# Canada in the Post-War World: The 1950s

# GUIDING QUESTIONS

#### Society & Identity

- In what ways did Canadian society change after the Second World War?
- How was the role of women redefined during the 1950s?
- What measures has Canada taken to promote a distinct Canadian identity?
- What challenges did Aboriginal people face in the 1950s?
- How was Québec nationalism expressed in the 1950s?
- How did people improve their working conditions after the Second World War?

#### Economy & Human Geography

- What were the characteristics of the post-war economic boom?
- How does industrial development affect the environment?
- What was the impact of American investment on the Canadian economy?

#### **Autonomy & World Presence**

- What factors contributed to Canada's emerging autonomy?
- What was Canada's involvement in the Cold War?
- Describe Canada's involvement in the UN.
- What was Canada's response to modern conflicts?

# TIMELINE

#### 1945

Second United



#### 1948 Louis St. Laurent becomes prime

# minister

#### 1949

Newfoundland becomes Canada's 10th province NATO formed Communists take over China

# 1950

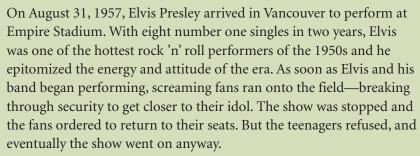
Korean War begins

l World War ends	
Nations created	



# **CHAPTER FOCUS QUESTION**

How did Canadian political decisions reflect a concern about the growing influence of the United States over Canada?



The next day, *Vancouver Sun* reporter John Kirkwood described the concert this way: "It was like watching a demented army swarm down the hillside to do battle when those frenzied teenagers stormed the field... Vancouver teenagers [were] transformed into writhing, frenzied idiots of delight by the savage jungle beat music... [It was] the most disgusting exhibition of mass hysteria and lunacy this city has ever witnessed."

Why might John Kirkwood and many other adults have been so hostile to 1950s teenagers' love affair with rock 'n' roll? How did popular culture in the 1950s reflect a society turning away from the tough times of the war years?

As you will see in this chapter, the 1950s brought new lifestyles, new products, and new values to Canadian society. At the same time, the Canadian economy boomed and consumerism grew in importance—factors that favoured the growth of youth culture. People were also on the move. Cities grew larger and hundreds of new suburbs were developed. Economic growth attracted many new immigrants to Canadian cities. With few environmental protections, industry often polluted the environment without consideration for the long-term effects of development. Internationally, Canada sought a middle path, maintaining strong relations with Britain and the Commonwealth and good, but independent, relations with the United States. Carving out an independent foreign policy for Canada was a challenge during the period known as the Cold War, but Canadian governments successfully maintained our independence.



## **KEY TERMS**

Massey Commission Canada Council for the Arts Canadian Radio-television and **Telecommunications Commission** (CRTC) Cold War communist capitalist superpowers middle power North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) Warsaw Pact North American Aerospace Defence Command (NORAD) Distant Early Warning (DEW) Line United Nations (UN) Avro Arrow Korean Conflict Suez Crisis

**1951** Massey Commission report **1952** First CBC Television broadcast

**1955** Warsaw Pact formed

**1956** Lester Pearson helps to defuse the Suez crisis 1957 John Diefenbaker becomes prime

minister

 In what ways did Canadian society change after the Second World War?

#### **KEY TERM**

**baby boom** the increase in the birth rate that occurred after the Second World War

# The Changing Face of Canada

The end of the Second World War marked the beginning of a population boom in Canada. Those who had postponed marriage because of the war began to start families. Generally, families were larger than they are today three or four children was the average. In all, 6.7 million children were born in Canada between 1946 and 1961, making up almost one third of the population. The increase in the birth rate that took place in Canada as well as Australia and the United States became known as the **baby boom**. For a time Canada's birth rate was the highest in the industrial world, peaking in 1959. The baby boom among the First Nations population also peaked in the late 1950s. In addition, post-war immigration brought thousands of new Canadians into the country—people eager to take part in the prosperity of the post-war years.

# The Rise of the Suburbs

After the war, developers began building thousands of new homes for Canada's growing population. Many were in the outlying areas of cities, the suburbs, where land was less expensive. Cheap land encouraged low-density building: big houses on large lots with lawns, patios, even swimming pools. In time, suburban subdivisions became "bedroom communities" with their own schools, parks, and churches. Commuters travelled to work in the cities and returned home to the suburbs at the end of the day.

Increased economic development supported suburban life. Both business and manufacturing were booming and fewer than six percent of Canadians were unemployed throughout the decade. It was also a time of tremendous technological innovation, as you will see later in the chapter.



**FIGURE 6–1** Throughout the 1950s, cars were made longer, lower, and wider than previous models. Every fall, manufacturers unveiled new models with eye-catching improvements.

**Using Evidence** What does this design suggest about the importance of the automobile at this time?

# The Age of the Automobile

In the 1950s, Canadians fell in love with cars and bought 3.5 million of them. Automobile culture changed Canada's neighbourhoods. For people living in the suburbs, a car was a great convenience. Although suburban houses were often plain and functional, cars grew steadily fancier with lots of chrome, fins, and fancy tail lights.

The automobile represented all the elements of the post-war era: fascination with technology, progress, and personal freedom. Few thought of the downside costs. Enormous V8 engines needed lots of fuel, which increased society's dependence on oil. Atmospheric pollution, in the form of smog, also became a problem.

### Women in the Fifties

Suburban life was centred on the traditional middle-class family, with a stayat-home mother at its heart. The father's role was to be the breadwinner, supporting the family on his earnings. Popular women's magazines denounced working mothers as the cause of delinquent children. This was a far cry from the propaganda during the war that had urged women to work outside the home.

Fashions of the day emphasized femininity: long, full skirts; narrow waists; and high heels. New gadgets such as electric floor polishers, pop-up toasters, and electric food mixers promised to make housework seem less like drudgery. Women were encouraged to beautify themselves and their homes by consuming new products.

Many women came to resent suburban life. They felt isolated and trapped in a role that did not allow them to develop their potential. By the mid-1960s, many women were looking for a different way of life. How was the role of women redefined during the 1950s?



**FIGURE 6–2** Not all women in the 1950s lived the suburban dream. Many urban women, particularly immigrants, worked in low-paying factory jobs or as domestic help. **Thinking Critically** Compare the situation of women in the 1950s with women you know today.

# The Birth of Teen Culture

Because the "boomer" generation is the largest age group in Canada, it influenced Canadian culture and the economy for decades to come. Boy Scouts, Girl Guides, and other youth organizations flourished, as did minor sports. Governments built thousands of new schools, arenas, and playgrounds to accommodate the needs of "boomers." Manufacturers developed and made new products for the baby-boomer market.

Baby boomers spent more time in school than earlier generations. Before the war, the average Canadian child received only eight years of schooling and only one in ten students finished high school. For the boomer generation there were no wars or economic hardships to force students out of school and into the adult world. The result was the invention of the "teenager." Rock 'n' roll, a musical style developed in the mid-1950s, soon became the favourite of many teenagers. The roots of rock 'n' roll were in African-American music from the southern United States. Rock 'n' roll's strong rhythms and sometimes rebellious teen-centred lyrics shocked some members of the older generation. It was banned in many places, and Elvis Presley's onstage hip-swivelling was called obscene. TV producers banned camera shots below his waist. The attacks on rock 'n' roll with its close connection to African-American culture revealed the racism at the heart of society in the 1950s.



**FIGURE 6–3** With lots of leisure time and money to spend from part-time jobs, teenagers in the 1950s developed a new sense of independence and group identity.

**Gathering Information** What hair and clothing styles that you identify with the 1950s do you see in this photograph?

# Television and the Consumer Society

In the early 1950s, a television set cost about 20 percent of an average annual income. Neighbours and relatives would gather to watch at the homes of those lucky enough to own a set. But television quickly became something of a necessity, especially for families with children. The first shows were in black and white; colour TV did not come to Canada until 1966. And what were Canadians watching? American programs topped the list. The kids tuned in to *Howdy Doody, Roy Rogers, Lassie,* and *The Mickey Mouse Club.* Families came together to watch game shows, comedies, Westerns, and variety shows like *The Ed Sullivan Show,* a Sunday night institution that featured everything from comedy, classical music, and circus acts to teen pop stars.

The scrimping and saving of the 1930s and the rationing of the war years were now left far behind. The advertisers that sponsored television shows were sending the powerful and appealing message that consumption was the road to happiness. They were selling the good life: bigger cars, more household appliances, new "improved" products. TV also encouraged youngsters to become consumers, introducing them to sweetened cereals, Barbie dolls, and Davy Crockett hats. Advertising was one of the biggest areas of economic growth during the decade—with companies doubling their spending to \$11.9 billion by 1960 in the United States.



**FIGURE 6–4** Television shaped the values of the time. American shows promoted the ideal of a traditional, wholesome, family-centred lifestyle.

**Identifying Viewpoints** What values are evident in this still from the show *Father Knows Best*?

#### WEB LINK • · · · · ·

Read more about Canadian consumerism on the Pearson Web site.

