

# Chapter Six

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## Expectations

### Overall Expectations:

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

- explain the significance of some key individuals and events in the evolution of French–English relations in Canada since 1914

### Specific Expectations:

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

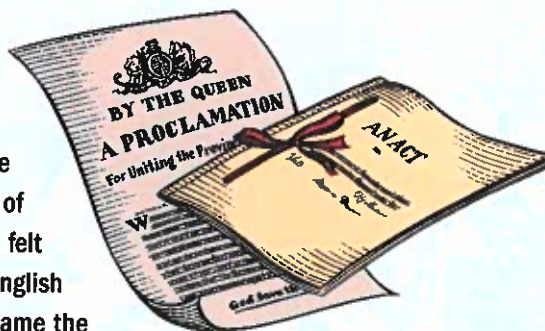
- identify the contributions made by regional, provincial, linguistic, ethnic, and religious communities to Canada's multicultural society
- explain how conscription divided English Canada and Quebec during the First and Second World Wars
- identify major events that contributed to the growth of Quebec nationalism and the rise of the separatist movement in Quebec from 1945 on
- describe responses by Canadians and their political leaders to the Quebec separatist movement
- identify the major groups of French Canadians outside Quebec—Franco-Ontarians and Acadians
- describe the effects of selected scientific and technological innovations developed by Canadians, including Joseph-Armand Bombardier
- compare the different beliefs and values of parties that emerged out of political movements (e.g., Union Nationale, Parti Québécois, Bloc Québécois)
- describe how selected significant individuals and artists have contributed to a sense of the Canadian identity

### Word List

Anglophone  
Distinct society  
Francophone  
October Crisis  
Patriate  
Separatism  
Sovereignty-association  
Unilateral independence

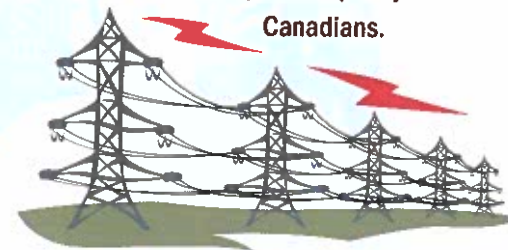
Bloc Québécois  
Federalists  
Nationalists  
Parti Québécois  
Quiet Revolution  
Surrealists  
Urbanization

**1** In 1604, French people settled in New France. In 1763, the British took control of Quebec. The French felt threatened by the English settling in what became the province of Quebec. In 1867, Confederation guaranteed French culture in Quebec.



Arrival of ships from France

**2** In 1960, the Quiet Revolution began in Quebec. This was a time of modernization. The province built many hydro projects. One was near James Bay. At that time, it was the largest in the world. Many Quebecers felt they could now hope for equality with other Canadians.



The massive dams of the James Bay project were a source of pride and confidence for many in Quebec.



**3** In 1970, the Quiet Revolution became louder. A terrorist group, the FLQ, kidnapped two people and murdered one Quebecer. The War Measures Act was imposed. Separatists saw that change must come through peaceful means.



# My Country, Mons Pays

1970

1975

1980

1985

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1995

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2005

2010

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6

**4** René Lévesque was the first Parti Québécois leader. In 1976 he was elected premier of Quebec. He promised to separate Quebec from Canada. He was unsuccessful. His party is still powerful, though.



Premier Lévesque holds a Quebec Nordiques jersey with a symbol of the Rebellion of 1837 on it.



**6** A separatist government in Quebec tried to separate Quebec from Canada.

A special vote, or referendum, was held in 1995. Quebec voted narrowly to stay within Canada. Separatists continue to be a strong force in Quebec.



**5** In 1987, Brian Mulroney suggested that Quebec be recognized as a distinct society. This was part of the Meech Lake Accord. Elijah Harper, a provincial politician, prevented Manitoba from giving its needed approval of the Accord. He felt Aboriginal communities should also be seen as distinct.



# The French in Early Canada



*Each spring the arrival of ships from France was eagerly awaited by the Canadiens in New France.*

Christopher Columbus's voyage to the Caribbean in 1492 launched European exploration of the Americas. France, England, Holland, and Spain sent men to explore this new world. In 1604, Sieur de Monts and Samuel de Champlain established a colony at Port Royal on the Bay of Fundy. It was the first permanent European settlement in North America. Champlain established a second colony on the St. Lawrence River, at Quebec.

Residents of what was called New France soon thought of themselves as Canadien,

rather than *français*. Many had been born in North America. They developed a lifestyle and identity suitable to their environment. The new colonists established Roman Catholic schools, a university, churches, hospitals, missions, forges, breweries, and entertainment, such as horse racing.

### *The Conquest of New France*

By the 18th century, France and England had worldwide empires. The two rivals competed for furs and trading routes. French forces in

# My Country, Mons Pays

1900 1905 1910 1915 1920 1925 1930 1935 1940

New France were outnumbered and out-gunned. During the Seven Years' War, one by one, French outposts surrendered to the British. Louisbourg fell in 1758, Quebec in 1759, and Montreal in 1760. Much of the French colony lay in ruins. Farms and villages had been burned to the ground. Canadiens were placed under British military rule until the British government took formal control of the colony in 1763. The Canadiens faced the challenge of surviving as an isolated French-speaking, Roman Catholic population, under the rule of English-speaking Protestants.

## *French-English Relations: 1763-1867*

Getting along would prove to be difficult. England's first policy, the British Proclamation Act of 1763, sought to assimilate French Canadians by encouraging British immigration. It was hoped that English residents would outnumber the French. The French would then find it more practical to adopt English language, religion, and customs.

The British policy of assimilation did not work. It was replaced by the Quebec Act in 1774. This new law tried to win the loyalty of the French-speaking colonists by honouring and preserving their language and customs. At the same time, though, English-speaking settlers flooded into Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and Quebec. They were fleeing from the political unrest in the "American"

colonies to the south. The new settlers, or Loyalists as they became known, had no interest in maintaining the Canadiens' lifestyle. It was not long before these new immigrants began to make demands for British laws and British traditions.

To address the complaints from these new English-speaking settlers, Britain passed the Constitutional Act in 1791. It divided the colony of Quebec into Upper Canada (later Ontario and mostly English-speaking) and Lower Canada (later Quebec, and mostly French-speaking). Under the new law, each colony had its own government. Aboriginal needs were largely ignored by both French and English Canadians.

Forty-six years later, the Rebellions of 1837 clearly signalled that citizens were unhappy. People in both Upper and Lower Canada objected to being ruled by privileged minorities. After armed uprisings in both colonies, the British government sent John George Lambton, Earl of Durham, to investigate and report on the colonists' concerns. Durham granted amnesty to most of the rebels. His report to the British Parliament recommended more self-government for the colonies. Durham hoped to assimilate Canadiens by reuniting the two colonies and by again encouraging British immigration. He wanted to increase English-speaking immigration to Canada so that French-speaking citizens would be outnumbered. French Canadians resented Durham's conclusions.

At Durham's suggestion, the British united Upper and Lower Canada in 1841. The arrangement did not work. By the 1860s, the Canadian government was in a stalemate. French and English were evenly balanced in the government. Neither group was able to



*Louis Riel became an early symbol of the divisions between French and English Canada. He is also considered the "Father of Manitoba."*

maintain a dominant position. Some politicians believed that a strong central government would better manage common services, while local affairs would benefit from local administration.

George-Étienne Cartier, leader of the largest political party in Lower Canada, worked with John A. Macdonald, a leader in Upper Canada. Their efforts led to a confederation, or federal union, of three British

North American colonies—Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and the United Province of Canada—in 1867. Each province received control over religion and education within its borders. The new federal government controlled national defence, transportation, money, inter-provincial communications, and more.

### *French-English Relations: 1867-1934*

The Confederation partnership was not an easy one. Several problems tested the new Canadian unity:

- Manitoba joined Confederation in 1870 as a bilingual province. Louis Riel, the fiery leader of the Métis (mixed European and Aboriginal blood) used armed resistance and negotiation to protect the property and culture of the mainly French-speaking people in the North West Territory. Riel led two armed rebellions against the Canadian government, the first in Manitoba in 1870 and the second in Saskatchewan in 1885. He and his supporters wanted self-government and the preservation of their unique heritage. Riel was captured, tried for treason, and executed. English Canada believed Riel was a traitor and supported the government's action. French Canada was outraged by the execution of a hero who had been trying to protect the mainly French-speaking, Roman Catholic Métis.
- Manitoba's English-speaking majority abolished the use of French language instruction in schools with the passage of the Manitoba Schools Act of 1890. Ontario did the same in 1912 by passing Regulation 17. French Canadians began to feel that

their language and culture were safe only in Quebec.

- During the First World War, the issue of conscription seriously split French and English Canadians. English Canadians favoured making men fight. French Canadians felt that the war was a European conflict and should not involve Canada. When conscription became law, French Canadians felt betrayed by Canada's English-language majority. Conscription became a unity issue again in the Second World War.

- The Depression (1929–1939) emphasized the fears and insecurities of French

Canadians. It was easy to believe that Quebec's problems had been caused by "foreign control." Many French Canadians

believed that their culture would disappear under the English domination of the province. They voted for change.



Born in St. Hilaire, Quebec, in 1864, Ozias Leduc was renowned for his church murals. Thirty-one churches in Quebec and eastern Canada are decorated with Leduc's religious images. This painting, "L'Enfant au Pain" (1899), is one of Leduc's most famous. Though he sold few paintings while alive, Leduc holds a prominent position in the artistic communities of Quebec and Canada today. His paintings hang in the National Gallery of Canada and the Museum of Modern Art.

## FOCUS

1. What is the evidence that French Canada has deep roots in North America?
2. Why did the British propose assimilation for the French after the Conquest?
3. List the major issues that divided English and French Canadians after Confederation.

# The Duplessis Era in Quebec: 1936–1959

The Union Nationale, a new political party led by Maurice Duplessis, swept into power in Quebec in 1936. Maurice Duplessis was the premier of Quebec from 1936 to 1939, and again from 1944 to 1959. Many people viewed Duplessis as a champion of French-Canadian



*Duplessis (left of centre) often worked closely with the Roman Catholic Church in Quebec. The Church encouraged people to vote for him.*

nationalism. He promised to fight Ottawa for more power for Quebec. He assured French Canadians that decisions about Quebec's industry and resources would be made in Quebec. Duplessis pledged to preserve the French language, religion, and culture. His Union Nationale party worked closely with the Roman Catholic Church, which operated hospitals, schools, and colleges in Quebec.

The Catholic Church worried that Quebec youth would become less religious as they left their traditional rural communities for factory jobs in towns and cities. They

feared **urbanization**. Duplessis encouraged young people in the province to revere their past, to respect traditional values, and to maintain their Roman Catholic religion. The government discouraged modern influences. As a result, a generation of French Canadians reached adulthood with little background in business, science, and technology.

Quebec, like the rest of Canada, lived through a period of intense industrial growth before and after the Second World War. Industrialization brought new developments. Many of these economic developments were funded by English-owned businesses. Hydroelectric power and mining were such sectors.

