

5 • Political developments in the Americas after the Second World War, 1945–79

Questions

Complete the chart before answering the following questions:

- 1 Compare and contrast the domestic policies of any two US presidents from 1945–74.
- 2 “McCarthyism, for all its faults and excesses, successfully rooted out the threat of communist infiltration in the US government.” To what extent do you agree with this view?
- 3 “The legacy of government intervention in the daily lives of US citizens is the real legacy of the domestic policies of Truman and Johnson.” Assess and evaluate the validity of this statement.
- 4 “In the 1940s and 1950s the majority of people living in the United States enjoyed an improvement in their standard of living that was unmatched in US economic history. However, this new prosperity did not include all citizens of the United States.” With reference to two presidents, analyze efforts to share the wealth across all sectors of US society.
- 5 Why were Truman and Eisenhower reluctant supporters of the civil rights movement?
- 6 “Kennedy only began to take domestic policy seriously as he prepared for the election of 1963.” What evidence is there to support and to oppose this statement?
- 7 Without Watergate, Nixon’s domestic record would be remembered as more important than Johnson’s Great Society.” Agree or disagree and explain why.
- 8 To what extent do you believe the domestic policies of these presidents has made the United States a better place? What else could or should they have done?

Canada’s domestic policies: Diefenbaker to Clark

Canadian prime ministers, 1945–84

William Lyon Mackenzie King	Liberal Party	1935–1948
Louis Stephen Saint-Laurent	Liberal Party	1948–1957
John George Diefenbaker	Conservative Party	1957–1963
Lester Bowles Pearson	Liberal Party	1963–1968
Pierre Elliot Trudeau	Liberal Party	1968–1979; 1980–1984
Charles Joseph Clark	Conservative Party	1979–1980

Six men occupied 24 Sussex Drive, the official residence of the Canadian prime minister in the capital city of Ottawa, between 1945 and 1979. The Liberal Party dominated, holding power for 28 of the 34 years and was only out of office twice. Not surprisingly, they were considered to be “the Government Party” and had come to believe that what was good for the Liberal Party was good for Canada. One Liberal Party prime minister dominated the era, William Lyon Mackenzie King. First elected prime minister in 1922, King held office until 1948, with the exception of the period 1930–35.

King’s leadership during the Second World War was the most significant period of his command. In 1939, he led Canada into war, relatively unprepared, and with a small military and an economy still reeling from the Depression. By the end of the war, over one million Canadians had served in the armed forces out of a total population of 12 million. Per capita war production in both the industrial and agricultural sectors equalled the United Kingdom and was ahead of the United States. When the war ended, Canadians

feared a return to the low, dishonest days of the Depression, but King had planned for the end of the war and effectively reabsorbed the veterans, converted the economy to peacetime production and set the stage for over two decades of unprecedented economic growth and low unemployment. He retired in 1948, worn out (age 74). He had effectively managed the nation during some of its most trying days. Canada had emerged from the war self-confident, independent, respected and one of the world's most powerful and prosperous nations.

King was succeeded by Louis St. Laurent, who also proved to be a very capable leader at a time in which Canada began to loosen ties with the United Kingdom and strengthen its relationship with the United States. He was also bilingual. St. Laurent had many successes, starting in 1949, when Newfoundland, the UK's oldest colony, became Canada's 10th province. He convinced Eisenhower to agree to the St. Lawrence Seaway project, a joint Canada-US venture, completed in 1959, that allowed ships to navigate up the St. Lawrence River from the Great Lakes to the Atlantic Ocean. To meet the threat of long-range Soviet bombers, the two nations signed a joint air defence arrangement that integrated the command structures of the US and Canadian militaries, the North American Aerospace Defense Command (NORAD) which required the construction of a radar line (DEW Line) across northern Canada.

Nonetheless, St. Laurent's Liberals lost the elections in 1957 and he retired as head of the party. He was replaced by a populist politician, the Conservative John Diefenbaker, who ended the era of Liberal domination. Since confederation, all Canadian prime ministers came from one of the two parties: the Liberal or Conservative parties, nicknamed the Grits and Tories respectively. During the postwar period there was little difference between the platforms of the two parties. They understood that Canadians wanted a social welfare program and full employment. Disagreements on policy tended to focus on level of taxation and processes. However, the appearance of third parties on the political scene injected more serious ideological alternatives into the national debate and effectively challenged the dominance of the Grits and Tories.

In the 1920s, protest political parties, known as third parties, appeared in the west; the result of regional disadvantages and a representation-by-population electoral system that favoured the heavily populated provinces of Quebec and Ontario. The most important of these formed in 1933—the Cooperative Commonwealth Federation (CCF). The more left-leaning CCF advocated nationalization of key industries and the creation of a welfare system. In 1944, they formed the provincial government in Saskatchewan. The next year, the CCF's popular and capable leader, Thomas C. Douglas, went to Ottawa and the CCF won 28 seats. MacKenzie King referred to the CCF as "Liberals in a hurry" but he had to take them seriously. To stave off the threat from the left, the Liberals adopted the CCF's programs as their own and reaped the benefits of their popularity among the electorate. The first was the family allowance program instituted during the war. Taking the wind out of the CCF sails kept the Liberals in power for a decade

after the war. By the time Diefenbaker came to power in 1957, the CCF had been joined by the Social Credit Party that also had a Quebec Branch, *le Ralliement Creditiste*. These third parties would hold the balance of power in ruling minority governments in the 1960s and 1970s.

Canadian domestic politics, 1957–79

Immediately following the war, Canadians expected their governments (both federal and provincial) to provide solutions and direction in resolving important economic and social problems. The Marsh Report (1943) set the stage for adopting a Keynesian approach to the economy and social welfare programs, notably including a national health insurance scheme. Several key bureaucrats had personally studied under Keynes at Oxford and favored his demand-based economic policies. In the post-war period the federal government ran “Crown corporations” in such areas as rail transportation, air travel and radio and television. Direct involvement of the government in the economy was here to stay. Canada was a large country with a small population and big government was viewed as the best way to ensure regional equality and promote economic development and full employment. Unlike the division of powers in the federal system of the United States, the majority of power was to reside with the federal government. During this period, the provinces demanded more money and more power. Negotiations between these two levels of government would dominate the Canadian political landscape particularly around taxation and constitutional reform. Federal–provincial conferences became an important device to resolve sticky issues.

In Canada, social welfare programs were implemented gradually over three decades. There was no “made-in-Canada” version of Truman’s Fair Deal or Johnson’s Great Society. The more cautious approach reflected Canada’s preference for incremental change based on consensus and compromise rather than radical reform. And it turned out, by the mid 1960s Canadians enjoyed a cradle-to-grave social welfare net that included: family allowances (1945); unemployment insurance (1940); old-age pension (1927, revised in 1951, and incorporating the Canada Pension Plan from 1965); and, most significantly (in comparison with the US model), a national healthcare insurance plan (1965).