### PRACTICE QUESTIONS

- 1. How did the automobile culture change neighbourhoods? What businesses developed because of the automobile culture?
- **2.** Describe the roles of women and men in the 1950s. Discuss reasons why you think many accepted these roles.
- **3.** What effect did television have on many people's buying habits in the post-war period?
- **4. Patterns and Change** How would being a teenager in the 1950s be similar to and different from being a teenager today?

Analyze Period Advertising and Propaganda

The age of the consumer really began in the 1950s when the economy was prospering. People had jobs and they had more access to credit cards than ever before. As a result, they were able to buy the goods that factories were gearing up to produce. Vast numbers of new gadgets and inventions were introduced into the marketplace during this period.

Advertisements were an important part of this process. They created powerful messages to make people want to buy things that would make their lives better, easier, and more glamorous.

Some people would argue that advertisements are, in fact, a form of propaganda. Both advertisements and propaganda try to influence people's emotions in order to make them think and act in certain ways. During the First and Second World Wars the Canadian government used propaganda posters to create support for the war across the country and to encourage people to purchase war bonds. After the war, advertisers continued to use similar techniques to create a need for the products and lifestyle they were selling.

#### Analyzing Ads and Propaganda

Here are some questions to consider when you are looking at advertisements and propaganda.

- 1. What product or viewpoint is being sold?
- 2. What mood is created and why?
- **3.** What is the relationship between the image and the written material?
- **4.** Does the written material provide information or is it there to generate an emotional response?
- **5.** If there are people in the image, what are they like? What message do they convey?
- **6.** What social attitudes are directly or indirectly reflected?

#### Applying the Skill

- 1. How do the advertisements and the poster appeal to the viewer's emotions?
- **2.** Evaluate how effectively these two images deliver their messages. Explain.
- **3.** Compare the way women are portrayed in the advertisement and the propaganda poster.
- **4.** Select several contemporary advertisements that contain images of women. Compare and contrast the images to the ones on page 175. Analyze what message these contemporary images intend to convey. How does this message help to sell the product?



"Permission to use this image is pending."

**FIGURE 6–5** This advertisement is not only selling a brand of refrigerators, but it is also selling a lifestyle. Why might families find ads of this kind appealing?



**FIGURE 6–6** What message does this propaganda poster convey?

 What measures has Canada taken to promote a distinct Canadian identity?

# What If...

Imagine that measures had never been put in place to protect Canadian culture. To what extent do you think that Canadians' choices in the books they read, the music they listen to, and the movies and television shows they watch would be different today? Give examples from your own experience to support your answer.

# Protecting Canadian Culture: The Massey Commission

Television was a powerful cultural influence. Many Canadians saw world events unfolding through an American lens as they watched popular newscasts from the United States. Children of the 1950s grew up identifying more with American culture and values than any generation before them. In 1949, the Liberal government of Louis St. Laurent established the **Massey Commission** to investigate the state of Canadian culture. When the Commission reported in 1951, it suggested that Canadian culture needed to be protected from U.S. influences. Measures taken as a result of its recommendations included the following:

- Canadian television would be used to promote national communication and for cultural education in drama and music. The CBC, which already had a national radio network, was put in charge of the development of television. It opened its first two stations in Toronto and Montréal in 1952. Two years later, four more cities were added. By 1960, 90 percent of Canadian homes had a television and access to the CBC.
- The National Film Board (NFB) would be strengthened.



National Ballet of Canada was established in 1957. This photograph shows Canadian ballet stars David Adams and Lois Smith in a 1950s National Ballet of Canada production of *Swan Lake*.



• The government would become involved in funding universities and the arts. Consequently the **Canada Council for the Arts** was created, which awarded grants to writers, artists, and theatres.

Another important step in the protection of Canadian culture was the creation of the **Canadian Radio-television and Telecommunications Commission** (**CRTC**) in 1968. This agency would regulate the amount of foreign material broadcast over the airwaves and impose rules requiring Canadian content.

Each of these measures encouraged the growth of arts and culture in Canada and had a profound effect on Canadian identity in the post-war years.

TIMELINE	Protecting Canadian Culture				
1936	1939	1951	1952	1957	1968
CBC Radio begins broadcasting	National Film Board established	Massey Commission report	CBC Television begins broadcasting	Canada Council for the Arts established	CRTC formed

# **Post-War Immigration**

From 1905, when Clifford Sifton's "open-door policy" ended, up until the 1960s, Canada had a somewhat restrictive **immigration policy**. Immigrants of British and European origin, especially northern Europeans, were preferred because it was thought that they would adapt the most easily to the Canadian way of life. Immigrants of other origins did arrive, but the government limited their numbers. After the Second World War, nearly 1 million veterans returned to Canada. Not all of them came home alone: many Canadian bachelors serving overseas married there.

War brides formed just part of the wave of immigrants that arrived in Canada after the Second World War. Millions of refugees were stuck in camps across Europe at the end of the war. They included concentration camp survivors and others uprooted by the war. Canada accepted 165 000 such **displaced persons**, settling them in communities across the country.

Other immigrants were attracted by new possibilities in Canada and wanted to escape war-torn Europe. Unable to practise their former trades or professions in Canada, some of these newcomers had a hard time. Nevertheless, refugee children absorbed English quickly at school, and their parents found that a job, any job, opened up new opportunities. More than 2 million immigrants arrived between 1945 and 1960.

Unlike immigrants before the First World War, who had settled largely on farms in Western Canada, post–Second World War immigrants usually settled in the cities of Central Canada where their cultures and hard work enriched Canada in many ways. Older areas of larger cities, vacated as veterans and their families moved to the suburbs, became home to vibrant new communities.

In 1956 when a violent revolution broke out in Hungary, federal and provincial governments relaxed entry requirements in order to allow Hungarians wanting to escape communism to immigrate to Canada. More than 37 000 Hungarians came to Canada. Many Czechs and Slovaks came to Canada from Czechoslovakia in 1968–1969 under similar circumstances. (You will read about communism in eastern Europe later in this chapter.)

#### **KEY TERMS**

Massey Commission a body set up by the federal government to study the state of Canadian culture

**Canada Council for the Arts** the group that funds Canadian artists and supports the arts in Canada

#### Canadian Radio-television and Telecommunications Commission (CRTC)

the agency that regulates the amount of foreign material broadcast over the airwaves in Canada and imposes rules requiring Canadian content

**immigration policy** a nation's regulations surrounding immigration

**displaced persons** those who are forced to leave their native home because of war or for political reasons



**FIGURE 6–9** Most war brides were British, although some came from France and the Netherlands.

**Expressing Ideas** What challenges do you think these women might have faced in their new homeland?

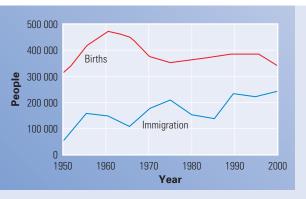


FIGURE 6–10 Immigration and births in Canada from 1950 to 2000

**Gathering Information** What trends in birth and immigration rates can you see on this graph? To what extent do they match up? What might account for this?

#### • What challenges did Aboriginal people face in the 1950s?

# Aboriginal Communities in Transition

The post-war years were times of transition for Aboriginal communities. Those who had served in the military during the war—3000 status Indians and thousands more non-status Aboriginal people and Métis out of a total population of 166 000—still faced institutionalized racism and other barriers when they returned home. Aboriginal soldiers were denied the same benefits as other veterans.

#### **Education Issues**

Education was always a concern for Aboriginal people. For many decades, Aboriginal children were forced to leave home to attend residential schools. Here they were isolated from their home communities and families and forced to abandon their culture and language. The purpose of the schools was the assimilation of Aboriginal children into mainstream Canadian culture.

Although compulsory attendance in residential schools ended in 1948, many remained in operation during the 1950s. In fact, as a result of the baby boom, the 1950s were peak years in the residential school system—with 76 schools in operation. The last residential school did not close until 1996. Residential schools were underfunded and relied on the forced labour of their students. Students in many facilities received a poor education.



FIGURE 6–11 A class of First Nations students at an Alberta residential school in 1950

**Using Evidence** How does this photograph illustrate the role of residential schools in assimilating Aboriginal children into mainstream Canadian culture?

In response to the demands of Aboriginal parents, the federal government began to fund off-reserve education. By 1960, thousands of Aboriginal youth were attending provincial schools with certified teachers and modern equipment. However, teachers were often not trained to meet the needs of Aboriginal students. This, and the fact that many students had to commute long distances by bus or board far from home, worked against their academic success.

### Changes to the Indian Act

In 1951, a number of changes were made to the Indian Act that governed the lives of First Nations peoples. Women gained the right to vote in band elections, and potlatches and wearing traditional regalia were no longer illegal. However, the Indian Act maintained the federal government's power to define Indian status and band membership and continued to control the political and economic lives of Aboriginal people.

