

Chapter Five: Canada Comes of Age: 1968–2005

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Expectations

Overall Expectations:

By the end of this chapter, you will be able to

- demonstrate an understanding of the Canadian identity
- describe the demographic and social patterns in Canada since the 1960s
- describe how Canadian values have developed and changed
- explain the impact of social and political movements on Canadian society
- describe how individuals have contributed to Canada and its emerging identity
- describe some of the major forces and events that have influenced Canada's policies and Canadian identity since 1968

Specific Expectations:

By the end of this chapter, you will be able to

- identify some of the major effects of, and concerns arising from freer trade and globalization
- describe how Canadian immigration policies have changed over time and how such changes have affected patterns of immigration
- understand the advantages of multiculturalism, as well as some of its problems
- describe the changing relationship between the First Nations and the government after 1960

Word List

Apartheid	Assimilate
Boat people	Constitution
Debt	Deficit
Discrimination	Economic recession
Economic nationalists	Motion of non-confidence
Patronage	Sovereignty
Royalties	Tariff
Surplus	Wage-price spiral
Visible minorities	

1 Pierre Trudeau first became Canada's prime minister in 1968. He promised that Canada would become a "just society." He fought hard for national unity. He supported people's rights. He earned respect on the world stage.



3 Brian Mulroney was Canada's prime minister from 1984 to 1993. He wanted to reduce the national debt. He made a free trade agreement with the United States.



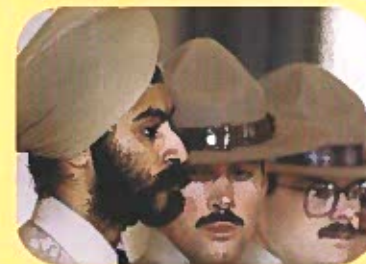
He appointed

Stephen Lewis as ambassador to the United Nations.



Stephen Lewis

2 Canada's immigration policies changed in the 1970s. Many people from other cultures wanted to come to Canada and make it their home. Canada is now a multicultural society.



Canada Comes of Age

1980

1990

2000

2010

3

4

5

6

4 Great gains were made by Canada's Aboriginal peoples in the 1990s. Agreements on Aboriginal land claims were reached. Nunavut was put on the map. The fight for Aboriginal rights continues.



Flag of Nunavut

5 Jean Chrétien was Canada's prime minister from 1993 to 2003. He wanted to lower the deficit. He also wanted to defeat the separatist movement in Quebec. Separatists, such as Lucien Bouchard and Quebec Premier Jacques Parizeau, campaigned for Quebec to separate from Canada.



Lucien Bouchard

6 Since the 1970s, women have made progress in rights and in access to jobs. Kim Campbell became Canada's first female prime minister in 1993. Women are still fighting for equal pay and against poverty.



Trudeaumania



The election of Pierre Elliott Trudeau unleashed a wave of popular support that few Canadians had ever witnessed. The press called this rock star-like attention "Trudeaumania."

By 1968, Canadians believed that they could have anything they wanted. The national mood was optimism, hope, and excitement. Canadians wanted fresh faces to lead them into a new era. The best person to do that seemed to be Pierre Elliott Trudeau.

When Prime Minister Lester Pearson

resigned, Trudeau was chosen as the new Liberal leader. He seemed ideal. At 48, Trudeau was single and much younger than most politicians. He was also handsome, witty, intelligent, and fully bilingual. He enjoyed sports and parties. People found him exciting to listen to. He projected the image of being a

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determined, forceful leader. Trudeau brought new ideas to politics. He had a strong sense of justice and a deep love for Canada. He immediately called an election.

People were impressed by Trudeau's clear vision of a just society. In this society, Trudeau said, the rights of all Canadians would be respected and everyone could enjoy the good things of life. Trudeau did not speak lightly. In 1949, he had supported the unions in the bitter Asbestos Strike in Quebec. He had strongly criticized the province's values.

Canadian voters were swept up in a fever of enthusiasm. "Trudeaumania" the press called it. The Liberal Party under Trudeau won the 1968 election and formed a majority government.

The Just Society

The Trudeau government faced many challenges, though. Canada's economy was slowing down. Unemployment rates were high. There was an international oil crisis. Inflation rates were on the rise. Tensions were rising between "old" Canadians and new immigrants. Canada's Aboriginal peoples wanted improved status. Women demanded equality with men. Quebec separatists were gaining support.



Having a prime minister with a beautiful young wife and young children was a new experience for Canadians.

Many people believed that Trudeau's "Just Society" election slogan was a promise for a better world. Canadians had high expectations of the changes that Trudeau and his government would make.

Arctic Sovereignty

In the summer of 1969, an American supertanker, *Manhattan*, travelled through the Northwest Passage. The Americans were looking for a route they could use to transport Alaskan oil to the south. Canada had not given permission for the voyage.

Canada considered the mission a threat to its sovereignty in the North. The Trudeau government passed the Arctic Waters Pollution Prevention Act. The new law established a “100-mile pollution-prevention zone in

Arctic waters adjacent to the mainland and the islands of the Arctic archipelago.”

A Bilingual, Multicultural Canada

Trudeau wanted Canada to be bilingual. He wanted English- and French-speaking Canadians to have equal language rights. In 1969, the government passed Canada’s Official Languages Act. The new law stated that the federal government would serve Canadians in both the French and English languages. It

also made companies doing business in Canada label their products in both languages.

In 1971, Trudeau also passed the Multiculturalism Act. This Act stated that Canada was officially multicultural. (For more on bilingualism and multiculturalism, as well as the 1970 October Crisis, see Chapter 6.)

Under Trudeau, Canada overhauled its immigration policies. Canada welcomed new groups of immigrants and refugees. Among them were refugees from Czechoslovakia in 1968–69; from Tibet in 1970; from Uganda, especially South Asians, in 1972; from Chile 1973–74; and from Vietnam in 1978–80. The modern face of Canada was rapidly changing.



The USS Manhattan and the Canadian icebreaker, Louis St. Laurent, crunch through the snow-covered ice of Northern Baffin Bay. Should Canada actively promote its claim to the Arctic? Explain.

Important symbolic changes were also made during Trudeau's first term in office. These include

- Muriel McQueen Fergusson becoming the first woman Speaker of the Senate
- Bora Laskin becoming the first Jewish Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of Canada
- Pauline McGibbon becoming Ontario's first woman lieutenant governor (the Crown's representative in the province just as the governor general is the Crown's representative at the federal level)
- Len Marchand becoming the first Aboriginal Cabinet minister
- Jeanne Sauvé becoming the first woman Speaker of the House of Commons (and later, the first woman governor general of Canada)

Some Aboriginal groups and feminists (members of a movement concerned with



Pierre Trudeau and Bora Laskin



Pauline McGibbon with her husband



Jeanne Sauvé

equal rights for women) described these appointments as tokenism. The appointments, though, opened the door to future opportunities for minority groups and women in Canada.

FOCUS

1. Why were Canadians so attracted to Trudeau in the late 1960s?
2. What did Trudeau mean by a "Just Society"?
3. Name two changes that Trudeau made as prime minister.

Canada in the 1970s: The Economy

The Canadian and world economies began to slow down in the early 1970s. Unemployment rose and the cost of living increased. Businesses, homeowners, and farmers borrowed money at interest rates up to 20 percent to pay for mortgages and new equipment.

The problem got worse as consumers and businesses paid more for gasoline and heating oil. In 1973, oil was a mere \$8 a barrel. That changed when Middle Eastern producers formed the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC). OPEC controlled world oil prices. By 1980, the price of oil was over \$30 a barrel and rising. The high cost of oil and gas increased inflation.

No one knew how high prices would go. Business leaders did not want to invest in new ventures. Economic expansion was too risky. Companies cut back production. Many businesses went bankrupt. Workers were laid off. Consumer confidence in the economy fell.

In 1975, the Trudeau government passed a law to control wages and prices. It wanted to break the **wage-price spiral**. The new law limited increases in salaries and hourly wages. It also limited the price increases that

stores could charge for goods. Labour unions and business people criticized the government's interference; however, no one had a better idea. By 1979, Canada, like the rest of the world, was in an **economic recession**.

Meanwhile, Alberta, as an oil-producing province, wanted to benefit from higher world oil prices. The federal government said no. It introduced the National Energy Program (NEP). The policy reduced profits for Alberta oil producers and the **royalties** collected by the Alberta government. Westerners were furious. They accused Trudeau of protecting central Canada at the expense of the West.

As part of the NEP, the government purchased several smaller oil companies and created Petro-Canada. It wanted to strengthen Canadian ownership of resources. Petro-Canada took part in oil exploration and retail sales.

The Deficit Rises

During the 1960s, Ottawa usually spent less money than it collected in taxes. The country had a **surplus** budget. By the 1970s, though, the government was spending more money than it raised through taxes. It was creating a **deficit**. Money was needed to pay for unemployment insurance, job creation projects,



The NEP meant that Alberta could not charge higher oil prices, like the OPEC countries. Should the province have been allowed to benefit from them?

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and other social programs. Soon, the government had to borrow money in order to pay for programs—the country was being run on deficit budgets. In the 1970s, the deficit was above \$12 billion; in the 1980s, it reached \$38 billion. Each annual deficit meant an increase in the national debt. Canada paid much money in interest on the national debt. Trudeau's opponents said that the country could not survive if the national debt kept increasing at such a rate.

The Ties That Bind

Canadians were divided on the issue of American investment in Canadian companies. Some favoured it because it increased jobs. Others feared that it would endanger Canadian independence. Trudeau understood the benefits

and dangers of Canada's close ties to the United States. His government created the Foreign Investment Review Agency (FIRA). In 1974, the agency began to screen takeover bids aimed at Canadian industrial or resource

companies. Some Canadians supported FIRA's efforts; others did not.

Election 1979

By 1979, Canadians were ready for a change. Economic problems hurt the Liberals. As a result, the Progressive Conservatives won the election, and Joe Clark, from High River, Alberta, became prime minister. Clark headed a minority government. Eight months later, though, he was forced to call an election when his budget was defeated. In 1980, Trudeau and the Liberals returned to power.



Joe Clark represented change.

FOCUS

1. What economic problems did Canada face in the 1970s?
2. Why did Trudeau create FIRA and the NEP?
3. Why did Trudeau lose the election of 1979? Who won it?

A New Constitution for Canada

Trudeau was a strong federalist. He believed that only a strong federal government could solve the problems facing Canada.

Many provincial leaders disagreed. They wanted more powers for the provinces. Premiers Brian Peckford of Newfoundland, Peter



Since 1976, the people of Quebec had elected René Lévesque, a strong and popular leader, as premier. Lévesque's party, the Parti Québécois, supported separation from Canada.

Lougheed of Alberta, and William Bennett of British Columbia joined Quebec in demanding more provincial powers. They wanted provincial control over the price of local oil and gas.

Trudeau disagreed. He believed someone had to stand up for the powers of the central government. These opposing views of Canada created friction between the provinces and the federal government. (The issue of Quebec and separatism is discussed at length in

Chapter 6; it played a major role in Trudeau's public life.)

Reforming the Constitution

Trudeau intended to renew and reform Canada's constitution. He wanted to better meet the needs of Canadians in the 1980s and to address the active concerns of Quebecers. Many Quebecers supported the goals of Premier René Lévesque and his Parti Québécois. Trudeau wanted to bring them more comfortably into the federal fold. He did not want to see Quebec stray out of Confederation and separate from Canada.

When it came to constitutional reform, Trudeau had three main goals:

1. To patriate the Constitution: Canada would bring the British North America Act home from Britain and revise it to better reflect Canadian realities. Canadians could thereby make their own changes without British approval.

2. To develop an amending formula: The premiers and the federal government would agree on a formula to change, or amend, the Constitution.

3. To create a Charter of Rights and Freedoms: A Charter would become a major part of the Constitution. It would list specific rights and freedoms that must be protected in Canada. All existing and all future laws would have to be consistent with this Charter.

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Trudeau and his government faced a huge task. Although most people supported changes to Canada's Constitution, getting all provincial leaders to agree on them was another matter. Many meetings were held in 1980 and 1981. Finally, after much compromise and discussion, agreement was reached on 5 November 1981.

Quebec Stands Alone

Agreement was not total, though. Although the federal government and nine provincial premiers were satisfied, René Lévesque of Quebec was not. Still, there was enough agreement to move forward. The new Constitution Act was signed by Queen Elizabeth II and came into effect in 1982. It included the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms.

Trudeau's dream of a new constitution had been achieved, but at a price. He had satisfied the wishes of nine premiers, but not succeeded in meeting the needs of Quebec.



Trudeau and Queen Elizabeth II signed the Constitution Act 17 April 1982.

Premier Lévesque and other officials rejected the new constitution. They felt angry that it had been imposed on them despite their opposition. Some Quebecers felt betrayed. Other Canadians felt that it was impossible to satisfy the province. Still, most Canadians were pleased to have full control of their constitution.

FOCUS

1. What were Trudeau's goals for Canada's constitution?
2. Who rejected the new constitution? Why?

Trudeau and International Affairs

Trudeau's ideas and efforts in foreign affairs gained him worldwide respect. Many people felt that the Canadian prime minister was more popular and respected in other countries than at home. His speeches and statements on international affairs were always well received and widely reported.



Trudeau was a respected world leader.

Trudeau's goal in international affairs was for Canada to reach out to the world. Doing

this was one way to reduce heavy American influence over Canada. In addition, Trudeau's diplomatic trips resulted in new trade opportunities and more jobs for Canadians. Trudeau worked to develop new ties with Cuba and the rest of Latin America—this area had been largely ignored by Canadians.

Trudeau visited Cuba and met with Fidel Castro, Cuba's long-time dictator. His trip angered U.S. President Richard Nixon and the Americans. Cuba and the United States did not "recognize" each other nor did they have diplomatic relations.

Canada became more open to communicating with communist countries. Under Trudeau, diplomatic relations were established with communist China. Canada was one of the first Western countries to do this. Trudeau felt that communicating and trading with countries such as China could pres-

sure them into improving their people's civil and human rights.

In 1983, the Trudeau government finally allowed the United States to test the accuracy of the cruise missile (without warheads) over northern Alberta. This computer-guided bomb travels more than 2000 km at low altitudes, where it cannot be detected by radar. Aboriginal Canadians objected to the testing, arguing that it broke treaty agreements. Greenpeace and other Canadian environmentalists protested, too, and went to court to stop it. The courts ruled against them; the testing continued.

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During his last years in office, Trudeau used his influence to work for world peace. He sought to bring about nuclear disarmament, especially between the two world superpowers. His goal was to reduce the threat of nuclear war. Though his efforts were praised, he was unsuccessful. Hostility between the United States and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics persisted.



Cuban leader Fidel Castro and Pierre Trudeau share a moment.

Trudeau Retires

On 29 February 1984, Trudeau announced that he was retiring from politics and international affairs. He had dominated Canadian life, as had no other prime minister since John A. Macdonald, Canada's first national leader. Trudeau had been in office for 15 years. Only Macdonald and Mackenzie King had served longer.

