

Chapter Thirteen

CANADA: GLOBAL CITIZEN

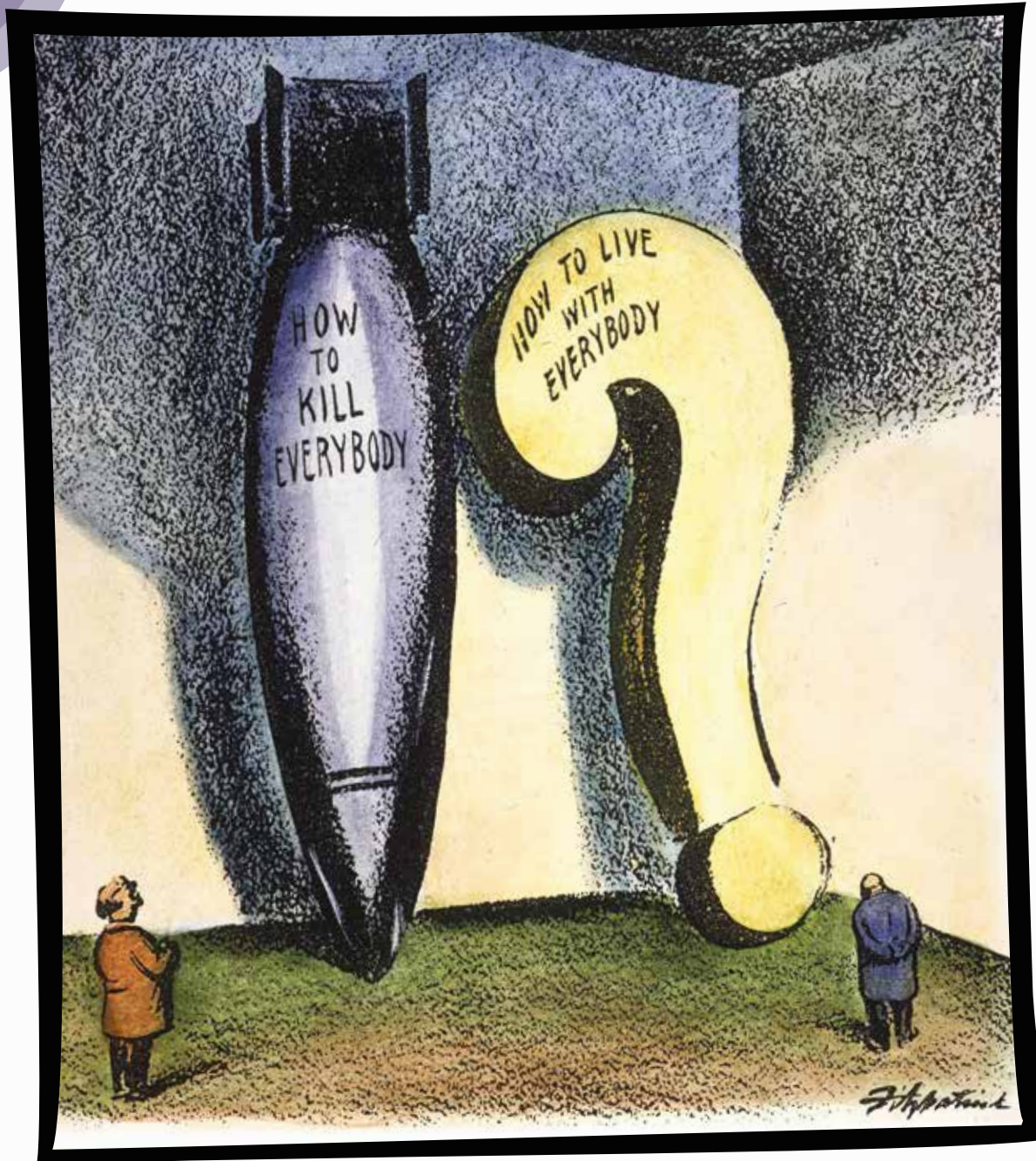


Figure 13–1 Artist D.R. Fitzpatrick drew this political cartoon, titled “Atom Bomb, 1945,” shortly after the atomic bomb was used to end World War II. After living through two world wars within three decades, people around the world were wondering whether the old ways of resolving disputes were still working.