Quebec's growing industrial economy and urbanization contributed to the rise of trade unions. Workers united in the hopes of increasing wages and of improving working conditions. Duplessis was anti-union, though. He believed that unions were communist inspired. Large corporations—largely English-speaking—supported Union Nationale policies and helped finance the Party's election campaigns. The Quebec government, the Roman Catholic Church, and many large corporations worked together to prevent the growth of trade unions in Quebec. With weak unions, corporations did not have to improve wages or working conditions.



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1930 1935 1940 1945 1950 1955 1960

Miners in Quebec's asbestos industry went on strike in 1949. They wanted higher wages and better working conditions. Duplessis ordered the provincial police to break up the strike and arrest its leaders. Violence resulted. The workers stood firm. When the strike ended three months later, they had gained little.



Many strikers were injured in clashes with police during the Asbestos Strike.

Nevertheless, the Asbestos Strike was an important milestone in Quebec history. Many workers objected to Duplessis's tactics and to his

support of large English-owned corporations. Many workers were union members. They saw the need for laws to protect workers and unions. Some church leaders began to question Duplessis's policies.

While in office, Duplessis increased the Quebec government's power in education and social services. The Church's involvement in Quebec's education and social services was reduced. Education in the skilled career trades was made more important. The Duplessis government introduced compulsory school attendance for children ages 6 to 14 to ensure the success of educational reforms.

The Duplessis government increased Quebec's minimum wage and created many new jobs. The government built hospitals

and highways. It also provided hydro development in rural areas as a means of modernizing Quebec. The most symbolic project undertaken by Duplessis was the adoption of Quebec's flag, the fleur-de-lis. It helped strengthen and symbolize Quebec unity.

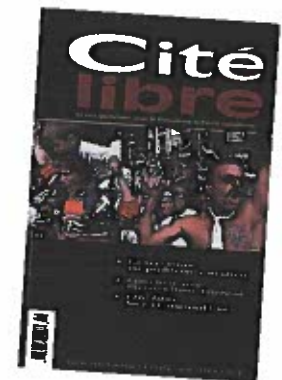
Despite these improvements, serious social and educational problems were apparent within the province. The following quote reveals some of them:

*In 1946, teachers were underpaid and teaching was still considered a vocation. Despite the construction of many new schools in 1951, more than 70 percent of the 8780 schools in the province still had only one classroom, 60 percent had no electricity and 40 percent no running water or indoor toilets. The level of schooling among francophones was still low. In the late 1950s, only 63 percent of students who started elementary school would finish the seventh grade. Under-funded and poorly organized, the education system was still undemocratic, elitist and sexist. (From the Province of Quebec Web site: [www.meq.gouv.qc.ca](http://www.meq.gouv.qc.ca))*

## Canadian Vision

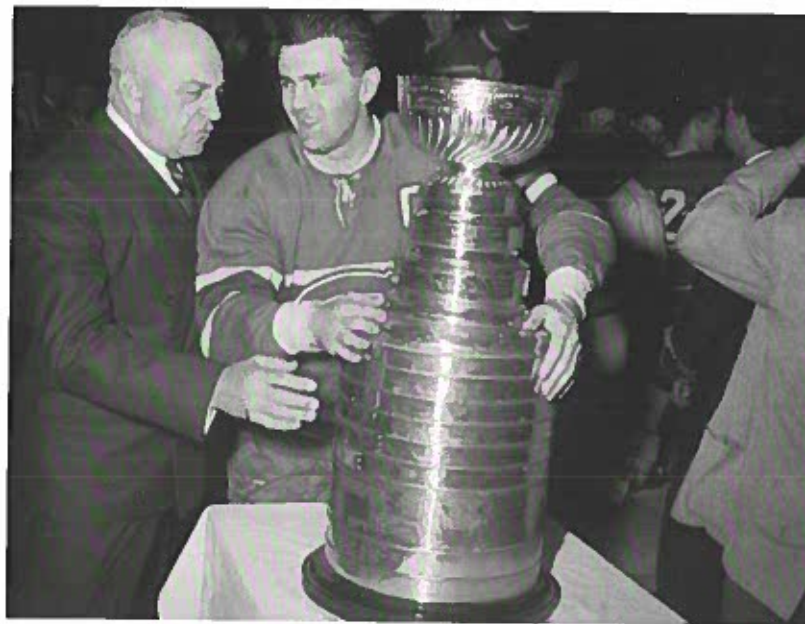
### **Cité libre**

*Cité libre* was a magazine of ideas created in 1950 to defend freedom of expression and put an end to the “Great Darkness” of the Duplessis regime. *Cité libre* opposed the Catholic Church’s stronghold on all aspects of social life in Quebec. Pierre Trudeau wrote for the magazine.



### *Opposition to Duplessis*

Duplessis held power for a long time because political opposition to his party was weak. He was a skilled speaker. He could energize his audiences as well as appeal to their sense of nationalism. The Roman Catholic Church, an



Here, hockey legend Maurice “Rocket” Richard holds the Stanley Cup in 1957. Richard’s record of 82 goals in Stanley Cup play stood until 1986. On 17 March 1955, though, NHL President Clarence Campbell suspended the Canadiens for the rest of the year. Angry fans erupted from the Montreal Forum, looting and rioting. They felt that Campbell was trying to spoil Quebec’s chances of winning the Stanley Cup. Richard was a symbol of French-Canadian nationalism. When he died in 2000, all Quebec mourned.

important influence in Quebec society, strongly supported him.

Politics were corrupt under Duplessis’s rule. Political ridings voting for the Union Nationale received favours in the form of new roads, hospitals, or other services. Ridings that voted Liberal did not. English, British, and American corporations soon discovered that the way to do business in Quebec was to support Duplessis. Sparsely populated rural regions elected more people than the densely populated cities. Labour unions and political opponents were ruthlessly restricted.

Some religious leaders and many intellectuals in the province opposed Duplessis’s corrupt political machine. Several prominent writers, artists, professors, and lawyers spoke out openly against the government, and even against the powers of the Church. Pierre Trudeau, Gérard Pelletier, and others realized that politics in Quebec needed to become more open and democratic. They believed that everyone should share in the benefits of industrialism. Maurice Duplessis died on 7 September 1959. The old Quebec died with him. A new era in the province’s history was about to begin.

## Canadian Vision

### Paul-Emile Borduas

Borduas was born in St. Hilaire, Quebec, in 1905.

He wanted to paint church murals like his teacher, Ozias Leduc. Over time, Borduas shifted away from the religious tradition of Leduc. He took on the modern approach of the **Surrealists**. His work began to reflect the art for art's-sake philosophy so celebrated by such Surrealist artists as Miro and Dali. Borduas became leader of the *Mouvement Automatistes* in Montreal. They celebrated colour, light, line, and mass as subjects of painting. They prized spontaneity in art above all else.

In 1942, Borduas published a manifesto, *Refus Global*. Though mainly about art, *Refus Global* challenged the traditional values of

French-Canadian society. Borduas wanted to minimize the influence of the Roman Catholic Church

and of the Duplessis government. Since Duplessis believed that modern art was communist inspired, he fired Borduas from his teaching post. He blackballed Borduas from Quebec society. Unable to support himself in Quebec, Borduas fled to New York, and later to Paris. Lonely and homesick for his native

Quebec, **HISTORICA** he died in his Paris *Minutes* studio in 1960.

**What was the importance of *Refus Global*? To learn more about *Refus Global* and Borduas, visit the CBC Digital Archives at [www.cbc.ca/archives](http://www.cbc.ca/archives) and**

**view the audiovisual file “Le Refus Global: Revolution in the Arts.”**



### FOCUS

1. How did the Union Nationale influence life in Quebec?
2. List the positive and negative results of the Duplessis years.
3. Who opposed Duplessis, and why?

# The Quiet Revolution

When Duplessis died, the Union Nationale Party was in a state of collapse. The people of Quebec were ready to redefine their province's role in the world. In 1960, the Liberals, led by Jean Lesage, won their first Quebec election since 1939. *La Revolution Tranquille* (the Quiet Revolution) began. A period of dramatic change was about to unfold.

The Quiet Revolution had several goals. It was time for Québécois to be *mâîtres chez nous* (masters in our own house), as one of Lesage's most popular Cabinet ministers, René Lévesque, put it. The phrase became a rallying point. All policy during the six years of Lesage's government was designed to fulfil this goal.

Premier Lesage's most pressing problem was the erosion of social and economic conditions. Francophones felt like second-class citizens in their own province. French Canadians made less money than many immigrant groups did. Most of the higher paying jobs in the province went to anglophones. The vast majority of immigrants to Quebec learned English, not French. The province had one of the highest infant death rates in Canada. Very few francophone students majored in math, science, or engineering. Most of the largest corporations in the province were

owned by English Canadians or Americans. English was the language of business. People who spoke English were more likely to be promoted; those who spoke French were not. French Canadians wanted political and financial control over their own affairs. Quebec needed to modernize.



Jean Lesage introduced the Quiet Revolution in Quebec.

The power of the Church in the province's education system was reduced with the creation of the Quebec Department of Education. A new curriculum placed emphasis on technical skills, business, math, and science. The government provided more hospitals and better health-care services. It reduced the Church's control of the province's health system.

Lesage's government passed laws to protect the use of the French language and to ensure the survival of French-Canadian culture. Other laws guaranteed the rights of labour unions and provided social benefits. The Quebec Pension Plan (QPP) was introduced in 1966 to provide pensions to Quebec workers.

The Lesage government took a more active role in developing provincial resources. In 1969, Quebec bought all the hydroelectric companies in the province. It then made more electricity available to rural areas. During the 1970s, the province built the

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1945 1950 1955 1960 1965 1970 1975 1980 1985 1990 1995 2000 2005 2010

## GILLES VIGNEAULT AND QUEBEC

One of Quebec's most influential singers, Gilles Vigneault was born in 1928, just outside Montreal. Vigneault's Québécois ballads captured the character, isolation, and landscape of rural Quebec. In 1965, Vigneault's collection of poetry won the Governor General's Award. But it is for his music that Vigneault is most famous. "Mon Pays," a ballad about winter, is almost a national anthem in Quebec.

In 1970, Vigneault became an outspoken supporter of the Parti Québécois.



world's largest hydroelectric project near James Bay. The project was one of several in Quebec. These projects symbolized political and economic control for the province. However, the James Bay project created major hardships for the Cree and Inuit of the area.

On the cultural front, Quebec developed a more vibrant and self-confident society. Hundreds of musicians, writers, painters, and filmmakers began to use their talents to celebrate the new Quebec. People gained a new pride in their province. They began to call themselves Québécois (Quebecers) rather than French Canadians.

Jean Lesage and his Liberals lost the 1966 election. Some voters were unhappy with the many changes introduced during their six years in power. Others were concerned about the increasing provincial debt. The Union Nationale Party, led by Daniel Johnson Sr., returned to power.

### *New Goals*

Most French Canadians agreed with the goals of the Quiet Revolution. Some, however, had different ideas about modernization. One group—which included Jean Marchand, Pierre Trudeau, and Jean Chrétien—wanted Quebec to have more influence in the federal government in Ottawa. Another group felt Quebec would be better off with fewer ties to the rest of Canada. It believed Quebec's culture and interests were separate from those of other Canadians. These people wanted Quebec to be politically independent. René Lévesque, the former Liberal, became a symbol and a leader for many people who felt this way.

