment and cost jobs. In 1984, under the Mulroney Conservative government, FIRA was replaced by a new agency called Investment Canada. It was designed to be more welcoming to foreign investment, but it would still review any takeovers of cultural industries. Controversy continues, however, over how effective the agency really is, and just how much foreign ownership should be allowed in Canada.

government emphasized that FIRA was not trying to block or discourage foreign investment. Its purpose was to ensure that foreign investment would have significant benefits for Canada.

FIRA was resented by Americans and some Canadian business leaders who believed in economic expansion. They were worried that FIRA might cut off the flow of much-needed money for resource industries. From May 1974 to August 1982, the agency examined approximately 3865 investment applications. It rejected only 293 of these. Some people called FIRA “a paper tiger” that took no real steps to prevent American investment in Canada.

The Energy Crisis

In the 1970s, Canada and many other nations of the world were hit by an energy crisis. In Canada, the crisis showed Canadians what effects foreign control of the economy could have. Much of the world's oil was produced by a number of Arab nations in the Persian Gulf region of the Middle East. In 1973, Israel defeated several Arab states in the Yom Kippur War. Arab oil-producing countries retaliated by organizing an embargo. They stopped shipping oil to Western countries that had supported Israel during the war.

World oil prices soared. In 1971, the price of oil had been very low, about \$3 a barrel. Within a year, the price had quadrupled. The Organization of Oil Exporting Countries (OPEC), which controlled most of the world oil resources, then increased the price of its oil again. For a while, there didn't seem to be any limit to what oil-producing countries could charge for a barrel of oil.

Even though Canada had abundant oil and gas resources, the Canadian petroleum industry was mostly foreign-owned. Large amounts of Canadian oil and gas were being shipped to the United States. As a result, Canadians faced the prospect of severe shortages.

In 1975, the Canadian government responded by establishing an oil company owned by the government—Petro-Canada. Petro-Canada profits, made from the sale of gasoline, would be pumped back into oil and gas exploration to meet the needs of future generations. The government also gradually decreased oil exports to the United States to 800 000 barrels a day in 1975, 460 000 barrels a day in 1976, and 260 000 barrels a day in 1977. Americans found it hard to adjust to this policy. They were accustomed to importing Canadian oil at low prices.

High prices for oil and gas also fed the problem of inflation in Canada. Prices had

been rising steadily since the late 1960s. By 1973, the cost of living had increased considerably. High oil prices were not the only cause of inflation, but they added fuel to the fire. Canadians demanded that the government do something. In 1975, the Trudeau government introduced wage and price controls. Family allowances and old-age pensions were also indexed to the cost of living. In other words, money paid out for these benefits would increase according to a set scale as the cost of living went up. Without indexing, people found the money they received from these benefits could buy less and less. The effects of wage and price controls on the economy, however, were limited.

The National Energy Program

In 1980, the federal government took further steps to ensure Canadian control of energy supplies. It introduced the **National Energy Program (NEP)**, and this made the American "elephant" very grumpy.

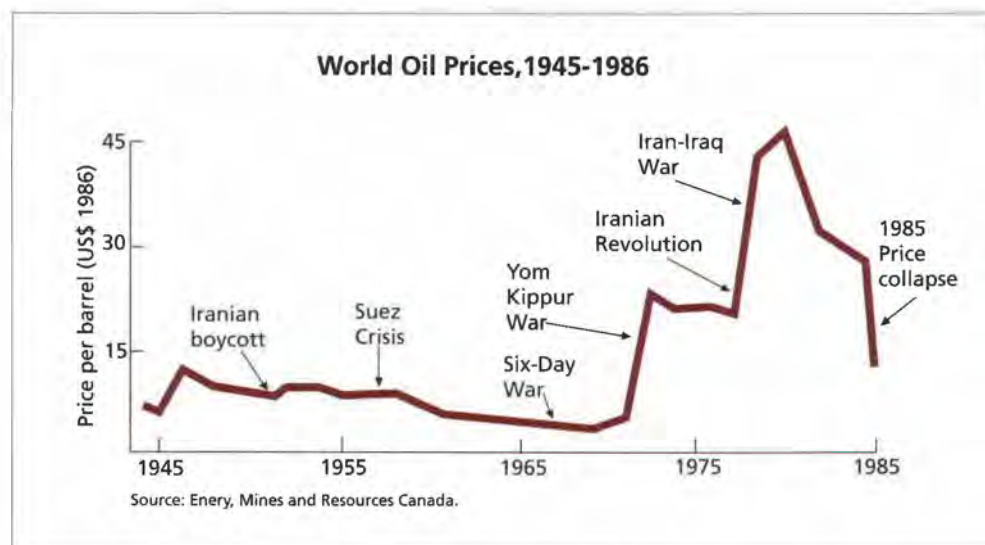
The goals of the National Energy Program were to establish 50 per cent Canadian ownership of the Canadian oil and



In 1975, the federal Liberal government established Petro-Canada to help ensure Canadian control over oil and gas resources. Later, shares were sold to private investors.

gas industry by 1990, to make Canada self-sufficient in energy by 1990, and to control oil prices so that Canadians were not at the mercy of fluctuating world oil prices. World oil prices had risen from \$3 a barrel in 1971 to \$40 a barrel in 1980!