It is considered a statement of fact by Canadians that the US Revolution created not one nation but two. Canada was created by men and women who wished to remain loyal to the British Crown. Anti-US sentiment, based on a fear of US domination are as Canadian as maple syrup and the Mounties. Postwar, these tendencies became more pronounced as Canada moved away from the UK and grew closer to the United States. Canadians worried that the nation’s distinctive cultural identity was being engulfed by the powerful US media and was becoming a branch of the US economy. Successive governments took action to stem the tide through implementing regulations requiring Canadian content on TV and radio, stopping the sale of Canadian companies and banks to US

interests and through providing government grants to promote Canadian culture.

A further cause for special treatment, by the 1960s, was the movement known in Quebec as the Quiet (or Silent) Revolution. A new breed of educated and entrepreneurial Québécois had emerged who demanded that Quebec be given special status and deserved special treatment. "Maitre Chez Nous" (masters in our own house), they cried. The Silent Revolution brought about significant changes and reforms to the balance of power between Québec, the federal government and the other provinces. But by the late 1960s a more radical movement wanted Quebec to secede from Canada. This separatist movement was led by the brilliant orator and former Liberal cabinet minister René Lévesque. In 1976, the Lévesque-led "Parti Québécois" became the provincial government in Quebec. A darker development in the separatist camp was the appearance of a terrorist group, *Le Front de libération du Québec* (the Quebec Liberation Front, or FLQ). A terrorist cell numbering about 100 members, the FLQ used violence to promote their message of independence. Bombing an armoury and mailboxes they injured a small number of people. In October 1970, the FLQ kidnapped a British diplomat and a Quebec cabinet minister (whom they subsequently murdered). Prime Minister Trudeau implemented the War Measures Act to meet the threat. Previously, the Act had been used during the first and second world wars to give the government emergency powers. Trudeau's implementation was the only time the Act was invoked during peacetime.

In the postwar era, the provinces demanded more power and governments at all levels played an ever active role in the daily lives of Canadians. Taxes increased to pay for these programs and defense spending was slashed as government priorities shifted from guns to butter. The economy, despite a few bumps, continued its upward trend and average household incomes more than doubled. The nation's population exploded with 4.5 million births (the baby boomers) and 1.5 million new immigrants (mainly European), and by 1960 was more than 17 million, expanding to 24 million by 1980. It was a good time for most Canadians. But, despite high employment levels, disadvantage persisted in many areas of the country and the **First Nations** (indigenous) peoples were marginalized and segregated on reservations. Their children were forced to attend church-run residential schools to be converted into Christians and cleansed of their aboriginal heritage. For the first time in its history, equality for all Canadians was about to become a national imperative.

First Nations Aboriginal peoples in Canada comprise the First Nations, or First Peoples, including the Inuit and Métis. The terms "Indian" and "Eskimo" are these days less frequently used.

The Canadian system of government

Canada is a constitutional monarchy. This means that the powers of the monarch (the British monarch) are administered by an elected assembly named the House of Commons. The monarch's representative is the governor general who carries out the duties of the Crown in Canada. The governor general is the head of state. The prime minister is the head of the government. The federal

← (central government) is located in Ottawa, the nation's capital. The system of government is parliamentary democracy following the British model. Parliament has the supreme law-making powers in the nation. The provinces and territories are governed by elected assemblies that also follow a parliamentary model.

Parliament is bicameral, meaning it has two legislative bodies. The most powerful is the House of Commons based on representation by population. The political party that wins the most seats in the House of Commons becomes the ruling or "government" party. In the Canadian system, the executive is made up of the prime minister and cabinet who are elected members of the house and directly responsible to the House of Commons. Responsible government is the key to this system and it means that the prime minister and cabinet must maintain the confidence of the house or they are obligated to resign and call an election. This happened in 1979 when the prime minister resigned after his budget was defeated on a vote of no-confidence.

The party in government selects the prime minister who, in turn, selects cabinet ministers who are also members of the house to lead the various departments and government posts. The electorate, therefore, do not vote directly for the prime minister or the cabinet, but will know beforehand who will be prime minister if a particular party wins enough seats to form the government.

The senate is the other house and is appointed based on regional representation. It provides "a sober second look" at legislation passed by the House. Its powers are limited by the fact that members are appointed. Members are appointed for life (to age 75).

Provincial legislatures are unicameral (one house) comprised of an elected assembly based on the same parliamentary principles of responsible government as the federal government.

The Canada Act (1982), originally the British North America Act of 1867, stipulates the division of powers between the federal and provincial governments as contained in sections 91 (federal) and 92 (provincial) powers. The Supreme Court of Canada rules on jurisdictional disputes between the levels of government and interprets the constitution. A Charter of Rights and Freedoms was added in 1982 to protect and defend individual and collective rights. Unlike the US presidential system, a government may hold office for a maximum of five years before calling an election. However, for a variety of reasons, elections are usually called more frequently. In some cases (as we will see in this section), the prime minister has formed a government without a clear-cut majority in the House of Commons. This is referred to as a minority government. To maintain power, the party with the most seats must work cooperatively with the other parties. On several occasions a minority government has been defeated shortly after taking office and has called an election to secure a majority government. Others have successfully stayed in office by making deals with the opposition parties.

John G. Diefenbaker, 1957–63

John Diefenbaker became the first Conservative prime minister in 22 years after a surprising victory in the 1957 elections, defeating St. Laurent's Liberals and forming a minority government. Even with a minority government, Diefenbaker seemed to be dynamic and decisive, making changes that ensured his popularity with Canadians. He cut personal income tax and raised old age pension payouts at a time when unemployment was low and government revenues were high. Leading in the polls and with the Liberals holding a leadership convention to replace the retired St. Laurent, Diefenbaker called an election with the slogan "Follow John" in 1958. Diefenbaker's Conservative Party won the largest majority in Canadian history taking 208 out of 265 seats. The Liberals got 48 seats, mainly in Quebec. It appeared the era of Liberal dominance was over. Diefenbaker had a clear mandate to bring about meaningful change after decades of Liberal government.

The new government began with significant advantages including a huge majority and tremendous talent in cabinet that included the first female cabinet minister, Ellen Fairclough, who was the Minister of Citizenship and Immigration. Diefenbaker advocated a "Northern dream" to open up the north to development. He promoted regional development that included building dams in his native Saskatchewan and railroad expansion in the hinterlands. He wanted to attend to those sections of the country the Liberals had ignored or forgotten, marginalized by the Liberal focus on central Canada, notably Quebec. He advocated "unhyphenated Canadianism"; a new vision of citizenship that was no longer English-Canadian or French-Canadian but simply Canadian. This fell on deaf ears in Quebec, where it was known that he did not speak French. To Diefenbaker's credit, he offered voters a "made-in-Canada" vision of the future which was a distinctive shift in style from the ad hoc managerial approach of the Liberals. He offered Canadians a future based on equality for all. One of his greatest achievements was granting the franchise to the First Nations.

In the end, however, he was unable to convert ideology into policy. It started in cabinet; he could not build a consensus. Diefenbaker, the prairie populist could preach but was unable to lead. The "Northern dream" was impractical, untenable and too expensive to be realistic.