A smaller group believed that Quebec would be freed only through violent revolution. This group, the Front de Libération du Québec (FLQ), pledged to fight a war of liberation. The first stage in this war was terrorism.

## COMMUNITY SNAPSHOT

**The Cree in Quebec** When the Quebec government proposed the James Bay hydroelectric project in 1971, the Aboriginal people who lived there were outraged. The project would flood over 176 000 square km of forest and tundra in Northern Quebec. This land belonged to the Cree. The Cree had never given up their rights to this vast territory because they believed their way of life would be destroyed. The Grand Council of the Cree took the case to court. In 1975, after intense negotiations, the Council and the Quebec government signed the James Bay and Northern Quebec Agreement. The Cree and many Inuit peoples in the area gave up their claim to large portions of Northern Quebec in return for a cash payment, land reserves, and hunting and trapping rights.

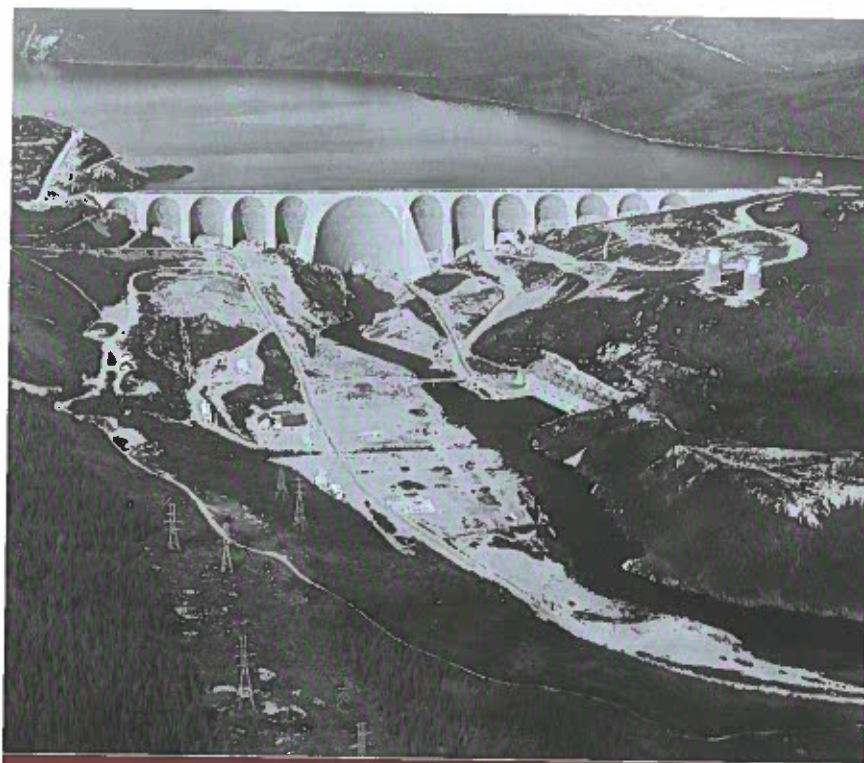
In 1986, the Quebec government proposed a new series of hydroelectric projects in the area. These would flood an additional 800 square km of Cree land. The Grand Council of the Cree went to court again. It argued that the Quebec government was in breach of its James Bay Agreement. The Council felt the new projects would cause an environmental catastrophe. By 1994 the projects were shelved.

Today, the Grand Council of the Cree is a powerful international voice. The Cree have experience in Canadian and international law. Their campaign for Aboriginal rights has increased awareness of this issue in Canada and around the world.

The Cree are worried about Quebec separation. Like the Québécois, the Cree say they are a distinct people, with the right to

protect and promote their culture and identity. The Cree assert Aboriginal title to their land. They claim the right to use their land as their ancestors did. They believe Quebec does not have the right either to speak for them or to take or control their land.

They maintain that if Quebec becomes independent, the Cree nation should be allowed to have its own referendum.



Why were the massive dams of the James Bay project a source of pride and confidence? How did the Cree feel?

## VIVE LE QUEBEC LIBRE!

It was 1967, and Confederation in Canada was 100 years strong. All across the country, communities celebrated. The largest Centennial event was the world fair hosted by Montreal—Expo '67.



*Charles de Gaulle*

Charles de Gaulle, president of France, represented his country at the opening ceremonies. He gave a rousing speech from the balcony of Montreal City Hall. “Vive Montréal, vive Québec, vive le Québec libre, vive le Canada français, vive la France.” His words were

greeted with a roar of applause from the crowd. De Gaulle had appealed to the deepest feelings of many Quebecers—“Vive le Québec libre” was a separatist slogan.

In Ottawa, the reaction was very different. By encouraging Quebec’s independence in this way,

the French president had “interfered” with Canada’s internal affairs. Canadian Prime Minister Lester Pearson protested the interference. At the request of the Canadian government, de Gaulle returned promptly to France. **Was the Canadian government correct to send Charles de Gaulle home? What would you have done? Why?**

### FOCUS

1. What was the major goal of the Quiet Revolution?
2. List three changes made by the Lesage government.
3. How did the Cree fight against Quebec’s hydroelectric industry?
4. Why do you think some people of Quebec preferred to call themselves Québécois rather than French Canadians?

# Bilingualism

The Quiet Revolution forced the federal government to rethink the relationship between Canada's two main cultures. During the 1960s and 1970s, Canadian Confederation was studied and examined several times by various government-appointed committees or



*This unique photograph shows four Liberal prime ministers: Pierre Trudeau, John Turner, Jean Chrétien, and Lester Pearson. Much of the French-English debate has been led by Canada's Liberal Party.*

commissions. Their task was to suggest ways to modernize the political, economic, and social relationships between the provinces and the federal government.

Each committee made recommendations

for constitutional change. Few of the recommendations were adopted. Agreement among the 10 provincial governments on any change to Canada's Constitution was almost impossible.

In 1967, the Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism warned that unless "an equal partnership" between French and English Canada was formed, the country was likely to break up. It recommended that Canada be formally declared bilingual and that French and English be given equal status in the courts, Parliament, and government services.

Trudeau wanted to extend the rights of French-speaking Canadians in other parts of Canada. He believed that French Canadians would be isolated in Quebec if

the law did not protect the French language outside Quebec.

Prime Minister Trudeau envisioned Canada as a bilingual country. He wanted English- and French-speaking Canadians to share



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equal language rights. In 1969, the government passed Canada's Official Languages Act. The new law required that Canadians be served in either French or English when dealing with the federal government. It required companies doing business in Canada to label their products in both languages.

Trudeau was disappointed that he could not persuade Canada's provinces to follow the federal lead. Some Western Canadians felt it was a waste of money. Even some French

Canadians objected. Many English Canadians felt that there were not enough French-speaking people outside Quebec to justify the costs of bilingualism. They believed that



*This sign below the Peace Tower, reflects the federal governments vision of a bilingual Canada.*

French Canadians already held favoured status when applying for government jobs and promotions. Anglophones in government positions objected to learning French. Many people had mixed feelings about the policy. They wanted to promote the French-Canadian culture outside Quebec, not just the French language. A few felt it was too late to solve problems with laws.

The importance of the French language in Canada increased dramatically. French Canadians also had greater opportunities for jobs within the federal civil service. The Official Lan-

guages Act was also good for francophones outside Quebec. Acadians in the Atlantic provinces and francophones in Ontario and Manitoba all benefited.

## FOCUS

1. What did the Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism say would happen if Quebec did not receive equal partnership with English Canada?
2. What is the Official Languages Act? Why were many people unhappy with it?

# The October Crisis

Not all Quebecers were satisfied with the amount or pace of change during the Quiet Revolution. In the 1960s, a small group of radical separatists used bombs to achieve their goals. These people were members of the Front de Libération du Québec (FLQ).



LEFT: The FLQ set off several bombs in Montreal. RIGHT: Why do you think the FLQ kidnapped James Cross, a British citizen?

They wanted to gain attention by bombing federal government property. The FLQ was organized into cells, or small groups of people. Communication between cells was by secret code. Members of one cell did not know who was in another cell. If one cell was captured by police, it could not betray others. Despite these precautions, the police were able to arrest, try, and imprison several FLQ members.

On the morning of 5 October 1970, FLQ members kidnapped James Cross, a British diplomat, from his Montreal home. They demanded a ransom of \$500 000, plus TV and radio time to broadcast FLQ views to the Quebec people. They also wanted safe passage out of Canada



for themselves, and for imprisoned FLQ members. They warned that Cross would be executed if their demands were not met. The FLQ hoped the Cross kidnapping would spark a wave of violence that would result in the separation of Quebec from Canada.

French and English Canadians were numb with shock. Terrorism might happen in unstable countries, but surely not in safe, quiet Canada. The police could find no clues to the Cross kidnapping.

Five days later, on October 10, the terrorists struck again. Pierre Laporte, the Quebec minister of labour, was kidnapped at gunpoint while playing football outside his home. This second kidnapping drove many people in Quebec into near panic.

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## *The War Measures Act*

Quebec police were frustrated by their inability to solve the two kidnappings. People feared the FLQ would strike again. Quebec Premier Robert Bourassa asked the federal government for help. Prime Minister Trudeau

responded by asking Parliament to proclaim the War Measures Act, which suspended legal rights and freedoms. The Act was designed for emergency use when Canada was at war. It had been used during both world wars, but never during peace. The Act gave police special powers to search, question, and arrest



Parts of Montreal looked like a war zone during the FLQ crisis. Do you think soldiers should have been sent in to help solve the crisis? Explain.

suspects without cause. A curfew was declared in Montreal. The army was called in to assist the police.

On October 17, police received a tip about an abandoned car. The body of Pierre Laporte was found in its trunk. He had been strangled with the chain from his own religious medal. Quebecers were shocked that one of their own had been killed so brutally by the FLQ.

On November 6, one of the Laporte kidnapers was found in a closet during a search of a Montreal apartment. Police did not realize

until later that the terrorists were hiding behind a partition in the same closet. These people were found on December 28 in an abandoned farmhouse 30 km southeast of Montreal.