American oil companies were incensed. In retaliation, they pulled many of their drilling rigs out of Canada. The drop in oil and gas exploration increased unemployment in the Canadian West. Oil-producing provinces in western Canada bitterly opposed the National Energy Program because it threatened their economic survival. They accused the federal government of exploiting the energy crisis to gain control of the oil industry.



World oil prices soared in the 1970s. By 1985, prices dropped as Western nations found new countries (such as Mexico, the Soviet Union, and Canada) to supply their needs, increased use of other energy sources (such as coal and nuclear power), and instituted conservation measures.



IMPACT ON SOCIETY

HOW DOES THE ELEPHANT AFFECT YOU?

How does the United States affect your daily life? Do you resent this influence, or do you welcome it? Make a profile of your tastes and attitudes by completing the following questionnaire.

Favourite movie of the year

Favourite actor (male)

Favourite actor (female)

Two favourite television programs

Favourite television news program

Most admired woman

Most admired man

Favourite musical group

Favourite female singer

Favourite male singer

Two favourite magazines

Favourite professional sports team

Favourite professional hockey team

Favourite female athlete

Favourite male athlete

Most admired political figure (living or dead)

TV channel watched most often

Radio station listened to most often

City in North America you would most like to visit

Place you spent your last vacation

Make of family car

Favourite breakfast cereal

Favourite brand of jeans

1. Go through your answers and sort out which are American, which are Canadian, and which pertain to other countries.
2. How "American" is your lifestyle? How do you feel about this? Why?
3. What answers reveal you to be Canadian? Why?
4. How "Americanized" do you think Canadian life is? Support your answer.
5. Do you think the results of your questionnaire will be different 10 years from now? Why or why not?
6. How does Canadian culture influence American life? Brainstorm as many examples as you can.

The federal government had decided that western oil fields were a national asset that should be used for the benefit of all Canadians. The government also froze the price of oil in Canada. Western provinces felt they were not getting the benefits of their own resources and resented federal government interference in their economies. Tensions between Ottawa and the western provinces ran high. Angry Westerners printed bumper stickers urging

their provincial governments to turn off the oil supply and let Easterners "freeze in the dark." The National Energy program fed the growing sense of alienation among western provinces in Canada. Eventually, these feelings led to the formation of regional parties, such as the Reform party in 1987.

The National Energy Program had some positive effects. It lessened Canada's reliance on foreign oil and on foreign

ownership of Canadian oil resources. Within two years, Canada's control of its energy industry increased from 22 per cent to 33 per cent. People also became more conservation minded. Car manufacturers began to build small, more fuel-efficient cars. People tried to make their homes more energy-efficient by upgrading insulation.

To many Americans, the National Energy Program was the most anti-American initiative ever introduced by the Canadian government. FIRA and now NEP were seen as unfriendly actions to take against a neighbour and ally. However, an opinion poll in 1981 showed that 84 per cent of Canadians supported the goals of the NEP. As oil prices dropped in the 1980s and an economic slowdown increased interest in foreign investment, the NEP was dropped. Shares in Petro-Canada were also sold to private interests.

Although the furor over the energy crisis faded, it had important long-term results. The crisis demonstrated the interdependence of the world economy. Canadians realized that actions taken by countries on the other side of the world could have a major impact on their economy and their daily lives. The energy crisis also showed Canada and other industrialized nations how dependent they were on fossil fuels. It encouraged new research into alternative energy sources, such as solar power.



Cooperation on the Environment

In the 1970s, Canadians became more aware of another close connection with the United States—a shared environment. In the late 1960s and early 1970s, the problems of pollution were becoming evident. Researchers discovered high levels of acidity in lakes and other bodies of water. Fish and other life in these lakes were dying. People in both Canada and the United States became determined that some action was needed to control the pollution harming the natural environment. One of the more positive results of the environmental movement was an international agreement between Canada and the US to clean up the Great Lakes.

The Great Lakes Water Quality Agreement 1972

The border between Canada and the United States goes through the Great Lakes. For both countries, the Great Lakes are an important source of water and fish. They are also a major transportation corridor. Several large cities are situated on their shores on both sides of the border.