John George Diefenbaker (1895–1979)

John George Diefenbaker was born in Ontario and grew up in the Canadian prairie province of Saskatchewan, where his father was a teacher. He attended the University of Saskatchewan and earned a BA (1915) and MA (1916). He joined the army and served in England before invalided home in 1917. In 1919 he was called to the bar and practiced law earning a reputation as a stalwart defence attorney opposing the death penalty. He ran for the House of Commons four times between 1925 and 1940, and was finally elected in that year. He remained a member of the House until his death in 1979. In 1956 he became the Conservative

Party leader on his third try and formed a minority government in 1957. In 1958 he won the largest majority in Canadian history but thereafter things went badly for Diefenbaker. Combative and stubborn he alienated his party, senior civil servants, the electorate and the United States. By 1963, he had lost the election to Lester Pearson's Liberals. In 1967 he was ousted as Conservative party leader but stayed in the House until his death in 1979.

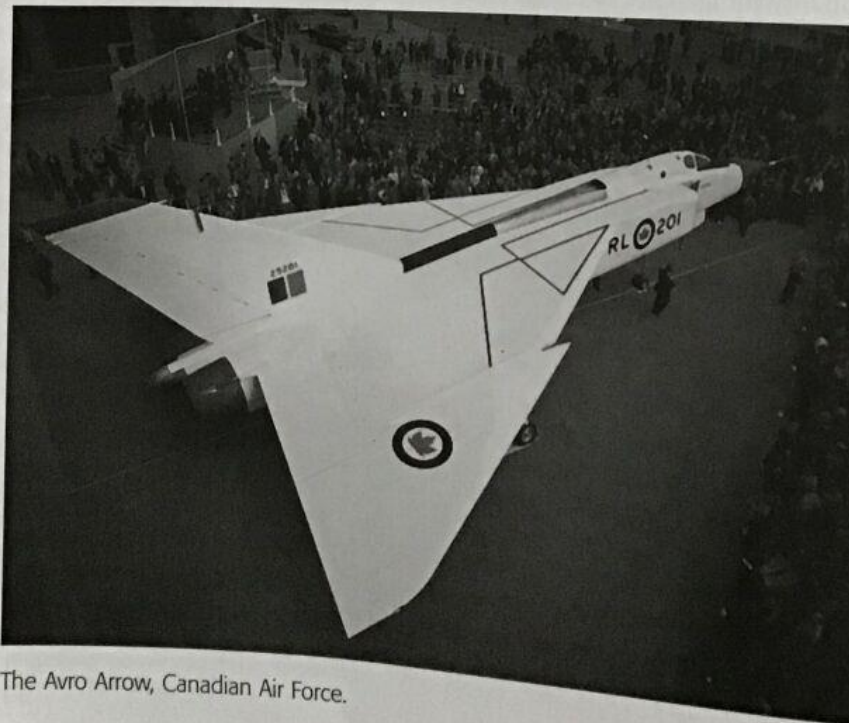


On March 29, 1958 in his first speech as Prime Minister to the House of Commons, Diefenbaker revealed his vision of the un-hyphenated Canadian:

“I am the first prime minister of this country of neither English or French origin. So I am determined to bring about a Canadian citizenship that knew no hyphenated consideration. I’m very happy to be able to say that in the House of Commons today in my party we have members of Italian, Dutch, German, Scandinavian, Chinese and Ukrainian origin—and they are all Canadians.”

For the most part, he maintained St. Laurent’s economic programs with minor tinkering. His government was rocked by scandal and infamously bad decisions. Several events contributed significantly to Diefenbaker’s demise.

In 1959, Diefenbaker cancelled the Avro Arrow Project. The Arrow was a Canadian designed and built fighter interceptor designed to meet and defeat the threat of Soviet bombers. The fighter was considered the best of its generation but was made obsolete by the advent of long-range nuclear missiles. The cancellation cost thousands of jobs and precipitated an exodus of talented people to the United States from Canada’s small but highly developed aerospace industry. The United States pressured Canada to accept anti-aircraft missiles to replace the Arrow. Fifty-six missiles were deployed in northern Ontario and Quebec, designed to carry nuclear warheads, rendering the missiles virtually useless. After the Cuban Missile crisis of October 1962 President Kennedy blamed Canada for failing to deploy nuclear missiles. The Minister of Defence, Douglas Harkness, who had advocated the nuclear warheads, resigned in disgust. Diefenbaker appeared indecisive on both issues and his government looked rudderless. In an effort to slow inflation, improve



The Avro Arrow, Canadian Air Force.

the balance of payments and encourage tourism, Diefenbaker devalued the Canadian dollar to an unheard of 92.5 cents US. The Liberals dubbed it the "Diefenbuck" and made it the election issue in 1962. Diefenbaker could not stem the Liberal tide. The damage done, his majority vanished and he stumbled back into office with another minority government. After more than 20 years in opposition, Diefenbaker and his cabinet were suspicious of the senior civil servants who had loyally served the Liberal Party and had Liberal leanings and connections. Rather than trying to win their loyalty, Diefenbaker tried to govern by avoiding consultation with his senior bureaucrats. He appeared anachronistic, advocating the British connection at a time when the bonds of empire were slipping. His rural background made him an outsider among the urban élites of central Canada.

On a personal level, Diefenbaker had a bad temper and could be vindictive and paranoid, blaming the media for his failures. While the Conservatives appeared to have taken control of the government, things went downhill quickly. After the Cuban Missile Crisis debacle, his minority government was defeated on a vote of no-confidence and the nation went to the polls in April 1963. The Canadian people were tired of Diefenbaker's antics and antiquated rhetoric and the Liberals were returned to power.

Activity

Research and evaluate Diefenbaker's domestic policies

This is an activity to be undertaken before writing an essay on the success and failures of John Diefenbaker's policies. As a representative of Canada's prairies, Diefenbaker implemented a series of policies to assist the shrinking agricultural sector of society and connect the more remote, northern areas with the rest of Canada. Due to these policies the Conservatives enjoyed the largest parliamentary majority in Canadian history, but in retrospect were his policies effective?

Policies implemented	Effect	Success or Failure	Reasons
Built northern railroad			
Expanded Trans-Canada Highway program			
Fixed price for farm products			
Agriculture Reform Act (1961)			
Canadian Bill of Rights (1960)			

Primary sources from the archives of the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation:
 Capital Punishment: http://archives.cbc.ca/society/crime_justice/clips/3339/

←
Canadian Bill of Rights: http://archives.cbc.ca/politics/prime_ministers/topics/1599/
First Nations voting: http://archives.cbc.ca/politics/rights_freedoms/clips/9556/
Highway: http://archives.cbc.ca/science_technology/transportation/clips/13552/
http://archives.cbc.ca/science_technology/transportation/clips/3900/
Conservative Victory: http://archives.cbc.ca/politics/prime_ministers/clips/10963/

Further resources

Library and Archives of Canada: <http://www.collectionscanada.gc.ca>
Prime Minister of Canada: <http://pm.gc.ca>
Montreal Gazette: <http://www.montrealgazette.com>

Lester B. Pearson, 1963–68

Pearson's domestic plans were significantly influenced by his early career as a diplomat and soldier; he saw internationalism and domestic policy as opposite sides of the same coin. His vision was to make Canada an outward-looking nation that would put an end to provincial rivalries that had so defined Canada's national political culture. At the core of his domestic considerations was the idea of establishing a more positive relationship with the United States, where much of its economic and military stock lay. Pearson—like his contemporary, President Johnson in the US—believed in government intervention to improve the lives of average citizens. At the root of Pearson's programs was the principle of "universality" which mandated equal access to government programs for all Canadians, most notably education, welfare and healthcare.

