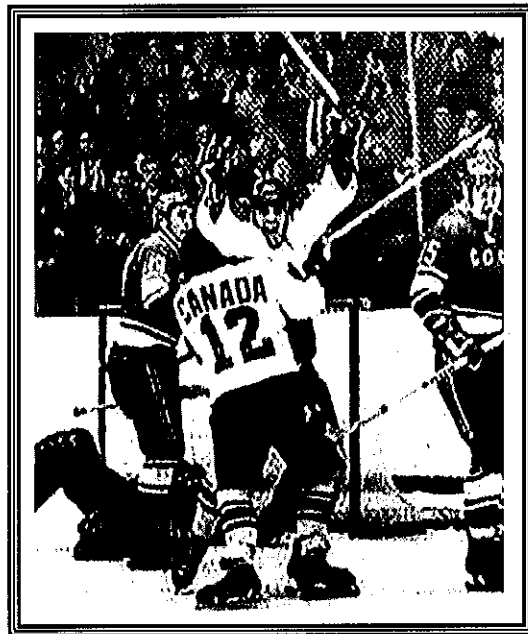

**CHAPTER FIVE:
POST WAR 1946-1980**



LIST OF TERMS FOR CHAPTER FIVE

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INTRODUCTION

At the end of the Second World War, as Canadian soldiers returned home from overseas, Canada entered a period of economic prosperity. Production shifted from addressing the needs of the wartime economy, to supplying a booming nation with new and affordable consumer goods. Later in this period of consumer confidence came the era of protest. Influenced by the civil rights movement in the United States, Canadians began to demand improved rights for black Canadians, aboriginal peoples, and women. Additionally, there were many cultural changes that took place—so much so that one decade of this period of time became known as the “swinging sixties.”

On the other hand, amidst this period of renewed confidence and optimism, there was also the ominous presence of a new threat. The United States and the Soviet Union were embroiled in a “war” that did not involve combat—rather it was fought using propaganda, espionage (spying), and politics. This was called the Cold War. We will see how the fears and suspicions of the Cold War influenced world politics. We will also see how the relationship between Canada and the United States evolved during this period. Finally, Canada’s role in the world underwent some changes as well. Many Canadians began to see a role for Canada as a middle power. As a middle power Canada was free to chart an independent course, but was not as powerful as the United States, the Soviet Union, Britain or France.

I. INTERNATIONAL EVENTS: THE 1950s TO THE 1970s

A. THE UNITED NATIONS

The Second World War proved only too clearly that the League of Nations had failed in its objective—to keep the peace. The League had no military power of its own, and its most influential members were not committed to the concept of collective security. As the Second World War came to a close, countries began to seek the development of a new world organization of nations that would have more strength than the last. In April 1945, 50 countries led by Britain, the Soviet Union, and the United States, including Canada, met in San Francisco to create the **United Nations (UN)**. As with the League of Nations, ideals of peace and social and economic progress remained the basic goals of this new world organization. Specifically, the United Nations had four goals: keeping world peace and preventing new wars; encouraging cooperation among nations; defending human rights and helping to promote equality; and improving the standard of living for all nations.

1. THE STRUCTURE OF THE UNITED NATIONS

a) The General Assembly

All UN member states are represented in the **General Assembly**. Each state has one vote, and a two-thirds majority is required for a decision on important issues. The Assembly was empowered to discuss and make recommendations on any matter likely to affect world peace. Other important functions have been to become a forum for discussion, to supervise special agencies, and to control the budget.

b) The Security Council

The UN **Security Council** is responsible for maintaining world peace, and

it has the power to force the members of the UN to carry out its decisions. After the war, the Security Council consisted of the five victors of the war as permanent members, and ten other countries serving two-year terms. The five permanent members—China, France, the United Kingdom, the Soviet Union, and the United States—were also given veto power (which means that they could choose to block any decision). In 1948, Canada gained its own seat on the UN Security Council, and since has often served in this non-permanent capacity.

c) The Secretariat

The chief administrative officer of the UN is the Secretary General. The **secretariat** is made up of thousands of clerks, interpreters, translators and technical experts.

d) The International Court of Justice

The **International Court of Justice** is located in The Hague (in the Netherlands) and is also known as the World Court. The court makes rulings on disputes submitted by members, if the members have agreed to abide by its rulings. It also gives legal advice to the Assembly and the Security Council.

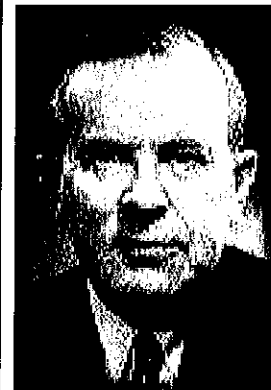
2. HUMANITARIAN AGENCIES OF THE UNITED NATIONS

The UN oversees several specialized agencies including UNICEF, the World Health Organization (WHO), and the International Labour Organization (ILO). These agencies continue to provide assistance and aid around the world. It is within these agencies that some of the most important work of the United Nations has taken place. It is these organizations of the United Nations that achieved the greatest levels of worldwide cooperation.

3. CANADA'S CONTRIBUTION

Canada played a key role in the drafting of the UN Charter. John Humphrey, a Canadian, is often given credit for drafting the Charter of the United Nations. Later, Prime Minister Lester B. Pearson played a key role in solving some of the problems faced by the UN. In fact, Lester Pearson even received the Nobel Peace Prize for his efforts to resolve the Suez Crisis—a process in which he helped to invent the very concept of peacekeeping.

Canada has consistently been an active supporter of the United Nations, and has played an important role in both the General Assembly and on the Security Council. Canada has also been particularly active as part of UN peacekeeping efforts.



P.M. Lester B. Pearson

B. THE COLD WAR

With the end of hostilities after the Second World War, a **bipolar world** emerged. After the war there no longer existed a group of five or six great powers. There were two new superpowers: the United States and the Soviet Union. Continental Europe was in ruins, Germany no longer existed, Italy was crushed, and Britain was now in obvious and serious decline. This new power structure formed the basis of the Cold War.

The **Cold War** was an ideological struggle (of ideas) between the United States and the Soviet Union. It was different from other wars in that it was fought using propaganda, espionage, and economic and political pressures. While an enormous arms race ensued, the two superpowers did not face each other in

combat. This is why it is called the *Cold War*. Essentially, it was a fight for power and influence on a global scale. The Cold War was characterized by the ever-present fear of a nuclear war, as both sides raced to build nuclear weapons.

As a result of the Cold War, the world became divided into two hostile camps. The two "opponents" were the United States and the Soviet Union. There are two essential concepts in understanding the Cold War: **containment** and the **domino theory**. The American strategy during the Cold War was to "contain" communism, by preventing it from spreading to other countries. In order to do so, the Americans tried to win non-aligned countries over to their "camp," while the Soviets attempted to do the same. The other concept, which fuelled the idea of containment, was the domino theory: Americans feared that once one country was pulled into the Communist camp, then all surrounding countries would be soon to follow.