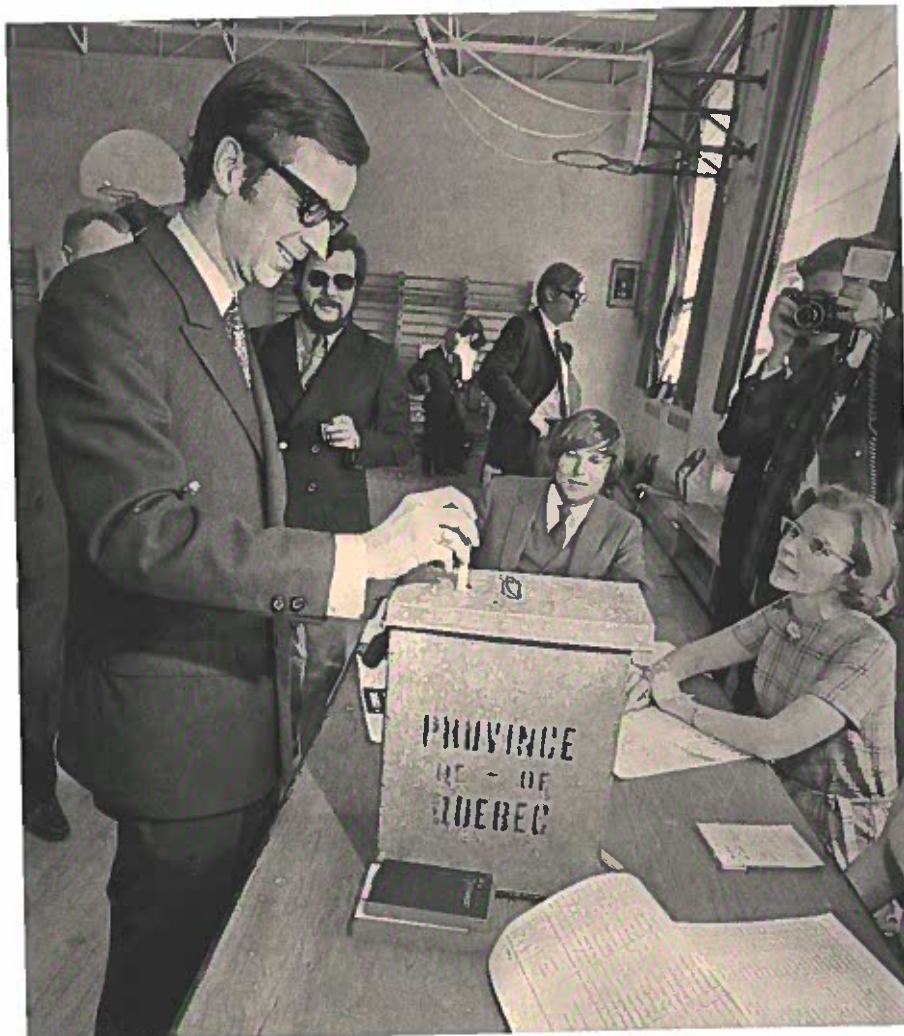
In the end, it was routine police investigation that finally led to the discovery of James Cross. On December 3, police and soldiers surrounded the house where Cross was being held. He had been there for nearly nine weeks. All of Canada watched as the deal for his release was negotiated.



*Pierre Laporte's funeral at Montreal's Church of Notre Dame was a day of mourning for many Canadians. For more on this tragedy, visit [www.cbc.ca/archives](http://www.cbc.ca/archives) and view the file "The October Crisis: Civil Liberties Suspended."*

Television crews in helicopters followed the kidnapers' car as it raced through downtown Montreal to "Man and His World," the site of Expo '67. There, Cross was released into the custody of the Cuban Consul. The kidnapers were flown to Cuba.

The results of the October Crisis were far-reaching. Under the War Measures Act, about 500 people were arrested and held in custody for up to three weeks. They had been imprisoned merely on suspicion. Most were released without charge. Many people lost faith in the government's ability to protect society and their civil rights. Any sympathy most Québécois might have had for the FLQ was wiped out. The Front was in ruins. Quebecers who believed in separatism were firmly convinced that their goals should be achieved through peaceful means. For the first time, other Canadians, both French and English, became fully aware of the feelings dividing the country. They resolved to work even harder at co-operation and understanding. Everyone realized that Canada, too, was vulnerable to violence and terror.



*Robert Bourassa had just become premier of Quebec when the FLQ crisis exploded. Laporte was not only a colleague, but was once a rival for the leadership of the Quebec Liberal Party. Bourassa spent much of his political life combatting separatism and promoting a changed, but united Canada.*

## FOCUS

1. What was the goal of the FLQ?
2. Why did the government proclaim the War Measures Act? How did it use the powers the Act gave it?
3. What were the results of the October Crisis?

# René Lévesque and the Parti Québécois

The end of the FLQ crisis in 1970 did not mean the end of separatism. Many Québécois leaders still believed in achieving independence—but by lawful means.

René Lévesque was one such person. Lévesque was a popular journalist and an

government was corrupt. PQ support increased dramatically.

The PQ pledged to end corruption in Quebec politics, to protect the French language, and to aid the weaker groups in society. The PQ eased fears that independence might



*Lévesque was a forceful, passionate speaker.*



*Trudeau (left) and Lévesque (right) were powerful champions for the federalist and separatist causes.*

influential minister in the Lesage government of the 1960s. He became frustrated with the Liberal federalist policies. He resigned from the party to found the Mouvement Souveraineté Association in 1967. It joined forces with another separatist party in 1968 to form the **Parti Québécois**, or PQ. Lévesque was elected party leader.

The popularity of the PQ rose as the popularity of the Bourassa Liberals fell. Quebec was plagued with strikes between 1973 and 1976. Unemployment rose, as did the cost of living. People began to believe the Bourassa

bring a loss of money and jobs. Lévesque stressed that an independent Quebec would have close economic ties with Canada. During the election campaign of 1976, the PQ promised good government. To attract voters who were uneasy about voting for a separatist party, the PQ announced that the question of separation would be decided in a future referendum.

Lévesque and the PQ won 69 out of 110 seats on election day. The Liberals won 28. Many Canadians were stunned. Even PQ members were surprised by the size of the

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victory. Quebec separatists were ecstatic. The world viewed the PQ victory with unease. What did it mean for Canada?

Pierre Elliott Trudeau, a strong Québécois federalist, was Canada's prime minister. Canadian federalists looked to Trudeau for leadership in fighting the Quebec separatist movement.

In 1979, the Parti Québécois announced it would hold a referendum in May 1980. Quebecers would vote on the idea of leaving Confederation.

PQ leaders worked hard on the wording of the question they would put to voters. They knew many were afraid of separatism. To reduce voters' alarm, they softened the question. Quebecers were asked to vote *oui* (yes) or *non* (no) on whether they wished to give the Quebec government the "mandate (or right) to negotiate sovereignty-association with Canada."

Both the *oui* and the *non* campaigns were hard fought. The province was bombarded with rallies, speeches, pamphlets, and radio and TV ads. Lévesque and his followers



Hockey was used in the referendum of 1970. Here, Lévesque holds a Quebec Nordiques jersey with a symbol of the 1837 Rebellion on it.

claimed a *oui* vote was needed to protect the French language and the culture of Quebec. They urged Québécois to remember their history and pride in their homeland. They claimed that a strong *oui* vote would give the province more political clout when dealing with Ottawa.

The *non* campaign was headed by the new Quebec Liberal leader, Claude Ryan, a political rookie. Ryan attacked the wording of the question. He argued that the PQ was trying to disguise separatism by calling it sovereignty-asso-

ciation. His speeches were passionate. Ryan began to impress the voters as a sincere and dedicated man.

Members of all three federal parties supported the *non* side. Pierre Trudeau used his personal popularity in the province to help persuade Quebecers to remain in Canada. One million Canadians signed a petition to tell the people of Quebec they wanted them to remain in Canada.

The turning point of the 1980 Quebec referendum came when Lise Payette, a PQ Cabinet minister, unintentionally mobilized Quebec women into the debate. Payette delivered a speech in which she called Claude Ryan's wife an "Yvette" and accused all women who voted against the PQ of being "Yvettes." Yvette was the name of the girl in a grade 2 reader used in Quebec schools. The reader showed Yvette staying at home to cook and sew while her brother had exciting adventures. Payette was implying that all women who were against sovereignty-association were submissive and could not think for themselves.

Enraged women in Quebec started an Yvette movement. Within a week of Payette's



comments, the Yvettes held a rally of 15 000 women. This rally was the first serious setback for the PQ. From that point on, the federalist campaign gathered momentum.

On Referendum Day, 85 percent of eligible Quebec voters cast their ballots. When the polls closed, people across the nation waited in suspense as the results trickled in.

Within an hour, the outcome was clear. As expected, the English-speaking vote was solidly opposed to separation. Almost 60 percent of the province voted to stay in Canada. Referring to the majority of women who voted *non* to sovereignty-association, one PQ organizer commented: "The Yvettes killed us."

Lévesque and the PQ had suffered defeat, but the people of Quebec believed that they had provided good government. Both were re-elected in 1981. Ryan resigned, and Robert Bourassa returned as the Liberal leader.

Canadians understood that Quebec's voice would be heard again. Political or constitutional change would be needed to avoid the future breakup of the country. But would the Québécois ever be satisfied within a Canadian framework? A delicate balance would be difficult to achieve.

## A CLOSER LOOK AT SOVEREIGNTY-ASSOCIATION

**S**overeignty meant that Quebec would be politically independent. Only the Quebec government could collect taxes, and Quebec would run its own foreign affairs. *Association* meant that Quebec would still be tied to Canada economically. The two countries would use the same money. They would have the same tariffs

on imports. A mandate to negotiate the question would give the PQ government the authority to try to work out a deal with the rest of Canada. A *oui* vote would not necessarily mean that Quebec would leave Canada. If and after any agreement was reached, a second vote would be called.



Prime Minister Trudeau was determined to keep Quebec in Canada. To do this, he decided to **patriate** and revise the Canadian Constitution. Doing so meant a long and often bitter struggle. There was considerable debate and compromise before Canada's Constitution Act, 1982, was finally complete. A major problem was convincing all 10 provinces to agree to the new constitution. Eventually, all but one province agreed—Lévesque and the PQ opposed it. Rather than

providing a binding tie, Canada's Constitution Act, 1982, further divided Quebec from the rest of the country.

When René Lévesque resigned from the Parti Québécois in 1985, support for the party declined. Lévesque died in 1987. Although most Québécois did not accept his ideas on separatism, they loved him. He was thought of as the man with the giant heart who had dedicated his life to them and to the survival of Québécois culture.

## Canadian Vision

### **Mon Oncle Antoine**

The film *Mon Oncle Antoine* was first screened in 1971. It is said by many to be the best film Canada has ever produced. Its creator was Claude Jutra, who earned international fame because of it. Jutra was born in Montreal in 1930 to a family of doctors. His filmmaking talent became obvious when he was only 18.

Halfway through medical school, Jutra directed an award-winning short film called *Perpetual Motion*.



It caught the attention of the National Film Board. Jutra's first feature-length film, *A Tout Prendre*,

was financed privately because the NFB was unwilling to fund it. It won a number of international awards and marked the first wave of Quebec filmmaking. In 1969, Jutra began work on *Mon Oncle Antoine*. It got more attention in English-speaking Canada and in the United

States than it did in French Canada. Furthermore, American critics loved it.

### FOCUS

1. What did René Lévesque do before entering politics?
2. Why did he leave the Liberal Party?
3. Who were the "Yvettes"? Why did they rally against the separatist cause?
4. What was the result of the 1980 referendum?
5. How did Trudeau attempt to bind Canada together?

# Language in Quebec

In 1977, the Lévesque government revolutionized Quebec's language practices with the passage of Bill 101. This bill made French the language of business and government. French was now the official language of Quebec. All communication from the Quebec government would be only in French.

The Commission de Surveillance was established to enforce Bill 101. Consumers had the right to be served in French. Workers had the right to work in French. All signs and billboards had to be written and displayed in French. French was the language of instruction in school. Immigrant children would learn French in the school system, not English. Only children whose parents had been educated in English would be sent to English-language schools.