By the late 1960s, pollution had become a serious problem in these lakes. Lake Erie, the shallowest of the lakes and the one with the greatest concentration of industry, was in particularly bad shape. Its beaches were fouled with algae. Algae

FLASHBACK

The Great Lakes Water Quality Agreement was not the first time Canada and the US agreed to cooperate on matters involving their shared waterway. In 1909, they had signed the Boundary Waters Treaty. This treaty stated that both countries had the *right* to use the waters of the Great Lakes and the *obligation* not to pollute them. The treaty had also set up an International Joint Commission (IJC) to settle any disputes over use of the Great Lakes. Today the IJC reviews and evaluates all programs established under the Water Quality Agreement.

concentrations were so high that much of the lake could no longer support fish populations. In one notorious incident, the Cuyahoga River (which flows into Lake Erie near Cleveland) caught fire because of oil concentrations on its surface.

People were worried that the polluted waters could have harmful effects on their health and property. Since population and development rates around the lakes continued to rise, it was obvious the problems would only get worse.

In 1972, the governments of Canada and the US signed the **Great Lakes Water Quality Agreement**. The agreement aimed to reduce phosphorous emissions. Phosphorous poured into the lakes from laundry detergents in municipal waste water, from industrial wastes, and from farm runoff. Phosphorous enriches water, causing rapid growth of algae and plankton. This reduces oxygen levels in the water, killing fish and other life.

Working together, the governments met the reduction levels by:

- banning phosphates from household detergents

- spending \$7.6 billion to build and upgrade municipal treatment plants
- persuading farmers to adopt better fertilizer management procedures.

The results were dramatic. In Lake Erie, phosphorous emissions from municipal sources dropped by almost 80 per cent. The beds of algae began to disappear, and water clarity improved. Today, the walleye (pickereel) fishery, which had been shut down in the 1970s, is the largest in North America.

The agreement was changed in 1978 to focus on toxic substances in the lakes. In 1987, it was amended again to focus on 43 specific problem areas. Many community groups also became involved in clean-up efforts.



Social Movements

The 1970s were years of social activism. People became more involved in trying to improve certain social conditions in the country and the world. Canadian citizens took action on several fronts. Members of the women's movement worked for goals such as pay equity and equal representation in the workplace. Activists from Aboriginal nations organized to stop mega-projects they feared would harm their ancestral lands. Environmental groups won increasing support.

Individuals also came to the forefront. One of them was Terry Fox. Terry Fox was a young student at Simon Fraser University when he was diagnosed with cancer. Surgeons amputated his right leg above the knee. Instead of giving up, Terry decided to raise money for cancer research. He had always been a good athlete. Now, he decided to run across Canada for cancer research.

Canadians across the country soon rallied behind Terry's cause. His enthusiasm and courage inspired widespread

Terry Fox, on his Marathon of Hope run for cancer research in 1981.



support. But shortly after his 22nd birthday, he had to abandon his run. He collapsed outside Thunder Bay, Ontario. The cancer had spread to his lungs. Terry returned to British Columbia, where he died in 1981. Each year, Canadians across the country organize "Marathons of Hope" in memory of Terry Fox. Millions of dollars have been raised for cancer research through these marathons. Terry Fox was an example of an individual who made a difference. He believed in a cause and took vigorous action to support it.

Another individual who came to the forefront was Lincoln Alexander. In 1968, Lincoln Alexander became the first Black Canadian elected to the House of Commons. It was one of several firsts in his career. In 1979, he was the first Black person to be appointed a Cabinet minister, serving as Minister of Labour. He always took an active interest in youth, education, and multicultural affairs. In 1985, he was honoured with the position of lieutenant-governor of Ontario, again a first for a Black Canadian. He held the post until 1991, and in 1996 was appointed chair of the Canadian Race Relations Foundation.

The Women's Movement

Women also raised their voices for change in the 1970s. In 1967, the federal Liberal government had established a **Royal Commission on the Status of Women in Canada (RCSW)**. For more than three years, commission members held meetings across the country gathering information for their report. Women had a chance to tell their stories and explain what changes they wanted to see in Canadian society.

Some women talked about the discrimination they faced in the workplace. Women were often still stereotyped as



Lincoln Alexander became the first Black Cabinet minister in 1979 and from 1985-1991 served as lieutenant-governor of Ontario.

mothers and wives who should have no other interests or career goals. One woman, quoted in the report, described how liberating a career could be for a married woman:

[The married woman who works] is no longer regarded as the wife of Mr. X, but rather as Mrs. X, social worker, nurse, doctor, technician, or other specialist. When talking to her, one no longer feels obliged to begin by asking about her children, the subject that would previously have been assumed to be the centre of her life. One may speak to her of her profession since it is an open window, letting her look out on the world; one may also choose to talk with her about political, economic, or social topics (Brief No. 349).

Another woman expressed her frustration at being misunderstood and unfairly judged: "Manpower counsellors, most of whom are men, think that all women have the homemaking instinct. This is no more realistic than assuming all men are mechanically-minded" (Brief No. 279). Some testimonies pointed out the unequal pay women received compared to men.