CHAPTER ISSUE

What kind of global citizen did Canada become during the Cold War?

The end of World War II brought peace — at least temporarily. Prosperity came quickly, too. Canada entered a new era in which almost everyone had a job and teenagers could stop worrying about dying on a foreign battlefield and start thinking about their plans for Saturday night.

But even as the the horrific images of Hiroshima and Nagasaki began to recede in the public's mind, people realized that something important had changed. Overnight, the goal of achieving worldwide peaceful coexistence had become a matter of survival. Atomic bombs had the potential to destroy the world as they knew it.

Canada had played a vital role during World War II. It was yet to be seen what roles Canada would take up in the postwar world.

Examine the political cartoon on the previous page and consider the following questions as you reflect on one of the major issues facing Canada and the world in the decades after World War II:

- In what ways are various elements of the cartoon, such as the size of the people and symbols, significant?
- The labels on the symbols say “How to kill everybody” and “How to live with everybody.” In 1945, did people know how to do these two things? Explain your response.
- Who is pondering these questions? Who should have been pondering them?
- What was D.R. Fitzpatrick's message? In what ways does this cartoon sum up the dilemmas of its era?
- In what ways is this cartoon still relevant? Explain your response.

LOOKING AHEAD

The following inquiry questions will help you explore the extent to which Canada successfully expanded its role in the international community after World War II:

- What roles did Canada play in the Cold War?
- What did Canada accomplish in the Korean War?
- How did Canadians promote world peace?

Key Terms

bloc
superpower
espionage
defect
mutual deterrence
mutually assured
destruction
peaceful coexistence
proxy war

LEARNING GOALS

In this chapter you will

- describe Canada's role in the Cold War
- explain how Canada's approach to international relations evolved
- identify key political developments and policies of the time
- describe Canada's relationship with the United States, a Cold War superpower
- describe the contributions of various individuals and groups to Canadian society and politics
- assess the significance of the Avro Arrow, and its demise, for Canada

What roles did Canada play in the Cold War?

CONNECTIONS

The phrase “the iron curtain” is a metaphor for the sharp divide between the Soviet states and the rest of the world. It was nearly impossible to travel from one side to the other.

Voices

An iron curtain has descended across the [European] Continent. Behind that line lie all the capitals of the ancient states of Central and Eastern Europe. [They] lie in what I must call the Soviet sphere, and all are subject . . . not only to Soviet influence but to a very high and in some cases increasing measure of control from Moscow.

— Winston Churchill,
British prime minister, 1946



The Cold War divided the world into two groups of allied countries, or **blocs** — the West and the East. The United States and its allies dominated the West, and the Soviet Union and its satellite states dominated the East. The United States and the Soviet Union both became **superpowers** — countries with the military might to control the world, or at least large portions of it. Throughout the Cold War, from about 1948 to 1991, they did manage to avoid another world war, but their power struggle brought the world closer to obliteration than most people could have imagined.

Espionage

After World War II, Western countries had tried to convince themselves that the Soviets were still their allies. But U.S. President Franklin D. Roosevelt had lost confidence early.

In Yalta, Ukraine, in February 1945, the Allied leaders had agreed to respect prewar borders in Europe. Yet within a few months, the Soviet Union had put communist governments in place in the Eastern European countries it had liberated. Those governments answered only to Stalin. Roosevelt said, “We can’t do business with Stalin. He has broken every one of the promises made at Yalta.”

In both world wars, Russia had been attacked from the West. Were the Soviets just creating a buffer zone between Russia and the West? Or were they trying to conquer Europe?

Governments suspicious of the Soviets began gathering all the information they could find about their supposed ally. **Espionage** — secret intelligence gathering — became an essential tool for all countries involved in the Cold War. Spies gathered information about government policies, especially military production, capability, and movements.