# PRACTICE QUESTIONS

- Make a web diagram showing social changes in Canada after the Second World War. Be sure to include the following, and show relationships among them, where possible: war brides, immigration, the baby boom, suburbs, youth culture, and Aboriginal communities.
- **2.** What is the role of the CRTC? Do any media threaten Canadian identity today? Explain.
- **3.** What challenges did Aboriginal people in Canada face during the 1950s?

# case study

# The High Arctic Relocation





FIGURE 6–13 The new territory of Nunavut was created in 1999.

FIGURE 6–12 The Inuit community of Qausuittuq (Resolute) in 1956. It was formerly in the Northwest Territories and is now part of Nunavut.

Governments around the world have sometimes arbitrarily relocated Aboriginal people with little consideration of their needs and rights. The resettlement in 1953–1955 of Inuit families to the High Arctic almost 2000 kilometres away from their former homes was such a case.

In the summer of 1953, the Canadian government relocated several Inuit families from Inukjuak (formerly known as Port Harrison) in northern Québec and Pond Inlet in Nunavut (formerly the Northwest Territories) to Grise Fjord and Resolute Bay. A second group of families was moved from Inukjuak two years later.

The families volunteered for the move because hunting in their area was poor, but they were not told about conditions in the Arctic or about how difficult it would be to return to Québec if they wished to do so. Families were dropped off without firewood or housing at the onset of the Arctic's four-month winter darkness. Survivors today still talk about their struggles: hunger, defending themselves from polar bears, and living in igloos until they could get wood to build houses.

In the 1980s, a suit was initiated against the federal government arguing that the relocation was done to

assert Canadian sovereignty in the Far North rather than to benefit the Inuit. The Arctic had become strategically important for defence during the Cold War. (You will read about the Cold War later in this chapter.)

In 1989, the federal government created a program to help those relocated (and their descendants) who wished to return south. In 1996, the government offered cash compensation to the survivors but did not offer an apology. Today their descendants are bitter, claiming that people were promised abundant game and fish, but instead faced cold, disease, hunger, and poverty.

#### **Looking Further**

- 1. Look up the term "paternalism." Was government action in the High Arctic relocation program paternalistic? Explain.
- Compare the actions of the 1950s government that relocated the Inuit to the way governments operate now. Would such a program be possible today? Explain.

- What measures has Canada taken to promote a distinct Canadian identity?
- What factors contributed to Canada's emerging autonomy?

#### **KEY TERMS**

**populist** someone who appeals to the concerns of ordinary citizens

**referendum** the process of referring a political question to the people for a direct vote

# New Times, New Leadership

Canada's leadership changed little during the early post-war years. Mackenzie King, who had guided the country through the war, retired and his successor, Louis St. Laurent, pursued very similar policies. The Liberals were finally put out of office when the Progressive Conservatives formed a minority government headed by John Diefenbaker in 1957. Diefenbaker called a snap election in 1958 and won the largest majority government in Canadian history.

# The Changing Face of Federal Politics

When Mackenzie King retired in 1948 at the age of 73, he had been in power longer than any Canadian prime minister before him. He was succeeded by Louis St. Laurent as a new age of politics was born. King had governed in the days before television. Today's television commentators would probably have focused on his personal life or pompous speeches, but during his years in power such things were not considered important. By the early 1950s, however, the media was playing a much larger role in Canadian life.

St. Laurent entered politics late in life and during the 1949 election campaign, the Liberal Party election organizers worried about how they could sell this rather shy, reserved, elderly man to the Canadian public. Then, during a campaign stop at a railway station, a reporter noticed

St. Laurent, who was a father of five and grandfather of twelve, chatting with a group of children. Newspapers soon began referring to St. Laurent as "Uncle Louis." The media thus created the image of St. Laurent as a kindly relative. The Liberal advertising agency made sure the nickname stuck. From that time on, the media has played an influential part in Canadian politics.

# Louis St. Laurent and Canadian Autonomy

Louis St. Laurent was born in Compton, Québec, to an Englishspeaking mother and a French-speaking father. He was nearing retirement after a successful law career when he was approached by Mackenzie King to become Minister of Justice in his government. St. Laurent was elected to the Commons in 1942 and provided key support to King during the conscription crisis of the Second World War. When King retired, St. Laurent seemed to be the right man to take over as prime minister.

St. Laurent led a progressive government that expanded federal social welfare programs, such as old-age pensions and family allowances. He also brought in hospital insurance, another important step on Canada's road to universal health care. His other major domestic contributions were in the areas of protecting Canadian culture (see page 176) and gaining Canada more autonomy from Britain. Measures St. Laurent took as prime minister to increase Canadian autonomy included



**FIGURE 6–14** St. Laurent on the campaign trail **Expressing Ideas** What impression does this photograph give of St. Laurent? What elements in the photograph suggest that it was carefully posed?

- appointing the first Canadian-born Governor General, Vincent Massey
- making the Supreme Court of Canada the highest court of appeal for Canadian cases rather than the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, a British legal body
- negotiating with Britain to give the Canadian Parliament the power to amend portions of its own constitution without appealing to the British Parliament. This resulted in the British North America (No. 2) Act, 1949

St. Laurent also played a leading role in Canadian post-war peace and defence initiatives, as you will see later in the chapter.

### **Election Defeat**

Louis St. Laurent fought and won election campaigns in 1949 and 1953. When the next election rolled around in 1957, the 75-year-old St. Laurent was looking tired and depressed. By comparison, the new Progressive Conservative leader, John Diefenbaker, seemed energetic. Used to public speaking as a defence attorney in Saskatchewan, "Dief" proved to be a great campaigner and a witty orator. Television carried his image across the nation, and he led his party to a narrow election victory. Diefenbaker was the first Westerner to become prime minister. St. Laurent resigned and the defeated Liberals chose a new leader, the diplomat Lester "Mike" Pearson.

Of German extraction, Diefenbaker was the first Canadian prime minister whose father was of neither English nor French background. He saw himself as a Prairie **populist**, one who spoke for and listened to ordinary people. Ordinary people, in turn, responded to him. A colleague recalled the 1958 campaign: "I saw people kneel and kiss his coat. Not one, but many. People were in tears. People were delirious."

# The Nation Expands

Prime Minister St. Laurent was part of the negotiations that resulted in Newfoundland joining Canada. The process of expanding Canada from sea to sea had been set in motion by Prime Minister King at the end of the Second World War. Until 1932, Newfoundland had been an independent, self-governing dominion within the British Empire. During the Depression, however, the island had suffered so badly that its government had gone bankrupt. Democracy was temporarily suspended and Britain set up a special commission to govern Newfoundland.

In 1948, the islanders were given the opportunity to vote on their political future in a **referendum**. They were offered three options: to continue to be governed by special commission, to be a self-governing dominion within the British Empire, or to join Canada. J.R. "Joey" Smallwood, a skillful Newfoundland politician, argued that union with Canada would bring modernization to the province. Yet, many Newfoundlanders believed the benefits could not make up for the higher taxes and loss of identity that Confederation would bring. Some preferred economic union with the United States.



- born 1882, Compton, Québec
- lawyer
  - first elected to Commons, 1942prime minister 1948–1957

#### **Domestic Record**

- negotiated entry of Newfoundland into Confederation
- made Supreme Court of Canada highest court of appeal
- negotiated changes to BNA Act, giving Canadian Parliament authority to amend portions of the Act
- appointed Vincent Massey, first Canadian-born Governor General
- established Massey Commission investigation into protecting Canadian culture
- expanded social welfare programs
- initiated megaprojects such as the Trans-Canada Highway

#### **International Record**

- defined Canada as middle power
- supported NATO and UN
- sent forces to UN in Korea
- sent Lester Pearson to defuse the Suez crisis



**FIGURE 6–15** Governor General Vincent Massey shakes hands with the newly elected Prime Minister John Diefenbaker.

In a referendum in June 1948, only 41 percent of Newfoundlanders favoured Confederation. A larger number, 44.6 percent, voted in favour of returning to the self-governing dominion status, while 14 percent preferred government by commission. As no option won a clear majority, another vote was scheduled for late July. This time, the commission option was dropped, and the Confederation option won 52 percent of the vote.

The Terms of Union were negotiated with the federal government under Prime Minister St. Laurent, and on March 31, 1949, Newfoundland became part of Canada. That same year, Joey Smallwood was elected premier of the new province, a job he held for more than two decades.



**FIGURE 6–16** Resettlement continued in Newfoundland throughout the 1960s and into the 1970s. This house was towed across Inner Tickle of Newtown to its new location.

**Thinking Critically** How does the resettlement in Newfoundland show the tensions that sometimes exist between progress on the one hand, and cultural and lifestyle traditions on the other?

#### Resettlement in Newfoundland

Newfoundlanders had joined Canada in the hope that Confederation would bring better health care, education, and employment opportunities. It was difficult, however, to provide these services in Newfoundland's outportsisolated fishing settlements connected to the outside world only by occasional ferry service. In 1954, the provincial government introduced a "centralization" program that offered compensation to people who wanted to move to larger centres. Families were paid an average of \$301, which is about \$2430 in today's dollars. By 1959, about 2400 people from 29 communities had been resettled. Unfortunately, prosperity did not follow relocation. In fact, Newfoundland's unemployment rate climbed. The social impact of losing homes, traditions, and a unique way of life in the outports could not be measured. Some Newfoundlanders still feel grief and resentment over the resettlement.