I. THE BEGINNING OF THE COLD WAR

a) Ideological Differences

Fear and suspicion arose between the West and the Soviet Union over basic ideological differences such as the authoritarian state versus the democratic state, and communist economics versus free enterprise or capitalism. Western capitalist nations feared the part of communist ideology that was aimed at world revolution. On the other hand, the Soviet Union feared encirclement by capitalist countries, which would pose the threat of counter-revolution within the Soviet Union.

b) International Concerns and Suspicions

(i) The Domino Theory

The United States was very concerned with the way that Stalin was able to quickly establish Soviet-style communist regimes in six countries after the Second World War (Bulgaria, Hungary, Romania, Poland, Czechoslovakia, and Yugoslavia). As these countries fell one by one to communism, the Americans developed the domino theory metaphor. As dominoes quickly cause the next to fall, so the Americans believed European countries would fall, one by one, to the Soviets.

(ii) Satellite States

The creation of **Satellite States** was a new concept in the Cold War. The six countries controlled by the Soviet Union were called satellite states because they were absolutely controlled by the Soviet Union. In 1946, responding to the creation of these satellite states, Winston Churchill declared that an **Iron Curtain** had fallen across Europe, dividing communist and non-communist states. Churchill was speaking metaphorically and literally. The domination of the Soviet Union was as strong as 'iron' in the metaphor, but there also was a literal iron fence separating east from west.

(iii) Containment

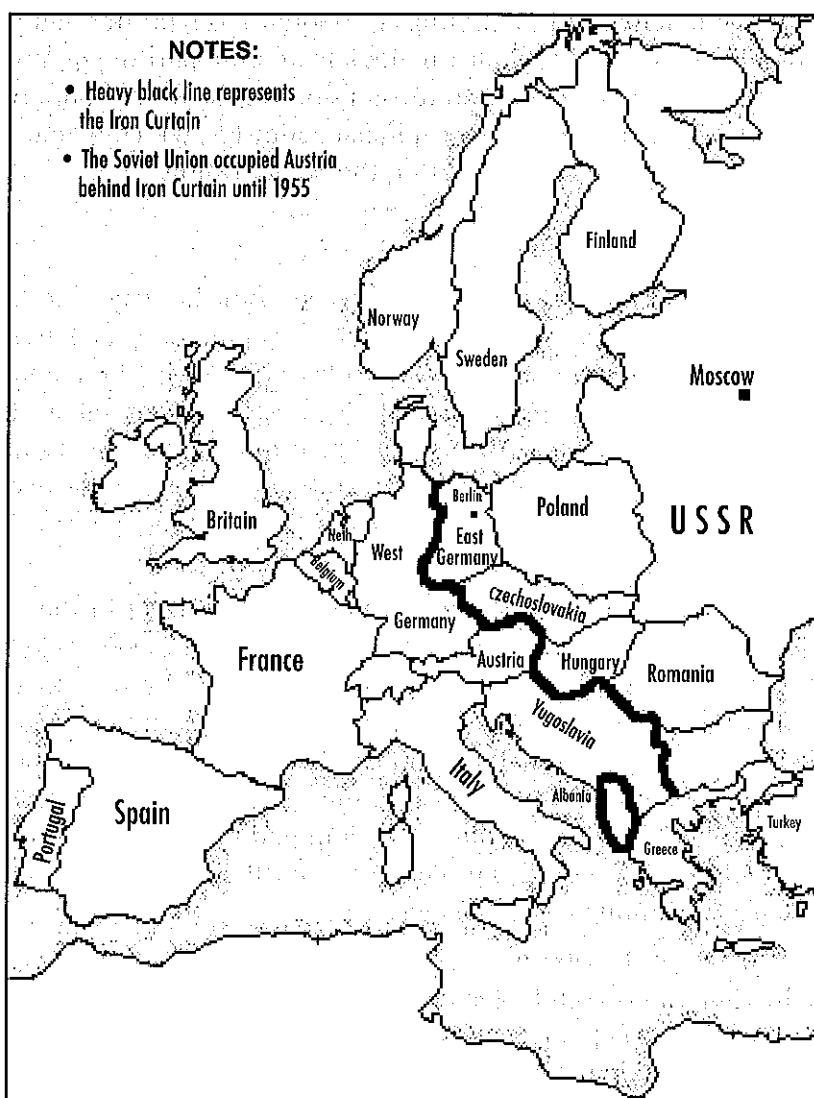
In 1947 the United States declared the **Truman Doctrine**, which was the policy to support free peoples around the world who were resisting subjugation (in particular, people living in countries threatened by communism). This was the first step in developing the American policy of containment. The policy of containment was the policy of containing

or halting the spread of communism, by providing economic aid and military support to people threatened by communism. Later in 1947, the United States further developed the policy of containment when they passed the **Marshall Plan**. The Marshall Plan offered billions of dollars in aid to war-torn European economies to help them resist the advance of communism. All of these policies were developed in response to the Red Scare.

c) Canadian Concerns and Suspicions in the early Cold War

(i) The Gouzenko Affair

In 1945, a young clerk with the Soviet Embassy in Ottawa, Igor Gouzenko, asked Canada for political asylum (protection from the Soviet Union) in return for giving the Canadian government documents that proved that the Soviet Union was operating two spy rings in Canada. After handing over the proof of these spy rings, Gouzenko was threatened by the Soviet Union, and so he and his family were given Canadian police protection for the rest of their lives. The **Gouzenko**



EUROPE DURING THE COLD WAR

Affair marked the beginning of the Cold War in Canada. It had now hit home that there was potentially a communist threat in Canada.

(ii) The Red Scare

In response to the fear of communism that was further heightened as a result of the Gouzenko Affair, the RCMP carried out illegal and secret inquiries regarding potential communists in Canada. Potential immigrants were denied entry to Canada, and known communists were deported. This massive fear of communism became known as the **Red Scare**. The red scare was even more pronounced in the United States.

2. GERMANY

a) The Division of Germany

At the end of the Second World War, the Allies had agreed to split Germany into four occupation zones: Britain, France, the United States, and the Soviet Union each occupied a distinct zone. Britain, France and the United States agreed to join their sectors together to form West Germany. For his part, Stalin created the German Democratic Republic, which came to be known as East Germany.

b) The Berlin Blockade and Airlift, June 1948

(i) The Division of Berlin

As a result of post-war agreements, the German city of Berlin was divided into four zones, just as Germany itself had been divided into four. What made this situation unusual was that Berlin was situated well within the Russian sector of Germany. The western nations were permitted access to West Berlin through East Germany, only on specified highways, railways and air corridors.