Many anglophones and immigrants in the province were horrified

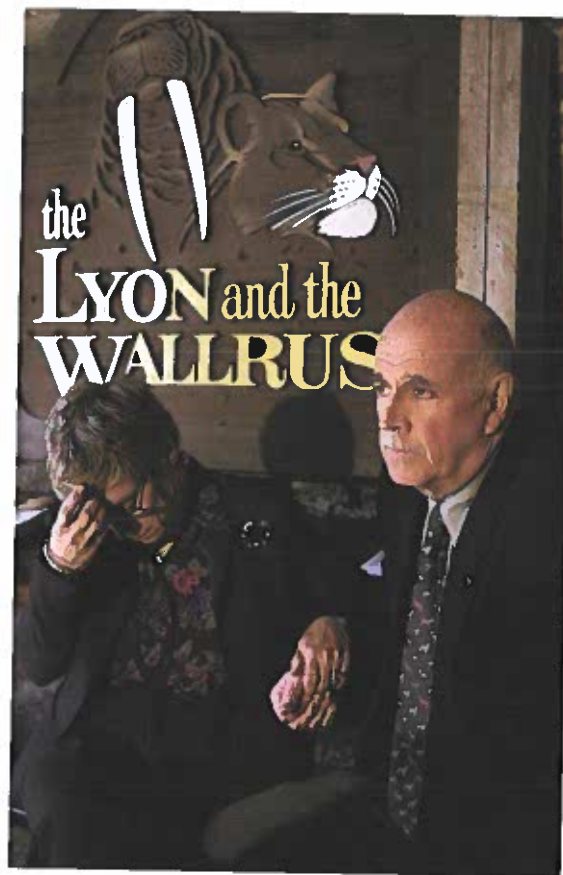
by the legislation. They claimed that Bill 101 violated bilingualism. Some people formed Alliance Quebec. They took their case to court. Others simply left the province.

One hotly contested issue was the use of English-language signs in Quebec stores.

Anglophones were upset at the idea of French-only signs in their stores. In 1982, the Quebec Supreme Court ruled that store signs must be in French, but that they could also be bilingual.

Robert Bourassa, who had retired in the late 1970s, returned to Quebec politics in 1985 as leader of the Liberal Party. His Liberals defeated the Parti Québécois in the 1985 election. Like Lévesque, Bourassa believed that Quebec should have the power to control its language law.

The store signage issue was raised again in 1988 on appeal to the Supreme Court of Canada. The Supreme Court ruled that although



*In April 2000, the Quebec courts ruled that signs showing English and French words in the same size were illegal. What challenge does this earlier sign point to?*

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the government of Quebec had the right to require all signs to be in French, it did not have the right to prevent the use of other languages on the signs.

The Quebec government promptly passed a new law. Bill 178 required French-only signs on the outside of buildings, but permitted bilingual signs on the inside of buildings—as long as French dominated. Francophones within the province strongly supported Bourassa. Anglophones, most of whom were long-time Liberals, denounced him. They began to abandon the party.



*The tri-colour iris emblem now symbolizes Quebec cultural diversity.*

Some anglophones took their case to the United Nations Committee on Human Rights. In 1993, the Committee ruled against Bill

178. Bourassa's government passed Bill 86 in response. Bill 86 said that commercial signs in Quebec could be bilingual, as long as the French language is dominant.

The debate over Quebec's language laws continues. Even the Internet is subject to the dispute. The Commission de Surveillance investigates when people complain about English-only Internet communication. This issue has not yet been heard in the courts.

## A CLOSER LOOK AT THE CANADIAN CHARTER OF RIGHTS AND FREEDOMS

**T**he Charter is part of the Constitution Act, 1982. It guarantees the rights and freedoms of all Canadians. All Canadian laws (present and future) must follow the terms of the Charter and allow freedom of speech, of thought, and of expression. However, the Charter places "reasonable limits" on the rights and freedoms

that Canadians enjoy.

Section 33 gives Canadian provinces the right to pass laws that ignore or override certain Charter rights. Section 33 was added to give Canadian provinces flexibility when dealing with their respective citizens. Quebec has used this clause to maintain its language laws.

## Canadian Vision

### **O Canada!**

In 1880, the song that would become Canada's national anthem was written by Adolphe-Basile Routhier and Calixa Lavallée. It was composed to help celebrate French Canada's national day, St. Jean Baptiste Day. The song was an instant hit.

In 1908, Stanley Weir wrote English words to Lavallée's famous tune in celebration of the 300th anniversary of the founding of Quebec. His version became popular in English Canada. In 1980, Parliament recognized "O Canada!" as the national anthem. Minor changes were made to the English words, but the French version remains exactly as Routhier and Lavallée wrote it.

### **French Version:**

#### **O Canada!**

O Canada!

Terre de nos aïeux,

*(Land of our forefathers)*

Ton front est ceint de fleurons glorieux!

*(Thy brow is wreathed with a glorious garland  
of flowers!)*

Car ton bras sait porter l'épée il sait porter la  
croix!

*(As your arm is ready to wield a sword so is it  
ready to carry the cross)*

Ton histoire est une épopée

*(Thy history is an epic)*

Des plus brillants exploits

*(of the most brilliant exploits)*

Et ta valeur, de foi trempée,

*(Thy value, steeped in faith)*

Protégera nos foyers et nos droits

*(Will protect our homes and our rights)*

Protégera nos foyers et nos droits.

*(Will protect our homes and our rights)*

### **English Version:**

#### **O Canada!**

O Canada!

Our home and native land!

True patriot love in all thy sons' command.

With glowing hearts we see thee rise,

The True North strong and free!

From far and wide,

O Canada,

We stand on guard for thee.

God keep our land, glorious and free!

O Canada,

We stand on guard for thee!

O Canada,

We stand on guard for thee!

**Read both versions of "O Canada!" and carefully note the differences.**

**HISTORICA**

*Minutes*

## The Technical Edge

**Bombardier Snowmobiles** The snowmobile was invented by Quebec mechanic Joseph-Armand Bombardier (1907–1964).

enter the rail, aerospace, and defence sectors, serving the global market. Working in several world languages, it now has manufacturing plants in Montreal, Austria, Iceland, and the United

**HISTOR!CA**

*Minutes*

Bombardier built everything himself. In 1936, he invented

the first vehicle steered by skis. Later, he invented a tank-like all-terrain vehicle with room for up to 12 people. Until the Quebec government announced it would keep roads clear of snow, the vehicle was a common sight on snowy Quebec roads.

Then, in 1959, Bombardier introduced the Ski-Doo. Modelled more on a motorcycle than a bus, the Ski-Doo was an instant success in Canada. For the first time ever, remote Arctic communities were accessible by land. The Ski-Doo transformed social life there. By the 1990s, more than 2 million Ski-Doos had been sold worldwide.

From this base, Bombardier Inc. came to



*This vehicle evolved into the popular Ski-Doo. From that invention, Bombardier Inc. went on to produce trains, ships, and planes. Right: Joseph-Armand Bombardier.*

States. Like Quebecor and Power Corporation, its home remains Quebec.

*To see more of Bombardier's projects, go to [www.bombardier.com](http://www.bombardier.com) or visit the CBC Digital Archives at [www.cbc.ca/archives](http://www.cbc.ca/archives) and view the file "Bombardier: The Snowmobile Legacy."*

## FOCUS

1. What is Bill 101? How did it affect Quebec's language laws?
2. How has Quebec used the Charter of Rights and Freedoms to uphold its language laws?
3. What evidence is there that language continues to be a divisive issue in Quebec?
4. Why is language both a bridge and a wall in Canada?

# Failed Accords

## *Meech Lake Accord*

Progressive Conservative leader Brian Mulroney became prime minister in 1984. Mulroney was a bilingual Quebecer. He was determined to resolve the conflict between Quebec and the rest of Canada. Mulroney had campaigned on a promise to reduce this conflict. He had also promised to find a compromise that would allow Quebec to support the Constitution.

Although the Constitution Act, 1982, was legally binding on Quebec, Mulroney found it unacceptable that Quebec had not agreed to it. He believed that if the Constitution gave Quebec special status, it would bring the province into constitutional agreement with the rest of Canada.



Brian Mulroney

In April 1987, the prime minister invited the 10 provincial premiers to the government's private retreat in Meech Lake, Quebec. After much debate, an agreement was reached on constitutional change (later called the Meech Lake Accord). The agreement proposed to give more power to the provinces. It also recognized the province of Quebec as a **distinct society**. It had the approval of all

three federal parties, and was soon approved by 8 of the 10 provinces. Only Newfoundland and Manitoba held out. Their agreement was necessary for the Accord to take effect.

Opponents of Meech Lake felt that the Accord weakened federal government powers and gave too much power to the provincial governments. They also felt that the price paid to bring Quebec into the Constitution was too great and that the phrase "distinct society," which lacked a precise legal meaning, might give rise to future legal and constitutional disputes.

Aboriginal Canadians opposed Meech Lake. They argued that Aboriginal communities should also be recognized as distinct. They saw the survival of their communities

## MEECH LAKE ACCORD

### The Meech Lake Accord specified the following:

- Quebec would be recognized as a distinct society within the Constitution.
- All provinces would have the right to recommend the appointment of senators and Supreme Court justices.
- Changes to federal institutions (the number of members in the House of Commons, Senate, and Supreme Court, for example), as well as changes from territories to provinces, would require approval by all Canadian provinces, as well as the Canadian Parliament.
- Provinces could opt out of the newly created national social programs and receive federal revenues for their own social programs, as long as these met national objectives.

Which of the above would you have supported or not supported? Explain.

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within Canada as no less important than the survival of Quebec.

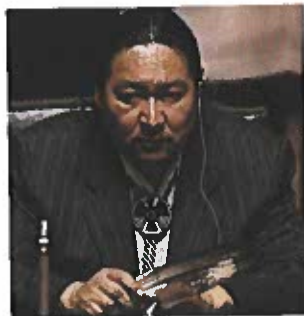
On 23 June 1990, Elijah Harper, of Manitoba, spoke on behalf of Aboriginal Canadians to the Manitoba legislature. He effectively prevented the Meech Lake vote from taking place there. The deadline for agreement thus expired without unanimous approval. Prime Minister Mulroney's first attempt to bring Quebec into the Constitution had failed.

## *Charlottetown Accord*

Mulroney attempted constitutional change a second time. Constitutional committees were established to canvass the country and to report back. Bourassa's government threatened to hold a vote on separatism if the country did not address Quebec's demands. Tension mounted.

Finally, after months of discussion, an agreement was reached in Charlottetown, Prince Edward Island. This site was symbolic because the Confederation discussions of 1864 had taken place there.

In October 1992, the Charlottetown Accord was presented to Canadian voters for



*Elijah Harper*

approval in a national referendum. The vote was 55 percent No to 45 percent Yes.

Once more, Canada was caught in a unity crisis. Regionalism in western Canada blossomed, as did Quebec separatism. Some Quebec members of Parliament left their parties to create the Bloc Québécois. Many people blamed Prime Minister Mulroney for his timing of the constitutional discussions. Others blamed Quebec and the other provinces.