Canada took part in the intelligence-gathering game as well. The defence department created a small agency called the Joint Intelligence Bureau, whose task was to create reports on topics of interest to the government. Among other projects, it set up a secret radio post at Alert, in the Northwest Territories, to eavesdrop on the Soviets.

Figure 13–2 Made in 1948, *The Iron Curtain* was a movie about Igor Gouzenko. Gouzenko was at the centre of a sensational spy scandal involving many Canadian civil servants. In the movie, he was portrayed as a man trying to escape the tyranny of the Soviet state to embrace democracy in Canada. How might this movie have influenced public opinion?

After-Effects of a Defection

If the conditions are right, a single event can have a ripple effect that steers the course of history in a particular direction. As you read what happened after the Gouzenko defection, think about what direction this event steered history in both the short and long term.

At 26 years of age, Igor Gouzenko was an insignificant clerk working for Soviet military intelligence in Ottawa after World War II. He shot to prominence by risking his life to **defect** — switch political allegiance — from the Soviet Union to Canada on September 5, 1945.

Gouzenko told about a vast Soviet spy network operating in Canada, Britain, and the United States. He claimed that the Soviets were preparing to fight the West in a third world war. The government was uncertain. Could their wartime ally be so two-faced? But Gouzenko had proof: more than 100 highly sensitive documents he had smuggled out of the Soviet Embassy. Canada granted him asylum on September 7.

Within a few weeks, 13 suspects were arrested. A month later, 26 more. For the first time during peacetime, the government used the War Measures Act to secretly detain and question suspects without charge. (This would be repeated in 1970, during the FLQ crisis.)

The royal commission set up to question the suspects set the tone of suspicion and paranoia that prevailed during the Cold War. The commission pressured suspects to reveal connections

to the Communist Party. It was a model for the McCarthy-era persecution of communists in the United States — named for Senator Joe McCarthy, who led the attacks on anyone suspected of communism.

In 1948, the government eventually did convict 18 people, including a member of Parliament, of violating the Official Secrets Act. Canada woke up to the need for counter-espionage in Canada.

Perhaps most disturbing to the West, Gouzenko testified that Canadian spies had been giving the Soviets information on how to build a nuclear weapon. This revelation put an immediate end to United Nations (UN) plans to control nuclear arms. Instead, the United States would build up an enormous arsenal of nuclear weapons and the Soviets would do the same. A 40-year arms race had begun.



Figure 13–3 After defecting in 1945, Gouzenko lived the rest of his life in Mississauga, Ontario, under an assumed name. This photograph, taken in 1954, was a publicity shot for a second movie about events from his life: *Operation Manhunt*. The two stars of the film — Iria Jensen and Harry Towes — pose with him.

Explorations

1. Make a three-column chart and list the immediate, short-term, and long-term consequences of the Gouzenko defection.
2. The Gouzenko Affair has been called the spark that ignited the Cold War. Do you think that's an exaggeration or a fair assessment? Why? Why might Canadians believe this event to be more historically significant than it merits? What other evidence would help you to answer this question?

Figure 13–4 Canada's Position in the Northern Hemisphere

In what ways does Canada's physical location illustrate that Canada was, in fact, in the middle of the Cold War?



Canada — A Middle Power

In the 1950s, Canada was a **middle power**. This term began as a description of Canada's military capability, which was no longer thought negligible. Because of its role in World War II, the world had noticed and appreciated that Canada's contribution had been extraordinary, especially given its small population. By revealing that it was tough and committed, Canada had earned the world's respect. Canadians were never under the impression that theirs was a powerful country. It did not hold a position of power militarily, but it had gained influence on the countries that did. This influence was key during the Cold War, when Canada tried to step in and help resolve difficult international disputes by seeking compromises. This gave a second level of meaning to Canada's status as a middle power — it became a global mediator.

Check Back

You read about Canada's position as a middle power in Chapter 5.

The Nuclear Arms Race

On September 23, 1949, the Soviet Union announced that it had exploded its first atomic bomb two months earlier. As a defence, some Western governments also decided to build large stockpiles of nuclear weapons. These were considered necessary to achieve **mutual deterrence** — having huge stockpiles of bombs to create a “peaceful,” stable situation in which countries would not attack each other out of fear of massive retaliation. Both sides reasoned that if one side used an atomic bomb, the other would respond by using its own atomic weapons. This policy came to be known as MAD — **mutually assured destruction**.