(ii) The Berlin Blockade

The **Berlin Blockade Crisis** resulted when the western powers decided to introduce a new currency into West Germany, which the Soviet Union refused to accept in Berlin. The Soviet Union counteracted the currency reform by blockading the transportation corridors, which allowed the West to send supplies to West Berlin (remember West Berlin was within East Germany which the Soviets controlled). This was an act of direct confrontation on Stalin's part. The Allies considered abandoning Berlin, but the domino theory caused them to think otherwise.

(iii) The Berlin Airlift

Instead, the West countered with a massive airlift supplying the western sectors of Berlin for fifteen months with all necessary supplies. This was an impressive accomplishment as West Berlin was a city of some 2.5 million citizens, and everything they needed was imported by aircraft. During these busy months one plane landed every two minutes in Berlin. Eventually, the Soviets realized that the blockade was simply not working. The end of the dispute resulted in two separate governments for Berlin. As a result of this crisis, the western Allies decided to form NATO.

3. THE NORTH ATLANTIC TREATY ORGANIZATION AND THE WARSAW PACT

a) The North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)

The event which most prompted the Americans to make a peacetime mili-

tary commitment to Europe was the Berlin Blockade. To the Allies this was sure evidence that a stronger and permanent military presence was necessary to prevent Soviet expansion in Europe. The **North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)** was formed in 1949, and was designed almost-solely for mutual defence. Each member state contributed to NATO's defence force. The members agreed that an attack on one member would be considered an attack on them all.

b) The Warsaw Pact

The **Warsaw Pact** was developed in response to NATO in 1955, as a defensive alliance of the Soviet Union and its satellite states.

4. THE ARMS RACE

The main feature of the Cold War was the nuclear arms race between the Western bloc (the United States and its allies) and the Eastern bloc (the Soviet Union and its allies). The two alliances were "racing" to develop more atomic bombs, and to improve nuclear technology.

After 1957, with the launch of the first satellite by the Soviets, a major feature of the arms race became known as the space race. In this element of the Cold War each superpower developed ever more sophisticated missiles to deliver nuclear weapons.

Throughout the Cold War, the two alliances tried to maintain a balance of power so that each would have approximately the same level of nuclear armaments. By maintaining **nuclear parity** (equality) it helped to prevent the two alliances from going to war. Nuclear parity made it seem less likely that one country would attack the other, as it knew that it would be attacked in return—this became known as **MAD** (Mutually Assured Destruction). If nuclear weapons were deployed, entire areas of the country would be completely annihilated. Therefore, the concept of MAD kept both sides from going to war. However, MAD only existed when both sides had access to the same weapons so that one didn't have an advantage over the other. It is for this reason that the United States and the Soviet Union "raced" to keep up with each other.

5. THE KOREAN WAR, 1950-53

During the Second World War, Korea was held by Japan. After the Japanese surrender in 1945, Korea was divided. The North soon became communist, and the South, democratic. In 1950, over 100,000 North Korean troops, supported by Soviet-built tanks and aircraft, invaded South Korea. When the North Korean troops refused to withdraw, the United States demanded that the United Nations come to the defence of South Korea. A UN force made up from 32 countries, led by American forces, was sent to fight in Korea. Over 26,500 Canadians served in the UN action in Korea. In total, 1,000 Canadians were wounded, and 400 were killed. By the time the war was over in July 1953, although both sides agreed to an armistice, Korea remained divided between the North and South.

The war in Korea was significant for Canada because it showed that Canada supported the United Nations and was willing to fight to support those goals. The **Korean War** was especially important because it demonstrated to the world that members of the United Nations, unlike the League of Nations, were willing to take action when required.

6. THE SUEZ CRISIS, 1956

In 1956, Egyptian President Nasser seized the Suez Canal (a vital trade route) from Britain and France. So, in response, Britain and France joined with Israel to attack Egypt. The Soviet Union sided with Egypt and demanded that they withdraw. Lester Pearson, acting as Canada's Minister of External Affairs, went to the United Nations and suggested creating a **United Nations Emergency Force (UNEF)** that would keep the combatants apart while a settlement to the **Suez Crisis** was worked out. As a result, battle forces were withdrawn and replaced with UN peacekeeping forces. Lester Pearson won the Nobel Peace Prize for his efforts in 1957.

7. CUBAN MISSILE CRISIS, 1962

As part of the Cold War, both the United States and the Soviet Union stockpiled their nuclear weapons in various countries around the world. In 1962, the United States spotted Soviet missiles in Cuba through aerial surveillance. Advance warning of a possible Soviet nuclear attack on the United States had now been reduced from half an hour down to a few minutes. The United States set up a naval blockade around Cuba, thereby defying Soviet ships to continue bringing in missiles to Cuba. The crisis intensified as Soviet ships steamed toward Cuba—these ships were undoubtedly protected by Soviet submarines. Everyone was concerned that this crisis could lead to a nuclear war.

However, as a result of the blockade, the Soviet ships turned back—but the crisis wasn't over. American President Kennedy and Soviet leader Khrushchev wrote letters to each other in which the Soviets promised to remove the missiles if the Americans would issue a promise not to invade Cuba. Nuclear war was averted.

8. THE ASSASSINATION OF PRESIDENT KENNEDY

On November 22, 1963, President **John F. Kennedy** of the United States was being driven down a street in Dallas, Texas. Kennedy smiled and waved to the crowd when everyone heard a deafening crack. People turned to find the President sprawled inside his car, with a bullet in his head. The assassination of President Kennedy stunned the world. Coverage of the assassination was shown incessantly on television sets across North America. It was said that even in Canada everyone could remember exactly what they were doing at the moment when they heard about the assassination. Two days later, the shooter, Lee Harvey Oswald, was shot dead in the Dallas police station by a nightclub owner. In the years to follow, a series of assassinations of American public figures occurred: Kennedy's younger brother Robert was shot in a Los Angeles hotel in 1968, and the Reverend Martin Luther King Jr., a black civil rights leader, was shot the same year.