## CHARLOTTETOWN ACCORD

### The 1992 Charlottetown Accord consisted of several points:

- Quebec was recognized as a distinct society with its own traditions.
- The idea of Aboriginal government was put on a par with federal and provincial governments.
- The Canadian Senate would be elected, not appointed.
- Canadian provinces would have extended powers, including power over social and health programs, as long as these were within "national standards."

Which of the above would you have supported or not supported? Explain.

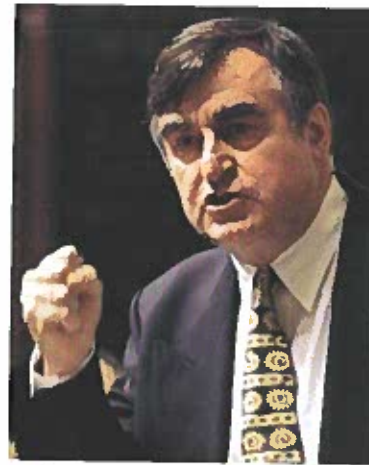
## FOCUS

1. Why were some people against the Meech Lake Accord?
2. How did Elijah Harper prevent the Accord from taking place? Why did he do it?
3. Why did the Charlottetown Accord fail?

# Referendum 1995

Mulroney's minister of the environment, Lucien Bouchard, became disillusioned with both federalism and the Progressive Conservative Party after the Meech Lake Accord. In 1990, he quit the party and sat as an independent member of the House of Commons. Soon, Bouchard was joined by several more Conservative MPs from Quebec. Together, they formed the Bloc Québécois.

The Bloc vowed to represent the interests of Québécois in the federal Parliament. In the



*Lucien Bouchard*

1993 federal election, the Bloc won 54 seats to form the official Opposition.

In 1994, Jacques Parizeau, leader of the Parti Québécois, became premier of Quebec. Parizeau won the election in part because he promised voters an early referendum on separation, using clear, plain wording. Parizeau moved immediately to unite the Québécois separatist movement. In June 1995, he invited Bouchard and other politicians from Quebec to create a document outlining how separation could be achieved.



*On 27 October 1995, a huge national unity rally took place in Montreal. Do you think this show of support would help or hurt the federalist cause?*



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The referendum was set for 30 October 1995. The Quebec government sought permission to negotiate a new agreement with the rest of Canada. It wanted Quebec to gain political independence, but maintain economic ties with Canada. Yes voters would also be giving the Parti Québécois permission to declare **unilateral independence** within one year of the referendum date, if negotiations failed.

Daniel Johnson Jr., leader of the Quebec Liberals, Jean Charest, federal Conservative leader, and federal Liberal Cabinet ministers led the campaign for the No vote. At first, momentum seemed to be with the No side. The federalists underestimated the opposition, however. As voting day approached, separatists received more and more support. The referendum looked to be a very close race. Thousands of English Canadians from all over Canada gathered in Montreal for a huge rally on October 27. The rally was an extraordinary display of Canadian nationalism.

## THE REFERENDUM QUESTION

Federalists believed that the wording of the 1995 Quebec referendum question was unclear and that most Quebecers did not know exactly what they were voting on. Read the question below. Is the wording clear or ambiguous? Explain.

**Do you agree that Quebec should become sovereign after having made a formal offer to Canada for a new economic and political partnership, within the scope of the Bill respecting the future of Quebec, and the agreement signed on June 12, 1995?**

Voter turnout was high on Referendum Day. Canadians everywhere waited anxiously for the results. Everyone knew the decision would be close, but no one predicted just how close: 49.4 percent in favour of the question, 50.6 percent against it. The federalists had won, but by a very narrow margin.

Jacques Parizeau blamed the separatist loss on big business money and “the ethnic vote.” He resigned and the popular Lucien Bouchard replaced him.

## FOCUS

1. Why did Lucien Bouchard quit the Progressive Conservative Party?
2. What is the Bloc Québécois?
3. Why was the referendum result so close in 1995?

# Separatism and the Supreme Court

Jean Chrétien, then prime minister, vowed that federalist Canada would never be caught unprepared again. He appointed Stéphane Dion, intergovernmental affairs minister, to ensure that Ottawa would be ready for the separatists' next move. This federalist strategy was referred to as Plan B.



*The Judges' bench in the main courtroom of the Supreme Court of Canada.*

Dion decided to ask the Supreme Court of Canada to rule on the legality of separation. This approach was risky. The Supreme Court would make an independent judgment. It would apply the law, not emotion. Many Canadians feared the decision would

help the separatist cause. The Quebec government believed that the Supreme Court had no business ruling on the future destiny of Quebec. It boycotted the hearings.

In August 1988, the Supreme Court ruled that the voters of Quebec could determine the future of their province in a democratic manner. Both federalists and separatists claimed victory. Separatists were happy because if Quebec voters approved a separation referendum, Canada would have to nego-

ciate separation. Federalists liked the ruling because the Court specified a need for a clear referendum question and a clear majority vote in favour of separation. Both Bouchard and Charest defined a clear majority vote as 50 percent plus one. Prime Minister Chrétien and Stéphane Dion, however, maintained that a vote of 50 percent plus one was too small a majority to decide the fate of the nation. In 2005, a new Parti Québécois leader, André Boisclair, declared that a future vote on separation would not need to accept any federal guidelines.

## The Supreme Court of Canada ruled as follows:

- Under Canadian and international law, it would be illegal for Quebec to declare unilateral separation from Canada.
- If the Quebec people voted to separate from Canada through the democratic process of a provincial referendum, the Canadian government could voluntarily negotiate separation terms with the new Quebec. (This process would ensure minimal disruption to Canada and to Quebec.)
- A referendum vote must be a clear majority, and the vote must be made on a clear question. (The Court did not define either term.)

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## Clarity Act

In December 1999, Chrétien's government surprised many Canadians when it introduced the Clarity Act, Bill C-20, to the House of Commons.

Based on the Supreme Court ruling on Quebec separation, the Bill outlined the conditions under which the federal government would negotiate separation of a province. The proposed law stated that negotiations would be carried out in accordance with the Supreme Court ruling. Borders, assets, liabilities, Aboriginal and minority rights would be negotiable.

The Clarity Bill marks the first time that a federal government had publicly set conditions under which it would negotiate the secession of any province.

## A CLOSER LOOK AT FRENCH IN CANADA

According to an article in *The New York Times* (28 October 1999): "The French language has entered a period of slow but steady decline in Canada in face of a wave of Asian immigration and a growing number of so-called allophones in Quebec, according to two studies published this week. Allophones speak neither French nor English, Canada's official languages, at home.

The studies, undertaken by the Association for Canadian Studies in Montreal and the Conseil de la Langue Française in Quebec, predicted that Chinese would soon be spoken more than French in English-speaking Canada, while French would continue to decline slowly in Quebec, where it is predominant.

The studies said the number of French speakers had been eroded by three years of rising immigration to Ontario and British Columbia.

The study by the Conseil de la Langue Française also indicated that the French language in Quebec, a province of 7.3 million people, is threatened.

Marc Termote, who wrote the study, said the number of francophones in the province could drop by 2 percentage points, to 81 percent, in 20 years, with allophones accounting for 9.5 percent."

**How would a Quebec separatist likely react to this article? Why?**

## FOCUS

1. Why did the Quebec government denounce Plan B?
2. What is the Clarity Bill? Why is it so significant?
3. In your view, should any province be allowed to separate from the nation? Explain.

# Quebec's Changing Faces

As Canada celebrated the outset of the 21st century, there was general happiness over the prosperous nation that Canada had become since 1867. Yet, national unity was still an issue. Some Canadians in the west, east, and north felt that they were not equal partners

in referenda in 1980 and 1995, they had not given up hope. Two powerful and popular political forces were fighting for the separatist cause: the Bloc Québécois and the Parti Québécois.



Here, outgoing PQ leader Bernard Landry, right, joins hands with respected Bloc Québécois leader Gilles Duceppe at the June 2005 PQ convention in Quebec City. Both the Bloc and the PQ support separation.

in Confederation. Some threatened to leave or try to alter the terms of the Confederation agreement. The most serious threat to Canadian unity came from the separatist forces in Quebec. Although they had been beaten

The popular Lucien Bouchard replaced him as leader of the Parti Québécois. Bouchard went on to lead the Parti Québécois to two electoral victories in Quebec, but did not introduce another referendum on separation.

## *The Bloc Québécois*

The Bloc Québécois was formed by Lucien Bouchard after the failure of the Meech Lake Accord. The federal party runs candidates only in the province of Quebec. It has won many seats and votes since its birth. The Bloc stands as the voice of Quebec separatism in the House of Commons. After Lucien Bouchard left Ottawa to serve as leader of the Parti Québécois and premier of Quebec (1995–2001), Gilles Duceppe took over as Bloc leader.

## *The Parti Québécois*

After the bitter failure of the 1995 referendum, Jacques Parizeau resigned as premier.

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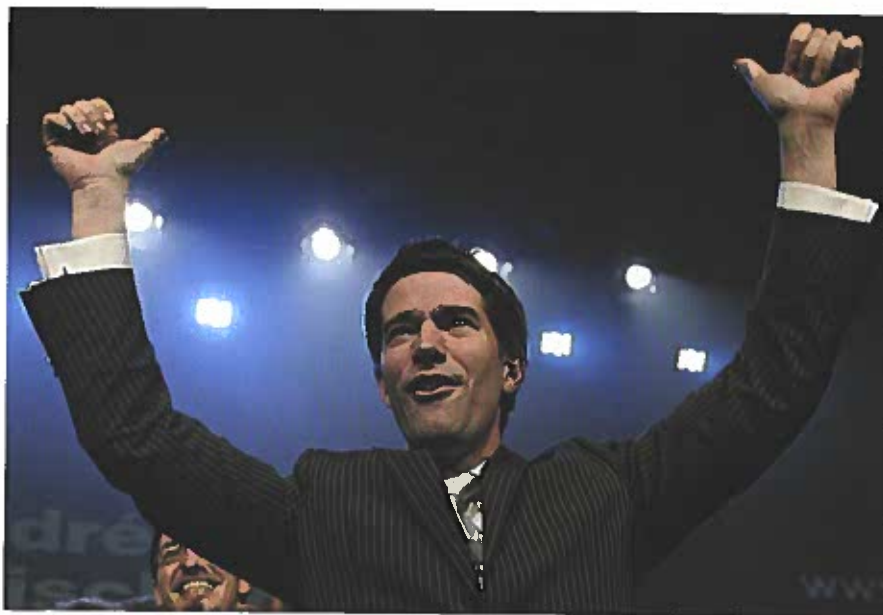
## *Federalists, Separatists, and Nationalists in Quebec*

Quebec separatists see themselves as citizens of Quebec—they do not see themselves as citizens of Canada. They want Quebec to leave Confederation and to establish itself as an independent country.

Separatists believe that independence is the only way for Quebec to control its own affairs. They think that independence will protect the uniqueness of the Québécois culture. Separatists want to keep strong economic ties to the rest of Canada.