During his five years in office the Liberal Party never enjoyed a majority in parliament but through the support of newly emerging parties he implemented a series of policies favorable to Canadians and contributed to his legacy as a great statesman.

The Auto Pact, 1964

The Canada–United States Automotive Agreement, also known as the Auto Pact, of December 11, 1964, was a free trade agreement that permitted the free trade of automobiles, tires and auto parts across the border. The agreement had more impact in Canada than in the United States in terms of jobs and helped reduce the balance of payments inequity between the two nations. The agreements purpose was twofold: first, to reduce production costs by reducing duplication; and second, related to the first, to reduce the cost to consumers, thereby increasing consumption. It worked. The Canadian balance of payments in the auto industry offset a deficit balance of payments in other sectors of the economy. Car prices dropped, sales increased and Canada's automobile sector increased from 70,000 workers in 1965 to a peak of 125,000 in 1978. Southern

Lester Bowles Pearson (1897–1972)

Lester Bowles Pearson was born in Toronto to parents who were both of Irish descent. His father was a Methodist minister and a Conservative, his mother was a Liberal. In 1913 he entered Victoria College, University of Toronto, at age 16 but his studies were interrupted by the First World War. He volunteered for duty first in a hospital unit and then transferred to the Royal Flying Corps. He was invalided, suffering from physical injuries and psychological trauma, and finished the war an instructor. Returning to university he earned his first degree in 1919. Following two years in private industry he received a two year fellowship at Oxford University where he obtained a BA and MA. In 1924, he joined Canada's most prestigious history faculty at the University of Toronto. In 1928, he was persuaded to join Canada's fledgling Department of External Affairs. He would spend the next 40 years in government service. He held a number of diplomatic posts and participated in The Hague Conference on International Law (1930), the Washington Naval Conference (1930), the Geneva World Disarmament Conference (1933–34), the London Naval Conference (1935) and numerous sessions of the League of Nations. In 1942, he led the Canadian legation in Washington and was involved in the negotiations leading

to the formation of the United Nations (1944–45). Postwar he continued to hold high-ranking positions in foreign affairs including stints as the Chair of Canada's NATO delegation and was Canada's ambassador to the United Nations. In 1957, he brokered the Suez Crisis ceasefire agreement that ended the conflict and earned him the Nobel Peace Prize. He successfully ran for parliament and quickly became the leader of the Liberal Party, replacing Louis St. Laurent. In 1963, he defeated the Conservatives winning a slim minority government. He tried again in 1965 to win a majority but was unsuccessful. He retired from public life in 1968 and became president of Carleton University. Diagnosed with cancer in 1970, he wrote his memoirs prior to his death in 1972. Unquestionably Canada's most successful and respected foreign diplomat, he was instrumental in creating Canada's image as a trusted ally, humanitarian and peacekeeping nation. His record as prime minister was considered less successful by his contemporaries, but in retrospect this might not be accurate.



Ontario benefitted more than the rest of the country as the automobile manufacturing sector was concentrated close to the US centers of production with easy access to transportation routes. The pact was critical for increasing domestic support for the Liberal Party.

Defense spending

In the 1950s, Canada rebuilt its military to meet the threat of Soviet expansion. Twenty-five-thousand Canadians fought in the Korean War. And, by the mid-1960s, the armed forces numbered 120,000 with 10,000 permanently stationed in Europe as part of Canada's NATO commitment. However, the Glassco Commission (1963) reported that the military had been very wasteful in its expenditures and recommended that the armed forces become more "flexible, mobile and imaginative" in its structure while maintaining a commitment to international peacekeeping. As a result, Pearson ordered a force size reduction of 20,000 and under the direction of the Minister of Defence implemented unification of the armed forces (the army, navy and air-force) in order to reduce administration expenses. Many senior officers resigned in protest and the debate in parliament and the press revealed deep divisions. Pearson, however, had sufficient support and the bill was passed on February 1, 1968. Pearson understood that Canada's social welfare programs would require an every larger portion of the federal budget and that cuts to the military would go a long way to pay for these costly programs.



President Johnson and the prime minister of Canada, Lester Pearson, share a laugh. Relations between the two were not always jovial.

Activity

Pearson and Diefenbaker

Adversaries in Parliament for over a decade, they faced each other daily in the House of Commons. When one was the prime minister the other was the leader of the opposition. It was a tempestuous relationship which was the subject of many editorial cartoons. In this activity you will have the opportunity to evaluate the significance of three such cartoons.

You write the caption

For each of the Cartoons, provide your own caption based on your understanding of Canadian politics during the 1960s and explain your caption with reference to the historical context.

Cartoon 2



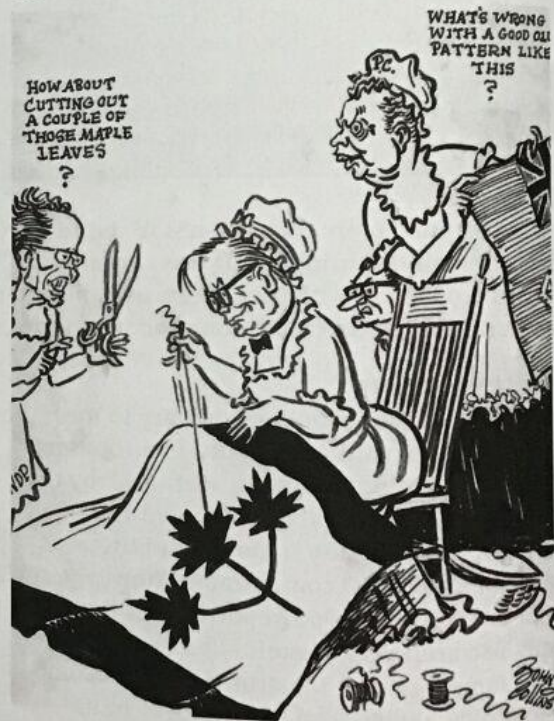
Pearson on the left, Diefenbaker on the right; both carry ladders. The damsel on the balcony represents the province of Quebec. The man standing behind her is the premier of Quebec.

Cartoon 1



Diefenbaker is on the left ("John" on his belt), Pearson on the right (with "Mike" on his shorts).

Cartoon 3



Tommy Douglas (leader of the NDP), holds the scissors, Pearson is sewing and Diefenbaker holds the British Ensign, c. 1965.