How was Québec nationalism expressed in the 1950s?

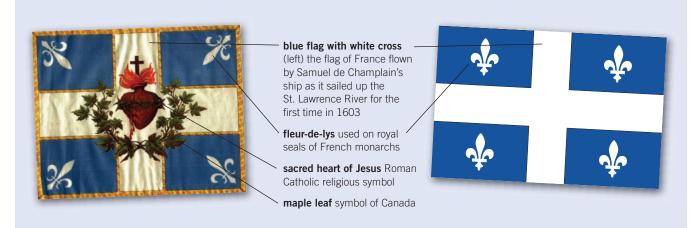
# Duplessis and the Roots of Québec Nationalism

From 1936 to 1939, and again from 1944 to 1959, Québec was controlled by Premier Maurice Duplessis and his party, the Union Nationale. Duplessis was a strong Québec nationalist who promoted the idea of Québec as a distinctive society, a "nation" rather than just another Canadian province. To emphasize his province's difference from English-speaking Canada, Duplessis introduced a new flag for Québec bearing the French symbol, the fleur-de-lys. He fiercely opposed the growing powers of the federal government in the post-war years.

Under Duplessis, the Roman Catholic Church was the main defender of Québec culture. Priests urged people in Québec to turn their backs on the materialism of English-speaking North America. The Church praised the old Québec traditions of farm, faith, and family. It ran Québec's hospitals and schools. Religion played a role in every part of the curriculum, and the schools taught children to accept authority. The elite few who attended high school and university received a fine education, but the emphasis was on traditional subjects such as classical languages and philosophy. As a result, Québec produced many priests, lawyers, and politicians, but few scientists, engineers, or business people.

While Duplessis tried to keep out the influence of foreign culture, he encouraged foreign investment in Québec. The province guaranteed cheap labour, since union activity was either discouraged or banned. It also promised low taxes. Québec would benefit from the new investment, but so would Duplessis. In return for favourable business conditions, companies were expected to contribute generously to the Union Nationale.

Bribery and corruption became the trademarks of the Duplessis regime. One of the worst of these was the case of the "Duplessis Orphans." Thousands of children housed in orphanages financed by the province were falsely certified as mentally ill and moved into insane asylums, which were funded by the federal government. For many Québécois, the Duplessis era is *La Grande Noirceur*, the Great Darkness.



**FIGURE 6–17** The present-day provincial flag of Québec (right) was adopted in 1948. Compare it to the previous Carillon Sacré-Coeur flag. **Expressing Ideas** What might account for the differences in the symbols on the two flags?

#### PRACTICE QUESTIONS

- a) Why was Confederation so hotly debated in Newfoundland in 1949?
  - b) Only 52 percent of Newfoundlanders voted to join Canada. Do you think this was enough of a margin to warrant such a huge political change? Should it have been necessary for a greater percentage to support the change? Give reasons for your view.
- **2. a)** Explain how the media was important in creating the image of politicians in this period.
  - b) How is the current prime minister presented in the media? Use pictures from different sources to compare the images created. Include editorial cartoons.
- Create a web diagram summarizing Québec society and politics under Maurice Duplessis.

• What were the characteristics of the post-war economic boom?

#### **KEY TERMS**

**boom town** a town that enjoys sudden prosperity or develops quickly

**boom and bust cycle** a term used to describe a healthy (booming) economy and/or one that is failing (bust)

# **Post-War Prosperity**

The Second World War had transformed Canadian industry and society. As the war ended, the government needed to find ways to ease the transition from a wartime to a peacetime economy. But planning for peace was complicated—a million people who had worked in war-production industries and close to half a million in the armed services were about to lose their jobs.

Veterans returning to Canada were eager to come home but anxious about the future. Would they find jobs? Many had enlisted in the armed forces right out of high school or had been unemployed during the Depression. However, new laws ensured that they got their old jobs back if they wanted them and that the years they had been at war were counted as years of service on the job. Government policy encouraged women to leave factories to make room for men, which freed up many jobs. Veterans who wished to attend university or trade school received free tuition and living allowances. Veterans and war widows got preference for government jobs. The Veterans' Land Act gave veterans mortgages at lower rates. These government interventions saved Canada from economic recession.



### Spreading the Wealth

As a wartime measure, the provinces had transferred their economic powers to the federal government. Prime Minister Mackenzie King wanted this to become permanent, but provinces were not willing to give up a power conferred on them at Confederation. In the end, the provinces gave in and transferred taxation powers to the federal government. In return, they received government grants for social services such as health care and education. Through equalization or transfer payments, the federal government would then transfer money to the poorer provinces.

Meanwhile, C.D. Howe, Minister of Reconstruction, Trade, and Commerce, gave economic incentives such as generous tax breaks to private industry. Soon, factories were producing washing machines, automobiles, and other items that were in demand, and Canada's economy was booming.

#### FIGURE 6-18 A

1943 National Film Board poster promoting the "Canada Carries On" series. These films documented Canada's war involvement and sought to inform viewers that the war would bring prosperity to Canada.

# up close

# C.D. Howe: Minister of Everything

C.D. Howe was one of Canada's most influential politicians in the post-war period. When the Depression forced him to close his engineering business in 1935, he entered politics as a Liberal MP. Howe rose quickly in government. During the war, he ran the country's economy, and after it he manoeuvred the provinces into giving the federal government more control.

In two decades as a Cabinet minister, Howe was responsible at one time or another for railways, canals, airlines, munitions, war supplies, transition to peacetime, pipelines, trade, and commerce. He was, people said, the "Minister of Everything."

Howe admired the efficiency of the American economy and was impatient with debates over economic issues in Canada's House of Commons. Howe's short temper and determination to force his plans through eventually made him unpopular.



FIGURE 6–19 Howe (second from left) with Winston Churchill and W.L. Mackenzie King, 1944

# **Rich Resources and New Industries**

Traditional industries such as mining and forestry remained at the heart of the Canadian economy. Massive development of mines, forests, smelters, and the like encouraged the economic boom of the post-war period. One of the most important developments was the discovery of oil at Leduc, Alberta, in 1947. It was Canada's entry into the international oil market.

Wherever new mines and wells developed, resource companies carved **boom towns** in the wilderness, sometimes airlifting in heavy equipment, construction material, and other supplies. Employees lived in tents, trailers,

and temporary shanties often far from the nearest town or city. Although they were very well paid, many workers—mostly single men—were starved for distractions. Gambling and alcoholism were chronic problems.

While resource industries developed in frontier areas, manufacturing in southern Ontario grew tremendously. By the 1950s, more than half of the nation's factories and plants and 99 percent of its automobile industry were located in Ontario, close to transportation routes and markets.

In later decades, when resource industries in other parts of the country were in the "bust" part of the **boom and bust cycle**, Ontario did well. Those in other provinces deeply resented Ontario's seemingly privileged position and its apparent immunity from economic downturns.



**FIGURE 6–20** In the early years of the 21st century, Fort McMurray, Alberta, was called a boom town because of its growth as a result of oil sands development.

# 1950s Technology

Even a famous science fiction writer could not have guessed how much technology would transform life in the decades after the Second World War. H.G. Wells, author of books such as *The Time Machine* and *The Shape of Things to Come*, predicted that by 1950 soldiers would wage war from bicycles and drop bombs from balloons. In reality, the atomic bomb had demonstrated the awesome power of science. It was soon

replaced by the even more powerful hydrogen bomb. While military technology was developing rapidly, everyday life, too, was being changed by new inventions.



**Satellite** The Russians launched the first artificial satellite, Sputnik, in 1957, with the Americans following in 1958. The space race had begun. Today, artificial satellites are used in weather forecasting, television transmission, and supplying navigation data for aircraft and ships. They are also used for military purposes such as surveillance and tracking missile launches.



Transistor radio In 1948, Bell

Telephone announced the invention

of the transistor, an electronic device

for amplifying and switching that is

durable, small, and inexpensive. In

Heart pacemaker Technology transformed medicine. In 1957, the first wearable heart pacemaker and artificial heart valves extended the lives of people who, just years before, would not have survived.



1955, Sony Corporation sold the first transistor radios, and over the next decades the radios grew smaller and more portable. Radio, which was predicted to die out in the age of TV, was revived, as teens could now take their music with them wherever they went.







Vinyl was invented by the chemist who also discovered bubble gum. This new synthetic product allowed for the invention of many new products in the years after the Second World War. Fireresistant, waterproof, flexible, and cheap, it was used to make a host of items including long-playing records, convertible automobile roofs, and garden hoses.

# Giant Projects for a Giant Land

As towns across Canada grew, governments improved infrastructure roads, sewer systems, power plants, schools, and hospitals—using taxes from business and workers in the booming economy. The money paid out to construction companies created more jobs and stimulated the economy as workers spent their wages. The federal government under Louis St. Laurent enthusiastically undertook **megaprojects** that changed the face of the Canadian landscape.