Many Canadians felt the retirement was long overdue. Trudeau was unpopular in the West and among many business people across

the country. His strong-willed leadership created a mood of conflict between the provinces and the federal government.

Yet, in 1987, when Trudeau came out of retirement to speak against the Meech Lake Accord (see Chapter 6), many Canadians listened. Trudeau's opinions, as sharp and forceful as ever, still mattered. Pierre Elliott Trudeau died on 28 September 2000.

FOCUS

1. Why was Trudeau interested in having Canada reach out to the world?
2. In your opinion, was Trudeau a "great" prime minister? Explain.

The Mulroney Years

In the 1984 election, John Turner, the Liberal who had replaced Trudeau, faced off against Brian Mulroney, leader of the Progressive Conservative Party.

Mulroney hailed from Baie Comeau, Quebec. A colourful speaker, he had been a suc-

cessful lawyer and businessman before entering politics. Mulroney sensed that Canada was ready for change. He understood the mood of the country. Mulroney promised to provide Canadians with “jobs, jobs, jobs.” He also pledged to

- reduce the annual deficit and encourage the growth of private industry
- reduce the conflict between the provinces and the federal government
- strengthen the armed forces
- improve relations with the United States

Voters liked what they heard. Mulroney’s election victory was the greatest landslide in Canadian history. The Progressive Conservatives won 211 seats; the Liberals, 40 seats; the NDP, 30 seats; an Independent, 1 seat.

Soon, though, Mulroney encountered political problems. Eight of his Cabinet ministers were forced to resign within the first three years because of scandals. Many Canadians became critical of the Mulroney government, and the government was accused of widespread **patronage** appointments. Mulroney did not quit.

Economic Success

From 1984 to 1988, Canada’s economy grew at a faster rate than any other Western nation. Industries expanded.



Brian Mulroney was a tireless political campaigner.

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Hundreds of thousands of jobs were created faster than at any time in previous years. Unemployment rates dropped. Canada's annual deficit dropped from \$38 billion per year to \$28 billion a year. Nonetheless, the Progressive Conservatives remained a long way from their goal of deficit elimination.

Parliament passed laws to support business growth. It reduced taxes on corporations. FIRA, which had restricted American investment, was replaced with Investment Canada, which encouraged American investment. "Canada is open for business,"

declared Prime Minister Mulroney before an American audience. The government cancelled the NEP as Canada welcomed American investment in its oil industry.

Canada's **economic nationalists** strongly opposed these measures. They argued that Canada was selling out to the United States. Canada's sovereignty was at risk. Most Canadians saw only the increased number of jobs, new companies, and new development. The economy was booming. They were not worried about the increasing foreign investment in Canada.

A CLOSER LOOK AT THE GST

The Mulroney government introduced a dramatic change to the Canadian tax system on 1 January 1991. The Canadian federal sales tax (FST) on manufactured goods was replaced with a Goods and Services Tax (GST) of 7 percent on goods and services. It would be paid directly by Canadian consumers at time of purchase.

Most Canadians did not know about the FST, a tax built into the price of purchased goods. The advertised price already included FST of between 9 and 13.5 percent—consumers never saw the tax. The FST was applied to all manufactured goods, including those exported to other countries.

The Mulroney government believed that elimination of Canada's FST would lower the cost of Canadian exports. Canadian products would become more com-

petitive—that is, cheaper—more exports would result, and more Canadian jobs would be created.

The GST was unpopular with Canadians. Consumer groups claimed it was unfair to poorer people because it was placed on many necessities of life. Toothpaste was taxable. So were car repairs. Small and single servings of snack foods became taxable, as did funerals, legal fees, and insurance.

In the late 1990s, under an initiative of the Chrétien government, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and Newfoundland and Labrador harmonized their provincial taxes with the GST. Consumers in those provinces now pay HST (harmonized sales tax) of 15 percent. However, not all provinces were interested in harmonizing, or blending, their sales tax with Ottawa's GST.

Elijah Harper

BORN: 1949, Red Sucker Lake, Manitoba

SIGNIFICANCE: As a member of the Manitoba legislature in 1990, Harper effectively blocked the approval vote of the Meech Lake Accord in Manitoba. He blocked the Accord because he believed that Aboriginal peoples had not had enough opportunity to take part in Canada's political process.

BRIEF BIOGRAPHY: Elijah Harper, a Cree from northeastern Manitoba, was raised by his grandparents until the age of six, when he was sent by his father to a residential school. He began attending the University of Manitoba in 1971, and afterwards served as a community development worker for the Manitoba Indian

Brotherhood and a program analyst for the Department of Northern Affairs.

At age 29, he was elected chief of the Red Sucker Lake First Nation, serving from 1978 to 1981. Harper was elected to the Manitoba legislature in 1981. In 1986, he was appointed minister responsible for Native Affairs; a year later, he became minister of Northern Affairs for Manitoba.

Harper continues to work for Aboriginal rights. He has received many humanitarian awards, including the Stanley Knowles Humanitarian Award, the Aboriginal Achievement Award, the Order of Merit from St. Paul's University, and the Order of the Sash from the Manitoba Métis Federation.



For more on the Meech Lake Accord, see Chapter 6. Given Harper's background, do you think that his opposition to the Accord could have been predicted? Was it reasonable? Explain.

CANADIAN LIVES

The Search for an Accord

Under the Liberals, the federal government and the provinces had not got along very well. Mulroney had campaigned on a promise to reduce this conflict. He had also pledged to find a compromise that would allow Quebec to willingly support the Canadian constitution.

In April 1987, the prime minister invited the 10 provincial premiers to a retreat in Meech Lake, Quebec. After much debate, an agreement was reached on constitutional change. Later called the Meech Lake Accord, it proposed to take away some power from

the federal government and give more of it to the provinces. This process is called “decentralizing.” It also recognized Quebec as a distinct society. The agreement did not pass in all provincial legislatures, though, so it was not adopted.

Mulroney made another attempt to change the Canadian Constitution. The proposed Charlottetown Accord was defeated by national vote, or referendum, on 26 October 1992. Once again, the nation was in the middle of a unity crisis. Many Canadians blamed Mulroney for moving too fast on an emotional and complex issue. (See Chapter 6 for more.)

MOVING AWAY FROM GOVERNMENT SERVICES

From about 1950 on, Canadian governments created programs to provide Canadians with a social safety net. Canada’s safety net included old age pensions, universal health care, child welfare programs, and unemployment benefits. Mulroney, however, was concerned with their costs and reduced them to save money.

Mulroney also reduced government involvement in the economy. He did this by selling government-owned companies. Mulroney sold such companies as Petro-Canada, Air Canada, and CNCP Telecommunications.

These companies are examples of Crown corporations. Mulroney also promoted private retail businesses taking over more postal services. The process of transferring a business to private ownership is called “privatization.” Between 1984 and 1992, the federal government privatized 39 Crown corporations and other corporate interests. Canada’s business community—its private sector—began providing services that were once the responsibility of the federal government.

FOCUS

1. What did Mulroney promise Canadians?
2. What economic success did Canada enjoy?
3. Why was the GST introduced?
4. Explain the term *privatization*.

Foreign Policy Changes

The Mulroney government promised to improve and increase the strength of Canada's armed forces. In 1985, Canadian Forces personnel received newly designed, modern uniforms. New tanks, armoured vehicles, and guns were bought. Canada ordered 138 CF-18 fighter planes. St. John Shipbuilding began building HMCS *Halifax*, the first of several Halifax Class Canadian patrol frigates, which would cost \$3.9 billion. Under Trudeau, the Canadian Forces had weakened.

Arctic Waters

In 1986, the United States sent the icebreaker *Polar Sea* through the Arctic northern passage. Permission had not been asked of the Canadian government. The United States claimed that the passage was an international waterway. Russian submarines were known to use Arctic waters, too, to escape NATO detection.

Canada considered the Arctic islands and waterway Canadian territory, but had done



Canada has long borders and coastlines that are difficult to defend. From smoky industrial ports to icy Arctic waters, Halifax Class patrol frigates help assert Canadian sovereignty and protect Canadian interests.

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little to establish control of the area. The Progressive Conservatives said they were going to buy nuclear-powered submarines to patrol Canadian shores and the Arctic. The idea was well liked, but the \$8 billion cost was not.

Still, Canadians agreed that something had to be done. Canada needed to assert Canadian rights to the northern coastal waters. When U.S. President Ronald Reagan visited Canada in 1988, he told Prime Minister Mulroney that his nation would notify Canada whenever an American submarine planned to use the Northwest Passage. Canada began air patrols and military exercises as far north as Ellesmere Island.

The United Nations
In 1984, Prime Minister Mulroney appointed Stephen Lewis Canadian ambassador to the United



Canadian Forces on manoeuvres in the Arctic.



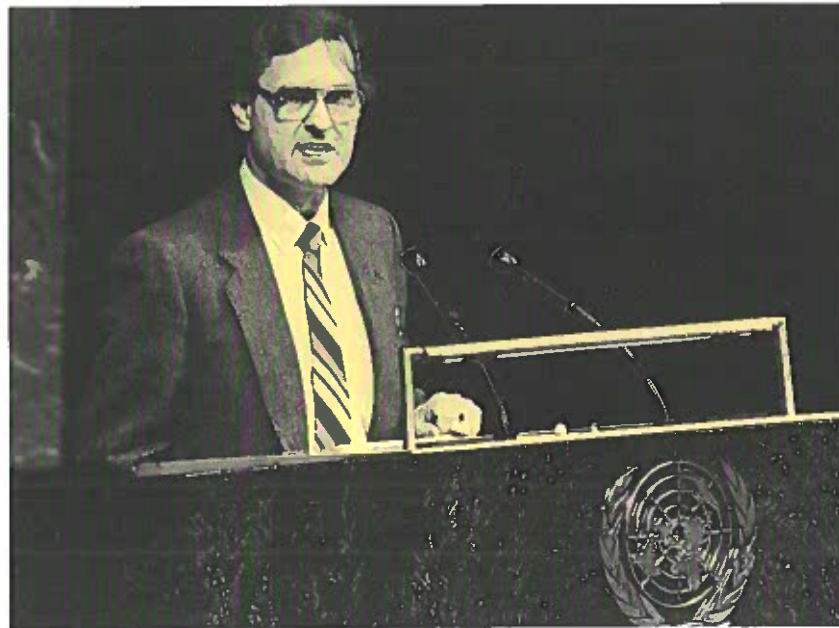
In 2005, Canadian Forces asserted Canadian sovereignty on Hans Island, Nunavut, during a sovereignty patrol of the Arctic.

Nations. This move surprised many people because Lewis was a former leader of the Ontario NDP. Lewis turned out to be an excellent choice.

Lewis spoke out on issues relating to the needs of developing countries. He spoke with passion and strength. By 1989, Canada was again recognized as a leading middle power at the UN. Serving a fifth term on the United Nations Security Council confirmed this.

Later, in 1991, Canada was part of the UN's 32-nation contingent in Operation

Desert Storm. Iraq had attacked its neighbour, Kuwait. After Iraq refused to retreat, the United Nations' forces launched the operation to free Kuwait. The forces were led by the United States. Desert Storm was the first time that the United Nations made a declaration of war. It did so to protect one of its member nations.



Stephen Lewis was an eloquent spokesperson for Canada at the UN. He later became a strong advocate for African sufferers of HIV (human immunodeficiency virus). (See Chapter 8 for more.)

Apartheid and the Commonwealth

Most of the Commonwealth's 54 members are former British colonies, and Canada is an important member. The Commonwealth is dedicated to promoting world peace, social tolerance, racial equality, and economic growth. (See Chapter 8 for more.)

During the 1980s, the Commonwealth faced serious problems. Developing countries within it had a great need for economic aid. Beyond that, South Africa's racist policies concerned the Commonwealth. Although South Africa was no longer part of the organization, it still practised apartheid. Britain had failed to oppose a system that went against Commonwealth goals and ideals.

Prime Minister Mulroney spoke out strongly against apartheid. He urged all Commonwealth countries to put pressure on South Africa. Refusing to trade with the country was one effective way to do it. Not all Commonwealth countries agreed to stop trading with South Africa, though. Britain under Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher continued

A CLOSER LOOK AT APARTHEID

South Africa's apartheid policies became official in 1948. Apartheid rules kept Blacks apart from whites. They also denied Blacks basic rights of citizenship. Blacks did not have the right to vote, to own property, or to travel with freedom. Commonwealth members objected to this so much that South Africa

was forced to withdraw from the Commonwealth in 1961. In 1991, apartheid was officially abandoned. The pressure many countries had put on South Africa came to good effect. In 1993, the first multiracial government was elected in South Africa, and in 1994, the country rejoined the Commonwealth.

to trade with the country. Canada's strong stand against apartheid created some friction there. Overall, Mulroney's leadership and attacks on South Africa's apartheid policies made him one of the most respected Commonwealth leaders of the late 1980s.

Canada's strong anti-apartheid stand would not be forgotten. Nelson Mandela spent 30 years in prison under the apartheid regime. After he became South Africa's first Black president, Mandela visited Canada in 1998. He paid tribute to Canada and Canadians for opposing apartheid. He noted that South Africa would not have given up apartheid and turned to democracy without the support and encouragement of countries such as Canada.

"I have fought against white domination, and have fought against black domination. I have cherished the ideal of a democratic



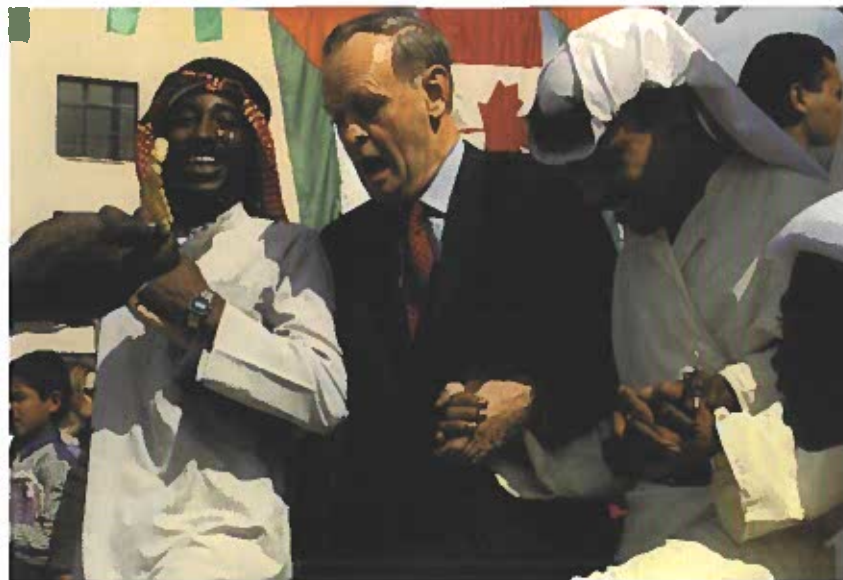
South African President Nelson Mandela thanked Canadians for their support of a free South Africa. Jean Chrétien, prime minister by 1998, stands at Mandela's left.

and free society in which all persons live together in harmony and with equal opportunities. It is an ideal, which I hope to live for and to achieve. But if needs be, it is an ideal for which I am prepared to die."