Social welfare programs

Once Pearson cut military spending, that money was allocated for a number of programs that were meant to create equal access to services among all Canadians regardless of income. One of these programs was the Canada Student Loans Program of 1964. This provided loans to students registered in university or technical

schools. The government developed risk-sharing agreements with the banks in which the federal government acted as the guarantor of the loans and would underwrite defaulted loans and associated costs. The program cost to the federal government was calculated to provide 60% of the assessed financial need to a maximum of \$165 dollars a week for full-time students. The remaining 40% was the responsibility of provincial loan schemes.

Another program was an update of the Canada Pension Plan in 1965. Far more comprehensive than its predecessor, it improved the existing old-age pension plan and permitted the provinces to establish their own plans with federal support. Recognizing that the majority of workers did not have a company pension plan, pension benefits were expanded and extended. The program also prescribed survivor benefits.

The 1966 Medical Care Act provided universal healthcare for all Canadians. While all 10 provinces had healthcare programs by 1961, they were unequal. In addition to ensuring basic standards, it also allowed the federal government to provide proportionately more funding to the poorer provinces. Despite some protests by the medical community and the defection of some doctors to the United States, the program, although costly, has proved extremely popular. A further development was Canada's racially-open immigration policy. By the 1960s, European immigration had slowed and Canada most notably encouraged immigration from India and Hong Kong.

Canadian nationalism

The need for a distinctive Canadian flag had been simmering since the 1890s and, under Pearson, it became a reality. Young Canadians, an increasingly vocal force in the nation, wanted something uniquely Canadian that captured the nation's new vitality and autonomy as the Canadian Ensign emphasized colonial ties. A 15-member committee appointed by Pearson vetted over 20,000 submissions before deciding on the red maple leaf with 11 points. But veterans from the Second World War objected to the retirement of the Ensign, as it was a symbol of their participation in war and controversy ensued. In the end, the new flag was enthusiastically accepted by most Canadians as a unique representation of their country.

Similarly, Pearson's government persisted in the approval of "O Canada" as the national anthem and "God Save the Queen" as the royal anthem. Both had been the de facto anthems for decades but this ensured their place as national symbols. "O Canada" became a bilingual anthem with English and French versions.

Pearson led two minority governments with skill and brought about significant and lasting reforms that succeeded in his goal of equality for Canadians, yet the nation faced serious questions about the future of confederation. Upon his retirement from public service in 1968 Canada faced critical and violent challenges as separatists gained support in Quebec.

Activity

The new flag



The Canadian Red Ensign (1921)



The Maple Leaf Flag (February 15, 1965), designed by George F. Stanley.

Compare the two Canadian flags

- 1 What symbolism do you see in the ensign?
- 2 Why would young Canadians want to change the flag?
- 3 What makes the maple leaf uniquely Canadian?
- 4 There are eleven points on the leaf—why do think it was created that way?
- 5 There was a proposal for flags with the *fleur-de-lis*; who would be in support of such a flag and why?
- 6 Based on your knowledge of Canadian history and culture, what would you include on the Canadian flag? Why?

Pierre Elliot Trudeau, 1968–79, 1980–84

Pierre Trudeau was a charismatic leader, a product of the 1960s, who found tremendous support among Canada's young people; they responded to him in a visceral fashion that the press called "Trudeau-mania". Although his opponent, the Conservative leader Robert Stanfield, had more political experience he could not compete with the firebrand oratory, razor wit, wry grin and dynamic persona of Trudeau. Except for a six-month hiatus during Joe Clark's short-lived Conservative government (1979–80) Trudeau was prime minister for the next 16 years (1968–84). Always a controversial figure, he was either loved or hated by Canadians. Many of his policies were a continuation of initiatives

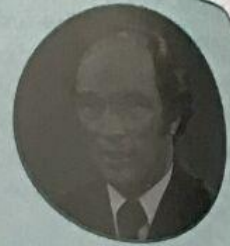
begun by Pearson. Proposals based on reports from the previous governments were implemented. He continued unification of the armed forces and further decreased troop levels. He expanded social welfare programs and benefits, adding to existing programs. He made Canada bilingual and multicultural, championed a strong federal government and rejected Quebec's call for special status and separatism. He was despised in the western provinces for his national energy policy, reviled in Quebec for being a traitor and loved elsewhere for his opposition to the separatists and progressive social policies.

On taking office, Trudeau's first major domestic initiative was to achieve Pearson's objective of making Canada officially bilingual and bicultural by ensuring that all Canadians had access to bilingual services from the federal government. At the same time, the pressure of other interest groups was coming to the fore, in particular from representatives of the First Nations of Canada. At first Trudeau resisted these pressures and demands for special status, land claims and a strengthened Indian Act that recognized their historical rights as First Nations gained momentum. Using the courts to their advantage, they won many land claims settlements that derailed Trudeau's desire to stop various groups from attaining special status before the law. These Acts provided a precedent and subsequently blacks, women and homosexuals become increasingly vocal. The Canadian civil rights movement came of age and over the next two decades minority group rights found support in the constitution as Canada became a more inclusive and tolerant nation.

Nearly as controversial for some, was the Liberal government's decision to introduce metric conversion. In the 1970s, temperature was changed

Pierre Elliot Trudeau (1919–2000)

Pierre Elliot Trudeau was born in Montreal to a Québécois father and a mother of Scottish descent. His father made a fortune during the Depression. Trudeau attended the prestigious Collège Jean-de-Brébeuf (a private French Jesuit school), where he was affiliated with the ideas of Quebec nationalism. The family toured Europe and Canada frequently. In 1940 Trudeau entered law school at the University of Montreal and joined the Canadian Officers training corps but opposed conscription and did not join the military during the Second World War. He completed an MA at Harvard University in 1946, undertook further studies at the Ecole des Sciences Politiques in Paris and the London School of Economics and later backpacked across Europe and Asia. Politically active from an early age, he supported unions, opposed the Union Nationale and the separatist movement, started a journal that supported new political ideas and criticized Pearson's government. He joined the law faculty at the University of Montreal in 1961 and was elected to the House of Commons in 1965, assuming the post of Minister of Justice in 1967 and became prime minister, replacing Pearson, in 1968. He was prime minister of Canada for 16 years (except for six months in 1979), retiring in 1984. He was married to Margaret Trudeau, had three sons, but divorced and became a single parent in 1977.



from Fahrenheit to Celsius (for several years both measurements were used); kilometers replaced miles; gallons became liters; and yards were converted to meters. Opposition was loud particularly from older Canadians who found the conversion difficult and veterans' groups claimed it was not what they had fought for, although the full change-over was implemented gradually. Nevertheless, by the mid-1980s metrication was a reality in Canada. It was part of Trudeau's vision to make Canada more internationally minded and it distinguished Canada from the United States, one of the few countries in the world to have retained the older system of unit measurement.

In his first term, Trudeau also tried to bring about a repatriation of the constitution and he held a meeting in 1971 in Victoria with the ten provincial premiers to ratify changes that would redistribute the powers of federal and provincial governments. At first he seemed to have consensus but Quebec's premier Bourassa demanded that the provinces be given control over social policy (welfare, unemployment, etc.) with federal funding for these programs. When Trudeau refused, Bourassa left the talks. Shortly thereafter, the meeting ended without agreement; constitutional reform had to wait until the 1980s.