9. THE VIETNAM WAR, 1954 -- 1975

The Indochina War between France, the colonial power, and the Vietminh, the Communist guerrillas (see sidebar) in Vietnam, lasted from 1946 until the defeat of the French forces in 1954. In 1954, Vietnam was divided between the North, held by the Communist government led by Ho Chi Minh, and the South, which was anti-Communist and partially democratic. A war between North Vietnam and South Vietnam began almost immediately. South Vietnam was supported by the United States and soon the fighting escalated to include Communist countries that supported the North, and non-Communist countries

Guerrilla Warfare:

This term refers to a type of war in which ordinary people (not regular army) form their own armies to fight an enemy in non-conventional ways. They do not have the fire power of the enemy so they strike and retreat. Guerrilla forces are almost always made up of ordinary citizens who return to their everyday tasks when a mission is over. It is very difficult for regular army to deal with them because the enemy is hard to identify.

that supported the South. By 1963, there were 15,000 Americans in South Vietnam because the United States was determined to stop the Communists. After the South Vietnamese leader was assassinated, a series of new leaders followed. The United States supported each new leader, and sent more troops every year. The Americans were trying to “contain” communism in Southeast Asia because they believed in the domino theory; if South Vietnam fell to the Communists then other nearby countries would soon follow. American involvement in Vietnam was called a **Client War**—a war in which the Americans fought on behalf of the South Vietnamese client. While neither the Chinese nor the Soviets sent troops to Vietnam, they did support the communists in Vietnam with massive shipments of supplies. In this way, the two super powers avoided a direct military confrontation.

Americans at home witnessed the inability of the American troops to win the ground war in Vietnam, in addition to the widespread suffering among Vietnamese civilians. TV images of the conflict appeared daily on American television. By 1969, there were 543,000 American troops in Vietnam. Due to the inability of the American forces to win this war and the growing number of casualties, the American people began to turn against the war. Anti-war protests were held throughout the United States. Some people did anything they could to avoid the draft—including making a move to Canada. Thousands of young Americans evaded the military draft and came to Canada. These people were called **draft dodgers**.

During the last four years of the Vietnam war, the United States reduced its combat troops on the ground and turned the war into an air war. They hoped to bomb North Vietnam into submission. During this phase of the war the Americans dropped a greater tonnage of bombs on North Vietnam than the total of all the bombs used by all sides during the Second World War. Finally, in 1973 a cease-fire was reached, and in 1975, the last of the Americans left Vietnam as the Viet Cong took over Saigon in the South. All of Vietnam quickly came under the control of the communists from the North.

10. CYPRUS, 1964—1993

In 1964, a civil war broke out on the Mediterranean island of **Cyprus**, between the Greek majority and the Turkish minority. While Canadian troops were initially sent in 1964, the last of the troops were not withdrawn until 1993. Since 1993, the Cypriots have lived in relative harmony. For Canada the operation was expensive—Canada spent almost \$600 million to maintain its forces in Cyprus, and 30 Canadian soldiers lost their lives.

11. THE RECOGNITION OF COMMUNIST CHINA

In 1949, the communists, led by Mao Zedong, took over the government of China. However, the United Nations, pushed by the United States, refused to recognize the communist government, thereby allowing the former government (which was by this time in Taiwan), to hold one of five permanent seats on the United Nations Security Council. This issue was a source of much tension between the competing superpowers. While some countries (including Canada) recognized the communist government as the official government of China, others, such as the United States, refused to do so. Finally, by 1971, under world pressure, the Americans finally allowed Red China (the communist government) to replace Taiwan on the Security Council.

cil. This paved the way for China to become a dominant force in international relations.

12. THE MIDDLE EAST IN THE 1970s

At first, the ongoing conflicts in the Middle East between Israel and the Arab states seemed to change very little in the 1970s. In 1973, another brutal war took place. This war was known as the Yom Kippur war. After a few years, Anwar Sadat, the leader of Egypt, initiated peace talks with the Israelis. As a result, the Camp David Accords were signed in 1979. In this agreement, the Egyptians agreed to recognize Israel's right to exist, and in turn, the Israelis agreed to negotiate the occupied territories. For a time there was great hope that the Palestinian refugees would finally gain a homeland. By the late 1990s, it seemed as though an agreement was finally at hand. However, the present Intifada (Palestinian uprising), which started in 2001, ended any hope for a resolution to the Arab-Israeli conflict.

In the 1950s, Canada had brokered a deal whereby peacekeeping troops were sent to the region. Since then, Canada has often attempted to bring a voice of reason to the ongoing conflict in the region, but with very little effect.

II. LIFE IN CANADA DURING THE 1950s AND 1960s

A. CANADA AFTER THE SECOND WORLD WAR

1. As Canadian soldiers returned from the battlefields of Europe, they faced a much different situation than did those who returned from the First World War. Unlike the period following the First World War, due to the strong Canadian economy, the government was able to provide financial services to Canadian veterans returning from the Second World War. **Veterans** (people who served actively in the army, navy or air force) were provided with information, counselling, and financial aid to help them to adjust to life back in Canada. For example, veterans of the war could borrow money at very low interest rates in order to purchase homes with a very low interest rate in a program sponsored by the government.
2. In 1948, Canada was able to give \$2 billion to Western Europe through the Marshall Plan. The Marshall Plan was a plan devised by the United States to send food, equipment and raw materials to Europe to help with the process of rebuilding and avoid a communist takeover.
3. After the war, Canada experienced dramatic growth in both its mining and oil industries. In 1947, Imperial Oil discovered the Leduc oil field near Edmonton. This was the first major oil field developed in Alberta. Before this discovery, the economy of Alberta had been about grain and cattle. Because of the "oil patch", the Alberta provincial economy became the strongest in Canada over the next five decades.

However, Canadian Prime Minister Louis St. Laurent faced the problem of getting the oil and gas from Alberta to potential users in Eastern Canada. C.D. Howe, Canada's Minister of Energy at the time, argued that the natural gas pipeline should follow an all-Canadian route. While this option was preferred, it would be very expensive, and would require the government to offer a great deal of financial aid to the builders of this line. During the debate in the House of Commons the Liberal government invoked closure four times within 22 days. (Note: Closure is when the government uses its



P.M. Louis St. Laurent

majority to end debate on a bill. It is considered very anti-democratic and against the rules of parliamentary government.)

Arguments flared in the House of Commons, but the bill was passed to go ahead with the pipeline. Although the trans-Canada pipeline provided many jobs for Canadians, they remained angry over the manner in which the pipeline debate was managed by the governing Liberals. In 1957, St. Laurent's government was defeated in the election, ending 22 years of Liberal rule.

4. During the post-war period, Canada experienced a major construction boom as houses, schools and factories were built across the country. Canada was also involved in developing new technologies. The **CANDU nuclear reactor** was created by Atomic Energy of Canada Limited in 1952. The CANDU reactor was intended to be used for the safe and efficient production of electricity. These reactors were exported around the world. Additionally, in 1962, NASA launched Canada's first satellite, the **Alouette I**. Canada was the first country to use satellites for communications within its own territory, and the third nation to have a satellite in space.
5. Canada experienced unprecedented urbanization after the war. At the turn of the century, about two thirds of the population lived in rural areas. By the 1970s, about two thirds lived in towns or cities—this is called **urbanization** (moving to the cities). However, many people who worked in the cities still wanted to take advantage of a quieter lifestyle, so large housing developments sprung up on the outskirts of major cities. These developments were called **suburbs** and collectively these developments are called **Suburbia**. **Commuting** by car from houses in the suburbs to work in the cities became very popular. As a result, the new and used car market exploded. Cars became bigger, faster and more expensive; everyone wanted to have one or even two! This dependence upon cars also provided a huge boost to the petroleum industry.