FOCUS

1. Explain how Mulroney changed Canada's foreign policy regarding (a) Arctic defence, (b) the armed forces, and (c) the Commonwealth.
2. What is apartheid? Why did Canada oppose apartheid in South Africa?

The Chrétien Years



For many years, Jean Chrétien was one of Canada's most popular political figures. In 2005, though, the Gomery Commission Report accused him of carelessness with government money in the "sponsorship scandal."

Jean Chrétien became Canada's 20th prime minister in 1993. He defeated Kim Campbell, the new Progressive Conservative leader. She had briefly succeeded Brian Mulroney.

Chrétien was an experienced politician. He had served under Pearson and Trudeau. His reputation for honesty and toughness made him popular with voters. From a family of modest means, he became a wealthy lawyer and a respected Cabinet minister. Chrétien projected a popular, down-to-earth image as the "little guy from Shawinigan."

The new prime minister faced two major problems. He had to deal with a budget deficit of \$46 billion, which was rising annu-

ally, and a strong Quebec separatist movement (discussed more fully in Chapter 6). Chrétien himself came from Quebec.

Chrétien appointed Paul Martin as minister of finance and directed him to reduce government spending. Martin froze public service wages, cut defence and foreign aid spending, and reduced the number of government employees. By 1998, Martin announced a budget surplus. It was the first Canadian surplus in 25 years.

Expanding World Trade

The Chrétien government worked to improve Canada's economic ties throughout the world. It built upon the Free Trade Agreement that Mulroney's government had negotiated with the United States. (See Chapter 7.) NAFTA (North American Free Trade Agreement) came into effect in 1994. It brought Canada, the United States, and Mexico into a much closer trading relationship. Canada extended economic ties west to other Pacific Rim Countries through APEC (Asian-Pacific Economic Cooperation), too. As for the north, Canada became a founding member of the Arctic Council, an alliance of eight nations with lands in the Arctic.

As of 1994, Chrétien and the premiers formed "Team Canada." Their mission took them to many parts of the world. "Team

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Canada” travelled to China, South America, Cuba, and Asia. It focused mainly on increasing trade and investment. Chrétien also urged other world leaders to support human rights for their citizens.

More Privatization

In the desire to make government run more efficiently, Chrétien and leaders such as Alberta’s Ralph Klein and Ontario’s Mike Harris privatized more government-owned corporations. For example, Alberta sold its retail liquor outlets and telephone company. Under Premier Harris, Ontario’s Highway 407 became the country’s first privately owned highway.

Social Union Agreement

Several times in the late 1990s, Canada’s premiers met with federal officials to discuss social services. They wanted to determine how best to deliver such services as child care, health care, pensions, and education. In 1999, they signed the Social Union Agreement. Its purpose was to eliminate duplication of services between the federal



Jean Chrétien stands with APEC leaders at a conference held in British Columbia.

and provincial governments. The premiers also hoped that the agreement would increase co-operation and discussion between the federal and provincial governments. All provinces, except Quebec, agreed to the principles outlined in the agreement.

FOCUS

1. What two major problems did Chrétien’s Liberals face when they first came to power?
2. What was Chrétien’s “Team Canada”?

The Martin Minority



Once Paul Martin became prime minister, he had to contend with Auditor General Sheila Fraser's news that there had been uncontrolled spending during his time as finance minister.

Paul Martin's interest in Canadian politics began early. His father, Paul Martin Sr., served many years in the House of Commons. Martin was elected to the House of Commons as a Liberal in 1988; however, Mulroney's Progressive Conservatives formed a majority government.

This election marked John Turner's second loss to Mulroney, so he decided to step down as Liberal leader. Martin campaigned for the leadership of the Liberal Party in 1990, but lost to Jean Chrétien. In 1993, Chrétien guided the Liberals to the first of three majority governments: 1993, 1997, and 2000.

Martin as Minister of Finance

Martin served as minister of finance under Chrétien from 1993 to 2002. During this time, Canada faced huge yearly deficits. Making tough budget cuts, Martin reduced the national deficit and government spending, balanced the annual budget, and paid down Canada's debt. Some Canadians, though, felt that these goals had been achieved through deep cuts to spending in such areas as health care.

Martin's supporters openly organized for the day when he would become the new leader of the Liberal Party. In 2002, when Martin and Chrétien could not resolve a disagreement on spending, Martin left the Cabinet.

When Chrétien retired, Martin was elected Liberal Party leader. In December 2003, Governor General Adrienne Clarkson swore in Paul Martin as prime minister.

Martin as Prime Minister

Sheila Fraser, Canada's auditor general, had previously reported disturbing news. She stated that there had been uncontrolled spending in the Public Works Department during Chrétien's term as prime minister. Fraser said that the government paid over \$100 million to companies in Quebec for doing little or no work.

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Martin appointed Justice Charles Gomery to investigate what became known as the “sponsorship scandal.” A preliminary report in late 2005 cleared Martin, but not Chrétien. The Opposition blamed Martin because he had been minister of finance and, in their opinion, he should have known where the money was going.

Martin called an election for 24 June 2004, which the Liberal Party barely won. It had 135 seats (mostly from Ontario) while the Conservatives under Stephen Harper had 99. The Bloc Québécois won 54 Quebec seats, and the NDP and an independent took 20. The Liberals formed a minority government.

Martin needed the support of 20 Opposition members to govern. His government managed to pass the budget with support from the NDP. In return, NDP leader Jack Layton negotiated a change in spending. While in office, Martin established friendlier relations with U.S. President George W. Bush. However, the two countries disagreed on the issues of softwood lumber and the Canadian cattle trade.



The Martin government survived several more months after Conservative Belinda Stronach turned Liberal and the 2005 budget passed.

Under Martin, the Civil Marriage Act came into law in July 2005. Canada became one of only a few countries to legalize same-sex marriage. This Act represented a milestone for the Liberals and for Canada.

In November 2005, a straight **motion of non-confidence** defeated Martin’s government. In the January 2006 election that followed, the Liberals lost to Stephen Harper and the Conservatives.

FOCUS

1. What were Martin’s achievements as minister of finance?
2. What changes did Martin make as prime minister?

Conservative Politics: 1993–2006

After two consecutive terms in power, Brian Mulroney resigned in 1993. Kim Campbell, a member of his Cabinet, became Canada's first female prime minister and first female leader of the Progressive Conservative Party.

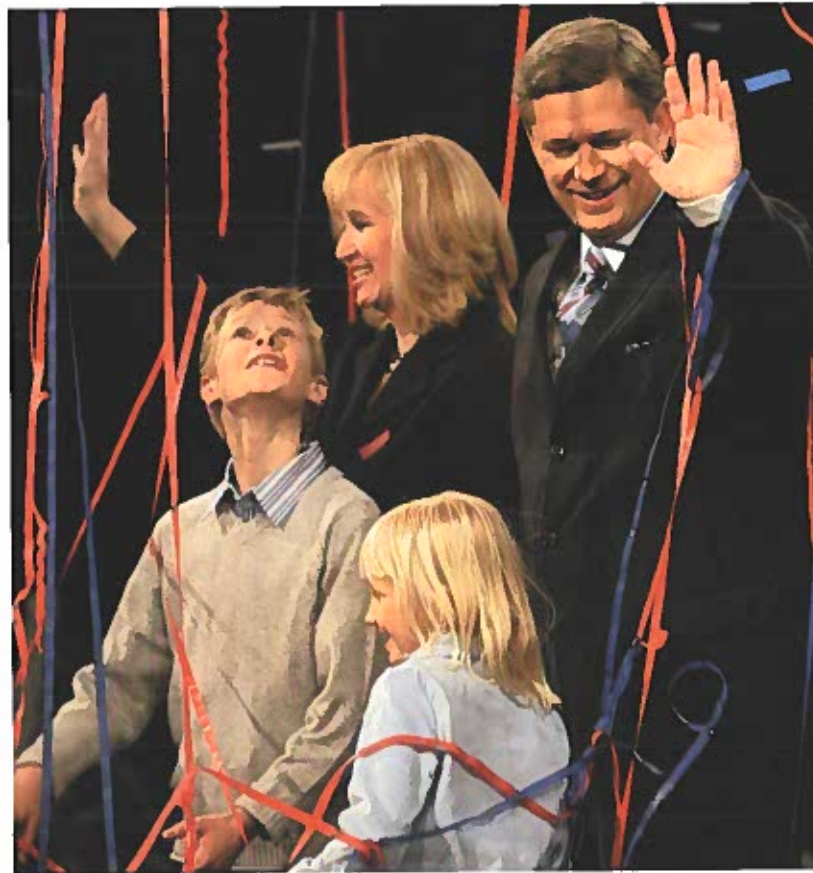
Campbell called a quick election and on October 1993 her party suffered a crushing defeat. The PC party managed to win only two seats in all of Canada. In contrast, the

new Reform Party, under the leadership of Albertan Preston Manning, won 52 seats. With only two seats, the Progressive Conservative Party had become almost invisible in Parliament.

The Bloc Québécois and Reform Party dominated Opposition benches. Jean Charest was elected leader of the PC party and increased its representation to 20 seats in the 1997 election. The western-based Reform Party, still led by Manning, became the Official Opposition with 60 seats.

The fortunes of the Progressive Conservatives and the Reform Party seemed to be connected. Both parties were fighting for the support of the same conservative-minded voters. Both parties struggled to establish a party platform that would attract Canadians from coast to coast. Both experienced frequent leadership changes. Both depended on regional support and lacked stability. Neither could win a majority.

After Charest left for Quebec provincial politics in 1998, Joe Clark, a former prime minister, returned to public life as leader of the Progressive Conservatives. In March 2000, the Reform Party of Canada disbanded and reinvented itself as the Canadian Reform Conservative Alliance Party. It hoped to broaden its Western Canada focus and attract new conservative voters from Ontario to Atlantic Canada. It was known as the



Stephen Harper and his family on election night, 23 January 2006.

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Alliance Party under the brief leadership of Stockwell Day.

By 2003, both parties had new leaders. Nova Scotian Peter MacKay led the Progressive Conservatives and Stephen Harper led the Canadian Alliance. Both Harper and MacKay understood that the two parties could not win elections by competing for the same voters. There was talk of a merger.

In 2003, Harper, MacKay, and their party members agreed to merge the two parties. After yet another leadership convention, Stephen Harper was elected the leader of the new party in March 2004. This party was called the Conservative Party.

In the federal election of 2004, Harper's Conservatives almost toppled the Liberal Party, now led by Paul Martin. The Liberals clung to power with a minority.

In late 2005, the Liberals were defeated in the

House of Commons, and an election was called for 23 January 2006. Harper promised an open and accountable government and criticized the Liberals for the "sponsorship scandal." Conservative policies now included

- a promise to give Canadian parents \$100 a month for daycare for children under 6 and tax credits for community child care
- a tougher and more efficient criminal justice system
- a free vote on the definition of same-sex marriage
- more money invested in hiring regular soldiers and reserves
- a promise to cut the \$975 immigration fee in half

Results of 2006 Election

Conservatives	124 seats
Liberals	103 seats
Bloc	51 seats
NDP	29 seats
Independent	1 seat

The Liberals seemed tired and confused. When the ballots were cast, Harper had won a minority and Paul Martin announced he would retire from politics.

FOCUS

1. Why did the Progressive Conservative Party and Reform Party find it difficult to win elections in the 1990s?
2. What policies helped Harper win the election of 2006?

New People for a New Society

Who should be allowed to come to Canada? Until the Second World War, the federal government made it difficult for Asians, Jews, and eastern Europeans to immigrate to Canada. It did not believe they would “fit in” with Canadian society. In 1914, 376 Sikhs

into the country after the Second World War as a humanitarian gesture. Canada’s basic immigration policy remained the same, though. White people from the Commonwealth, the United States, and France were preferred. Other Europeans came next. Non-whites were not welcomed.



As lieutenant governor of Ontario, James Bartleman, centre, sits next to 100 000 books to be sent to Native communities in Northern Ontario. Bartleman is the first member of a First Nation in this role. Before that, he had a distinguished career in the Canadian foreign service.

from India were turned away from Vancouver. They had waited onboard the *Komagata Maru* for two months before being rejected. A few refugees from Europe were accepted

New Policies

By the 1970s, many Canadians felt the immigration policy needed to be changed. They believed that Canada should choose immigrants

based on the need for workers with specific skills. It should not matter what country people were from. In 1976, the Canadian government announced a new immigration policy. Immigrants would be judged by a point system. Points were



Kim Phuc, shown in happier times, immigrated to Canada from Vietnam. A 1972 photograph of 12-year-old Kim and her family fleeing the horrors of napalm attack during the Vietnam War still haunts the world conscience.

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awarded for education, job skills, and knowledge of English or French.

Many Asians, Africans, and Caribbean people now came to find a new life in Canada. By the end of the 1980s, over 60 000 boat people, primarily refugees from South Vietnam, had come to Canada. During the 1990s, Canada accepted displaced Romas, thousands of Kosovars, Somalians, Rwandans, and Chinese refugees.



Lincoln Alexander was Ontario's lieutenant governor from 1986 to 1991. He was the first Black Canadian to hold this post. Born in Canada, he became a symbol of Canadian diversity.

THE HUTTERITES: A PEOPLE APART

One community within Canada that has little interest in "fitting in" is the Hutterites. Many Hutterites arrived in Canada from the United States in 1918. Their refusal to fight in the First World War brought them persecution for their religious beliefs. Hutterites oppose war and reject military service. Earlier, many had fled Eastern Europe due to religious persecution there. In Canada, Hutterite immigrants found freedom to live according to early Christian teachings.

Today, they live much as they did before.

They follow strictly a communal form of life, where members live in colonies of about 125 and share property together. Many operate well-managed farms. They speak in a German dialect, dress modestly, and live simply. Committed to growing in love for others, they respond to the larger world by supporting various aid and relief projects. Since the Second World War, they have been granted conscientious objector status in Canada. That means their refusal to give military service due to their beliefs is recognized and respected here.