Canadian women doctors noted that some women were discriminated against in colleges and universities: "For boys and girls coming out of Grade 13 into the first pre-medical year, there are three universi-

Florence Bird, a well-known broadcast journalist, chaired the Royal Commission on the Status of Women in Canada and continued to work for women's causes.



ties that demand a 10 per cent higher academic qualification from the girls" (Brief No. 302). The commission also heard how some immigrant women, who could not speak or write English well (or at all), faced particular difficulties. Many were afraid to leave their homes to look for jobs. Some felt they would be laughed at or turned away. Those who did work were sometimes stuck in low-paying jobs.

In 1970, the commission released its full report. The report emphasized some key principles. One was that women should be free to choose whether or not to work outside the home. Another was that both parents and society shared responsibility for child care. Based on these principles, some of the commission's main recommendations were that:

- employers should not be permitted to discriminate on the basis of gender or marital status
- the government should fund better and more extensive daycare facilities for working mothers
- working women should be paid unemployment benefits for 18 weeks of maternity leave
- information on birth control should be made available to anyone who wants it
- housewives should be allowed to participate in the Canada Pension Plan
- two qualified women from each province should be appointed to the Canadian Senate as there are openings, and more women should continue to be appointed until they have more equal representation
- the federal government should appoint more women judges.

After the report was published, the federal government was slow to act. In 1972, activist Laura Sabia became determined that stronger action was needed. She established the **National Action Committee on the Status of Women (NAC)**. The NAC was a lobby group for women's rights. It also served as an umbrella organization for dozens of other women's groups across the country. Together, these groups began to press local, provincial, and federal governments to make the changes recommended in the commission's report.

Throughout the 1970s, women held marches, rallies, demonstrations, and seminars to raise awareness of women's issues. Women from various ethnocultural and racial groups often discovered that the NAC did not represent their particular concerns. They formed their own groups. In 1986, the National Organization of Immigrant Women of Canada became an umbrella organization for these groups.

Impact of the Royal Commission

By the end of the 1970s, it was clear that the efforts of women and the Royal Commission's report were having an effect. In 1977, the federal government passed the

Canadian Human Rights Act. This act made some of the Royal Commission's recommendations law:

- the act outlawed discrimination on the basis of gender and marital status
- it required that women employed by the federal government receive **equal pay for work of equal value**.

The act also set up the Canadian Human Rights Commission. This body had the power to investigate and resolve complaints about racial and sexual discrimination.

Women made other gains at home and in the workplace. The federal government began to fund maternity leave through the Employment Insurance Program. Women now receive up to 25 weeks of paid leave through this program. The government also funds some daycare services through tax deductions and allowances.

Women's participation rates in the workforce have also risen since the Royal Commission's report. More importantly, the percentage of women in certain occupations has risen. Between 1982 and 1994, the percentage of women in managerial and administrative positions rose from 29 per cent to 43 per cent. The percentage of



Beginning in the 1980s, the NAC took steps to include more women of colour in the organization. In 1992, Sunera Thobani (left) was elected president. In 1996, she turned over the office to Joan Grant-Cummings (right).

women doctors and dentists went up from 18 per cent to 32 per cent.

In spite of these gains, women still face a significant **wage gap**. For the entire twentieth century, working women on average have made less than men. In 1967, Canadian women earned 58 per cent of the wages men earned in similar occupations. By 1997, that figure had improved to 72 per cent. That means women still made only 72 cents for every dollar a man made for the same job. The wage gap remains a concern for many women's groups. Women also continue to lobby for improved child care facilities, and for better laws to prevent violence against women and children.

International Women's Year

The United Nations proclaimed 1975 as International Women's Year. In Canada, events were held across the country. A number of special projects were also started to highlight women's issues and achievements. CBC Television produced a 17-part series called *Concerning Women*. Some of the programs included: "Kids' Attitudes;" "Alcan—Women in the Labour Force" (about the 57 women working at a BC smelter); "Women in Sport;" "The Single Woman;" and "Women and Mental Health."

Another initiative was the "Canadian Women of Note" book project. The first edition was published in 1981. It contained biographies of nearly 1000 well-known Canadian women who had made their mark since 1867.

In 1977, the United Nations passed a resolution calling on countries to set aside a "women's day" each year. The day would commemorate women's rights and international peace. Many countries have chosen March 8 as International Women's Day. It was on that day, both in 1857 and 1908, that strikes to protest women's dangerous working conditions and low pay were held in New York City. Since 1977, Canada has observed Women's Day with fairs, performances, discussions, workshops, and lectures.



Developing Skills: Writing a Research Essay

"We live in an information age." You've heard this said many times and it is very true. Our success, in and out of school, often depends on how well we can find information to answer questions, and how well we can present our point of view. In any occupation or career, you may be called upon to process information, make decisions, and present your ideas clearly. Planning and writing a research essay is excellent practice for the job and the life skills you will need in the future.