Few people realized at the time that many projects and industrial processes had hidden costs. The greatest of these was pollution. Solid industrial wastes were simply buried, creating toxic landfills on which housing, schools, and playgrounds were sometimes constructed. Pulp and paper and petrochemical plants dumped wastes directly into streams, contaminating lakes and rivers. Industry simply wanted high productivity and low costs. Farmers pumped weedkiller and chemical fertilizers into the soil and, indirectly, into the groundwater. Homeowners casually used the insecticide DDT, a contact poison, around their houses and yards. Nevertheless, "pollution" did not become a common word until the late 1960s.

Trans-Canada Highway	<ul> <li>construction began in 1950 with huge government investment to upgrade and pave roads along the Trans- Canada Route</li> <li>7821-kilometre road from St. John's, Newfoundland, to Victoria, British Columbia; would be the longest national highway in the world</li> </ul>
Kemano Project	<ul> <li>created to generate hydroelectricity to support aluminum smelting in the town of Kitimat</li> <li>water of the Nechako River diverted into the Nechako Reservoir behind the Kenney Dam. This resulted in the flooding of land within the territory of the Dakelh First Nation.</li> <li>dam construction was completed in 1952</li> </ul>
Trans-Canada Pipeline	<ul> <li>natural gas pipeline to carry gas east from Alberta all the way to Québec</li> <li>completed in 1958</li> </ul>
St. Lawrence Seaway	<ul> <li>system of locks that would allow large ships from the Atlantic to travel all the way to Lake Superior</li> <li>built cooperatively by Canada and United States between 1954 and 1959</li> <li>benefits: prairie grain could be loaded directly onto Europe-bound ships at Thunder Bay, cutting back on the cost of rail transportation; business increased in inland ports; and hydroelectric power plants were developed at dam sites</li> </ul>

How does industrial development affect the environment?

#### **KEY TERM**

**megaprojects** large-scale construction projects that require a huge capital investment; the construction of the St. Lawrence Seaway is an example

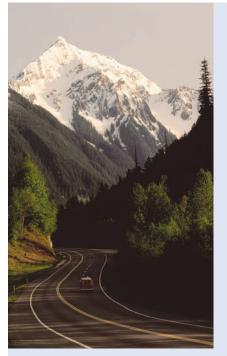


FIGURE 6–21 Trans-Canada Highway in Western Canada

• What was the impact of American investment on the Canadian economy?

# American Investment: A Continuing Issue

In 1945 President Franklin Roosevelt and Prime Minister Mackenzie King discussed economic cooperation between their two countries. King described it to Parliament this way: "It involves nothing less than a common plan [for] the economic defense of the western hemisphere." Canadians regularly debated their economic ties with the United States asking: Is Canada becoming the "49th state"?

The United States, like Canada, had a booming economy in the post-war years. When it began to run short of raw materials, it looked to Canada as a vast storehouse of minerals and other natural resources. Canadians, for their part, recognized that they needed investment to extract resources such as oil, uranium, and iron ore. By 1957, Americans controlled 70 percent of oil and gas investment, 52 percent of mining and smelting, and 43 percent of Canadian manufacturing. In addition, U.S. companies had opened numerous branch plants in Canada.

There were advantages and disadvantages to U.S. investment. Branch plants provided many Canadians with good jobs in manufacturing, and Canadian industries benefited from U.S. technology. However, profits from the branch plants went back to the parent corporations in the United States. To many critics, it looked as though Canada was losing control of its economy. The debate continued for decades, until the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) brought about a new economic relationship in 1994. (You will read about NAFTA in Chapter 8.)



FIGURE 6-22 Newfoundland lumbermen on strike, March 1959

# The Labour Movement in Canada

The wealth of Canada was not entirely in the hands of others. Canadian tycoons built up commercial empires that commanded vast resources and employed many people. On the West Coast, H.R. MacMillan put together one of the world's largest forestry companies. In New Brunswick, K.C. Irving became one of the world's richest men with businesses ranging from gas stations to timber and newspapers. In Central Canada, E.P. Taylor and the Bronfman family controlled the production of many consumer goods and the stores that sold them.

At the same time, members of trade unions fought for a greater share of the country's prosperity. In 1946 and 1947, strikes were frequent as workers fought for the right to form unions and pressed for wages that would support a family. As a result, wages rose, for example, from \$0.67 per hour in 1945 to \$0.95 per hour in 1948. Workers won a major victory in establishing the 5-day, 40-hour workweek and increasing fringe benefits such as paid vacations. These hard-won benefits eventually became standard for many workers across the country. This meant Canadian workers had more money and more leisure time to enjoy it. Business benefited as well, because consumer spending rose. Non-industrial unions grew rapidly, including organizations for teachers, nurses, civil servants, postal workers, and police.

# The Limits of Prosperity

Some groups did not share the prosperity of the times. The working poor in cities—including many immigrants—washed dishes, cleaned offices, sweated in meat-packing plants, or toiled at sewing machines under miserable conditions. Women who could not afford to be stay-at-home wives and mothers were at a particular disadvantage. They were made to feel guilty by a society that condemned mothers who went out to work. Women were legally discriminated against by their employers, who paid them less than men even if they did the same work.

## PRACTICE QUESTIONS

- 1. Why did the problem of post-war unemployment not arise?
- **2.** What are transfer payments? Why were they instituted?
- 3. Significance Which advances in technology do you think had the greatest effect on society in the short and long term? Which do you think will be the most significant 100 years from now? Why?
- **4.** Explain the importance of one of the megaprojects of the 1950s.

- **5.** List some of the environmental problems that emerged during the post-war period.
- **6.** Which groups were marginalized in the 1950s and 1960s? Why do you think this was so?
- **7.** Why was American investment necessary and controversial?
- 8. Why were unions important?
- **9.** Why were women workers at a disadvantage in the 1950s?

 What was the impact of American investment on the Canadian economy?

What was Canada's involvement in the Cold War?



FIGURE 6–23 The government gave Soviet embassy clerk Igor Gouzenko and his family new identities, after which they settled in Ontario. Gouzenko wrote a book about his experiences and occasionally appeared in public, as in this television interview. He always wore a hood, afraid that the Soviet spy agency, the KGB, would kill him.

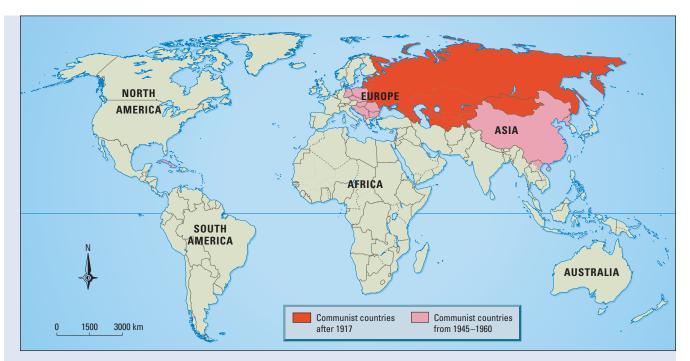
# The Cold War and Post-War Diplomacy

In 1945, a Russian citizen, Igor Gouzenko, was working as a clerk at the Soviet embassy in Ottawa. In September of that year, Gouzenko went to the *Ottawa Journal* with documents proving that a Soviet spy ring was operating within the Canadian government. When no one at the newspaper believed him, Gouzenko took his pregnant wife and child in tow and brought the documents to the offices of the RCMP, the Department of Justice, and the prime minister. Still no one believed him—until Soviet agents broke into his apartment. Finally Gouzenko and his family got protection from Canadian authorities.

Canadian officials informed the British and American governments of the spy ring. In February, 1946, the RCMP made several arrests. The spy ring was likely trying to discover information about the atomic bomb, but it appeared that the Soviets had learned very little. The Gouzenko affair brought Canadians into the new reality of the post-war world—the period of intense hostility and suspicion known as the **Cold War**.

# The Cold War

During the Second World War, the United States and the Soviet Union had been allies even though they had little in common except their opposition to the Axis powers. Once the war was over, tensions between the two countries surfaced. At the heart of the conflict were differences in their political and economic systems. The Soviet Union was **communist**, which meant that the



**FIGURE 6–24** After the October 1917 revolution in Russia, two countries were recognized as communist. The post-war world, after 1945, saw the addition of 12 new communist countries, most of which were in Eastern Europe.

**Developing Understanding** How does this map contribute to your understanding of American concerns about the spread of communism?

government controlled all industry and commerce. Under communism, political opposition was not tolerated. The United States and most Western countries were **capitalist**. Their economies were based on private enterprise, with individuals investing in business for profit. Citizens had basic freedoms such as freedom of the press and freedom of speech.

Western countries were suspicious of communism. As in the decades following the First World War, they feared that communists planned to overthrow Western societies in a world revolution. The Soviet Union, for its part, was suspicious that the Western countries might try to invade Soviet territory through Europe. The Soviets took over the countries of Eastern Europe in the years following the Second World War and established communist governments in them. The West, particularly the United States, saw this expansion as proof of Soviet designs on the world.