Like other nations, Canada sometimes updates its immigration policies. In 2005, the government announced that immigration numbers would be increased from 245 000 to 345 000 per year. Canada decided to accept more people for several reasons:

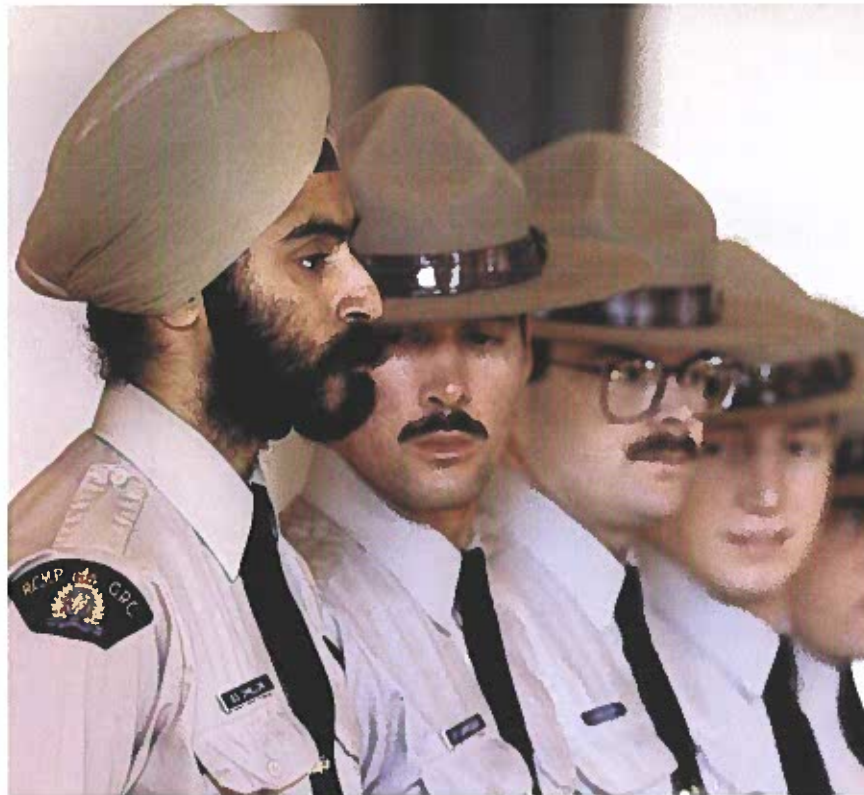
- The national birth rate had declined since the 1960s.
- The population was getting older.
- There was a shortage of skilled workers.

Individuals wishing to live in Canada can apply under three different categories. The government provides a Web site so that potential immigrants can learn about the process.

New Faces

By 2000, the immigration policy had changed the face of Canada. The change was obvious because many of the new immigrants looked different. Different in colour, dress, and customs, they made up **visible minorities**. Children born in Canada found their new classmates were from Uganda, India, South America, or Trinidad.

A line-up in the supermarket might include people from all over the world. Many Canadians found this interesting and exciting. Others found it frightening. People often fear what they do not understand. Sometimes, fear can turn to prejudice and hate.



Canadian institutions such as the Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP) have made adjustments for the traditions and values of a broad range of Canadians.

Integration

Today, it is generally believed that Canada is a richer society due to the presence of immigrants from all over the world. New Canadians are free to keep much of their original culture, such as customs, beliefs, and traditions, while adapting to Canadian ways.

New Canadians gradually integrate into a Canadian identity. Some have jobs in the RCMP, local police, and firefighting forces. Some work in law, medicine, and other professions. Radio and TV stations have reporters of different racial and ethnic backgrounds.

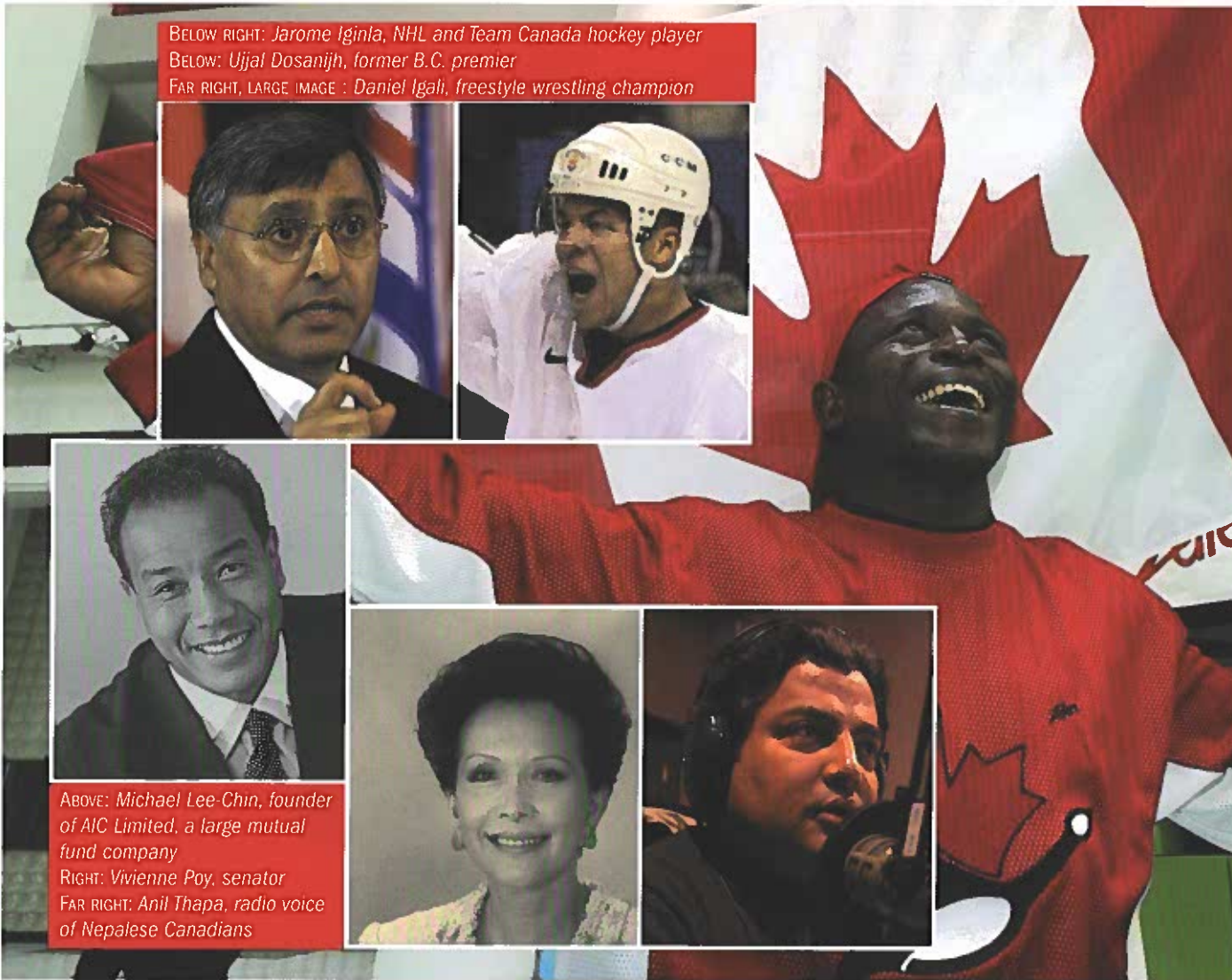
Canadians celebrate their multicultural heritage. Toronto's CHIN International picnic and Caribana festival are two of the many multicultural or multiracial celebrations held each year in Ontario. The face of Canada has indeed changed.

MULTICULTURAL CANADA

BELOW RIGHT: Jarome Iginla, NHL and Team Canada hockey player

BELOW: Ujjal Dosanjh, former B.C. premier

FAR RIGHT, LARGE IMAGE: Daniel Igali, freestyle wrestling champion



ABOVE: Michael Lee-Chin, founder of AIC Limited, a large mutual fund company

RIGHT: Vivienne Poy, senator

FAR RIGHT: Anil Thapa, radio voice of Nepalese Canadians

FOCUS

1. Which groups of people found it difficult to immigrate to Canada before the 1970s? Why?
2. How did Canada's immigration policy change during the 1970s?
3. What does the term *visible minority* mean?
4. How does immigration benefit Canada?

Prejudice and Racism



These Toronto students wrote prize-winning essays on how to deal with racial bullying. Their common message was that students should get involved when they see others being bullied or harassed—they should not rely on teachers or other adults to help. The essay competition, in which 4000 students took part, was part of celebrations for the 2006 International Day for the Elimination of Racial Discrimination, which is celebrated annually in Canada.

Individuals sometimes prejudge other people before they get to know them. They show prejudice, and sometimes prejudices result

in acts of **discrimination**. Over the years, many Canadian immigrants have suffered from prejudice. They could not get good jobs.

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Some employers demanded “Canadian experience.” Some immigrants had trouble finding a place to live. Immigrants found themselves the target of racial attacks.

In racial acts, people mistreat other people because of race or culture. Racism is a form of stereotyping. Racists believe that people of one race are smarter and superior to people of another race or culture. They seek power over others. Canada has not been immune to racism. Its treatment of African Canadians is one of many examples.

Overcoming Racism

Deep-seated racism against Blacks persisted after the Second World War. Many of these people were native-born, descendants of Blacks who had sought freedom in Canada in the last century. African Canadians, like their American counterparts, fought discrimination. In 1946, the Nova Scotia Association for the Advancement of Coloured People raised money to help Viola Desmond fight segregation in movie theatres. Desmond was a Halifax beautician. She was arrested in a New Glasgow theatre for sitting downstairs. Blacks were supposed to sit on the balcony. The case was

thrown out on a technicality. The incident brought a lot of negative publicity. Slowly, discriminatory laws like that one were abandoned.

Discrimination on the basis of race was common elsewhere, too. For example, in Dresden, Ontario, Blacks made up 17 percent of the town’s population in 1950. Restaurants, poolrooms, barber and beauty shops, however, refused to serve non-whites.

The plight of Blacks in Nova Scotia received international attention when the city of Halifax decided to demolish Africville. Halifax’s Black population had lived in the



tightly knit community since the mid-19th century. The community had been greatly neglected by city authorities, though. The city did not provide water, sewage facilities, or garbage collection. It had built the municipal dump nearby. In 1961, the city council focused on Africville. It decided to remove the 400 citizens because it wanted their land for an industrial development. Residents protested the action. Eventually, many were compensated for their property and offered other housing; however, a loss of community resulted from the relocation.

For audiovisual information about Africville, visit the CBC Digital Archives at www.cbc.ca/archives and open the file “Africville: Expropriating Nova Scotia’s Blacks.”

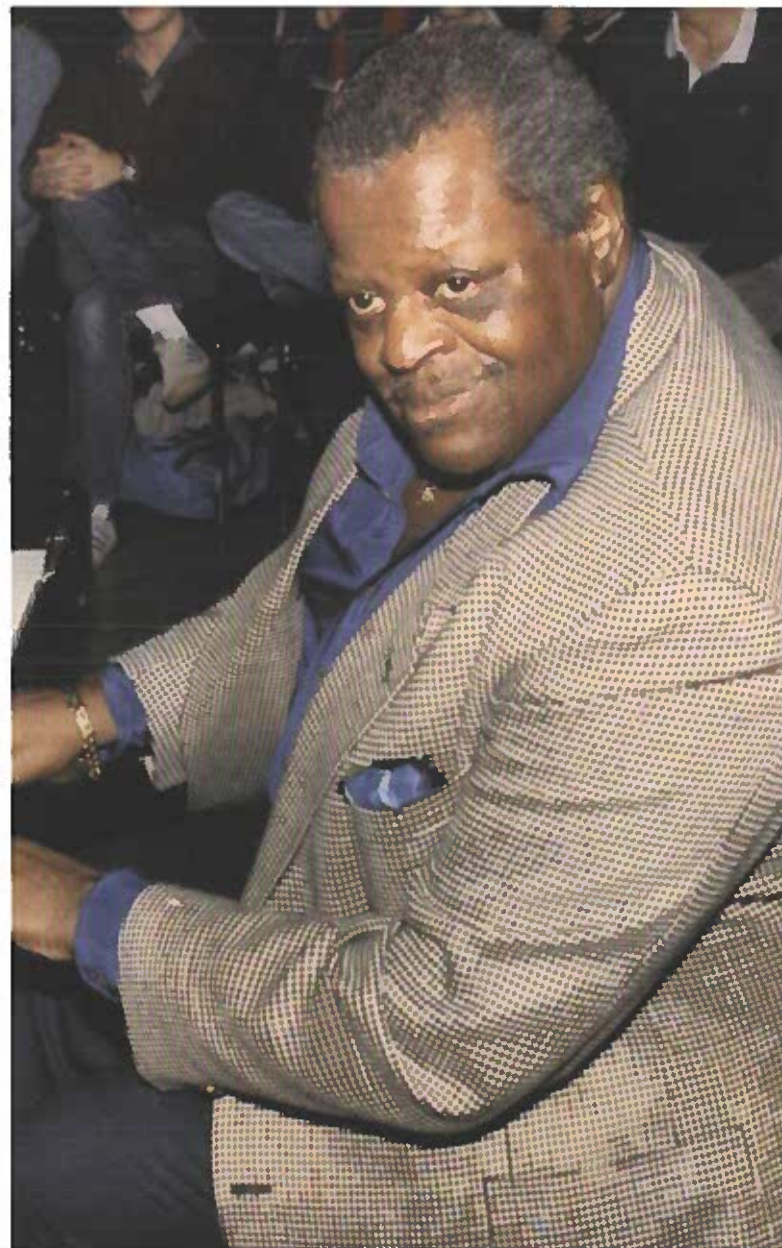
Oscar Peterson

BORN: 1925, Montreal, Quebec

SIGNIFICANCE: Some people consider Peterson to be the greatest jazz musician in the world. He has recorded more than 100 albums.

BRIEF BIOGRAPHY: When he was 14, Peterson won a national CBC piano contest. He soon had his own weekly radio show. He played at local clubs in and around Montreal. He debuted at Carnegie Hall in 1949, where, at the age of 24, he outshone more prominent performers. Peterson has had a long and successful career as a jazz pianist. He has played with Ella Fitzgerald, Dizzy Gillespie, and Lester Young. He has won Grammy Awards, a Juno, and the Glenn Gould Prize.

Unlike many Canadian musicians, Peterson has remained in Canada rather than pursue his career in the United States. He moved to Toronto in 1958. Here, he briefly operated a world-famous jazz school during the 1960s. In 1986, he began teaching music part-time at York University in Toronto. In 1991, he became chancellor of the university. Peterson's many honours include becoming a Companion of the Order of Canada. For more information, visit the CBC Digital Archives at www.cbc.ca/archives and open the file "Oscar Peterson: A Jazz Giant."



CANADIAN LIVES

By the 1960s, African Canadians, like Americans in the Black Power movement, began to assert their rights. Black leaders refused to accept second-class citizenship. Many of these leaders were recent immigrants from the West Indies and Africa.

Over time, West Indian immigration to Canada had increased. From 1955 to 1961, only about 4000 Caribbean immigrants were allowed to enter the country; between 1971 and 1981, though, 140 000 West Indians came to Canada. Two-thirds settled in southern Ontario, where they could maintain their cultures, newspapers, Caribana festival, and anti-racist organizations. Trudeau's Liberal government welcomed visible minorities.