Here are the steps to follow:

Step 1: State Your Thesis

State your thesis clearly in a sentence. (Review the Developing Skills section in Chapter 15.) A thesis statement summarizes your point of view or argument.

Example: *The War Measures Act should not have been invoked in 1970 because it violated the rights of all Canadian citizens.*

Step 2: Prepare Your Outline

Prepare an outline for your essay like the one on this page. Use the outline to organize your ideas and the facts gathered in your research. Each paragraph should state a main idea to prove your thesis. It should also include facts or sub-points to support the main idea of the paragraph.

For example, the main point of paragraph 2 may be that the War Measures Act was intended to be used only in times of war or grave national crisis. There was no proof that there was a conspiracy to overthrow the Canadian government during the FLQ crisis. Your sub-points should provide specific examples and evidence to support this idea.

Step 3: Write Your Essay

Once you have organized the ideas and arranged the paragraphs in a logical sequence in the outline, you are ready to write your essay. Follow your outline. Concentrate on presenting your ideas

Outline

Paragraph 1	Introduce the thesis
Paragraph 2	First main point Sub-point Sub-point Sub-point
Paragraph 3	Second main point Sub-point Sub-point Sub-point
Paragraph 4	Third main point Sub-point Sub-point Sub-point
Paragraph 5	Summarize and restate the thesis

clearly and persuasively. Make sure that the facts clearly support your thesis. Be sure to connect each main point to the thesis.

Step 4: Draw Conclusions

In the last paragraph, sum up all your main arguments. Be sure you show how all your arguments prove the thesis you stated in the introduction. As a final point, build on your thesis by restating it in different words.

Step 5: Evaluate Your Work

Allow time to set your essay aside for a few days. Then reread it. You will have a fresh perspective on your work.

Ask yourself these questions:

- Is my thesis statement clear?
- Do my arguments in each paragraph clearly support my thesis?
- Do the facts I have presented clearly prove each argument?
- Is my essay persuasive?
- Can I make it better? Do I need to make revisions?

- Is the grammar correct?
- Have I clearly cited all my sources in a bibliography?

Use the answers to these questions as the basis for editing your essay. Make improvements and corrections.

Try It!

Write a mini research essay on one of the following topics or another topic of your choice.

- The War Measures Act
- Can the French-Canadian culture survive?

- Quebec Language Bill 101
- The Immigration Act of 1978
- The Canadian sporting event of the 1970s
- Why worry about the Americanization of Canadian culture?
- Economic nationalism: good or bad?
- Equal work for equal pay issue
- Aboriginal activism in the 1970s
- An environmental issue



Aboriginal Activism

The issue of Aboriginal rights and land claims also gained increasing attention in the 1970s. In July 1977, at a ceremony marking the hundredth anniversary of the Blackfoot (Siksika) Treaty (Treaty No. 7), a chief told visiting Prince Charles, "Our tribes still suffer from poverty, unemployment, alcoholism, poor health, and lack of good opportunities for education. We have become a forgotten people. We don't want to wait another hundred years before we take our rightful place beside our fellow citizens of Canada."

In August 1973, the Minister of Indian and Northern Affairs had announced that the Canadian government would negotiate land titles with Aboriginal nations. For the Aboriginal nations, this was a first step toward recognition of their rights. One of the largest land deals in the 1970s centred around the Quebec government's huge hydroelectric project in the James Bay region. The project would flood the traditional lands of the Cree and Inuit. They insisted on receiving a share from the benefits of development based on their aboriginal right. No treaty had been signed in the area, and the Cree and Inuit claimed rights to the land as the first inhabitants.

For two years, the project was halted until the land claims were settled. In 1975, the **James Bay Agreement** was signed. In return for 13 844 km² of land (60 per cent of northern Quebec), the Cree and Inuit received:

- \$225 million to be paid over 25 years
- hunting, fishing, and trapping rights over 129 500 km² of undeveloped land
- ownership of 5500 km² of land.

This was the first major agreement signed between Aboriginal nations and the Canadian government since the last of the "numbered treaties" in the early twentieth century.

The Cree and Inuit had succeeded in negotiating a land claim with the Quebec and Canadian governments based on their aboriginal right. An important precedent had been set. Aboriginal nations felt that they could now force the federal or provincial governments to the bargaining table. This was especially true where treaties had never been signed or where previous treaties could be challenged. Also, since the Cree and Inuit had signed the agreement with both the federal and Quebec governments, they said it confirmed their right to remain part of Canada if Quebec separated.



Netsurfer

For a review of how to cite the sources in your research essay, go to the web site of the Modern Language Association at www.english.uiuc.edu/cws/workshop/mlamenu.htm.