As a result, the war years were not followed by peace and cooperation, as so many had hoped. Instead hostility increased between the Soviets and the Americans. But this was not traditional warfare; it was a Cold War in which no shots were fired and no battles took place. At the same time, both sides built up huge stockpiles of sophisticated arms, including the atomic bomb and other nuclear weapons and also spied on one another. The rivals became **superpowers**, each capable of inflicting massive destruction.

Canada aligned itself closely with U.S. interests while trying to remain true to the goals and values of Canadians—not an easy task. Through the early part of the 20th century, Canada had achieved independence from Britain; in the latter half, Canada struggled to keep U.S. influences from weakening its national identity.

#### **KEY TERMS**

**Cold War** a period lasting approximately from 1945 to 1989 when there was tension and hostility between the communist Soviet Union and its allies and the capitalist United States and its allies

**communist** one who believes that property and the production and distribution of goods and services should be owned by the public and that the labour force should be organized for the benefit of all; the application of the theory in the Soviet Union, China, Cuba, and other countries resulted in dictatorships by leaders of communist parties

capitalist one who believes in an economic system in which the production and distribution of goods are owned privately or by shareholders in corporations that have invested money in the hope of making a profit

superpowers the term used to refer to the United States and Soviet Union in the post–Second World War period when both were engaged in building up powerful arsenals of weapons of mass destruction as deterrents against aggression

### The Cold War at Home

When the Igor Gouzenko story hit the media, the Canadian public was shocked to learn that a communist spy ring had been operating in Canada. During the early decades of the Cold War, many Canadians worried that an open war between the Soviet Union and the United States would result in a rain of nuclear bombs and missiles on Canada. The federal government in Ottawa developed civil defence plans, and cities prepared to protect their populations. Some cities had nuclear shelters in deep basements or subway tunnels. If an attack were to occur, sirens would sound a warning and people would try to find shelter. Schools ran drills to teach students to "duck and cover" or to lie in ditches. The fear of a nuclear Third World War was very real. Ironically, however, the existence of nuclear weapons-and the threat of mass destruction—probably prevented an all-out war between the superpowers.



FIGURE 6-25 Students doing a duck-and-cover drill

# counter points

# Was the "Red Menace" real?

The "Red Menace" referred to the threat from the communist Soviet Union and its allies. Communists became known as "Reds" because the flags of the Communist International and the Soviet Union are red. The Gouzenko Affair had shown that it was possible for communists to infiltrate democratic governments and institutions in North America.

In the United States, Senator Joseph McCarthy and the House Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC) instituted a "witch hunt" for communists. McCarthy terrified people with secret lists of supposed communists who had, according to him, infiltrated all parts of American society.

The Committee interrogated thousands of suspected communists. For instance, many prominent figures in the entertainment industry, including movie stars, were forced to testify before the Committee because they had once belonged to socialist organizations or had simply attended meetings of such groups.

Many Canadians also feared the spread of communism, as is evident in the following quotation:

No longer could western governments fail to acknowledge that Soviet Russia was conducting a gigantic conspiracy for the overthrow of governments throughout the free world.

#### -Clifford Harvison, RCMP Commissioner, 1950s

The "Red Menace" sometimes became an issue in local elections, as the quotation below and poster on page 193 demonstrate.

Toronto's Communists took a lacing in the civic elections with Ald. Charles Sims and Trustee Mrs. Edna Ryerson of Ward 5 remaining as the only stooges of Stalin on either city council or board of education.... On the Board of Education three Communist aspirants fell by the wayside. In Ward Four, where Mrs. Hazel Wigdor, a Commie, retired, Comrade Samuel Walsh took a shellacking....

-Globe and Mail, January 2, 1948

Unlike U.S. President Dwight Eisenhower, Prime Minister Louis St. Laurent refused to outlaw communism. He reminded Canadians that such tactics were the trademarks of dictatorships, not democracies. Two of Canada's future prime ministers, Lester Pearson and John Diefenbaker, both supported St. Laurent's moderate approach.

Let us by all means remove the traitors from positions of trust, but in doing so, I hope we may never succumb to the black madness of the witch hunt.

#### -Lester Pearson quoted in The Red Scare

I frankly state that in 1948 my own party came out in favour of outlawing communism. I was the only one to oppose it. I received a very unusual lack of welcome. The Conservative Party was going to sweep Canada with that policy. I said, "You cannot do it. You cannot deny an individual the right to think as he will."

-John Diefenbaker, House of Commons, 1970



FIGURE 6–26 Although Joseph McCarthy had many supporters in the United States, he was feared and hated by many people.

 What measures has Canada taken to promote a distinct Canadian identity?

Nevertheless, injustices did take place in Canada.

- Union leaders who fought for better conditions for workers came under suspicion.
- Defence industries secretly sent lists of their employees to Ottawa for screening and dismissed workers suspected of communist sympathies.
- The RCMP Special Branch put artists, peace activists, union leaders, and intellectuals under surveillance.
- Québec Premier Maurice Duplessis used the socalled "Padlock Law" to shut down organizations and newspapers that criticized his government, and to arrest those who sought better rights for workers.

#### Analyzing the Issue

- In the United States, and to some extent in Canada, governments and government agencies used undemocratic tactics and violated the civil liberties of those suspected of communist sympathies. Why do you think the rule of law was broken so often at this time?
- 2. Maurice Duplessis' government used the so-called Padlock Law to close down newspapers that Duplessis thought were communist or leftist and the publications of other groups he did not like. What fundamental Canadian right does this violate? How would this law stand up against the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms?
  - **3.** Find out to what extent anti-terrorist policies after 2001 followed the same pattern as the communist witch hunts of the 1950s.
  - **4.** Is banning certain political, social, or economic groups ever justified? Explain.
  - **5.** What makes evidence credible? Why is it so important that credible evidence of guilt be established in a democratic society?

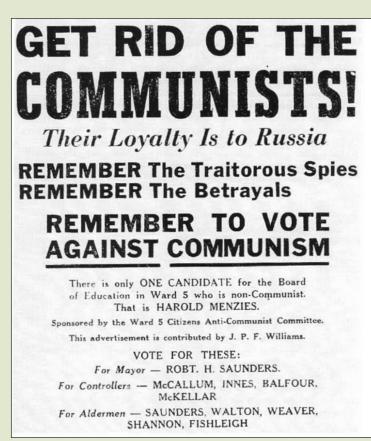


FIGURE 6-27 A Toronto municipal campaign poster, 1947

What was Canada's involvement in the Cold War?

#### **KEY TERMS**

**middle power** a nation that is not a superpower but has international influence

#### North Atlantic Treaty Organization

(NATO) the mutual defence organization set up to protect several Western European countries, Canada, and the U.S. from possible aggression from the U.S.S.R. after the Second World War

Warsaw Pact a post–Second World War military alliance established in 1955 involving the Soviet Union and the Sovietblock countries of Albania, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, East Germany, Hungary, Poland, and Romania

#### North American Aerospace Defence

**Command (NORAD)** a defence agreement signed in 1958 between Canada and the United States (known as the North American Air Defence Agreement until 1981)

**Distant Early Warning (DEW)** radar stations in northern Canada set up between 1958 and 1960 to detect Soviet activity over the North Pole

# NATO and the Warsaw Pact

Prime Minister St. Laurent saw Canada as a "power of the middle rank" and his government expanded Canada's international role accordingly. He believed that although Canada had a close relationship with both the United States and Britain, it could nevertheless act independently of these two nations. As a **middle power**, Canada was in the position of effectively representing the interests of smaller nations. St. Laurent was an enthusiastic supporter of Canada's participation in the **North Atlantic Treaty Organization** (**NATO**) and the United Nations (UN).

In 1949, Canada joined with the United States, Britain, and other Western European nations to form NATO, a military alliance. An attack on one NATO member was to be treated as an attack on all. NATO members agreed that if conventional weapons were not sufficient, they would use tactical weapons, that is, short-range nuclear weapons such as artillery shells or bombs. As a last resort, they would be prepared to wage total nuclear war.

Since the United States was by far the most powerful member of the alliance, much of NATO's activity served American policy first and foremost. Canada's close ties with the United States made maintaining an independent foreign policy very difficult. When NATO admitted West Germany as a member, the Soviet Union initiated the **Warsaw Pact**, a military alliance with Eastern European communist countries, to counter it.

Much of the northern hemisphere was now effectively divided into two hostile camps. Armies constantly practised for war and added to their arsenals of weapons. Everywhere, spies and counterspies probed for weaknesses in their enemy's security—searching for secrets, carrying out assassinations, and promoting revolutions and counter-revolutions.

#### Canada's Commitment to NATO

Canada made a serious commitment when it joined NATO. It agreed to keep a full army brigade and several air squadrons in Europe, mostly in West Germany. It built and supplied military bases overseas. Canadian ships and aircraft tracked the movements of Soviet submarines. Canadian forces participated regularly in military exercises with Canada's allies. Perhaps most significantly, by joining NATO, Canada had to adapt its defence policy to those of its allies.