The October Crisis

In 1970, Trudeau faced his most trying moments when confronted with the violent turn that Québécois separatism had taken. In addition to the founding of a parliamentary party in 1968—the Parti Québécois (PQ)—the separatists also created *La Front de libération du Québec* (the Quebec Liberation Front, or FLQ) in 1963. Although the FLQ lacked the support of most Québécois, who viewed them as a fringe movement of dissidents who did more harm than good to the separatist movement, they persisted in trying to bring about a separate state through violent tactics. Although it never numbered more than about 100 members, between 1963 and 1970 the group seats in the 1970 election and planted 95 bombs in government buildings and mailboxes, anything that could be tied to English Canada and the federal government. Canadians, including Québécois, deplored the violence that resulted in three deaths and numerous injuries. The police broke up several terrorist cells and about two dozen FLQ members went to jail.

In October 1970, the FLQ changed tactics, possibly in response to the failure of the Parti Québécois to win more seats in the election, or as a logical expansion of their own campaign. On October 5, they kidnapped British Trade Commissioner James Cross from his home in Quebec City and demanded \$500,000 in bullion and the release of 23 jailed FLQ members as a ransom. The government refused to negotiate but did allow the FLQ's manifesto to be read over public radio and TV in both official languages. Upset by the government's refusal to negotiate, the FLQ kidnapped Pierre Laporte, Quebec Minister of Labour, on October 10, 1970. Trudeau responded by ordering the army to patrol the streets and government buildings in Ottawa and invoked the **War Measures Act** (1914), which suspended civil liberties and allowed the police to search and seize without a warrant and arrest suspects without a writ of *habeus corpus*

The War Measures Act (WMA)

enacted in 1914 gives the prime minister and cabinet emergency powers during times of "war or insurrection, real or apprehended." It had been invoked during both world wars but resulted in the abuse of minority civil rights. During the First World War, about 8,000 citizens from nations sympathetic to Germany were put in internment camps, as were 22,000 Japanese Canadians in early 1942, following the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor. Gripped by fear, paranoia and racism and under intense pressure from British Columbia, prime minister Mackenzie King ordered the Japanese to be rounded up. They lost their homes and possessions and spent the war in internment camps or worked as forced labour on farms, mainly in southern Alberta. Post-war about 4,000 Japanese citizens were deported to Japan before the government of Mackenzie King rescinded the internment order.

The October Crisis was the only time the WMA (replaced by the Emergency Act in 1971) was invoked during peacetime. Just under 500 citizens (mainly Québécois) with suspected FLQ connections were detained by the police, some were jailed for three months without being charged. Trudeau's action remains a source of historical controversy today.

5 • Political developments in the Americas after the Second World War, 1945–79

(i.e. without being charged with an offence or being brought to trial). The leader of the New Democratic Party (NDP), Tommy Douglas, said it was like cracking a peanut with a sledgehammer but overwhelmingly Canadians endorsed the prime minister's actions. The Quebec police were unable to locate the kidnappers despite thousands of tips from the public. Trudeau and Bourassa agreed that they would continue to refuse to negotiate with the FLQ.

Less than 48 hours later the police received an anonymous tip that led them to the lifeless body of Pierre Laporte stuffed in the trunk of a taxi. The FLQ made it clear that the survival of the other hostage was unlikely if the government continued to refuse to negotiate. Trudeau and Bourassa remained steadfast and public opinion polls showed 90% of Canadians supported the prime minister's position. For the next three months the kidnappers avoided detection but in early December their hideout was discovered and surrounded. The kidnappers agreed to release James Cross alive in return for a plane to Cuba. To this request the government agreed and five FLQ members were flown to Cuba. They eventually returned to Canada (as they were not made to feel welcome by Fidel Castro in Cuba) and served time in jail. The crisis was the high-water mark of the FLQ; completely discredited by most Québécois, it no longer had a following. The Parti Québécois was the force to be reckoned with in channelling support for separatism.

Discussion point

Was Trudeau's invocation of the War Measures Act justified under the circumstances or was it an over-reaction? Put yourself in Trudeau's shoes: what would you have done?

Activity

The October Crisis, 1970

Source A

"Canada: 'This Very Sorry Moment.'" *Time* magazine. Monday, October 26, 1970.

THROUGH the week Canada's Prime Minister, Pierre Elliott Trudeau, pondered the most difficult decision of his career. On the surface, the threat that confronted Canada, hardly seemed to merit the label "parallel power." Still, the terrorists of the minuscule Quebec Liberation Front (FLQ), with about 100 hard-core members, had openly defied the government by kidnapping two high-ranking officials and threatening to execute them. First, Trudeau called out thousands of armed troops to stand guard in major cities. Then, because he feared that the Quebec separatist movement would be significantly strengthened and federalism gravely weakened, he decided to move even more forcefully. At week's end, he declared all-out war on the terrorists.

To combat those who "are seeking the destruction of the social order through clandestine and violent means," he invoked Canada's drastic 1914 War Measures Act. Only twice before, during the two world wars, had the act been put in force; it had never been applied in peacetime. Backing up Trudeau's dramatic action was a proclamation by his Cabinet that "insurrection, real or apprehended, exists."

The FLQ evidently saw Trudeau's move as a challenge that could not be ignored. In responding to the challenge, the terrorists amply justified the Prime Minister's description of them as "a new and terrifying type of person." Less than two days after the War Measures Act was proclaimed, the terrorists murdered at least one of their hostages and offered little reason to hope for the survival of the other.

Source B

From the manifesto of the *Front de libération du Québec* (FLQ), 1970.

The *Front de libération du Québec* is not a messiah, nor a modern-day Robin Hood. It is a group of Quebec workers who have decided to use every means to make sure that the people of Quebec take control of their destiny. The *Front de libération du Québec* wants the total independence of all *Québécois*, united in a free society, purged forever of the clique of voracious sharks, the patronizing "big bosses" and their henchmen who have made Québec their hunting preserve for "cheap labour" and unscrupulous exploitation ...

Workers of Quebec, start today to take back what is yours; take for yourselves what belongs to you. Only you know your factories, your machines, your hotels, your universities, your unions. Don't wait for an organizational miracle. Make your own revolution in your areas, in your places of work. And if you don't do it yourselves, other usurpers, technocrats and so on will replace the handful of cigar smokers we now know, and everything will be the same again. Only you are able to build a free society ...

Long live Free Quebec!
 Long live our imprisoned political comrades.
 Long live the Quebec revolution!
 Long live the *Front de libération du Québec*.

Source C

Extract of a Letter from Robert Bourassa, Premier of Quebec, to Prime Minister Trudeau, October 16, 1970.