B. SOCIAL CHANGES

1. BABY BOOMERS

As soldiers returned home from Europe and reunited with their families, many couples decided that it was finally the right time to have children. They no longer faced the uncertainty of service overseas, and they were financially stable as a result of the booming economy. This was called the **Baby Boom**. Canada's population soared from 12 million in 1946, to 18 million in 1961.

2. CHANGING IMMIGRATION POLICY

a) Displaced Persons

After the war, thousands of European **displaced persons** (people forced from their homelands due to the war or due to Soviet expansion after the war) arrived in Canada.

c) Immigration Act of 1952

In 1948, Prime Minister Louis St. Laurent set up the Department of Citizenship and Immigration. The subsequent **Immigration Act of 1952** gave extensive powers to the Minister of Immigration. At this time, it was decided that the practice of barring immigrants from entering Canada based on their ethnic origin would continue.

c) Demand for Immigrants

However, by the 1950s, demand for immigrant labour was so high, that Canada's doors swung wide open to accept new immigrants.

3. SOCIAL WELFARE IN CANADA AND OVERSEAS**a) Social Security**

The **Unemployment Insurance Act** was passed in 1940, and family allowances or "baby bonuses" were introduced in 1945. Unemployment insurance was a temporary bi-weekly payment to those who had lost their jobs. It became evident that the Canadian government had begun to accept social security as a government responsibility. These measures were a direct result of the Great Depression.

b) The Colombo Plan

In the 1950s, the Canadian government implemented a foreign aid initiative called the **Colombo Plan**, which built factories and infrastructure in Pakistan, India and Sri Lanka (Commonwealth countries).

c) La Francophonie

Canada also joined **La Francophonie**, through which it gave development aid to West Africa. *La Francophonie* was developed near the turn of the century to act as a link between French colonies, facilitating social and cultural exchanges and trade.

As the former colonies of France and Belgium began to declare their independence, France and Belgium developed bilateral aid programs to help these new French-speaking countries to establish their political, economic and social structures. Other French-speaking countries such as Canada and Switzerland soon followed suit, setting up major bilateral aid programs after the Second World War.

In 1970, over 20 French-speaking countries met in Niger, an African nation, at the urging of three African heads of state. They signed a treaty creating a multilateral organization called the **Agence de coopération culturelle et technique (ACCT)**—the Agency for Cultural and Technical Co-operation. This was the first major organization developed by *La Francophonie*, in which states and governments could co-ordinate their actions. ACCT remains the most important organization of *La Francophonie* in terms of its purpose and its operating budget.

Canada is a founding member of ACCT, and a Canadian was the agency's first Secretary-General (the highest permanent position within the organization). This "Francophone universe," which represents almost 600 million people, is quite diverse, and includes countries in Europe, Africa, the Americas, Asia and the Pacific.

4. ENTERTAINMENT

After the austerity of the war, Canadians went on buying sprees and purchased consumer goods like televisions. By the 1960s, watching TV became a favourite family pastime. The **Canadian Broadcasting Corporation** (known simply as the CBC, a government owned crown corporation.) bought popular American programs like "The Ed Sullivan Show." Canadian shows also became popular, such as "Hockey Night in Canada." In 1972, millions of Canadians watched one of the most famous events in Canadian sports history—Paul Henderson scored the winning goal for Team Canada in a best of eight series against the Soviet Union. Canadian hockey supremacy was reaffirmed, and Canadian

nationalism and pride was strengthened.

Teenagers were particularly influenced by television as "The Ed Sullivan Show" brought rock 'n' roll into their living rooms. Elvis Presley was wildly popular, and by the 1960s, the "British invasion" (the growth in popularity of British pop music) had become the new trend with groups such as the Beatles, the Animals, and the Rolling Stones. The music of the 1960s celebrated alternate lifestyles, and challenged the establishment.

5. THE ERA OF PROTEST

By the 1960s, the baby boomers had become teenagers. A **teen culture** developed which didn't trust anyone "over 30," and was looking to change outdated traditions. Young Canadians promoted a **counterculture** against the "Establishment" (people who controlled the government, large business and institutions in general). Students began to challenge authority in schools and universities. **Protests** arose over rights for aboriginal nations and black North Americans. People also demonstrated against nuclear arms, American interference in Canadian affairs, and the Vietnam War. The **civil rights movement** in the United States, led by public figures such as Martin Luther King and Malcolm X, led to improved anti-racist legislation and improved civil rights for African Americans. Subsequently, black Canadians succeeded in lobbying for improved rights as well.

6. WOMEN'S MOVEMENT

Similarly, baby boomers began to demand improved rights for women. The **Women's Liberation Movement** became popular in the 1960s, during which time women sought changes in employment practices, life choices, and politics. After the Second World War, many women were laid off from their wartime jobs as the men returned from war. However, some of these women wanted to balance a career with responsibilities at home, and many women also needed the extra income to help pay the bills. As a result, the percentage of women in the workforce rose from 18% in 1921, to 39% by 1971. However, women still faced discrimination when they competed for the same jobs as men, and were paid less for the same work. There were also very few women in politics. Essentially, women were still looking to be treated equally in all fields.

Within the Women's Movement there were both **mainstream** and **radical feminists**. Mainstream feminists believed that they could change laws by publicizing their cause through the media. On the other hand, radical feminists believed that men would not give up their advantages willingly, and so they used more aggressive protest tactics. These women were often considered to be "man-hating women's libbers." While the Women's Movement was responsible for many positive changes, there were still many areas in which equality had not yet been achieved.

7. CHANGING VALUES

Life in Canada had become much more liberal by the 1960s. Parliament passed more liberal laws regarding abortion, homosexuality and divorce. Women began to use the birth control pill, and thus had more control over their life choices. People began to question old ideas and wonder about new things—some common Canadian concerns were about the future of Canada, about Canada's relationship with the United States, and about the

environment.

8. EXPO '67

Expo '67 was a world fair held in Montreal, that attracted visitors both from within Canada and from around the world. Many different countries set up pavilions for display at the world fair. This was Canada's one hundredth birthday party! Expo '67 allowed Canadians to see how much they had accomplished in the past one hundred years. Kings, princesses, presidents and politicians from around the world came to the celebration. To many people's astonishment, General de Gaulle, the President of France, shouted to the crowd at the end of his speech, "*Vive le Québec! Vive le Québec libre!*" (Long live Quebec! Long live a free Quebec!) Prime Minister Lester B. Pearson gave de Gaulle a tongue lashing in the media for his comments. While Quebec separatists were thrilled, de Gaulle's comment created further tensions between French and English Canadians.