On the other hand, Quebec federalists believe that Quebec has prospered as part of the Canadian Confederation. Federalists acknowledge that the Québécois suffered injustices and discrimination in earlier times. They also believe that the French language and culture are well protected today within Confederation. Federalists believe that Confederation strengthens Quebec. They feel that the province can realize its fullest potential within Canada.

Many Québécois often fall between these two groups. They are neither fully separatist, nor fully federalist. These people are sometimes referred to as soft separatists or **nationalists**. They want a strong Quebec, but within



The controversial André Boisclair became leader of the Parti Québécois in 2005.

a united Canada. They are often central in the battles for the hearts and minds of Quebecers. Some Quebecers shift from federalist to separatist to nationalist depending on political or personal events.

New immigrants to Quebec will likely play a bigger role in any future political battles or referenda. Many immigrants feel that they have entered Canada, not just Quebec. They have supported Canada in the two Quebec referenda. They also hope to have all Canada open to their children in the future. Many have neither English nor French as their first language. The old French-English struggles have less meaning for them.

## Thérèse Casgrain



**BORN:** 1896, Montreal, Quebec

**DIED:** 1981, Montreal, Quebec

**SIGNIFICANCE:** Casgrain was the first francophone woman appointed to the Senate.

**BRIEF BIOGRAPHY:** Thérèse Casgrain was a suffragette, humanist, radio personality, and reformer. She played a leading role in Quebec's social and political culture during the 20th century. She campaigned ceaselessly for women's rights. Casgrain was a founding member of the Provincial Franchise Committee for women's suffrage in 1921. During the 1930s, she hosted a radio show, *Fémina*, in which she discussed the role of women in Quebec society. In the 1940s, she joined the CCF. This movement helped mobilize opposition to Duplessis's government. In the 1960s, she founded the League of Human Rights and the Quebec branch of the Voice of Women. Her purpose was to protest the nuclear threat. Casgrain has been a role model for many Quebec women. She symbolizes the active political role that women can play in the province. **In your view, what is Casgrain's most important achievement?**

CANADIAN LIVES

### *Women and Quebec*

The voting preferences of Quebec women have had a powerful, but underestimated impact on the province's politics. Although eligible to vote federally since 1917, Quebec women received the right to vote in provincial elections only in 1940. Quebec suffragettes, led by Thérèse Casgrain and Marie Gérin-Lajoie, were opposed by the Roman Catholic Church. Francophone nationalists considered the suffrage movement to be an Anglo-Saxon and anti-Quebec idea.

Quebec women largely support a united Canada. They tend to see separatism as an economic risk to the

province and therefore to their personal well-being. According to Statistics Canada in 1997, women over 15 years of age made up 44 percent of the workforce in Quebec. However, 68 percent were in low-paying, part-time jobs. They believe a united Canada provides them and their children with greater stability, security, and opportunity.

Quebec women have enjoyed great success in the arts. Céline Dion, world-famous singer and celebrity, recorded her songs only in French until 1990. Authors Anne Hébert, Gabrielle Roy, and Marie-Claire Blais wrote books that won Governor General's Awards.



*Gabrielle Roy*



**Julie Payette** represents a new breed of Quebec women. Born in 1963, she speaks five languages and holds a multi-engine commercial pilot licence. She has also sung with the Montreal Symphonic Orchestra Chamber Choir, the Piacere Vocali in Switzerland, and the Tafelmusik Baroque Orchestra in Toronto. In May 1999, Payette flew on the space shuttle *Discovery* to the International Space Station. She was the first Canadian to visit the Space Station. In September 1999, Payette accompanied Prime Minister Jean Chrétien and Quebec Premier Lucien Bouchard to Japan for trade discussions.

## FOCUS

1. How do the Bloc Québécois and Parti Québécois differ?
2. Define a Quebec separatist, federalist, and nationalist.
3. What role have women played in the separatism debate?
4. Do you think that the separatists will ever win a referendum? Explain.

# French Canada Today

## *A Multicultural Community*

Bill 101, the Quebec language law, passed in 1977. It forced all immigrants to send their children to French language schools. By 2000, a whole generation of immigrant children in Quebec had been educated as

Québécois culture. They are also aware of a much wider world outside the boundaries of the province.

Traditionally, immigrants in Quebec have preferred federalism to separatism. Jacques Parizeau, Quebec's premier during the 1995 Referendum, blamed the separatist defeat on "money and the ethnic vote."

Today's youth, though, have grown up in a separatist political climate. Québécois born since 1977 have lived through two sovereignty votes and several separatist governments. They have heard Quebec leaders claim that Canada rejected Quebec by not passing the Meech Lake and Charlottetown Accords. Quebec's young voters grew up in an envi-

ronment that saw successive Quebec governments demand more powers for Quebec. It is no surprise that many Quebec youth appear to prefer the separatist option—these young voters will likely chart Canada's future.

In September 2005, Prime Minister Paul Martin appointed Michaëlle Jean as governor general of Canada. In many ways, she represents the new Quebec—and the new Canada.

## **In Their Own Words**

**When Michaëlle Jean was installed as governor general, she gave a forceful speech. Part of it appears below.**

*"The time of the 'two solitudes' that for too long described the character of this country is past. The narrow notion of 'every person for himself' does not belong in today's world, which demands that we learn to see beyond our wounds, beyond our differences for the good of all.*

*Quite the contrary: We must eliminate the spectre of all the solitudes and promote solidarity among all the citizens who make up the Canada of today. As well, we must make good use of our prosperity and our influence wherever the hope that we represent offers the world an extra measure of harmony."*

**What do you think Jean meant when she spoke of the "two solitudes"?**

francophones. West Indians, Koreans, Filipinos, Chinese, and Latin Americans all spoke fluent French. Many of these young men and women became fully bilingual as they learned English at home or by watching TV. Some spoke three languages by maintaining the cultural heritage of their parents or grandparents. This multicultural, multiracial, multilingual population has developed in a



## CANADIAN FILES

representing the bobcats' and  
governor general in 2002.  
Quebec. She was appointed  
Canada and the CBC in  
tion journalist for Radio-

She worked as a televi-  
English, Italian, and Spanish.  
mentally—Cécile, French,  
Jean speaks five languages  
degree in modern languages.  
Quebec. She later earned a  
she attended school in Paris  
Jean's family fled to Canada,  
things attacked her father.  
countries. In 1968, political  
bores and most violent  
Haiti, one of the world's  
Jean was born in 1927 in  
BIEL BROCKVILLE: Michèle  
governor general.  
Black woman to be appointed  
SICILY/SICILE: Jean is the first  
BOYZ: Haiti

Royal Canadian Legion, which was the campaign  
residence, Rideau Hall. The governor general is a patron of the  
bobcat of the 2002 Bobcat and Remembrance campaign at her  
governor general Michèle Jean receives the symbolic first



WWW.GG.CA  
official Web site at  
governor general, visit the  
and activities of the gov-  
ernation about the work  
explain. For more infor-  
governor general's  
good choice as Canada's  
think Michèle Jean is a  
loyalty to Canada. Do you  
forcefully stated her  
dependent Quebec. Jean  
that she was for an inde-  
of separatists claimed  
selected, a small group  
When she was first  
English or French settlers  
are not descended from  
resents Canadians who  
woman of colour. She rep-  
Jean is an immigrant  
Andrienne Clarkson  
somewhat controversial

Michèle Jean

1942 1960 1982 1980 1982 1910 1912 1980 1982 1980 1982 2000 2002 2010

MY COUNTRY, MONS PAYS

## COMMUNITY SNAPSHOT

**Acadians** The francophones in the Atlantic provinces have a proud heritage. They are different from their Quebec neighbours. They have a different history, different memories, a different culture, and a slightly different language. At the same time, they look to the larger French-speaking population of Quebec as allies in the struggle to maintain their identity.

The Acadian presence dates back to the original settlements along the Bay of Fundy. Often ignored by France, Acadians created an agricultural community. They dyked and improved the rich farmlands. They traded with the Aboriginal peoples and the English colonies to the south for the things they could not produce themselves.

Acadia was soon caught up in the strife between Britain and France. After 1713, much of Acadia was under British rule. Acadians tried to remain neutral, but the British did not trust them. In 1755, as tensions grew, the British decided to deport the



*Expulsion of the Acadians*

Acadians from British North America and send them to English colonies farther south. This was called *Le Grand Dérangement*.

Very few Acadians escaped this deportation. Others slowly made their way back to their homeland. Eventually, many settled in what is now northern New

Brunswick. Some Acadians remained in the American colonies and adapted to their new country. Today, Americans of Acadian ancestry are found in Louisiana, Maine, Vermont, and other U.S. states. Their modern name in Louisiana is “Cajun,” an Americanization of Acadien.

The Acadian community is strong and vibrant. Many Acadians have achieved national and international acclaim. Roméo LeBlanc, Canada’s governor general from 1995 to 1999, was the first Acadian to fill this post. Antonine Maillet, a prominent Acadian writer, won France’s Prix Goncourt in 1979 for her novel *Pélagie-la-charrette*. It was the first time in the prize’s history that an author living

outside of France won it. Acadians celebrated the 400th anniversary of their presence in North America in 2005.

**For more information about Acadia and Acadians, visit the official Web site of the Société Nationale de l’Acadie at [www.acadie400.ca](http://www.acadie400.ca).**

## COMMUNITY SNAPSHOT

**Franco-Ontarians** There have been French settlers in Ontario almost as long as there have been French people in Canada. The first known French voyageur to arrive in what would later be Ontario was Étienne Brûlé. In 1610, he was sent on a survey mission for Champlain. By 1840, the rapidly growing population of French Canada began to spill into Ontario, particularly near the Ottawa River and the Sudbury regions.

Most Franco-Ontarians tried to preserve their culture, language, and religion in the predominantly English-speaking, Protestant world of Ontario. In 1910, they established the Association Canadienne-française de l'Ontario (ACFO). In 1913, the first French-language newspaper in Ontario, *Le Droit*, was published. It was based in Ottawa and published daily.

A major concern for Franco-Ontarians during the early part of the 20th century was French-language education. By 1890, English became the compulsory language of instruction. French language instruction was mostly



Many Franco-Ontarians settled along the Ottawa River where they found employment in the forestry industry.

abolished. In 1912, the provincial government passed Regulation 17 in an attempt to assimilate French-speaking Ontarians into the predominantly English-speaking culture.

This bill limited French instruction in schools to the first two years of elementary school.

All French-speaking children would receive English-language instruction after grade 2. Although amended in 1913 to allow for one hour of French study per day, Regulation 17 caused a massive outcry among Franco-Ontarians.

Rallies, marches, and protests opposed the regulation.

By the time of the conscription crisis of the First World War, Ontario's language issue had become a national debate. Regulation 17 was abolished in 1927. Before it was, though, it shaped a whole generation of Franco-Ontarians, who were not

allowed to receive an education in their first language. Now, Franco-Ontarians from all over the province thrive. They are proud of their culture, their language, and their heritage. **For more information about Franco-Ontarians, visit the Web site of ACFO: [www.acfo.ca](http://www.acfo.ca).**

### FOCUS

1. In what ways does Michaëlle Jean represent the new face of Quebec?
2. What evidence is there that French Canada is more than the province of Quebec?
3. How important is it to speak French as well as English? Explain.