During the last few days the people of Quebec have been greatly shocked by the kidnapping of Mr. James R. Cross, representative of the British Government in Montreal, and the Hon. Pierre Laporte, Minister of Labour and Manpower and Minister of Immigration of Quebec, as well as by the threats to the security of the state and individuals expressed in communiqués issued by the *Front de Libération du Québec* or on its behalf, and finally by all the circumstances surrounding these events.

After consultation with authorities directly responsible for the administration of justice in Quebec, the Quebec Government is convinced that the law, as it stands now, is inadequate to meet this situation satisfactorily.

Under the circumstances, on behalf of the Government of Quebec, I request that emergency powers be provided as soon as possible so that more effective steps may be taken. I request particularly that such powers encompass the authority to apprehend and keep in custody individuals who the Attorney General of Quebec has valid reasons to believe are determined to overthrow the government through violence and illegal means. According to the information we have and which is available to you, we are facing a concerted effort to intimidate and overthrow the government and the democratic institutions of this province through planned and systematic illegal action, including insurrection. It is obvious that those participating in this concerted effort completely reject the principle of freedom under the rule of law ...

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Source D

Government of Canada, War Measures Act, proclaimed October 16, 1970.

EVIDENCE OF WAR

- 1 The issue of a proclamation by Her Majesty, or under the authority of the Governor in Council shall be conclusive evidence that war, invasion, or insurrection, real or apprehended exists and has existed for any period of time therein stated, and of its continuance, until by the issue of a further proclamation it is declared that the war, invasion or insurrection no longer exists. ...

POWERS OF THE GOVERNOR IN COUNCIL

- 2 (1) The Governor in Council may do and authorize such acts and things, and make from time to time such orders and regulations, as he may by reason of the existence of real or apprehended war, invasion or insurrection deem necessary or advisable for the security, defense, peace, order and welfare of Canada; and for greater certainty, but not so as to restrict the generality of the foregoing terms it is hereby declared that the powers of the Governor in Council shall extend to all matters coming within the classes of subjects hereinafter enumerated, that is to say:
- (a) censorship, and the control and suppression of publications, writings, maps, plans, photographs, communications and means of communication;
 - (b) arrest, detention exclusion and deportation;
 - (c) control of the harbours, ports and territorial waters of Canada and the movements of vessels; ...
 - (d) appropriation, control, forfeiture and disposition of property and of the use thereof.
- (2) All orders and regulations made under this section shall have the force of law, and shall be enforced in such manner and by such courts, officers and authorities as the Governor in Council may prescribe, and may be varied, extended or revoked by any subsequent order or regulation; ...

Source E

Claude Ryan's editorial in Montreal's *Le Devoir* newspaper, October 17, 1970.

... As for Mr. Trudeau, he may very well succeed, for the time being, in crushing the FLQ. However, he will not succeed in preventing certain ideas from existing and perhaps, with Ottawa's help, from spreading. In the present drama, we must not forget that the "final question" has only temporarily been set aside and that ultimately it will only be solved in Quebec, without outside interference. The man who used to preach mistrust toward established authority has now become a protector of the military. One would search in vain, among the edicts that bear his signature, traces of these virtues of rationality, free will, restraint and respect based on rationality that he once identified with federalism. Mr. Trudeau claims that he was driven to this choice: many will reply that he deserved it.

Those who committed repugnant acts on October 5 and 10, and their allies, are for the time being mainly responsible for the losses of liberty suffered by Quebec. The aggressive and open disdain that they expressed against laws made for all citizens, and many of which were enacted in the respect of basic human rights, and not by a superstructure of domination, justifies the legal banishment that has been pronounced against the FLQ.

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We deplore that recourse to do so was made to the War Measures Act; in its possible applications, it far exceeds the scope of the problem that the authorities faced. Further, we deplore that the War Measures Act has already started to be applied in such a spirit, and with such methods, that makes us fear that worse is to come. However, we can only reaffirm the right of a democracy to defend itself and the obligation that it has to judge severely and to put down those that unjustly threaten the freedom and the life of their fellow citizens.

Source F

Prime Minister Trudeau's address to the nation, October 16, 1970.

I am speaking to you at a moment of grave crisis, when violent and fanatical men are attempting to destroy the unity and the freedom of Canada. One aspect of that crisis is the threat which has been made on the lives of two innocent men. These are matters of the utmost gravity and I want to tell you what the government is doing to deal with them. What has taken place in Montreal in the past two weeks is not unprecedented. It has happened elsewhere in the world on several recent occasions: it could happen elsewhere within Canada. But Canadians have always assumed that it could not happen here and as a result we are doubly shocked that it has. Our assumption may have been naive, but it was understandable: understandable because democracy flourishes in Canada; understandable because individual liberty is cherished in Canada. Notwithstanding these conditions, partly because of them it has been demonstrated now to us by a few misguided persons just how fragile a democratic society can be if democracy is not prepared to defend itself, and just how vulnerable to blackmail are tolerant, compassionate people... To bow to the pressures of these kidnappers who demand that the prisoners be released would be not only an abdication of responsibility; it would lead to an increase in terrorist activities in Quebec. It would be as well an invitation to terrorism and kidnapping across the country. We might well find ourselves facing an endless series of demands for the release of criminals from jails, from coast to coast ... At the moment the FLQ is holding hostage two men in the Montreal area, one a British diplomat, the other a Quebec cabinet minister. They are threatened with murder.

Should governments give in to this crude blackmail, we would be facing the breakdown of the legal system and its replacement by the law of the jungle. The government's decision to prevent this from happening is not taken just to defend an important principle. It is taken to protect the lives of Canadians from dangers of the sort I have mentioned. Freedom and personal security are safeguarded by laws; those laws must be respected in order to be effective ...

Source: "Documents of the October Crisis." *Quebec History*. <http://faculty.marianopolis.edu/c.belanger/QuebecHistory/docs/october/index.htm>.

Questions

- a** According to source A, why did the Trudeau government take decisive and unprecedented action in October 1970?

b What is the message of source B?
- Compare and contrast the attitude and approaches to the crisis suggested in sources E and F.
- With reference to these sources, assess their origin, purpose, value and limitations for a historian trying to understand and explain the October Crisis of 1970.
- Using the documents and your own knowledge, to what extent do you agree with the Canadian government's actions to deal with the events of October 1970 in the province of Quebec?

Trudeau's second term

In 1972, Trudeau called an election and the Liberals narrowly defeated the Conservatives, winning 109 seats against their 107. To remain in power, Trudeau had to form a coalition with the NDP. The election results conveyed the message that the government had neglected English Canada and, if they wanted to stay in power, a more balanced and even-handed approach to government was needed. It was clear to most politicians that if changes were not made, the next election would most likely result in a Conservative government. For its part, the NDP agreed to support Trudeau's new legislative program, which included increased spending on social programs and a progressive personal income tax. The new tax plan also included cost-of-living exemptions to protect low-income taxpayers from rising inflation.