9. TRUDEAUMANIA

In the atmosphere of social change and rebellion of the 1960s, people also wanted political change. In 1968, Pierre Trudeau became leader of the Liberal Party, and also Prime Minister of Canada. Because Trudeau was French-Canadian, many people felt that he would finally address Quebec's concerns. On the other hand, people were also attracted to him because he was youthful, casual, and stylish. He drove fast sports cars and was an outdoorsman. He was cool under pressure and he was scholarly. He also had wit and confidence. All of these characteristics distinguished him from his political rivals, and contributed to his tremendous popularity. Attending one of Trudeau's speeches was like attending a rock concert—people swarmed around him. Trudeau flew into cities by jet, and arrived in shopping centres by helicopter. He mingled with the crowds, and accepted kisses from admirers. As one of his trademarks, Trudeau always wore a rose in his lapel, which he would toss to the crowd. The crowds, in particular the women, loved him—it was called **Trudeaumania**. It is probably safe to say that Trudeau was Canada's first Prime Minister who had that elusive quality known as charisma.



P.M. Pierre Elliot Trudeau

C. CANADA'S LEADERS FROM 1948 TO 1970

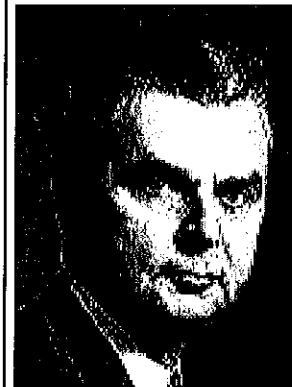
1. LOUIS ST. LAURENT

- a) **Louis St. Laurent** took over leadership of the Liberal Party from Mackenzie King in 1948, and was Prime Minister from 1948 to 1957.
- b) St. Laurent was known as a kind and gentle man who saw the post-war time in Canada as a time to bring about prosperity and unity. He was often compared to Wilfred Laurier, Canada's Prime Minister from 1896 to 1911.
- c) Under his government, Canada's oil industry boomed, as did Canada's mining industries. St. Laurent initiated several projects such as the St. Lawrence Seaway, the Trans-Canada highway, and a trans-Canada natural gas pipeline. He was also responsible for the tremendous growth of American investment in the Canadian economy.
- d) In 1948, Prime Minister St. Laurent encouraged **Joey Smallwood**, a journalist, trade unionist and farmer in Newfoundland, to organize a petition demanding that Confederation with Canada be included in the **referendum** (a referendum is when a law, or proposed law, is submitted to a direct vote

of the people) being held about the status of **Newfoundland**; neither Newfoundland nor Labrador had yet joined Confederation. On March 31st 1949, Newfoundland and Labrador became Canada's tenth province, and Joey Smallwood became its first premier.

2. JOHN DIEFENBAKER

- a) In the 1957 federal election, **John Diefenbaker** and the Progressive Conservatives managed to defeat the Liberal Party.
- b) Prime Minister Diefenbaker was known as "The Chief" because he was a powerful speaker who reflected people's concerns about the growth of American influence in Canada.
- c) Diefenbaker strongly believed in a united country, and in protecting those less fortunate. He raised pensions for the elderly and disabled, and gave financial aid to farmers in the Prairies and to the Atlantic Provinces.
- d) In 1960, Diefenbaker brought in the **Canadian Bill of Rights**, which put into law all of the basic freedoms including freedom of speech, worship and assembly. This bill, however, was not a part of the constitution.



P.M. John Diefenbaker

3. LESTER B. PEARSON

- a) **Lester B. Pearson** became Prime Minister in 1963, and remained in office until 1968.
- b) As a result of his actions as Minister of External Affairs during the Suez Crisis in 1956, Pearson had been awarded the **Nobel Peace Prize** in 1957.
- c) Pearson sought to improve French-English relations, and therefore he appointed a Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism (a commission is a special group assigned to consider the matter) to look into the situation. When reports discovered that French-Canadians did not receive the same benefits as English-Canadians outside of Quebec, many French-Canadians within Quebec began to think of separating from Canada.
- d) The Pearson government introduced the **Canada Pension Plan** and **Medicare** for all Canadians.
- e) Pearson thought it was important to cut Canada's symbolic tie with Britain by changing Canada's flag—the old flag included the British Union Jack. A vigorous **flag debate** ensued. In February 1965, the single red maple leaf design was officially accepted as Canada's new flag.

4. PIERRE ELLIOTT TRUDEAU

- a) **Pierre Trudeau** became leader of the Liberal party and Prime Minister of Canada when Pearson resigned in 1968.
- b) Trudeau was a scholar and lawyer, and he also had charisma.
- c) Trudeau travelled across Canada talking about his vision of a "just society." Although Trudeau never explained what he meant by this term, it was an idea that appealed to many people.
- d) Trudeau implemented the **Official Languages Act** in 1969, in order to make Canada truly bilingual and bicultural. Trudeau believed that this would help to make Quebec feel like a part of Canada.
- e) Trudeau also implemented income tax cuts and improved benefits for the poor and elderly. (Refer to pages 129 and 134 for more on Trudeau.)

D. CANADIAN-AMERICAN RELATIONS

During the 1950s and 1960s, Canadian-American relations were marked by a period of uncertainty. On the one hand, Canadians supported American foreign policy by joining NATO and NORAD (see next page), and by participating in UN Peacekeeping in Egypt and Lebanon. Additionally, the economies of Canada and the United States were becoming increasingly interdependent.

On the other hand, Canadians became more independent of American policy by refusing to criticize communism in China and Cuba as vehemently as the Americans. Prime Minister Diefenbaker was also reluctant to accept nuclear warheads for NATO's Bomarc missiles that guarded Canada. Furthermore, Diefenbaker hesitated to back the United States during the 1962 Cuban Missile Crisis. For his part, Pearson questioned American policy in Vietnam and refused to stop American draft dodgers from entering Canada. In 1965, Pearson also publicly proposed a halt to the American bombing of North Vietnam. Finally, although Northern Canada was still used as a NATO training ground, Prime Minister Trudeau reduced defence spending and froze contributions to NATO. It is evident that through this period of increased interdependence, Canada also asserted its independence as a Middle Power, separate from the United States.