FAST FORWARD

The first phase of the James Bay Project (James Bay I) was completed in 1984. It consisted of three hydroelectric dams on the La Grande river with the capacity to generate 10 300 megawatts of power. In 1989, the Quebec government announced the next phase of the project (James Bay II). This would be another series of dams, mainly on the Great Whale River. Together, the two phases of the project would dam nine rivers and flood an area roughly the size of Belgium. The Quebec government intended to sell much of the electricity generated by James Bay II to the states of Vermont and New York.

Cree Grand Chief Matthew Coon Come was alarmed at the harmful environmental effects James Bay I was already having on the area. He persuaded Vermont and New York to refuse power from James Bay II. New York cancelled a \$4-billion contract it had signed with Hydro Quebec. In 1995, the Quebec government announced that work on James Bay II would not go ahead.

In 1984, more than 20 000 migrating caribou were killed trying to cross a river whose waters had been swollen when one of the dams in the James Bay Project was opened.



The Mackenzie Valley Pipeline Inquiry

In 1968, American oil companies discovered huge reserves of oil and natural gas in Prudhoe Bay in northern Alaska. The Americans did not develop these reserves right away for several reasons. One reason was that there was no cheap and easy way to transport the oil and gas to markets in

the south. But once the energy crisis began in 1973, pressure for access to these resources grew.

Two different pipelines were proposed. The first was to run from Prudhoe Bay, across the northern Yukon, and down the Mackenzie Valley in the Northwest Territories. At 3860 km, this would be the longest pipeline in the world, and build-

In 1971, the Inuit Tapirisat (ITC) was founded to represent Inuit in negotiations with the federal government and the provinces. It also aimed to unite Inuit of the Northwest Territories, Labrador, Arctic Quebec, and Manitoba. The ITC was concerned about issues of aboriginal rights, the environmental impacts of oil exploration and northern tourism, and the development of an effective Inuit political leadership.

The first ITC president was Tagak Curley, who went on to become Minister of Energy, Mines, and Resources for the Northwest Territories. He was also later involved in the building of the Nunavut government legislature in Iqaluit. The first negotiations ITC launched with the government involved oil exploration in Hudson Bay, which had been going ahead without Inuit participation. In 1973, the ITC began researching Inuit land use and occupancy in the Northwest Territories and Labrador. This research was funded by the federal government. It was completed a few years later, and became the basis for negotiating Inuit land claims and rights to resources.

ing it would be the world's biggest construction project. The second, shorter route, was to start at the Mackenzie Delta and run down the Mackenzie Valley to Alberta.

For Canada, a pipeline would open the way to economic development in the North. Any natural gas reserves that were discovered in the Mackenzie Valley could be shipped to southern markets through the pipeline. Before approving the idea, the Canadian government formed a royal commission in 1974. The commission's task was to study the impact of the project on the northern environment and on the Aboriginal peoples who lived there. Thomas Berger, a judge on the British Columbia Supreme Court, was appointed to head the **Mackenzie Valley Pipeline Inquiry**.

For the better part of two years, Judge Berger travelled through the Yukon and the Mackenzie Valley meeting with concerned groups of Aboriginal peoples. His report, issued in 1977, contained two main recommendations:

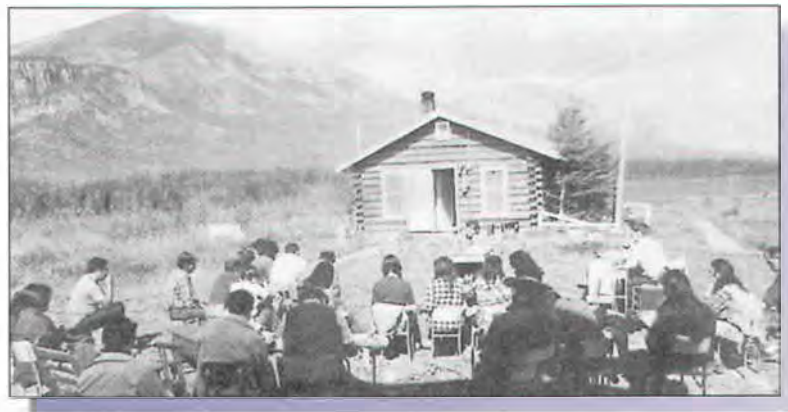
- no pipeline should be built across the extremely sensitive land in the northern Yukon
- while a pipeline down the Mackenzie Valley was possible, there should be a 10-year **moratorium** or delay before

construction started. This would give Aboriginal nations time to clear up any land claims in the area.

The Trudeau government accepted both these proposals. In the end, because of changing economic conditions, the pipeline was never built. The Inquiry did more than simply stop construction of the pipeline, however. Through two years of meetings with Berger and his commissioners, Aboriginal nations in the area became more aware of their political rights and more vocal in demanding recognition of them.