Canada now acts against racism. The federal government promotes the hiring and education of visible minority members. Initiatives such as the 2006 creation of www.blackhistorycanada.ca also help. As Black activist Rosemary Sadler said, "African

HATE CRIMES

Hate crimes are acts of violence directed against people because of racial, religious, ethnic, or other differences. According to one Canadian poll, about 60 000 hate crimes are committed in Canada's major urban centres every year. Hate crimes need not be violent to be defined as criminal offences. Slurs, threats, and vandalism can all be hate crimes.

Two Canadians have received much media attention for their hate

crimes. James Keegstra, an Alberta teacher, was fired for giving anti-Semitic lectures. Ernst Zundel was prosecuted for expressing racist ideas. Both were charged under Canada's criminal code. Canada's criminal code states that anyone "who, by communicating statements, other than in private communication, wilfully promotes hatred against an identifiable group is guilty of an indictable offence and is liable to imprisonment."

Canadian students need to feel affirmed, be aware of the contributions made by other blacks in Canada, have role models ..."

Since 1989, Canada has celebrated the International Day for the Elimination of Racial Discrimination by promoting respect, equality and diversity. Still, discrimination and even hate crimes occur. Even the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms cannot end this. People have to learn to respect one another, and that takes time.

FOCUS

1. Define (a) prejudice, (b) discrimination, and (c) racism.
2. How did Halifax authorities discriminate against residents of Africville?
3. What are hate crimes?

Canada's Aboriginal Peoples

Aboriginal Canadians were the first Canadians. Before Europeans came to Canada, they lived a life in harmony with nature. Most Aboriginal Canadians did not have a system of private property. The bounty of nature was shared by everyone.

Over time, contact with Europeans destroyed the Aboriginal way of life. Traders brought guns, whisky, and disease. Aboriginal peoples began to depend on Europeans for a living. Beaver, mink, and other animals were hunted for their fur.

European Settlements and Treaties

As Europeans established settlements, they took Aboriginal lands. Sometimes, a treaty was made between the Aboriginal peoples and the government. Aboriginal peoples lost land that they

regarded as their heritage. They were usually allowed small areas of land, called "reserves," a few tools, and an annual pension. Today, First Nations leaders argue that their ancestors did not understand that they were giving

up their land by signing treaties with the government.

The government offered Aboriginal peoples little help. It expected them to become productive farmers, even though the land

they got was usually unsuitable for farming. Most Aboriginal peoples lost the customs and values they cherished. If they left the reserves to seek work, they faced discrimination. They often lived in poverty. They were trapped in a lifestyle that robbed them of their self-respect.

First Nations Lobby Groups

Canadian Aboriginal groups struggled against poverty, poor health care, poor housing, and lack of education opportunities. Lobbying for government help would be useful, but at times, federal governments passed laws that stopped them from

forming lobby groups.

During the late 1940s, several representatives from Canada's Aboriginal peoples came together. They formed the North American Indian Brotherhood (NAIB). Not all First



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Nations supported its efforts, and the government prevented its growth. In 1969, the National Indian Brotherhood (NIB) was created. Many Aboriginal organizations supported this new lobby group. It successfully fought the Liberal government's 1969 White Paper on how to assimilate Aboriginal peoples into white society.

In 1982, the NIB became the Assembly of First Nations (AFN). It consisted of chiefs and elders who represented most Aboriginal groups in Canada. They wanted self-determination, or self-government, for First Nations peoples. Dedicated Aboriginal chiefs, such as Georges Erasmus, Ovide Mercredi, Phil Fontaine, and Matthew Coon Come, led the AFN. The AFN has pressed successfully for



Phil Fontaine, in a ceremonial blanket, receives applause on being elected national chief for the Assembly of First Nations. His term began in 2003.

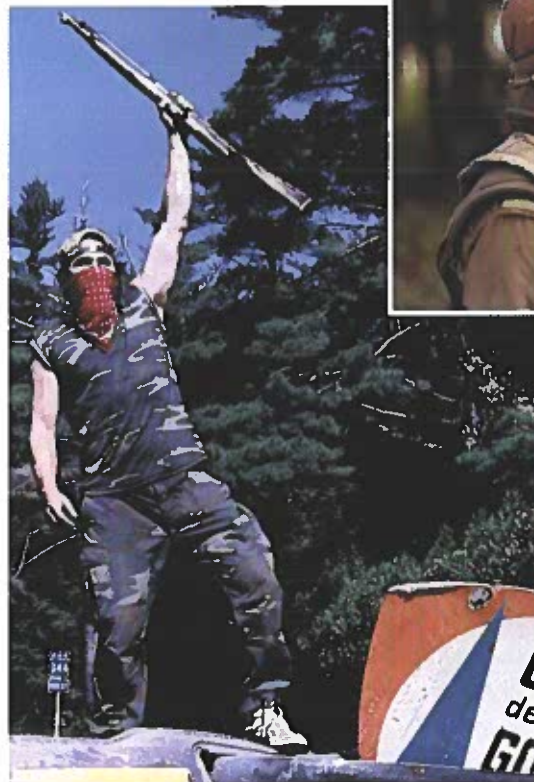
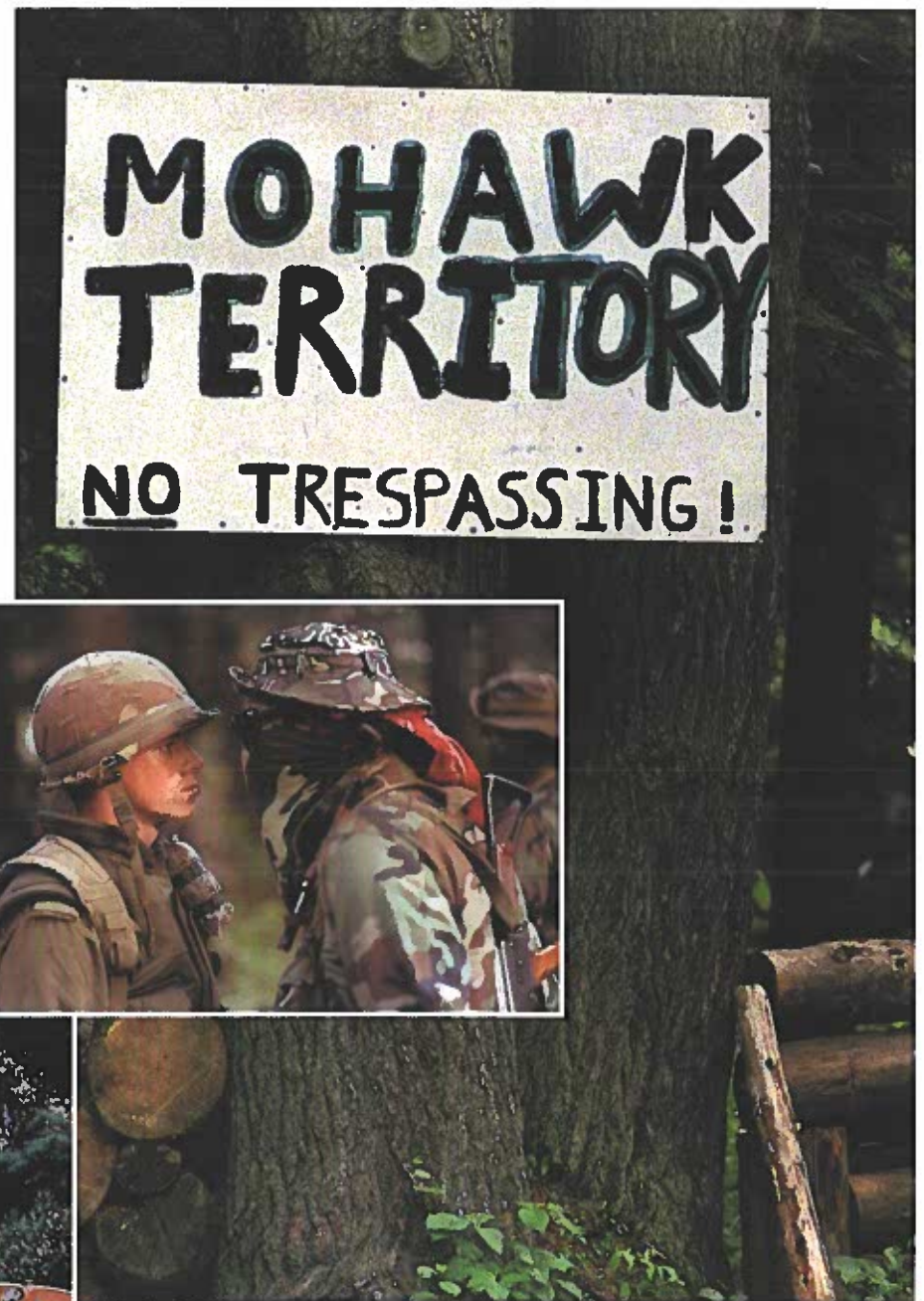
improvements in Aboriginal education, business opportunities, and family support.

Matthew Coon Come has represented Aboriginal peoples in the United Nations and at other meetings, such as the Earth Summit in Brazil. He was named Chief of the Mistassini Cree from 1981 to 1986. In 1987, he was elected Grand Chief of

the Grand Council of the Crees for the first of four terms. From 2000 to 2003, he served as AFN Grand Chief. He is widely known for asserting the rights of the Crees of Northern Quebec. Their challenges have included hydroelectric megaprojects.

CONFRONTATION AT KANESATAKE

In March 1990, Mohawk warriors from the Kanésatake Reserve outside Montreal blocked a road leading to Oka, Quebec. They were protesting the development of a golf course on an ancient Mohawk burial ground. The police were called in when the warriors refused to leave. One officer died in the shootout.



For 11 weeks, Mohawk protesters faced Canadian soldiers in a tense standoff. Finally, the protesters surrendered. The disputed lands were ultimately turned over to the Mohawk nation.

THE INDIAN ACT

In 1876, the Canadian Parliament passed the Indian Act. The Act defined “Indian” in the legal sense. The Act was changed a number of times from 1876 to 1985. Inuit and Métis are included under the Act.

Today, the government of Canada keeps a list, or register, of all Aboriginals who fall under the authority of the Indian Act.

- *Status Indians* are Aboriginals who are registered under the terms of the Indian Act. They have different rights from Métis and non-status Indians. For example, they have housing benefits on reserves and some exemption from federal and provincial taxes. Status Indians or their ancestors have signed a treaty with the government.
- *Registered Indians* are status Indians whose ancestors have not signed treaties with the government. They also come under the regulations of the Indian Act. Most registered Indians live in British



Ovide Mercredi, lawyer and Aboriginal rights activist, as well as AFN chief 1991–97

Columbia, parts of Quebec, the Northwest Territories, Nunavut, and the Yukon.

- *Non-status Indians* are members of the First Nations who are not registered under the terms of the Indian Act. Their ancestors may not have been registered.
- Métis are Canadians of mixed blood. They are descended from both Indians and Europeans.
- *Inuit* are part of the Eskimo-Aleutian linguistic family. Most of the more than 51 000 Inuit live in the James Bay area of Quebec, northern Quebec, Labrador, and Nunavut.

Women and the Indian Act

The Indian Act stripped Aboriginal women of their Indian status when they married non-Indian men. Loss of Indian status meant that these women could not live on reserves and they lost their benefits. Indian men who married non-Indian women did not lose Indian status.

In 1981, a Maliseet woman from New Brunswick, Sandra Lovelace, asked the United Nations' Human Rights Committee to review her case. The Committee agreed that the Indian Act discriminated against Aboriginal women. The Indian Act was changed in 1985 to allow Aboriginal women and men who had lost Indian status prior to 1985 to regain it. The Indian Act remains in effect today.

FOCUS

1. How did contact with Europeans change the Aboriginal way of life?
2. How might the European view of treaties differ from the Aboriginal view?
3. What was the purpose of the Indian Act?
4. How did the Indian Act discriminate against women?

Towards Aboriginal Self-Government

“Like the Thunderbird of old I shall rise again out of the sea; I shall grab the instruments of the white man’s success—his education, his skills, and with these new tools I shall build my race into the proudest segment of your society.

Chief Dan George in 1967

Lament for Confederation

Canada’s Aboriginal peoples want an adequate standard of living like other Canadians. They also want to regain or assert control over their ancestral lands and their lives. The legal issues concern two questions.

- Do Aboriginal peoples still have a legal right to their ancestors’ original lands?
- Do Aboriginal peoples have the right to live off the land (hunt, fish) as their ancestors did?

Canada’s Aboriginal peoples sought to win the principle of Aboriginal land claim and the right to use the land as their forefathers had. Canadian and provincial governments maintained that Aboriginals gave up their right to the land. Canada’s Aboriginals argued that the land had been stolen from them. They took their cases to court.

Land Claims in Quebec

In the 1970s, the Quebec government was planning to build a series of dams on James Bay. The dams would have flooded huge sections of land occupied by the Cree and Inuit

peoples of Quebec. The Crees went to court. They claimed Aboriginal title to the land. The project was stopped. In 1975, the Aboriginal groups received 170 000 square km, a measure of self-government, relocation costs, and \$225 million over 20 years. Quebec got the right to build the huge hydro project. This agreement is known as the James Bay Agreement. (See Chapter 6 for more.)

Land Claims in British Columbia

Lawyers representing British Columbia Aboriginals argued that their clients had not given up ownership of the land (Aboriginal title). They had not signed treaties with either the provincial or federal government. The province argued that there was no such thing as Aboriginal title.

A turning point came in 1973. The Nisga’a nation lived in the Nass Valley of British Columbia. They had lived there long before the first Europeans came to Canada. For more than 100 years, they had been trying to have their ownership of the land recognized. The Nisga’a people claimed Aboriginal title to 24 000 square km near the Nass River in northern British Columbia. Their case finally reached the Supreme Court of Canada in 1971.

In 1973, the Court made its decision. Three judges ruled in favour of the Aboriginal viewpoint and three against. One judge said

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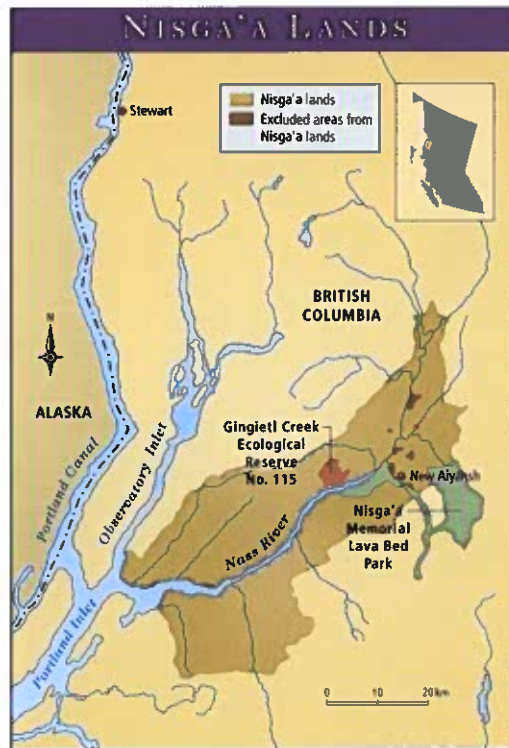
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that proper process was not followed. The Court, however, recognized that Aboriginal title existed.