1. AVRO ARROW

In 1953, the Royal Canadian Air Force (RCAF) requested a new aircraft to meet the growing needs of defence in the Northern Hemisphere because Canadians were concerned with the possibility of a Soviet attack. The RCAF wanted a supersonic long-range jet to be developed. The Liberal government awarded the contract to a company called A.V. Roe Canada out of Ontario. It was estimated that production costs for 600 airplanes would be approximately \$2 million per jet. Canadians became excited by the prospect of making their mark in the world of aviation through the development of new technology. Employees of A.V. Roe put in over 28 months of work to design a plane that would meet the specific requirements of the RCAF. Initial tests revealed that it was the fastest and most sophisticated fighter plane in the world. However, costs had reached almost \$4 million per plane. Additionally, on the day that the **Avro Arrow** was unveiled, the Soviet Union launched Sputnik I; this development cast doubts about the success of the Arrow technology. Even though the Arrow had been pushed past Mach 1.5 (Mach 1 is the speed of sound) this meant little to a government that was concerned with soaring costs. By February 1959, the Canadian government decided that all production of Arrows would cease, and additionally, the six completed Arrows (along with reports and blueprints) were to be torched.

The Canadian government had opted to buy the Bomarc Missile from the United States instead. The choice to buy an American product, although cheaper, dealt the Canadian aerospace industry an enormous blow. As a result, 14,000 Canadians lost their jobs, and many moved to work in the United States. Many of the scientists that worked on the Arrow now took employment with NASA, the American space agency.

To this day, debate continues about why Canada backed out of this program. There are strong suspicions, for reasons not understood, that the Americans put a great deal of pressure on the Canadian government to get rid of this airplane.

2. THE ST. LAWRENCE SEAWAY

The building of the **St. Lawrence Seaway** was one of the greatest achievements of the 1950s. The Seaway would link the center of the continent via the Great Lakes to the Atlantic Ocean. Ocean going vessels would now be able to go as far as Thunder Bay in Canada and Duluth in the United States. This project would require tremendous cooperation between Canada and the United States. For Canadians, this project meant that Canadian products could move to world markets. The building of the Seaway was a massive job: bridges and canals were built, rapids and islands were blasted away, and whole towns were moved. The Seaway took five years to build. By 1959, Queen Elizabeth and U.S. President Eisenhower declared the Seaway to be open for business.

3. THE NORTH AMERICAN DEFENCE SYSTEM (NORAD)

The **North American Defence System (NORAD)** was created between Canada and the United States in 1957. NORAD included radar stations that were set up to detect Soviet planes or missiles in order to give early warning of an attack. By the late 1950s, both the United States and the Soviet Union had developed long-distance bombers that carried nuclear weapons. They had also developed Intercontinental Ballistic Missiles (ICBMs) that could be launched from the Soviet Union and arrive in Canada or the United States within half an hour. As part of NORAD, three radar lines were constructed in Canada's North by 1957 to provide advance warning of a missile attack. Although Canada contributed \$300 million dollars, the project was mostly financed by the United States.

4. THE CUBAN MISSILE CRISIS

The Cuban Missile Crisis created tensions between Canada and the United States. Prime Minister Diefenbaker backed away from accepting nuclear weapons from the Americans, and delayed putting aircraft on alert during the Crisis. Diefenbaker resented the fact that the Canadian government had not been informed of the American blockade until after the fact. By the time Canadian forces were put on alert, the crisis was almost over. However, Canada's inaction caused great anger and resentment among Americans.

5. AUTO PACT

As a result of the growing popularity of cars in Canada, sales had risen dramatically. This industry created thousands of jobs for Canadians. However, there was fierce competition between car companies, and some of the smaller companies went out of business. In 1965, Canada and the United States signed the **Automotive Products Agreement (Auto Pact)** to create a single North American market. This free trade agreement allowed Canada and the United States to import cars from each other without paying import taxes. The Auto Pact led to increased specialization, as companies could focus on one aspect of the market. In turn, specialization allowed companies to lower production costs, which in turn, lowered consumer prices.

However, the Auto Pact also led to increasing American investment in the Canadian economy. By the 1960s, American businesses owned over 90% of Canadian petroleum and automobile industries. Many of the biggest factories in Canada were branch plants—subsidiaries of American companies. To protect Canadian industries, the government introduced tax incentives

which excluded branch plants. However, even without the incentives, many Canadian economists believe that the Auto Pact benefited Canada more than the United States.

6. THE VIETNAM WAR

Initially, Canadian Prime Minister Lester Pearson gave a speech asking the United States to "rethink their position" in Vietnam. Pearson, as well as most Canadians, did not support American involvement in this foreign war. Additionally, Canada welcomed American draft dodgers. Although Canada was not fighting in Vietnam, the war was brought into the living rooms of all Canadians via extensive television coverage. Many protests took place throughout North America against the Vietnam War.

III. LIFE IN CANADA DURING THE 1970s

Many important changes took place in Canada during the 1970s. The relationship between the federal and provincial governments was becoming even more strained. Separatism was on the rise in Quebec (refer to Chapter 8), and western provinces harboured strong anti-Ottawa sentiments. Economic changes were evident as well. Rising unemployment was combined with rising prices, which caused Canadians to become even more concerned with American involvement in the economy. In terms of foreign policy, Canada expanded aid to the developing world, but cut back on military involvement in peacekeeping. Finally, during the 1970s, there were renewed efforts to achieve equal rights for women and aboriginal peoples.

A. CANADA IN THE 1970s

1. WESTERN DISCONTENT

a) Inflation

By the 1970s, Prime Minister Trudeau was beginning to lose popularity. Trudeau managed to win the election in 1974 by opposing price and wage controls, but then he later changed his mind and put them in. This policy caused prices for consumer items to rise drastically (inflation), while controls were used to keep wages down.

Inflation is an economic condition that occurs when prices rise very quickly. In "normal" times inflation averages about two to four percent a year. During the late 1970s Canada had a number of years where inflation hit "double digits, i.e., 10% or higher." People who are working generally get pay increases to help offset inflation. Those who live on fixed incomes (retired people for example) do not get increases in their income so their ability to buy the goods and services they need is much reduced.

b) OPEC Crisis

To make matters worse, in 1972, there was a sudden increase in the price of oil when the **Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC)** realized that the demand for oil was greater than the supply. OPEC raised the price of oil knowing that people would need to pay. The price of a barrel went from \$6 US to \$16 US. By 1979, war between Iraq and Iran caused a drop in the supply of oil and prices rose up to \$40 US. As a result, the cost of all petroleum products rose dramatically. Simultaneously, unemployment was rising as well. In response, teachers, police officers and health care workers formed unions to demand higher wages, and both

federal and provincial governments substantially increased their debt.

c) The National Energy Program

In response to the OPEC crisis, Trudeau implemented the **National Energy Program**, which froze Alberta oil prices below world levels to keep the cost of oil down for Canadians. Trudeau also imposed a tariff on oil sold to the United States to make up for the oil imported from OPEC countries. This policy elicited angry reactions in Alberta, as Albertans were prevented from getting fair market value for any oil that they sold. This policy in particular served to strengthen feelings of Western alienation, and led some people to begin to think about the possibility of separating from the rest of Canada.