Many Canadians thought the patriation of the Constitution and the passage of the Charter of Rights and Freedoms were the greatest success stories of the 1980s. But when the Charter was being drafted, there

The Berger commission held hearings both in major centres and in more remote areas throughout the Northwest Territories and Yukon.



was no mention of the rights of Aboriginal nations. Many Aboriginal people believed it was just another instance in a continuing story of neglect. Like women, whose rights had also been left out of the draft, Aboriginal people spoke out. Finally, agreement was reached. The rights of both Aboriginal nations and women were written into the new constitution. The revised Charter stated that “existing aboriginal and treaty rights” were “recognized and affirmed.”

The Environmental Movement

The 1960s saw the beginning of the modern environmental movement in Canada. People, especially young people, became concerned about issues such as pollution, nuclear testing, and protecting wilderness areas from different forms of development.

By the 1970s, environmentalists had formed several well-organized activist groups. These groups wanted to raise public awareness of environmental issues. They also lobbied governments to pass laws that would protect the environment or certain species.

A group of University of Toronto students and their professors concerned about the over-use of pesticides formed **Pollution Probe** in 1969. This organization has used research, education, and advocacy to achieve its goals of improved air and water quality in Canada. Through *research*, Pollution Probe identifies environmental problems. Through *education*, it promotes public awareness and understanding of these problems. Through *advocacy*, it lobbies the different levels of government for practical solutions.

In its early days, Pollution Probe was active in persuading the federal government to restrict use of the pesticide DDT. This widely used chemical was very suc-

cessful at killing the insects that destroyed crops. Unfortunately, it also killed fish when it washed into streams. Birds, such as cormorants and bald eagles, ate the fish. They then laid eggs with such thin shells that they were crushed during incubation. Populations of these birds plummeted, and they disappeared from large parts of their ranges. DDT also began to show up in the breast milk of human mothers. Eventually, the government banned the chemical completely.

Other causes that Pollution Probe has lobbied for include:

- banning phosphates from laundry detergents
- encouraging the use of curb-side recycling in dozens of Ontario communities (these efforts led eventually to the development of Ontario’s Blue Box program)
- lobbying the federal government to limit the sulphur content in Canadian gasoline. This effort means that by 2005, Canadian gasoline will have the lowest rather than the highest sulphur content of any gasoline in the industrialized world.

For 25 years of environmental advocacy, Pollution Probe was awarded the 1994 Canadian Environmental Achievement Award.

Greenpeace is another Canadian organization that became famous for environmental activism. The organization was founded in Vancouver in 1970 to stop a nuclear test the United States was planning on an island off the coast of Alaska. Greenpeace members chartered a ship, took on board several journalists, and headed out to the island. Greenpeace did not succeed in stopping the test, but it was very successful in publicizing its protest. Two years later, the US government announced it would halt all testing on the island. Today, the island is a bird sanctuary.



Netsurfer

To find out more about Pollution Probe, visit its web site at www.pollutionprobe.org.

Greenpeace has developed a distinctive approach in its activism, which sometimes sparks controversy:

- it uses ships to reach remote “trouble spots.”
- it places emphasis on publicizing its activities.
- it has been associated throughout its history with protests against atomic testing.

Some Greenpeace members took grave personal risks during their protests. For many years, Greenpeace sent one of its ships to protest atomic testing by France on the South Pacific atoll of Moruroa. In one incident, French sailors beat a Greenpeace boat captain so severely he was partially blinded. In another, French secret agents blew up the Greenpeace flagship *Rainbow Warrior* while it was docked in Auckland, New Zealand. A photographer on board was killed. The storm of protest that followed rocked the French government and forced the resignation of a cabinet minister.

Greenpeace has also organized campaigns to protect specific species. After its “Save the Whales” campaign, the International Whaling Commission in 1982 declared a moratorium on commercial whaling. Twelve years later, the IWC made the whole southern ocean a whale sanctuary.

In the mid-1970s, Greenpeace took a leading role in protesting against the killing of harp seal pups for their fur. The pups have a very thick, waterproof coat that is pure white. It is used for making boots, gloves, and coats. These articles



sold for high prices in Europe and North America. Hunters from Norway and Canada headed to the ice flows off Newfoundland to harvest seal pups each year.

Greenpeace protestors wrapped themselves around pups to save them from being clubbed. Sometimes they sprayed a dye on the pup's coat to ruin it for commercial purposes. Greenpeace ships tried to block the ships of seal hunters on their way to the ice floes.

In 1982, the European Parliament banned the sale of seal skins in member states. The market for seal pup fur collapsed, and the hunt off Newfoundland was suspended for many years. Greenpeace's actions, however, brought protest from Newfoundlanders and Inuit in Labrador who depended on the seal hunt as a vital source of income. The Canadian government has since allowed a limited harvest of harp seal pups every year, but the issue still sparks controversy.