The Canadian government heeded that decision. It set out to negotiate settlements for land claims in areas where treaties did not exist. All agreements since 1973 have included some degree of self-government for Aboriginal communities.

The Nisga'a Treaty

The Nisga'a Final Agreement of 2000 gave the Nisga'a people the right to self-government and the right to manage lands and resources. The Nisga'a won the power to set local taxes and also received \$196.1 million. They could now administer a



territory of 2020 square km. They had gained a form of self-government within Canada.

Chief Joseph Gosnell, of the Nisga'a Tribal Council, helped negotiate the Nisga'a Treaty. Just before the B.C. legislature approved it in 1998, he spoke.

"We have worked for justice for more than a century. Now, it is time to ratify the Nisga'a Treaty, for Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal people to come together and write a new chapter in the history of our Nation,

our province, our country, and indeed, the world.

"The world is our witness. Be strong. Be steadfast. Be true."

FOCUS

1. Why is self-government important for Aboriginal Canadians?
2. In your view, are Aboriginal Canadians treated equally today? Explain.

Nunavut: Our Land



In Nunavut, everyone over the age of 16 can vote or run for public office. Lawyer Paul Okalik (right) was 34 years old when elected as Nunavut's first territorial leader.

Nunavut grew out of the largest Aboriginal land claims agreement in Canadian history. On 1 April 1999, the map of Canada changed due to the creation of this territory. Formerly part of the Northwest Territories, this frozen land above the treeline is two million square

km. It makes up one-fifth of Canada, or an area larger than Saskatchewan and Alberta combined.

Despite its size, Nunavut is home to only about 25 000 people. About 85 percent are Inuit—the word “Inuit” means people. The territory has four official languages: Inuktitut, Inuinnaqtum, French, and English. Eighty percent of the Inuit speak Inuktitut very well. The Inuit promote their culture through the Department of Culture, Language, Elders, and Youth.

The creation of the territory gave the Inuit greater decision-making power and control. The Inuit Tapirisat of Canada, the Ungavik Federation of Nunavut, and the Canadian government had negotiated for more than 15 years. The Inuit

sought title to the Arctic lands and self-government. Earlier, in 1982, people in the Northwest Territories had agreed to split the territory in two through a vote. The eastern part would become Nunavut. The boundaries of Nunavut were decided by another popular

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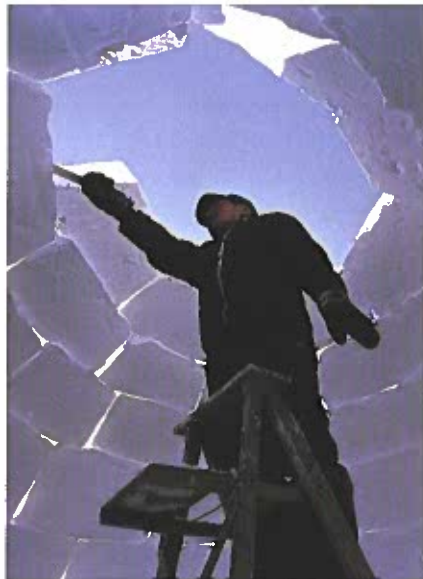
election in 1992. In 1993, the Nunavut Land Claims Agreement was made. In choosing to create a territory, though, the Inuit chose a public government structure that would serve Inuit and non-Inuit alike.

Iqaluit, formerly known as Frobisher Bay, was chosen as the capital. Snowmobiles, dogsleds, and airplanes are the major methods of transportation. There are no road links to areas outside the territory and only one road within it. The road connects the communities between Arctic Bay and Nanisivik. The majority of Inuit families continue to depend on hunting and fishing for their food. The territory's oil, gas, and mineral riches have become increasingly important to the region's economy. The Department of Sustainable Development promotes eco-



Paul Okalik

nomie development, while working to preserve the environment. Nunavut's vast resource wealth is likely to be of great benefit to the citizens of Nunavut and Canada.



The Inuit have traditionally used stone inukshuks to guide travellers and offer welcome and comfort. This inukshuk (right) is embedded with images of Nunavut's people and is used by the Nunavut Literacy Council.



Canadian Vision

Aboriginal and Inuit Cultures

Canada's Aboriginal and Inuit peoples have a rich heritage of oral and written literature and artistic tradition. Fine examples are modern poets Daniel David Moses and Jeanette Armstrong. They write about Aboriginal identity, culture, the natural world, conflict, and change. Novelist Thomas King describes Aboriginal struggle and triumph with painful reality. His novel, *Green Grass, Running Water*, tells the story of five Blackfoot characters in modern-day Canada.



Buffy Sainte-Marie

Popular singers like Susan Aglukark and Buffy Sainte-Marie contribute through their music.

Ojibway playwright Drew Hayden Taylor brings Aboriginal concerns to the stage.

Aboriginal and Inuit prints, sculpture, and wall hangings are exhibited and collected around the world. Painter Norval Morriseau pioneered the style known as Woodland Indian Art, which blends Aboriginal and Euro Canadian ideals. Daphne Odjig is one of the many Woodland Indian artists in Canada today. Her paintings deal with human relationships within Aboriginal culture. Inuit printmaker



Susan Aglukark

Kenojuak Ashevak's drawing, "The Enchanted Owl," was used on the stamp celebrating the 100th anniversary of the Northwest Territories. She was the first Aboriginal artist to be awarded the Order of Canada. Pitseolak Ashoona's book, *Pitseolak: Pictures out of My Life*, published in 1971, was made into a National Film Board documentary. **To learn more about Aboriginal and Inuit cultures, visit the CBC Digital Archives and investigate the file "An Inuit Education: Honouring a Past, Creating a Future."**



In the 1950s, James Houston, first civil administrator at Cape Dorset, encouraged the Inuit to carve, sew, and draw to earn extra money. Pitseolak was one of them. She began with socks and parkas, which Houston sold for her. Then he gave her pens, pencils, and paper to draw. The concept of expressing herself on paper intrigued Pitseolak. She produced thousands of drawings depicting monsters and spirits, early Inuit life, and other things close to her heart.

In Their Own Words

When I was small
I used to help my father
Make ax handles.
Coming home from the wood
with a bundle
of maskwi, snawey, aqamoq,
My father would chip away,
Carving with a crooked knife,
Until a well-made handle appeared,
Ready to be sand-papered
By my brother.

When it was finished
We started another,
Sometimes working through the night
With me holding a lighted shaving
To light their way
When our kerosene lamp ran dry.
Then in the morning
My mother would be happy
That there would be food today
When my father sold our work.

Rita Joe

Reprinted with permission from
Poems of Rita Joe Abanaki Press, 1978



ABOVE: "Seal Hunting," a felt-tip drawing by Labrador artist Josephina Kalleo.



LEFT: Although most people think Aboriginal art is painting and sculpture, Aboriginals have also made substantial contributions in other artistic areas, such as weaving and textiles.

FOCUS

1. What social and economic challenges face Nunavut?
2. Choose any five Inuit or Aboriginal artists and summarize their contributions to Canadian culture.

Seeking Justice

For Aboriginal Canadians, the struggle to win an equal footing in Canadian society is ongoing. This struggle takes place on many fronts. Aboriginal Canadians seek economic, political, social, and cultural equality. Old wrongs need to be righted. New rights need to be gained. Aboriginal peoples are now making important strides.

Residential Schools— Healing the Wounds

In 1998, the government of Canada apologized to Canada's Aboriginal peoples for the abuse many individuals had suffered in residential, or boarding, schools. More important, it recognized that a healing process was needed to resolve what had happened over time.

Before 1867, churches operated residential schools for Aboriginal children. Late in the 1890s, the federal Department of

Indian Affairs began to provide money to run such schools. About 130 schools, located in most provinces of Canada, came to serve Aboriginal children between the ages of 5 to 16. More than 80 000 students attended these schools.

The Department wanted to provide a “general and moral” education for First Nations peoples. Officials believed that the children should be removed from their families and from life on reserves. Away from family and tribal influences, children would be assimilated into European culture. The government felt that First Nations peoples should learn to farm or ranch, not keep their hunting and gathering way of life. It did not understand the nature of the Aboriginal heritage, nor did it con-

sider that its policies might cause harm. Residential schools were not given much



Thomas Moore before and after his entrance into the Regina Indian Residential School in Saskatchewan in 1874. What are your impressions of these two pictures?



At a residential school.

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money. They were often poorly equipped, poorly monitored, and lacking in good-quality teaching. Many Aboriginal students suffered emotionally, spiritually, and mentally. Some experienced physical and sexual abuse. Many were scarred for life. In 1996, the last residential school was phased out. By that time, though, much damage had been done. Generations of Aboriginal peoples had lost family ties, personal pride, and much of their history.

First Nations groups and the federal government agreed they must address the issue and do it in a way that would avoid the emotional pain of court litigation. The government would offer out-of-court settlements to former students. A speedy process was promised.

Between 2001 and 2005, First Nations groups, church organizations, and government negotiated heavily. In 2005, an agreement in principle was reached. The government set aside almost \$2 billion to compensate residential school students.

Relocation—Solution or Mistake?

Most smaller reserve communities are in isolated northern areas of Canada. Many lack road access. They depend on diesel generators for electricity. Construction supplies and fuel are usually brought in by barges. Food



Matthew Coon Come, of the Mistassini Cree, is known internationally for his work on behalf of Aboriginal rights.

supplies are brought in by air, making their cost expensive. Air link is the only way for some people to get medical care.

Traditionally, Inuit lived along the northern coast of Quebec and Labrador. They were a nomadic people whose livelihood depended on hunting and fishing. In 1967, Canada and Newfoundland established the village of Utshimassits. It was located at Davis Inlet on an island off the Labrador coast. Five hundred Inuit settled in the new community. They gave up their nomadic lifestyle.

The move had tragic consequences. The new community did not have enough drinking water and sanitation was poor. Living conditions were like those of a developing country. Poverty, despair, isolation, and poor housing hurt everyone.

COMMUNITY SNAPSHOT

Métis These Canadians are of mixed Aboriginal and European descent, especially French or Scottish descent. The Métis began as Canadian settlers and fur trappers of dual heritage. Many settled in communities in the Red River area of Rupert's Land, now Manitoba. Most Métis were Roman Catholic. Their culture was a unique combination of traditions from their European and Aboriginal parents.

In 1869, Canada purchased Rupert's Land from the Hudson's Bay Company. The Métis who lived there wanted their land and cultural rights recognized. They sought to keep their way of life and their prairie hunting grounds. They were independent.

The Métis chose Louis Riel as their leader. When the Canadian government sent surveyors to divide up the land, the Métis set up their own government. They negotiated a place for themselves within Confederation. As a result, the province of Manitoba was established in 1870.

Their problems were far from solved, though. As more Europeans moved west to farm, the Métis

struggled to preserve their hunting way of life. Their right to the land was not respected. They got deeply frustrated. Eventually, in 1885, the Métis fought against the Canadian government. Louis Riel and Gabriel Dumont led the doomed uprising. Riel was put to death for treason. Dumont fled to the United States. Many Métis left.

Today, Métis people live throughout North America. They have formed several organizations to help preserve their culture and history. These include the Manitoba Métis Federation, Métis Association,

the Ontario Métis Aboriginal Association, and the Canadian Métis Society.

Some notable Métis include John Norquay, former Manitoba premier; poet Pauline Johnson; and Douglas Cardinal, award-winning architect. **What was the source of the major conflict between the Métis and the government of Canada? For more current information about the Métis community in Canada, visit www.metisnation.ca.**



St. Mary's Church in Red Deer, Alberta, was designed by architect Douglas Cardinal of Métis descent. Cardinal's style is based on nature's curves. The curved walls are gentle and look as if sculpted by the wind.

Inuit children were affected the most. When six young Inuit tried to commit suicide in 1993, the problems of Davis Inlet became world news.

In 1996, the people of Utshimassits signed an agreement with the government to relocate. They went to a new 200-hectare settlement, Little Sango Pond (Natuashish), on the Labrador mainland.

In 2005, another Aboriginal community made the news due to its social and health problems. Most of the 1900 members of the Kashechewan First Nation reserve in Northern Ontario were evacuated. Their water contained E-coli bacteria. Unsafe, it was causing rashes and illnesses. The community was one of over 50 reserves in Ontario on a "boil water advisory." The federal government promised new housing, a safe water supply, and a new community school. Once again, there was talk of relocating a community.

Self-Reliance in Business

Not all Aboriginal communities and individuals have fared so poorly. Many Aboriginal Canadians have completed post-secondary education. Some are self-employed in the professions or trades. Others have managed

successful small businesses, both as individuals and in partnerships. Aboriginal Business Canada (part of Industry Canada) helps First Nations, Métis, and Inuit entrepreneurs with business financing.

Some First Nations groups own their business enterprises collectively. The majority employ Aboriginal workers, especially Aboriginal youth. Having these jobs strengthens self-reliance.

Just over 25 years ago, the Tsuu T'ina First Nation opened Redwood Meadows Golf and Country Club, an 18-hole course, just outside Calgary, Alberta. The venture has been so successful that the First Nation opened a smaller 9-hole course, Buffalo Run. The Osoyoos Band, also known as the Okanagan Nation, operates some businesses in the Okanagan Valley in British Columbia. Among its ventures are vineyards and a winery, campgrounds, concrete ready mix, and a construction company.

After signing the James Bay Agreement, the Cree Nation invested in the regional airline industry. With a partner, Air Creebec was created in the early 1980s. By 1988, the airline was owned 100 percent by the Cree Nation. This airline serves the James Bay area of Ontario and Quebec.

FOCUS

1. What were residential schools? What was their impact on Aboriginal youth?
2. In your view, what would be the hardest thing about attending a residential school? Why?
3. What can governments and Aboriginal groups do to improve life on reserves?

Canada's Business Community

In the last century, business interests in Canada were an interesting mix of private and government money. Private investors were interested in companies that served the country's needs only if they could expect to make a profit. The government's concerns were different. It created publicly owned institutions to help keep the country together. Trans-Canada Airlines, the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, and the National Film Board are examples of Crown corporations that the federal government has created.

The roots of a few major private corporations are deeper than 1900. The Hudson's Bay Company was established in 1670. It has evolved from a fur-trading company into a giant department store chain. The Canadian Pacific Railway (CPR) dates from 1881. As the country's first transcontinental railway, it helped connect Canada. In 2005, the CPR had a vast network of rails in Canada, as well as in the American Midwest and northeastern states.