# NORAD and North American Defence

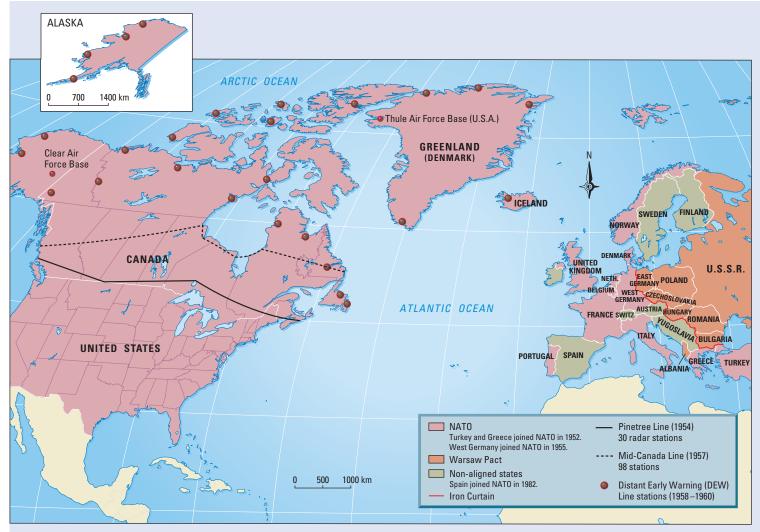
In 1958, Prime Minister Diefenbaker signed an agreement with the United States committing Canada to the **North American Aerospace Defence Command (NORAD)**. This meant that Canada and the U.S. had become part of a joint coordinated continental air defence against the threat of attack from the Soviet Union.

Canadian and American fighter forces, missile bases, and air-defence radar were controlled from a command station deep within Cheyenne Mountain, Colorado. NORAD had a force of 1000 bombers at its disposal at any one time, some of which were always in the air armed with nuclear weapons. A Canadian command post, under joint control, was established deep inside tunnels at North Bay, Ontario. When the Cold War began, it looked like Europe would be the battleground between West and East. However, when long-range bombers were developed that could carry warheads to distant targets, North America also became vulnerable. To protect against direct Soviet attack from the air, the United States built three lines of radar stations across Canada between 1950 and 1957—the Pinetree Line, the Mid-Canada Line, and the **Distant Early Warning (DEW) Line** (see map below). These stations were designed to detect a surprise Soviet attack over the North Pole, giving the United States time to launch a counterattack.

The DEW Line, and other radar stations, compromised Canadian sovereignty. For the first time, the U.S. stationed military personnel in Canada, alarming many Canadians. To visit the DEW Line, Canadian members of Parliament and journalists had to fly to New York and gain security clearance from U.S. authorities.



**FIGURE 6–28** The NORAD emblem. What might the elements of this emblem represent?



**FIGURE 6–29** Countries of NATO and the Warsaw Pact. The dividing line between the Western European and communist countries was known as the "Iron Curtain," and movements of people and information from one side to the other was tightly restricted.

**Thinking Critically** Why would countries in Western Europe feel threatened by the countries of the Warsaw Pact and vice versa?

#### **KEY TERM**

**intercontinental ballistic missiles** missiles equipped with nuclear warheads that have a range of 5500 kilometres Most Canadians, however, showed little interest in this loss of independence, which the government had "sold" as the price of added security against an attack from the Soviet Union. Soon, the superpowers had developed **intercontinental ballistic missiles** armed with nuclear warheads. Missiles launched from the U.S.S.R. could reach North American cities within 30 minutes, rendering radar stations in Canada less effective.

## FASTFORWARD

# **Terrorist Threats**

The Cold War of the 1950s prompted the government to create military alliances and build weapons to protect Canadians from communist spies and attack. Fifty years later, when terrorists attacked the Twin Towers of the World Trade Center and other targets in the United States on September 11, 2001, governments around the world again took strong measures to protect their citizens. In both cases, the threat was real. But were all the security measures really necessary? What price were governments and citizens prepared to pay for security? Critics pointed out the dangers of governments overreacting to threats and sacrificing vital rights and freedoms in the interest of security.



**FIGURE 6–30** People around the world were horrified by evidence of torture of terrorist suspects by U.S. military personnel. This 2004 photograph was taken at Abu Ghraib prison in Iraq.

## PRACTICE QUESTIONS

- What was the Cold War? Why did the Soviet Union want to have a buffer of countries between it and Western Europe?
- **2. a)** Why was communism considered a threat to democracy?
  - **b)** What groups of Canadians came under suspicion of being communists? What actions were taken against some of these people?
- **3.** Identify a) NATO, b) NORAD, c) the DEW Line.

- **4.** Why was Canada willing to enter an air defence agreement with the United States?
- 5. What commitments did Canada make as a member of NATO? How did membership in NATO affect Canada's foreign policy?
- 6. Significance Read the feature on the following page. How might Canada's identity have been different if the Avro Arrow project had not been cancelled? What different role might Canada have played in international affairs?

# The Avro Arrow: Supersonic Jets

By the end of the Second World War, advances in technology had completely changed aviation. Jet fighters developed by Britain and Germany made propeller-driven warplanes obsolete. Canada, which had many aeronautical engineers in the early 1950s, was a leader in the field. Even though the Avro project was cancelled in 1959, the memory of the Arrow remains.



Delta-winged interceptor By 1958, the A.V. Roe (Avro) Company had developed the Arrow (CF 105), capable of flying at twice the speed of sound (Mach 2). The Arrow was to have exceptionally powerful and stateof-the-art engines and be faster than almost any other interceptor of the day.



**Turbojet engine** The Arrow, which was to be powered by two huge Iroquois jet engines, had a very specific purpose: to shoot down Russian nuclear-armed bombers.

**The Concorde supersonic jetliner** which first flew in 1969, used delta-wing technology, similar to that of the Arrow. The Avro project was cancelled in 1959 by the Diefenbaker government. The existing planes were scrapped, and most of Avro's designers and engineers moved to the United States. Many Canadians feel that they lost an opportunity to establish a world-class space and aeronautics industry in Canada.

• Describe Canada's involvement in the UN.

#### **KEY TERMS**

**United Nations (UN)** an organization established in 1945 to bring peace and security to the world.

World Health Organization (WHO) the United Nations health organization responsible for providing leadership for global health

United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF) a UN organization that works to protect children's rights, to make sure the basic needs of children are met and to help children reach their full potential; originally called United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund

# **Planning for Peace**

Despite growing tensions at the end of the Second World War, world leaders began making plans for an international agency that would work to prevent future conflict and alleviate human misery.

## Canada and the United Nations

In October 1945, delegates from 51 countries signed a charter that established the **United Nations (UN)**. It was based on the idea of collective security, as the League of Nations had been before it. Canada played an important part in drafting its Charter. Membership in the United Nations is open to all recognized nations. Two bodies govern the United Nations: the General Assembly and the Security Council.

The use of the veto in the Security Council has often prevented the United Nations from taking decisive action. By 1955, as the Cold War escalated, the veto was used 78 times, 75 of which were by the Soviet Union. However, when permanent members agree on a course of action, the United Nations has the potential to implement it.

The founders of the UN also pledged to abolish disease and famine and to protect human rights. Canadian John Humphrey was the leading author of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Various agencies such as the **World Health Organization** (WHO) and the **United Nations Children's Fund** (UNICEF) are designed to accomplish these goals. In addition, the UN established the International Monetary Fund (IMF) to stabilize the world economy by helping countries that face great debt and the collapse of their



**FIGURE 6–31** The UN Security Council is responsible for keeping peace. It issues calls for ceasefires and creates peacekeeping forces. Canada has had a seat on the Council in every decade since the United Nations was formed.

currencies. The United Nations has benefited millions of people worldwide, especially through its social and economic agencies and peacekeeping operations. As with all international organizations, however, countries pursue their own agenda within it.

Canada has been a strong supporter of the United Nations since its creation and has aided refugees from war or natural disasters and worked on development projects such as building schools, dams, and roads—in various countries. Canadian peacekeepers have been involved in almost every UN operation since the start of these missions in 1956.

#### The General Assembly

#### Seats

each member nation has a seat

#### What it does

- provides a forum in which members can debate issues
- has three powers it can use against aggressor nations
  - condemn the actions through speeches and resolutions
  - use economic sanctions
  - deploy armed forces

#### How decisions are made

• each member nation has the right to vote

#### **The Security Council**

#### Seats

- 5 permanent members, the "Big Five"—Britain, France, the United States, Russia, and China (represented by the government in Taiwan until 1971)
- 10 non-permanent members, each holding a two-year term

#### What it does

- maintain peace and security
- deploy peacekeeping missions

#### How decisions are made

- decisions need the consent of 9 members
- each of the "Big Five" has the power of veto—the right to reject actions with which they disagree

#### The Korean Conflict

Though the threat of nuclear annihilation kept the major powers from open war, both sides supported their own interests in the developing world. The Second World War had left the Asian country of Korea divided. The Soviet Union and communist China supported North Korea, a communist state. The United States supported South Korea which had a fragile democracy. In 1950, war broke out when North Korea invaded South Korea.