# Sharpening Your Skills

## Taking Research Notes

### THE SKILL

Paraphrasing and making proper research notes

### THE IMPORTANCE

Used in many aspects of life and for historical research

Everyone makes notes. These range from telephone messages, to minutes of meetings, to lecture notes, to travel directions, to historical research. The ability to take detailed, yet concise notes is essential to good writing and shows an organized mind. Summarizing is an important life skill.

#### Plagiarism: An Academic Sin

Type "plagiarism" in Microsoft's thesaurus and up pops the following words: stealing, copying, illegal use, breach of copyright, bootlegging. The dictionary defines plagiarism as "copying what somebody else has written or taking somebody else's ideas and trying to pass it off as original."

An excellent way to take notes is to use 7.5 cm x 12.5 cm recipe cards (or paper cut to size). This technique is superior to taking notes in a notebook. Cards can be arranged chronologically or grouped into topics according to your essay's organization. Notebooks must be constantly leafed through. Cards can be grouped and regrouped.

Record the source of the information (and the page number) at the top of each

card. Write on only one side. Limit each card to one idea, topic, or quotation—the better for organizing. Except for direct quotes, take notes in point form. Express the important information in your own words—paraphrasing will prevent accidental plagiarism. If you download information from the Internet, do so in a special font (such as italics, capital letters, or Arial black) to avoid plagiarism. Use abbreviations to save time. Keep a notebook handy to record your own thoughts about the assignment, perhaps other areas or sources to explore, a possible opening sentence, a method of organizing.

What information should be recorded? Most beginners worry about not finding enough information, but they almost always end up with too much. Finding the proper balance between too much and too little information comes with practice.

The secret is narrowing your topic.

Don't write an essay on the topic "the Quiet Revolution in Quebec." It is too large and undefined. Instead, ask a question you would like to know the answer to. There are different kinds of questions. Here are a few examples:

- a factual question: What were the goals of the Quiet Revolution?
- a causal question: Why did the Quiet Revolution take place?
- a comparative question: What were the major differences between the Quiet Revolution and the Duplessis era?

Such questions will help you narrow the topic and assist in deciding what information to take down.

For example, if you took notes from this textbook for the essay topic The

Quiet Revolution in Quebec: What Did They Want?, the notes might look like this.

**Don Bogle, Eugene D'Orazio, Don Quinlan, *Canada: Continuity and Change* (Markham: Fitzhenry & Whiteside, 2006), pp. 328-29**

- Que. attempt to examine and define its place; to modernize
- attempt to become "masters in our own house"— wanted more money and better jobs
- wanted Fr. to be the prov's working language
- w. better scientific, business, and technical ed.
- w. to control the major businesses in prov.
- w. better health care, hospitals, pensions, labour unions, rural electrification
- control own prov.

By selecting only the relevant facts and ideas, by summarizing in your own words, and by using point form, the original 500 words in the text have been reduced to 66 words.

Other useful ways of making notes include placing your information on timelines or using mind-mapping techniques. The above research information would look like this if mind mapped.



## Application

Using the material in this chapter, prepare notes (using both methods described here) for the general topic of French-English relations in Canada. Before taking notes, be sure to refine the topic by selecting a factual, causal, or comparative question.

# Questions & Activities

**Match the people in column A with the descriptions in column B.**

- | <b>A</b>             | <b>B</b>  |
|----------------------|---|
| 1. Maurice Duplessis | a) first leader of the Parti Québécois                |
| 2. James Cross       | b) first Black governor general of Canada             |
| 3. Jacques Parizeau  | c) leader of the Union Nationale                      |
| 4. Michaëlle Jean    | d) founder of the Bloc Québécois                      |
| 5. Thérèse Casgrain  | e) premier responsible for the 1995 Quebec referendum |
| 6. René Lévesque     | f) kidnap victim of the FLQ                           |
| 7. Lucien Bouchard   | g) first French-Canadian woman elected to the Senate  |

### Quick Recall

**Identify the following in two sentences each.**

- |                      |                     |
|----------------------|---------------------|
| 1. FLQ               | 2. Quiet Revolution |
| 3. Yvette movement   | 4. Federalist       |
| 5. Meech Lake Accord | 6. Clarity Bill     |
| 7. Franco-Ontarians  | 8. War Measures Act |
| 9. Plan B            | 10. Acadians        |

### Do Some Research

- Find out more about the expulsion of the Acadians. Using computer-based resources, discover why the Acadians were deported. How many were forcibly removed from their homes and lands? Where were they sent? How many returned to their homeland? What problems do Acadians have in trying to protect their language and culture in North America?
- Use the Internet to research the circumstances that led to the use of the War Measures Act in

1970. What powers did this give the authorities? How did this law affect the people? Was its use really necessary? At what other times in Canadian history was the War Measures Act used? Compare these circumstances to those of 1970.

- Separatists in Quebec claim that the Quebec government should have the right to represent the province in foreign countries. They want offices similar to Canadian embassies. Should Quebec have this right? What are the advantages for Quebec and for Canada? What are the disadvantages? Check the Quebec government Web site for more information supporting or rejecting this claim. Research the Parti Québécois Web site for more information about its goals ([www.pq.org](http://www.pq.org)).
- Research the events leading up to the Quebec Referendum in 1995. What was the separatist strategy? What was the federalist strategy? Who were the major figures? Who organized the massive rally held in Montreal in October 1995? What was the outcome of this demonstration? Did it achieve its goals? How did separatists view this event? How did federalists view it?

### Instant Analysis

Some statements can be labelled true or false. Others may depend on a variety of facts, opinions, and special situations. Place these statements in three categories: True, False, or It Depends. Explain your answer.

- Quebec wants to separate from Canada.
- English and French Canadians rarely co-operate.
- Like other provincial governments, governments of Quebec are usually prepared to defend their provincial rights and responsibilities.
- The Quiet Revolution was a period of tremendous change for Quebec.

- Confederation has generally been a bad deal for French Canadians.
- Language rights will always be an issue in Quebec and Canada.
- Many Canadians are tired of the whole French–English debate and want to move on.

#### Discuss and Debate

- What does the term *official bilingualism* mean? Do you support this policy? How do French-speaking Canadians benefit from this policy? How do English-speaking Canadians benefit from bilingualism? What are the disadvantages for English-speaking Canadians? Take a vote to find out your class's opinion on official bilingualism.
- Do you think it is right for governments to make decisions about Canada without the consent of all the provinces? Explain.
- What do you think would have happened if René Lévesque and the *oui* supporters had won the Quebec referendum in 1980?

- Organize a class discussion on the use of the War Measures Act during the October Crisis. You might debate this motion—Resolved: That the War Measures Act was an unnecessary threat to civil liberties and should not have been used.

#### Be Creative

- Make a bilingual poster advertising the benefits of living in a nation with two official languages.
- Listen to some of the music of French Canada. Perhaps your teacher can help you translate some of the lyrics.

## Web Watch

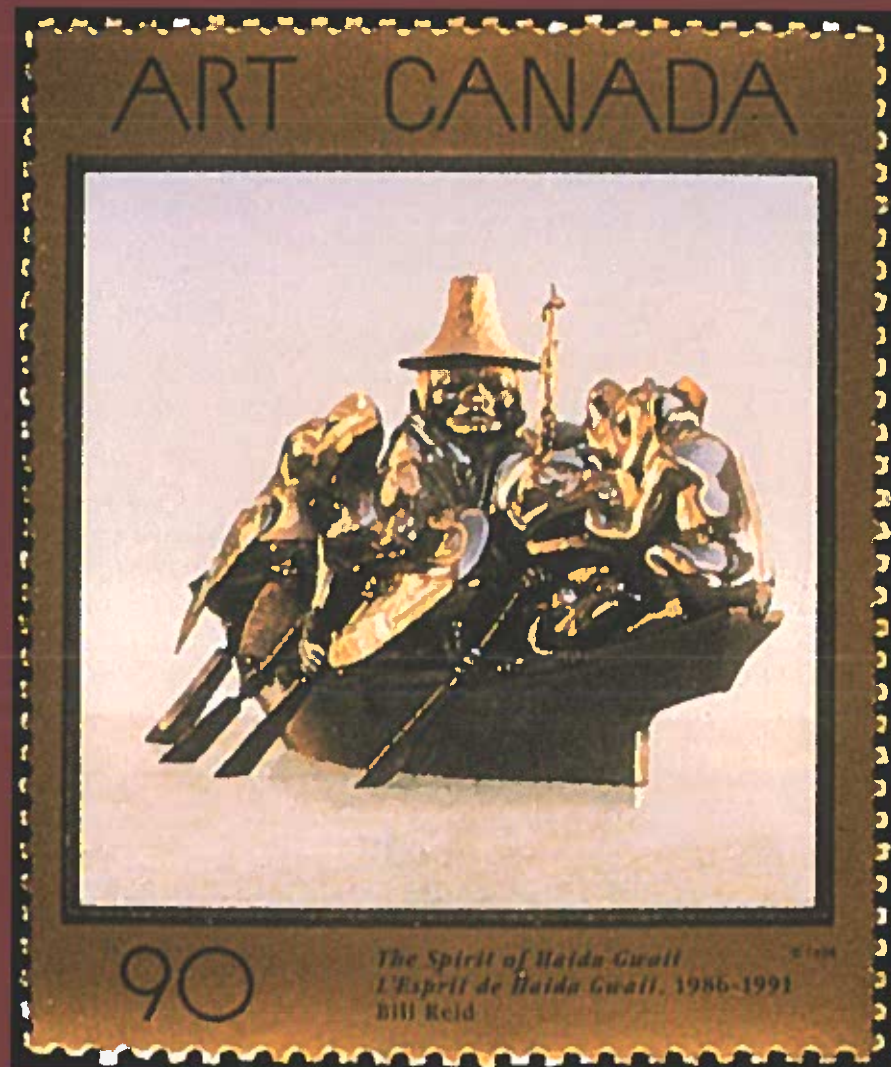
**Government of Quebec:** [www.gouv.qc.ca](http://www.gouv.qc.ca)

**Cité Libre:** [www.citelibre.com](http://www.citelibre.com)

**Bombardier Inc.:** [www.bombardier.com](http://www.bombardier.com)

**CBC Digital Archives:** [www.cbc.ca/archives](http://www.cbc.ca/archives). There are many audiovisual sources here. Consider some of these files: “Maurice Duplessis,” “René Lévesque’s Separatist Fight,” “The October Crisis: Liberties Suspended,” “Constitutional Discord: Meech Lake,” “James Bay Project and the Cree” and “Maurice ‘Rocket’ Richard.”

## THE SPIRIT OF HAIDA GWAI



Haida artist Bill Reid was commissioned to create "The Spirit of Haida Gwaii" for the Canadian Embassy in Washington, DC (1991). Reid, who did much to revive Northwest Coast Indian arts, suggested that the five-ton sculpture could serve as a symbolic bridge between cultures. The work reflects his fascination with Haida art and life and status as an internationally acclaimed artist.

***Why is this art an appropriate way to represent  
Canada in the United States?***