Other corporations have become multinationals in the last half century. For example, the Power Corporation of Canada is an international management company that handles finances, insurance, and investment. Its business ventures are measured in billions of dollars. Quebecor

began as a small Quebec company and now operates in North America and in Europe. Its interests include commercial printing, cable and Internet services, newspapers, broadcasting, and telecommunications.

The success of many private corporations has grown out of the skills and ambitions of individuals, even three generations ago. An entrepreneur is a person who starts an enterprise or business, often taking financial risk.

Some Successful Canadian Entrepreneurs

Samuel Bronfman was born in 1889, in Eastern Europe. Bronfman opened a distillery in Montreal. In the mid-1920s, his company merged with the Seagram distillery of Ontario. Under Bronfman, Canadian whisky became highly popular worldwide. In 1952, business profits were used to set up the

Samuel and Saidye Bronfman Family Foundation. The foundation supports such causes as medicine, education, and the arts. In 1967, Bronfman was named a Companion of the Order of Canada.

K. C. Irving was the most important industrialist in the Maritimes. Kenneth Colin Irving was born in New Brunswick in 1899. As a boy, Irving showed interest in automotive mechanics. He



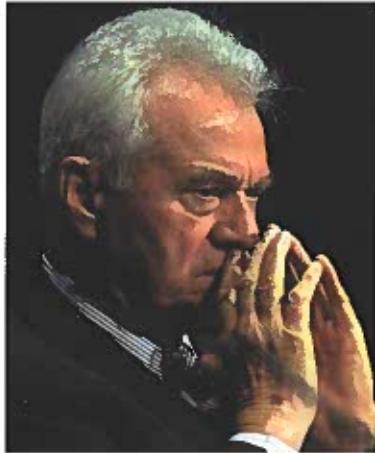
Canadian Tire is a well-known retail store chain in Canada. Established in Toronto in 1922, it now operates more than 400 stores across the country. It is known for its "money" and innovative tire guarantees.

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served in the Royal Flying Corps during the First World War. He then returned home and opened a gas station. In 1925, he moved to St. John to run the first Ford dealership. Irving soon bought several transportation-related companies. He later purchased shipbuilding companies, railroads, and paper mills. He built tankers for oil transportation. K. C. Irving died in 1992. Today, his three sons manage the Irving Group, which includes newspapers.

George Weston was a baker's apprentice. The small family business he started in 1884 has evolved into George Weston Limited. Loblaws, Fortinos, No Frills, and The Great Canadian Superstore are well-known parts of it. After 1924, Weston's son Garfield focused on food processing and distribution. Today, his son, Galen, oversees the largest food-processing and distribution corporation in Canada.



Magna's Frank Stronach mounted a "model of relief" for victims of Hurricane Katrina in 2005. Should the wealthy help others?

Frank Stronach arrived in Canada from Austria in 1957. At first, he and a partner specialized in the tool and die business. They got a contract to make sun visor brackets for General Motors of Canada. This break helped Stronach's small business evolve into Magna International. Today, Magna International supplies major companies with auto parts. The corporation earns more than \$6 billion in sales annually.

Thomas Bata learned the shoe business from his father in Czechoslovakia. In 1939, he left his homeland and settled in Ontario. He began a shoe manufacturing company, Bata Shoes. Bata turned his small business into a huge empire. By the 1990s, Bata Shoes had production facilities in more than 65 countries. There is a related museum in Toronto.

Canada's entrepreneurs have proven that they can compete worldwide in productivity, creativity, and quality of products.

FOCUS

1. What is a Crown corporation?
2. Briefly explain how Bronfman, Irving, and Stronach have contributed to the economic development of Canada.

Canada's Hi-Tech Youth

The young people of the 21st century belong to the satellite and computer age. By the year 2000, theirs was a world of MP3s, MP4s, video I-pods, and memory sticks. The popular "pagers" of the 1990s had become obsolete. So had audiocassettes.

Bulky cellphones, once considered amazing, had been miniaturized. Phones would vibrate instead of "ring." The vibrating was a discreet way of telling owners that they were getting calls. "Text messaging" became a quiet way to answer calls. Video cellphones and voice messages were quickly adopted by this tech-savvy generation.

Improvements in the microchip technology in the 1990s reduced the cost of computers. By 2000, computers were so powerful that they offered DVD copying and fast interactive multimedia capability.

New wireless modems allowed computers to be used in any room in the house. The computer and the Internet turned the world into a huge library for students. If they wished, they could gain access to most university and government databases.

The Internet met other needs, too. It served as a business tool, allowing people to shop online, receive and pay bills, and even send income tax returns to the federal government in Ottawa. Many young Canadians were more interested in chat rooms and e-mail, though. A whole new way of communicating with friends had been created.

This communication aspect of the Internet opened new dangers. Pedophiles used the Internet to lure young people into threatening situations. Many concerned

parents bought their children special phones that could reveal their location.



Two girls enjoy text-messaging side by side.

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Identity theft became more sophisticated. Computer hackers had success in getting personal information, such as credit card numbers and bank account numbers. Some hackers destroyed business and personal files by spreading computer viruses.

Canada's youth held jobs in all segments of the economy. The fast-food industry, retail sales, and sporting goods stores depended on teens and young adults for workers. Most young people got paid a minimum wage. Some earned money to finance a trendy lifestyle.

As their parents had, young people developed their own style and culture. Some males and females sported multiple body piercings. Ear, nose, tongue, belly button, and eyebrow rings were popular. Tattoos of all sizes and colours were also in fashion. Many people saw piercings and tattoos as a form of self-expression.



What do you and your friends look like? How do you compare with the young people described here?

Children born in the baby boom now confronted the demands and desires of their own children. Adults who might once have been viewed as rebellious youth were seen as conservative old-timers. The generation gap continued.

FOCUS

1. How has technology affected the lives of young people in the new century?
2. What problems has the high-tech era created?

Women's Rights by the 21st Century

In 1948, the United Nations passed the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. This document made a strong statement against discrimination based on race, colour, language, religion, and gender. Canada accepted the



This Canadian, a member of HMCS Regina, gets ready to fire her light machine gun in the Gulf of Oman. She is part of NATO forces campaigning against terrorism.

principles of this document. Doing so provided a huge boost for women's rights.

In 1967, Prime Minister Lester Pearson established the Royal Commission on the Status of Women. It was chaired by Ottawa journalist Florence Bird. After listening to women's groups across the country, the Commission released its conclusions in 1970. The Commission's recommendations increased

women's rights in the workforce.

The 1982 Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms also improved women's rights. Jobs and professions that were once dominated by men now opened to women. Today, Canadian women have equal access to such jobs as firefighters and law enforcement officers. Women can comfortably attend Canada's military, business, law, and medical schools.

In the Canadian Forces, women can now take combat roles, such as that of fighter pilot. The Canadian warship, HMCS *Nipigon*, became the first to have a mixed-gender crew. In 2005, Canada's active forces in Afghanistan included male and female soldiers.

Some Outstanding Canadian Women

Adrienne Clarkson and her family first came to Canada as refugees from Hong Kong in 1942. From 1965 until 1982, Clarkson worked

as a host, writer, and producer for several CBC television programs. She then served as the agent-general of Ontario in Paris, France. In 1987, she returned to Canada. She became president and publisher of McClelland & Stewart. In 1998, Clarkson chaired the Board of Trustees of the Canadian Museum of Civilization in Hull, Quebec. From 1999 to 2005, she served as governor general of Canada.

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Judy Darcy has been a dedicated union leader. She held many positions within the Canadian Union of Public Employees (CUPE). She was both shop steward and national president. Darcy represented more than half a million working men and women. Vancouver City Council appointed her to the Vancouver Economic Development Commission. In 2003, the Council of Canadians gave her the Activist of the Year Award.

Ursula Franklin became a senior scientist for the Ontario Research Foundation. She has taught and researched in the field of materials science and in the area of the social impact of technology. In 1967, Franklin was appointed as a professor at the University of Toronto. After her retirement in 1989, she wrote *The Real World of Technology*. Her book looks at the impact of technology on society.

Celia Franca was invited to found a classi-

cal ballet company after a group of Toronto ballet lovers became aware of the British-



Ursula Franklin

born artist's creative and organizational skills. Franca established the National Ballet of Canada in 1951 and served as artistic director until 1974. Under her strong leadership, the company gained an international reputation, and the art of ballet developed further in Canada. Franca danced, taught, choreographed, and directed ballet productions. Her honours include the Order of Canada and the Governor General's Performing Arts Award (1994).



Celia Franca

Beverly Mascoll was the president of Mascoll Beauty Supply. The company she started in 1970 specialized in making and selling beauty and hair-care products for Black consumers. The Beverley Mascoll Foundation has offered scholarships to Canadian youth. In 1998, Mascoll was appointed a Member of the Order of Canada for outstanding entrepreneurship and for assisting Canada's youth.



Doris Anderson

Doris Anderson has long been a spokesperson for women's rights in Canada. Within seven years of taking a job at *Chatelaine*, she was running the magazine. The Alberta-born writer, editor, and journalist revamped *Chatelaine* completely. She introduced a feminist slant to her editorials and the stories she commissioned. In 1982, Anderson was appointed to the Canadian Advisory Council on the Status of Women. She also served as president of the National Action Committee on the Status of Women.

Heather Reisman is an example of a woman who has done well in the private sector. She is in the ranks of women who have become executives and managers in large corporations, banks,

and unions. Reisman is the president and chief executive officer of Indigo Books & Music. She also was a governor of the Toronto Stock Exchange and of McGill University.

Luan Mitchell-Halter managed a large meat packing plant in Saskatchewan. When her husband died, she carried on the family business. Her hard work resulted in a partnership and a \$44 million expansion, which created many jobs for the local community. Mitchell-Halter's efforts were honoured in 2003 when she received the McGill Management Achievement Award.

Roberta Jamieson has earned national and international acclaim for her promotion of non-adversarial methods of conflict resolution. She has had a career of firsts.



Roberta Jamieson

Jamieson was the first Aboriginal woman in Canada to obtain a law degree (1976). She helped found the Native Law Students Association of Canada. She became the first Aboriginal commissioner of the Indian Commission of Ontario. In 1989, she was the first woman to be appointed Ombudsman for Ontario. For her work in mediation and conflict resolution, Jamieson was awarded the University of Toronto's Goodman Fellowship in 1991. In 1998, she received a National Aboriginal

Achievement Award, the Aboriginal community's highest honour, for her outstanding contributions to public service.

Women in Politics

Women also made important political advances. Audrey McLaughlin became leader of the federal NDP in 1989. She was followed by Alexa McDonough in 1995. In 1993, Kim Campbell became the first female prime minister in Canadian history. Of the 391 women candidates in the 2004 general election, 65 were elected to Parliament; that compares with only one woman being elected to Ottawa from 1968 to 1972.

Provincially and municipally, the number of women elected to serve increased, too. Hazel McCallion, the mayor of Mississauga, was first elected in 1978 and has been re-elected ever since. She is one of hundreds of women elected to city councils throughout Canada.



Rosemary Brown was the first Black woman to be elected to a legislature in Canada. She won a seat as an MLA in British Columbia in 1972. In 1975, she ran for the leadership of the NDP, but lost. Brown's political career and influence provided young Canadian women of colour with a valuable role model. Rosemary Brown was inducted as an Officer in the Order of Canada in 1996.



Hazel McCallion, long-time mayor

Women and Poverty

Despite all these improvements, many women live well below the poverty line. There are many reasons for this. One is the national divorce rate, which was 38 percent in 2003. Divorce leaves many women struggling to raise families on their own. Most provinces are still trying to track “deadbeat dads” and make them pay child support. Finding affordable day-care remains a challenge, too.

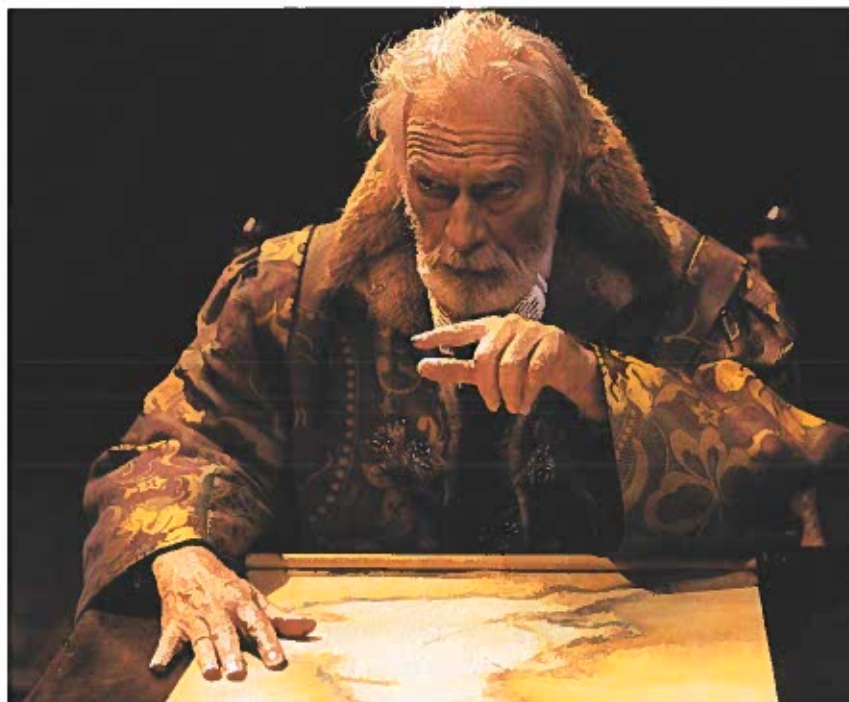
Immigrant women have a particularly hard time. Many of them depend on non-unionized jobs in the fast-food industry, retail sector, and garment industry sweatshops. They work in care-giving facilities, such as nursing homes and daycare. The struggle for a better life for the non-professional woman is ongoing.

FOCUS

- 1. What was the purpose of the Royal Commission on the Status of Women? What was its importance?**
- 2. How did the women's rights movement of the 1960s and 1970s change the lives of women in the 1990s?**
- 3. What are some problems faced by women today?**

Canadian Icons and Identity

Identity has always been fragile in Canada. Canada's population is so much smaller than that of the United States that many talented Canadians go south to further their careers.



Christopher Plummer is as internationally known for his acting in more than 50 films as he is for his work on stage. An early star of the Stratford Festival, he returned in the theatre's 50th season, earning acclaim as King Lear.

Singer Céline Dion, who draws huge crowds to her Las Vegas shows, is one. When hockey player Wayne Gretzky was traded to Los Angeles in 1988, *The Globe and Mail* described the move as the “defection of national treasure.” Some Canadians, though, manage to be identified with Canada whether

at home or abroad.

What makes something Canadian? That issue is harder to resolve than the space here to discuss it; simply put, if something is done by a Canadian, it is Canadian.

The federal government has done much to support the development of a distinctive Canadian culture. Chapter 2 describes how it created the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation and the National Film Board. Chapter 7 identifies other federal efforts, such as encouraging Canadian content on radio and on TV.