The United Nations called on its members to assist South Korea. (The Soviet Union was boycotting the UN at the time because it refused to give communist China a seat. Therefore it could not exercise its right to veto.) Prime Minister Louis St. Laurent sent thousands of Canadian troops and three naval destroyers to Korea. The UN force, led by American General Douglas MacArthur, tried to drive the invaders back over the border into North Korea. Meanwhile, Lester Pearson, Canada's Minister of External Affairs, urged all sides to agree to a ceasefire. At one point, the United States considered using the atomic bomb, but luckily, it did not. In addition, General MacArthur made plans to invade China. Had either of these things happened, a third World War would likely have resulted.

Although a ceasefire was reached in 1953, the war had increased tensions between the West and the communist nations. Global attention returned to this part of the world in the 1960s when American involvement in Vietnam escalated. (You will read about the Vietnam War in Chapter 7.)

Sandwiched between the Second World War and the Vietnam War, the Korean conflict is often called "Canada's forgotten war." Canada sent more than 25 000 soldiers to fight in Korea. More than 1500 were seriously wounded and another 516 died. As of 2009, the Korean War had technically not ended: the Republic of Korea (South) and the Democratic Peoples' Republic of Korea (North) had yet to sign a peace treaty.  What was Canada's response to modern conflicts?



FIGURE 6–32 Lester Pearson with the Nobel Peace Prize that he won in 1957 for helping to defuse the Suez crisis

#### WEB LINK • · · · · · · · ·

Visit the Pearson Web site to learn more about Lester Pearson's Nobel Peace Prize.

# The Suez Crisis

A crisis over the Suez Canal in Egypt gave Canada another chance to take a leading role at the United Nations. The Suez Canal links the Mediterranean and Red Seas and provides the shortest sea route from Europe to the Indian Ocean. It was opened in 1869 and was privately owned by British and French investors.

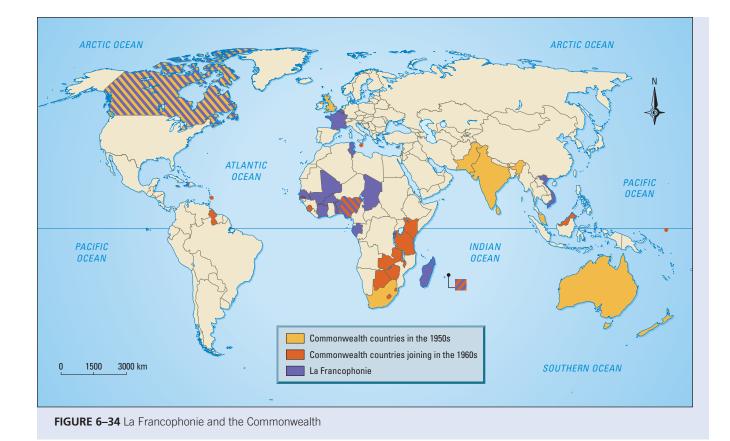
In 1956, Egypt's president, Gamal Abdel Nasser, took over the canal and threatened to ban ships travelling to and from Israel. In response, Israel, Britain, and France planned "Operation Musketeer" to regain control of the canal. Ignoring a UN Security Council resolution to cease hostilities, they landed troops in the canal zone. The Soviet Union immediately offered Egypt financial and military aid.

The United States was angry with its allies, Britain, France, and Israel, for not consulting the U.S. government before attacking Egypt. Nevertheless, the United States threatened retaliation against any Soviet involvement. Canadian public opinion on the crisis was divided. The Conservative Party and many other Canadians felt it was their duty to support Britain. Liberal Prime Minister Louis St. Laurent, however, denounced the British and French military intervention.

Once again, Lester Pearson went to the United Nations to try to work out a solution. He proposed that a multinational peacekeeping force be created and installed in the war zone to maintain ceasefires and oversee the withdrawal of troops. The United Nations agreed, and the United Nations Emergency Force (UNEF) was formed and sent to the Suez area to bring hostilities to a peaceful end. The force, under the command of a Canadian general, was chosen from countries not directly involved in the conflict. The UNEF remained stationed on the Israel-Egypt border until 1967.

In the following years, Canada gained a reputation as an impartial and peace-loving country, willing to pay the costs of sending peacekeepers to troubled areas of the world. In 1998, the United Nations celebrated 50 years of peacekeeping around the world. During that time there were 49 peacekeeping operations; 36 of which were created by the Security Council between 1988 and 1998.





# The Commonwealth and la Francophonie

Canada was in a good position to build international understanding through its membership in two other organizations, the Commonwealth and la Francophonie. The Commonwealth is made up of countries that had once belonged to the British Empire. La Francophonie is an organization of French-speaking states, many of which are former colonies of France. Both organizations have many members that are less industrialized, and both offer a forum for discussing the economic problems of poverty-stricken countries.

In 1950, Commonwealth countries, including Canada, established the Colombo Plan to provide money and aid to less-developed countries in the organization. Canada contributed in a number of ways, for example, by inviting overseas students to study in Canada and by sending Canadian experts overseas to give technical assistance. Most Canadian aid under the Colombo Plan went to India and Pakistan.

### PRACTICE QUESTIONS

- 1. a) What is the purpose of the UN General Assembly?
  - b) Why were the five permanent members of the Security Council given veto powers? How did this power create a stalemate in the United Nations?
- **2.** What caused the Korean War? How did Canada participate?
- **3.** What important roles did Canada play in the Suez crisis?

# **CHAPTER FOCUS QUESTION**

As you learned in this chapter, the years following the Second World War brought many social, economic, political, and technological changes to Canada. These changes altered the lives of many Canadians and helped to usher in a new era of prosperity and growth. There were also many fundamental shifts in Canada's international focus in the early post-war years, shifts that had a profound effect on the way Canadians viewed themselves and also on the way Canada was viewed by the rest of the world. The transformation in national identity that had begun after the First World War and was strengthened by the Second World War, grew and developed in the second half of the century.

# How did Canadian political decisions reflect a concern about the growing influence of the United States over Canada?

- 1. Create an organizer such as the one below; provide specific examples of at least seven decisions made by the Canadian government to limit the influence of the U.S. on Canada. Explain why the decision was made and evaluate its effectiveness at limiting American influence on Canada.
- **2.** Rank the decisions in order from most to least effective. Provide reasons for your rankings.
- If you had been advising the Canadian government, what other decisions would you have made to limit American influence on Canada? Explain why you would have made these decisions.

Decision made by the Canadian government	Reason for the decision	Explain the effectiveness of the decision
1.		
2.		
3.		
4.		
5.		
6.		
7.		

### **Vocabulary Focus**

**4.** Review the following Key Terms on page 169. Then, go to the Pearson Web site and match the Key Terms to their corresponding definitions.

# **Knowledge and Understanding**

- Continue the ongoing timeline assignment. Write the name and date of each event in this chapter on the timeline and explain how the event contributed to Canadian independence.
- **6.** You learned in earlier chapters that Canada began to gain autonomy from the beginning of the 20th century. To what extent did Canada become more independent in the post-war era? In what ways did Canada become less independent during this same period?

- **7.** Explain how the economy of Canada was transformed during the post-war era.
  - **a)** How might this transformation have affected the way Canadians viewed themselves?
  - **b)** What effect did it have on how other countries viewed Canada?
- 8. During the late 1940s and early 1950s, a "Red Scare" was alive and well in Canada and the United States. What effect do you think this threat had on Canada's military decisions? Support your opinion with specific examples from the textbook.
- **9.** Complete a PMI chart on the four megaprojects (Trans-Canada Highway, Kemano Project, Trans-Canada Pipeline, and St. Lawrence Seaway). How does each of these projects continue to influence the Canadian economy?

# **Critical Thinking**

#### Significance

10. Using the information from the Chapter Focus organizer on page 202, list the two political decisions that you believe had the longest-lasting effect on limiting the influence of the U.S. on Canada. Write a paragraph explaining why these decisions were so effective at limiting American influence over Canada.

#### Evidence

- 11. What does it mean to be a middle power? Select three examples from the textbook that you think demonstrate Canada's role as a middle power during the Cold War. Support your choices with at least two reasons.
- **12.** How significant was Canada's role in Cold War events? Provide supporting evidence for your opinion.

#### **Document Analysis**

Imagine Canada had refused to participate in NATO and/or NORAD. Use the below map, as well as the map showing NATO and Warsaw Pact countries on page 195, to guide your opinion and to formulate answers to the following questions:

- **13.** How might Canada–U.S. relations have been affected if Canada had decided to remain neutral during the Cold War?
- **14.** What do you think the U.S. reaction might have been to such a decision?
- **15.** Did Canada really have a choice on whether or not to join these military alliances?
- **16.** Do your answers to these questions change the views you expressed in Questions 5 and 7?



**FIGURE 6–35** The United States and the Soviet Union both stockpiled weapons in the years following the Second World War.

**Gathering Information** Where is Canada on this polar projection? In what way does this projection clarify Canada's decision to join NORAD?