The election was a turning point for Trudeau. It ensured his control of the Liberal Party which gave him unfettered control of government policy. Another turn for the better for Trudeau was that Quebec was demanding less of the limelight; his actions in the October Crisis seemed to have brought about the decline and demise of the FLQ. The price of oil was also a significant problem. In the early 1970s, the supply of oil decreased and consequently the price rapidly increased. The government ordered the prices at the gas pumps to be kept below world prices—a policy that made the Liberals unpopular in the oil-producing western provinces but won them the support of Ontario, Quebec and the Atlantic provinces. Using this popularity to his advantage in 1974, Trudeau gave parliament a budget he knew they would reject. Defeated on a vote of no-confidence the Liberals resigned and an election was called. Trudeau again won a majority with the Liberals being elected in 141 of 265 seats.

However, the economy was worsening. Inflation and rising unemployment undermined efforts to effectively plan and manage the economy, improve existing programs or implement new ones. Canada was suffering from "stagflation", a situation where the economy was stagnant and yet inflation kept rising in defiance of the laws of supply and demand. To try and treat the problem, Trudeau announced wage and price controls in October 1975 but made it clear that this was a temporary palliative to reduce some of the current economic pains.

By 1976, the Conservatives held a substantial lead over the Liberals in the polls, and in November of that year the Parti Québécois won the Quebec election. The PQ's election served notice to Canada that separatism was a credible alternative for Quebec. At the same time, Trudeau's reputation for being arrogant and dismissive to the opinions and issues of English Canadians could not be tempered. The popularity of the early days of his leadership had evaporated and when the Liberals' five-year term was up in 1979 Canadians went to the polls looking for a change. Conservative leader Joe Clark did not appear at first glance to be much of a candidate but Trudeau was defeated for the first time in five elections. His time as leader of the opposition was to be short.

Discussion point

Canadian prime ministers are not restricted by the constitution to two terms like US presidents. What are the advantages and disadvantages of these respective systems?

Joe Clark, 1979–1980

On June 4, 1979, Joe Clark was sworn in as prime minister the day before his 40th birthday. Canada's youngest prime minister would have a short-lived government due to continuing economic problems and the challenges of running a minority government. During the campaign, Clark made promises that he could not keep: for example, privatization of government-run oil companies; reduction of personal income tax and of the budget deficit. When none of this happened Clark appeared ineffective and weak-willed. Although he was a bilingual Anglophone, Quebec's support for him was short-lived as they historically supported the Liberals. As with Diefenbaker's cabinet, Conservative Party ministers did not trust the senior federal bureaucrats who were mainly liberals; 16 years out of power made them suspicious of the civil service.

On December 11, 1979, Conservative Finance Minister John Crosby delivered the government's first budget and although he warned that it contained tough measures, the public was aghast at what was presented. The government's intention to raise the price of gasoline by 18 cents per gallon, effective immediately, met with consternation. Even though this measure still left the Canadian price at 85% of the world price for crude oil, the public would not stand for it. On December 13, the Conservative budget was defeated by a vote of 139 to 133 constituting a vote of no-confidence. The nation went to the polls again, and February 1980 the Liberals won another majority taking 146 of 281 seats. Canada's love/hate affair with Pierre Trudeau was not over yet.

Trudeau's final term in office ended in 1984 and in some ways this was his most effective term. Trudeau shifted his gaze again to the constitution, signed by the Queen in 1982. He met the separatist threat head-on by not supporting sovereignty associations with Canada in a referendum. Trudeau characterised Levesque's vision of an independent Quebec that retained economic ties as "Divorce with bed privileges." The PQ remained in power but would not threaten separation again until the mid 1990s.

Activity

Domestic policy in Canada and the United States, 1945–79

Canada and the United States shared similar experiences during the post-war period. Both nations emerged from the Second World War with burgeoning economies and on the verge of an economic expansion that would last two decades. Worried about a "new" depression the respective governments responded with programs to continue economic growth. Government intervention in the economy to create full employment and attack poverty and a social welfare system designed to take the hard edge off capitalism existed in both countries by the end of the 1960s. Both governments faced regional

alienation that challenged national unity and other unique challenges. In this activity you will compare and contrast the ways the leaders of their respective countries addressed important domestic issues and the relative merit and success of their solutions.

- 1 **Social welfare programs** Johnson's Great Society had no Canadian equivalent, yet by the mid 1960s both nations had established cradle-to-grave social welfare programs that endure to this day. Compare President Johnson and Prime Minister Pearson's programs and evaluate their merits and successes. Are there aspects of Johnson's program that you consider better than Pearson's and vice versa?



2 Protecting minorities How did the leaders on both sides of the borders address the needs of minority groups: Select two Canadian and two US leaders, and fill out the following chart in point form. What conclusions can you reach based on the evidence gathered?

Leaders	Civil rights	Women's rights	First Nations
Canada			
United States			
Canada			
United States			

3 Compare the following:

- a Trudeau's treatment of Quebec and Kennedy's treatment of the southern states of the USA
 - b Diefenbaker's Bill of Rights and Johnson's civil rights legislation?
 - c Responsible government in Canada and the United States.
- 4** Speculate on the importance of the St. Lawrence Seaway project and the Auto Pact in developing closer economic ties between Canada and the United States that led to the North American Free Trade Agreement of the mid 1980s.
- 5** Select the US president and Canadian prime minister that, in your opinion, had the most effective and successful domestic policies? To what extent was their approach similar?

The Quiet Revolution

In the 1960s, Quebec entered a dynamic period of social, economic and political change and transformation, known as "*La Révolution tranquille*" (the Quiet Revolution). Québécois nationalist views were promoted by Union Nationale (Union National Party) under Premier Maurice Duplessis (arguably Canada's most corrupt politician) in the 1940s and 1950s. During the 1960s, young Québécois, irritated by the slow pace of change, demanded fundamental change and reform. These Québécois rejected the conservative Catholic, rural values that had long defined Quebec and instead they sought modernization and secularization that resulted in interventionist government policies that emphasized social policies and an increased bureaucracy to administer new programs. These did not come without a cost, however, Quebec went from being the least taxed province with the least debt to the most taxed and the most indebted in six short years. The Quiet Revolution is said to coincide with the leadership of Premier Jean Lesage, from 1960 to 1966, but the changes continued well into the 1970s, and their effects are still felt.

During the 1950s, a new urban, well-educated, secular and reform-minded middle class had emerged and was gaining influence over traditional, rural, Catholic Quebec. Between 1941 and 1971, the urban population swelled from 55 % to 78% of Quebec's population. At the same time, the number of farms decreased by over 50% and the rural farm population fell from 19.5% to 5.6%. The service sector experienced the greatest economic growth during the period and rose from 37.2% to 59.7%, reflecting the youth movement from farm to city. This new urban class wanted Quebec's institutions modernized and secularized and were tired of Duplessis's brand of nationalism, his corruption, influence-peddling and patronage-ridden style of politics.

Discussion point

Terminology

In Quebec the leader of the provincial government is called the **prime minister**. In the other nine provinces the provincial leader is called the **premier**. The **Legislative Assembly** or **Provincial legislatures** are the names commonly used to describe the legislative bodies of the Canadian provinces, with the exception of Quebec, which has a **National Assembly**.



Why does Quebec believe it is necessary to use different terms to describe the government leader and the legislative body?