The Canada Council for the Arts plays an important part in promoting the arts. Beyond offering its well-known Literary Awards, it gives funds to Canadian artists and arts organizations. It encourages work in media arts, music, theatre, visual arts, writing, and publishing. In 2003–04, it awarded almost \$140 million.

Canada presents many faces to the world. Some of these “faces” have become icons, or easily recognized representatives of all Canadians. They may come from any walk of life. They may be musicians, hockey players, authors, individuals with a mission, even politicians. What they have in common is their Canadian experience and their importance as presenters of Canada's cultural identity. They are Canadians that other Canadians admire.

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Wayne Gretzky

BORN: 1961, Brantford, Ontario

SIGNIFICANCE: Many people feel that Wayne Gretzky is Canada's greatest hockey player and ambassador for the game.

BRIEF BIOGRAPHY: Gretzky's passion for hockey began early. When he was four, his father built a rink in the backyard. He put in lights so the rink could be used at night. Gretzky's father, Walter, encouraged him to play hard, but always in a gentlemanly way. Gretzky developed exceptional skills, while rejecting the "obstruct and grab" form of hockey.

Gretzky signed with the World Hockey League's Edmonton Oilers at age 19. When the Oilers joined the NHL the following year, he won the Most Valuable Player award. Gretzky led the Edmonton Oilers to four Stanley Cups during the 1980s.

Gretzky was traded to the Los Angeles Kings in 1988. Many Canadians were stunned. They saw the trade as a symbol of U.S. political, economic, and cul-



tural control over Canada. Gretzky played for the Kings, the St. Louis Blues, and the New York Rangers. He retired from playing in 1999. Gretzky holds 59 NHL records. These include most regular-season goals (894) and most goals in a single season (92). After 20 years, Gretzky ended his reign with the most shocking record of all: 2857 career points—more than 1000 points above the record of Gordie Howe, his personal hero and previous holder of the record. It took Howe 26 years to score 1850 points; it took Gretzky only 10.

In November 2000, Gretzky became executive director of Team Canada. His job has been to select top players for Canada's Olympic men's hockey teams. Team Canada won the gold medal during the 2002 winter Olympics. In 2005, Gretzky became head coach of the Phoenix Coyotes. He co-owns this team. **Is Wayne Gretzky a good role model for young Canadians? Explain. For an audiovisual profile, visit the CBC Digital Archives at www.cbc.ca/archives and review the file "The Great Wayne Gretzky."**

CANADIAN LIVES

Terry Fox

BORN: 1958, Winnipeg, Manitoba

DIED: 1981, New Westminster, British Columbia

SIGNIFICANCE: Terry Fox began a run across Canada to raise money and generate publicity for cancer research. His “Marathon of Hope” succeeded beyond all expectations. He drew nationwide and international attention to cancer research. Fox is one of Canada’s most inspiring figures.

BRIEF BIOGRAPHY: At 19, Terry Fox lost his right leg to osteogenic sarcoma, a rare form of bone cancer. After receiving an artificial leg, Fox learned how to walk again. He ran regularly to build his physical and emotional strength, and returned to university. Fox was young and idealistic. He decided to run across Canada to raise money for cancer research. Many people wondered about a one-legged man running coast to coast.

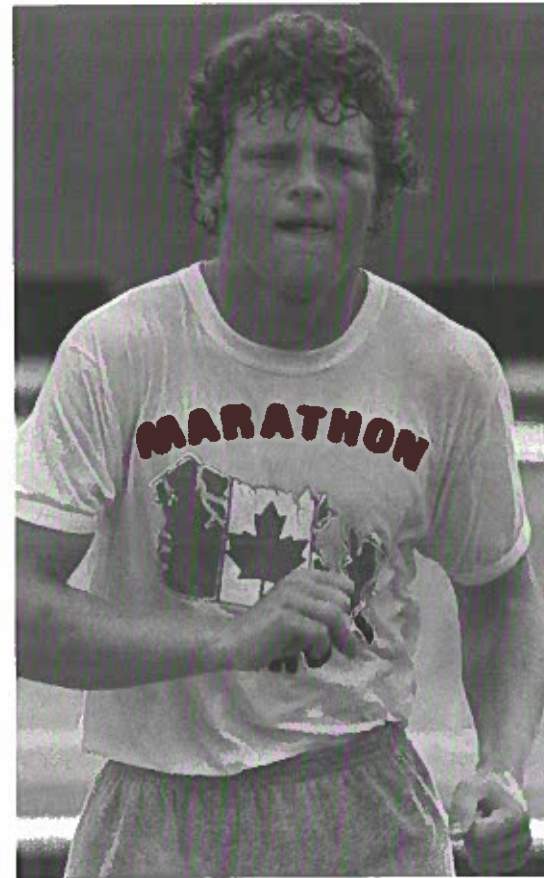
On 12 April 1980, Fox dipped his artificial leg into the Atlantic Ocean in Newfoundland and set out for Victoria, B.C., on his “Marathon of Hope.” At first, he received little media attention. By the time he

reached Ontario, however, Fox was a media sensation. His run raised thousands of dollars for cancer research. When he reached Toronto, tens of thousands of people cheered him on. A few weeks later, in Thunder Bay, Ontario, Fox’s run was cut short.

Doctors found cancer in his lungs. Fox returned to British Columbia for treatments. On 19 September 1980, he became the youngest Companion of the Order of Canada. Support from Canadians was overwhelming. Millions of dollars were pledged to the “Marathon of Hope,” but the money did not help him. On 29 June 1981, Terry Fox died.

Fox’s legacy lives on in the Terry Fox Foundation. It has raised more than \$360 million, and of this money, over 85 percent goes to research. Fox inspired people worldwide. The Terry Fox Run is held in 50 countries annually. Why do

Canadians consider Terry Fox to be a hero? Visit the CBC Digital Archives at www.cbc.ca/archives and explore “Terry Fox’s Marathon of Hope” and “Terry Fox 25: Reliving the Marathon of Hope.”



CANADIAN LIVES

CANADIAN ICONS



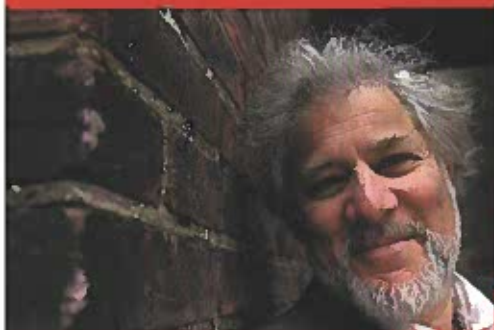
Karen Kain



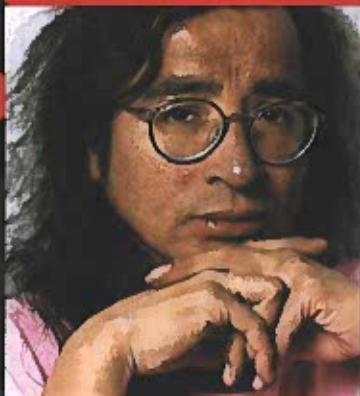
K-OS



Toller Cranston



Michael Ondaatje



Tomson Highway



Nelly Furtado

TOP LEFT: **Karen Kain**, principal dancer in the National Ballet of Canada (1969–1997) artistic director as of 2005

ABOVE: **Michael Ondaatje**, award-winning author of *The English Patient* and more.

TOP CENTRE: **K-OS**, rap artist with a social conscience.

ABOVE CENTRE: **Tomson Highway**, Canada's best-known Aboriginal playwright.

TOP RIGHT: **Toller Cranston**, Bronze medal figure skater, 1967 Olympics
ABOVE RIGHT: **Nelly Furtado**, performer with a unique brand of music

FOCUS

1. Define *national identity*.
2. How has government tried to promote a sense of Canadian identity?
3. Why is Wayne Gretzky called "The Great One"?
4. What other Canadian icons can you think of?

Sharpening Your Skills

Why Study the Past?

THE SKILL

Understanding the importance of history for society and for individuals

THE IMPORTANCE

The need for everyone to know their own history

- History prepares us to understand the problems of our world and broadens our outlook. History sheds light on the present. It is difficult for Canadians to understand their own country unless they know something of its past. French–English antagonisms in Canada had their beginnings in the British Conquest of 1759, the Riel rebellions, and the conscription crisis of the First World War. Aboriginal land claims are based on their historical roots.
- History enables leaders to plan rational policies. People make decisions based upon their knowledge of what happened previously. Sensible children will put their hands in the fire only once. Likewise, our leaders would be wise to make important decisions only after first examining how past generations dealt with similar problems.
- History is to society what memory is to the individual. History is society’s memory. It

enables us to answer the following questions: Who are we? How did we get here? What is our purpose? Where are we going?

Individual scenario: The hockey player hustled into the corner after the puck and was crunched against the boards. His helmet saved him from serious injury, but when the player shakily regained his feet, he had lost his memory. As a result, when a teammate passed him the puck, he allowed an opponent to take it away and score. Because of his amnesia, the defenceman had forgotten who he was, and what he was supposed to be doing. Without his memory, he was lost.

Society scenario: One of the strongest bonds uniting large groups of people is their awareness of having a common past. *Seven Generations: A History of the Kanien-kehaka*, for example, states “that unless Mohawk people fast become familiar with the chronology of events that have shaped their past, the very survival of the Mohawk Nation is at stake.”

- History prepares people to be productive and happy citizens. As you progress through this book, you will improve your ability to think, write, debate, discuss, research, analyse, distinguish between fact and opinion, read, take notes, evaluate different points of view, identify biases, organize information, and reach reasoned conclusions. Democracy needs such citizens. So, too, do employers.

Maclean's magazine asked company executives what qualities they were looking for in hiring new employees. The executives identified 10 skills and personal qualities as high in demand. They said they looked for people who were literate, creative, motivated, analytical, willing to learn, able to learn, able to generalize from the specific, able to think without help, able to communicate, and able to work with others.

Company presidents, lawyers, doctors, farmers, bankers—virtually everyone—must know how to

- locate the best information in their fields
- determine the accuracy of this information
- select the best choice among different options
- devise a plan based on this information
- convince others of the soundness of this plan

These are the skills used in the study of history.

Career Choices for Individuals with Historical Training

Teacher	Genealogist
Journalist	Interpreter, historic sites
Writer	Museum curator
Lawyer	Architect
Librarian	Archaeologist
Archivist	Heritage consultant
Researcher	Parks Canada staff
Tour guide	Editor
Consultant	Business

Application

People base the decisions they make on history. Baseball managers research how well certain batters have hit against that night's opposing pitcher. Judges make decisions based on the results of past court cases. Doctors keep records of their patients. Halls of Fame, monuments, stamps, museums, and holidays honour past events or individuals. What do you or your family do that involves knowing something about your own past? Reflect on this question and record your thoughts.

Questions & Activities

Questions and Activities

Test Yourself

Match the person or item in column A with the description in column B.

- | A | B |
|-------------------|---|
| 1. Rosemary Brown | a) Civil Marriage Act |
| 2. Wayne Gretzky | b) Manitoba politician who prevented vote for approval of the Meech Lake Accord |
| 3. Oscar Peterson | c) first woman prime minister of Canada |
| 4. Joseph Gosnell | d) tax introduced by Brian Mulroney |
| 5. Elijah Harper | e) role model for young women of colour |
| 6. Kim Campbell | f) policy that involves selling Crown corporations to private businesses |
| 7. NEP | g) outstanding hockey player |
| 8. GST | h) energy program introduced by Trudeau in the 1970s |
| 9. Paul Martin | i) world-renowned jazz piano great |
| 10. Privatization | j) Nisga'a Chief who helped negotiate land claim treaty |

Discuss and Debate

- Compare the ideas and policies of Pierre Trudeau and Brian Mulroney. Use at least five of the following headings as organizers for your comparison:
 - Relations with Provincial Leaders
 - Energy Policy
 - Attitudes to the National Debt
 - Attitude About Powers of the Federal and Provincial Governments
 - Attitudes to French–English Relations
 - Attitudes Towards the Meech Lake Accord
 - Attitudes Towards the United States
 - Belief in the Role of Government in the Economy
- Prepare one side of the argument for a class debate: Resolved that some privatization of health care will benefit Canadians.
- “There is no Canadian identity.” Brainstorm arguments for and against this idea.
- Name jobs that, before the 1970s, might have been considered “for men” or “for women” in the following areas: (a) offices, (b) factories, (c) farms, (d) hospitals, (e) schools, (f) home, (g) the military. How do you feel about that?
- Some people claim that feminism is no longer a necessary social movement. Women and men, they say, are now considered equal. Women have access to jobs traditionally considered men’s, and the responsibilities of raising a family are now equally distributed between men and women. Do you think that a focus on women’s rights and issues is still needed? Explain.
- Identify the advantages and disadvantages of minority and majority governments.

Do Some Research

1. Do some research on one of your favourite Canadian sports or entertainment personalities. Write a Canadian Lives biocard. Pass the cards around the class and then assemble them in a class folder.
2. At times, there is prejudice in Canada, not only against immigrants, but also against groups that people perceive as “different.” Find out more about one of these groups. What can you do to help members of that group become fully accepted as part of Canadian society?
3. Perform a Google search on one of these Canadian entrepreneurs: Frank Stronach, Beverly Mascoll, or Samuel Bronfman. Write a one-page biography that notes that person's birth, business, problems overcome, workers employed, accomplishments, and value of assets.
4. Research the Web site identified below and report to the class on one Aboriginal Economic Development Success Story: http://www.ainc-inac.gc.ca/nr/ecd/srch_e.html.

Be Creative

1. Write a letter to a local newspaper outlining your ideas on one of the following themes: (a) gender equality, (b) native rights, (c) Canadian culture, and (d) immigration policy.
2. Organize a radio or television program to re-enact a famous Canadian sporting event of the 1970–2000 period. Present your program to the rest of the class.
3. Present a visual or sound collage on one of Canada's most famous musicians, singers, artists, actors, dancers, or writers.
4. Organize a multicultural “caravan” or pageant in your class or school.
5. Research the music of such Canadian folk music icons as Neil Young, Joni Mitchell, Ian and Sylvia, and Gordon Lightfoot.

Web Watch

The CBC Digital Archives at www.cbc.ca/archives has many useful files. See, for example, “Jean Chrétien: From Pool Hall to Parliament Hill,” “Georges Erasmus: Native Rights Crusader,” “Trudeaumania: A Swinger for Prime Minister,” “A Lost Heritage: Canada's Residential Schools,” and “Phil Fontaine: Native Diplomat and Dealmaker.”

FOR THE GOOD OF ALL



This 1985 stamp honours reformer Thérèse Casgrain, who led the campaign that resulted in the women of Quebec gaining the right to vote in 1940. She campaigned for women's rights, for human rights, and against the nuclear threat, helping to found various citizen groups. In 1970, she was appointed to the Senate.

Why do you think Casgrain might be a good role model for Canadian women?