2. TRUDEAU RETIRES

Due in part to the implementation of the National Energy Program, Trudeau was defeated by Conservative leader Joe Clark in the federal election of 1979, until Clark's budget was defeated in the House of Commons through a vote of non-confidence. Trudeau was re-elected and went to work on making the constitution truly Canadian, as it still remained an act of British parliament. All of the provinces except Quebec agreed to the proposed changes, and the Constitution Act was signed in 1982 (refer to page 16). Trudeau announced his official retirement in June, 1984.

3. CANADIAN-AMERICAN RELATIONS

a) Economic Ties

By the 1970s, Canada had developed strong economic ties with the United States. As a result of the Auto Pact, American car companies set up branch plants in Canada. Additionally, over 70% of all Canadian products were sold to the United States. This dependence on sales to the United States was cause for some concern among Canadians about the growing American influence in Canada.

b) Entertainment Industries

Furthermore, Canadians were bombarded with American music, television and radio. Prime Minister Trudeau decided that Canadian TV and radio stations would be required to air a certain percentage of Canadian programs. Trudeau also sought to promote the Canadian film industry. He introduced tax breaks for Canadian book and magazine industries, and he gave federal grants to the arts. However, some Canadians felt that these measures only served to prevent much needed American investment. Additionally, many people in the United States viewed Trudeau's decisions as unfriendly.

c) Foreign Investment Review Agency (FIRA)

In 1973, Trudeau established the **Foreign Investment Review Agency (FIRA)** to approve the establishment of any new foreign companies in Canada, although it was intended to target American investment. Through FIRA, Trudeau hoped to protect Canadian industries.

d) NORAD

Throughout the 1970s, Trudeau maintained Canada's involvement in NORAD, although he phased out the Bomarc missiles and their nuclear warheads stationed in Canada by 1971.

4. CANADIAN FOREIGN POLICY**a) Recognition of Communist China**

In 1970, Canada officially recognized the People's Republic of China as the legal government of China. Canada acknowledged the Chinese Communist government before the United States, which further highlighted our growing independence in international affairs. Many right wing Americans falsely accused Trudeau of being a communist.

b) Involvement in NATO

During his time as Prime Minister, Trudeau reduced the Canadian armed forces stationed in Europe under NATO.

c) Foreign Aid

During the 1970s, Canada increased aid to developing countries. Through its participation in *La Francophonie*, Canada also gave more aid to countries that were former French colonies. Additionally, Canada increased its support of UN aid programs, and increased spending for aid through the **Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA)**, created in 1968 to oversee assistance to developing countries.

d) Trade

Under Trudeau, Canada increased trade with Asian countries and allowed more Asian immigrants to enter Canada. Canada also increased trade and political ties with Cuba and Mexico. Additionally, Trudeau visited the Soviet Union in 1971 to share ideas about northern development. Canada's involvement with both Cuba and the Soviet Union demonstrated a significant shift away from an adherence to American foreign policy objectives.

For instance, American relations with Cuba deteriorated after 1959 as the regime moved towards a communist system of government. As a result, the United States established an embargo (a government order imposing trade barriers) on Cuba in October 1960, and broke diplomatic relations the following January. Tensions between the two governments peaked during the attempted Bay of Pigs invasion (1961) and the October 1962 missile crisis. In following years, Cold War tensions kept U.S.-Cuban relations strained. In 1996, when the Cuban military shot down two U.S. registered civil aircraft in international airspace, killing three U.S. citizens and one U.S. resident, Congress passed a law which codified the U.S. trade embargo and imposed additional sanctions on the Cuban regime. On the other hand, Canadian Prime Ministers continued to ignore the American embargo and continued to foster a relationship with Cuba.

e) Refugees

As communism spread throughout Europe, Canada accepted refugees fleeing communist regimes after uprisings in Hungary in 1956, and Czechoslovakia in 1968. Canada also accepted South Vietnamese refugees (known as Boat People) fleeing in the face of communist takeover after 1975.

5. ROLE OF WOMEN**a) Legislative Changes**

In 1970, the Trudeau government produced a report that described the

problems facing women in Canada. The report made suggestions on ways to help society adjust to the changing role of women. By 1980, many of these suggestions had already been acted upon.

During the 1970s, discrimination against women became illegal. In 1976, the federal government passed maternity leave legislation, (allowing women to temporarily leave their jobs without risk of losing their employment) and in 1977, the federal government passed legislation mandating that women receive equal pay for equal work. By 1978, the federal government set up a Human Rights Commission to help bring an end to all types of racial, religious, and gender discrimination. The Trudeau government also increased the availability of subsidized daycare, and implemented the child tax credit in 1978 to help supplement family allowances for low-income families.

b) Women in Government

Trudeau also appointed women to key roles in government—**Jeanne Sauvé** was picked as the first female Speaker of the House of Commons in 1978, she later became the first female Governor General in 1984. During this time, females were also appointed to the Supreme Court of Canada.

c) Women in the Workforce

The number of women in the workforce also improved. In 1970, 35% of women were employed outside of the home, and by 1980, this figure rose to 48%. More women also began to enter careers traditionally reserved for men such as lawyers, doctors, electricians, plumbers and auto mechanics. However, although significant gains had been made, equality had still not been achieved—men still held the top jobs, and in some cases were still paid more for the same work.

d) National Action Committee on the Status of Women (NAC)

In 1972, many women's groups joined the **National Action Committee on the Status of Women (NAC)**. NAC was the new voice for a united women's movement.

e) UN International Women's Year

In 1975, the UN celebrated its first **International Women's Year** with the hope of promoting equality and full participation, and informing the general public about changing attitudes towards women.

6. IMMIGRATION

a) The Citizenship Act of 1976

In 1976, the Trudeau government implemented the **Citizenship Act**, which eliminated gender discrimination, and granted citizenship to children of overseas marriages when the mother was Canadian (previously this was only granted when the father was Canadian). The Citizenship Act also required adequate knowledge of one of the two official languages of Canada before a landed immigrant could become a Canadian citizen.

b) The Immigration Act of 1978

Immigration policy saw many changes during the Trudeau years. In 1978, the federal government passed a new **Immigration Act**, which reduced

barriers to immigration and gave the provinces a new role in immigration policy. Quebec now had the ability to ensure that new immigrants would be able to adapt to its francophone culture. New immigrants were welcome regardless of colour, religion, or country of origin. The Immigration Act of 1978 created three categories of immigrants: the family-class (relatives who were sponsored by existing Canadian citizens), refugees, and independents (people seeking improved living conditions).

c) Multiculturalism

With these new changes, more immigrants arrived from Asia and the West Indies. In order to combat any growing racial tensions, the Trudeau government acted quickly by adopting a policy of **multiculturalism** which helped schools set up new courses, promoted multicultural events, and set up a council to study the problems of different ethnic groups in Canada.

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