Members of Greenpeace try to stop a factory ship from hauling in a whale.



Activities

Understand Facts and Concepts

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

economic nationalist

Committee for an Independent Canada
(CIC)

Foreign Investment Review Agency (FIRA)

National Energy Program (NEP)

Great Lakes Water Quality Agreement

Royal Commission on the Status of
Women

National Action Committee on the Status
of Women (NAC)

equal pay for work of equal value

wage gap

James Bay Agreement

Mackenzie Valley Pipeline Inquiry

moratorium

Pollution Probe

Greenpeace

2. a) Why did Americans complain that FIRA and NEP were unfriendly actions?
b) How effective were these programs?
3. a) Why was the chemical phosphorous the main target of the Great Lakes Water Quality Agreement of 1972? What were the main sources of phosphorous emissions into the lakes?
b) How did the US and Canadian governments act to restrict phosphorous emissions? What were the results?
4. State three successes women had in gaining equality with men in the 1970s. State three problems they still faced.
5. a) Define the term “Aboriginal right.”
b) Outline some successes Aboriginal nations had in asserting their Aboriginal right. Also provide evidence of frustrations and obstacles they encountered.
6. a) List three issues that concerned environmentalists during the 1970s.
b) What success did they have in dealing with these issues?

Think and Communicate

7. Create a cartoon on an issue of your choice from this chapter. Consider the beaver and the elephant, the energy crisis, and different forms of social activism. Have a partner interpret your cartoon. Collect the cartoons created in your class into a “Cartoon Portfolio.”
8. a) In 1967 Walter Gordon, a leading economic nationalist said, “. . . history has taught us that with economic control inevitably goes political control.” What do you think Gordon meant?
b) Do you agree with his statement? Provide evidence to support your answer.

9.
 - a) Outline the specific actions the federal government took to deal with foreign ownership in the Canadian economy in the 1970s.
 - b) Evaluate the effectiveness of each action by listing pros, cons, and results.
 - c) What other measures do you think the government could take to curb foreign ownership? Suggest at least two and support your choices.
10.
 - a) Develop a mind map outlining the problems women still faced after 1980 in the struggle for equality with men. Under or beside each problem, suggest a number of solutions.
 - b) When your mind map is complete, decide on the three most important problems and the best solution for each one. Support your decisions.
11. Why do Aboriginal communities object to large development projects being constructed on their ancestral lands? List at least two reasons and illustrate them by reference to examples in this chapter.

Apply Your Knowledge

12.
 - a) Some people have suggested that, as a way of strengthening the Canadian economy, individuals and governments should buy Canadian products whenever possible. How would a "Buy Canadian" policy benefit the country?
 - b) Examine your own buying pattern over the last year. When faced with the choice of a Canadian-made or foreign-made product, which did you buy?
 - c) Plan a "Buy Canadian" project to make your school aware of what you have discovered.
13. This chapter identified two environmental organizations and a number of the issues they have been involved with. Identify other environmental issues. Check newspapers, newsletters from environmental groups, and TV and radio reports for evidence of problems. In groups, choose one issue and prepare a short case study. Your case study should clearly identify the problem, suggest reasons for it, outline what has or has not been done, and suggest possible solutions.
14. Research the seal hunt issue. Imagine that the government has commissioned you to write a report that will present the sides of both environmentalists and seal hunters in as fair a fashion as possible. Write your report and draw your conclusions. Recommend that the government ban the taking of seal pups completely, that it allow the present limited harvest to continue, or that it substantially increase the number of pups hunted each year. Be sure to support your recommendation with at least three reasons. If possible, illustrate your report with photographs and statistical charts.

Get to the Source

15. Read the following excerpts from the report of the Mackenzie Valley Pipeline Inquiry.

To the Indian people, our land is really our life. Without our land we cannot—we could no longer exist as a people. If our land is destroyed, we too are destroyed. If your people ever take our land, you will be taking our life.

—Richard Nerysoo, Fort McPherson, NWT.
In Northern Frontier, Northern Homeland, 1970.

It [development] does not leave any permanent jobs for people who make the North their home. The whole process does not leave very much for us to be proud of, and along with their equipment and technology, they also impose on the northern people their white culture and all its value systems.

—Louise Frost (Old Crow), Yukon Territory in Northern Frontier,
Northern Homeland, 1970.

We look upon the North as our last frontier. It is natural for us to think of developing it, of subduing the land and extracting its resources to fuel Canada's industry and heat our homes. Our whole inclination is to think of expanding our industrial machine to the limit of our country's frontiers. . . . But the Native people say that the North is their homeland. They have lived there for thousands of years. They claim it is their land, and they believe they have a right to say what its future ought to be.

—Thomas Berger, Northern Frontier, Northern Homeland, 1970.

- a) What two different ways of viewing the North are presented in these quotations?
- b) Do you think these views can be reconciled? How?