Historical Perspective: Write a brief comment on the policy of mutual deterrence or mutually assured destruction. How would you have advised Canadian politicians to respond to such a policy?

Figure 13–5 Mutual deterrence encourages each of two enemies to collect more nuclear missiles than the other. Where would this end?



A Magazine Window into the Past

The magazine spread below was the beginning of an article about the weapons capability of the Soviet Union: “Has Russia the Atomic Bomb?”

In the article, a military analyst explains why that is unlikely. That may be interesting, but an historian is not just interested in the writer’s argument. He or she also tries to figure out what the article tells us about the writer, the editor who assigned the piece, the artist hired to illustrate the piece, and the mood of the reading public.

In other words, we should treat a magazine article as we would any other artifact from the past. We ask what it is, who made it, for what audience, when, how, and why. We ask what it can tell us about the people who created it, used it, and saved it. We try to figure out how it fits in to the context of the period of history and the society in which it was created.



BY HANSON W. BALDWIN
Military Analyst,
New York Times
Graduate, U.S. Naval Academy

*Does Russia have
the atom bomb?*

Soviet Foreign Minister Molotoff
and his mouthpiece Vishinsky have stated that the Russians know the “secret” of the bomb.

They undoubtedly do, but that does not mean that Russia has been able to build a bomb. In my opinion they have not produced an atomic bomb to date of writing — but they will. Intelligence information — unofficial and inconclusive but indicative — says “no bomb yet.”

SOVIET ATOM BOMB?

might have been tested somewhere in Siberia — perhaps in the crater of the great 1908 meteorite. Foreign Minister Molotoff says Russia knows the secret of the atom bomb.

Figure 13–6 An article in the March 1948 issue of the popular American magazine *Mechanix Illustrated* posed a question that many people were asking. How does the author answer the question? What other questions could this article answer for us?

Explorations

1. Carefully examine the page spread, above. What do you see? What is its title? Who wrote it? What are his credentials? When was the article written? What magazine published it? Where was the magazine based? Who would have been the readers?
2. What words and phrases does the author use to qualify his answer to the title question? If he doesn’t have proof, why is he writing this article?
3. The illustration depicts an imaginary scene. Describe precisely everything you see. What message is the artist trying to convey? How does the art evoke fear?
4. The editor of the magazine chose to commission this article and illustration. What can you infer about the editor? About the reading public?
5. What does your analysis of this magazine spread tell you about the role the media played in drumming up Cold War fears in the West?

Figure 13–7 NATO and the Warsaw Pact

This map shows the Northern hemisphere in a way that is rarely seen. How does a map's orientation affect your perception of who holds the power?



CONNECTIONS

Canada and the United States also joined forces to protect their air space from the threat of direct military attack. The agreement that established the North American Aerospace Defence Command (NORAD) was signed on May 12, 1958. It was controversial to some Canadians because Prime Minister John Diefenbaker had brought Canada into NORAD without consulting Parliament, Cabinet, or government advisors. Parliament approved the agreement in June 1958.

International Defence Organizations

In February 1948, with the support of the Soviet Union, the communist party in Czechoslovakia seized power. Western European countries began to fear that the same thing could happen in Italy, France, or other close neighbours. These countries joined together to support each other in an agreement called the Brussels Treaty. Because their military forces were still not strong, they looked to the United States for help.

The North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)

In the fall of 1948, talks began between the United States, Canada, and several European countries to create an alliance to prevent further expansion of Soviet control.

These negotiations resulted in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO). But Canada pushed for an agreement that would not only protect members from communist aggression but also bind them together in **peaceful coexistence** — a relationship of peace and mutual respect.

One clause, known as the Canada clause, outlined NATO's second objective: to create an economic relationship that would help maintain peace.

The agreement came into effect on August 24, 1949.

The Warsaw Pact

In 1954, NATO members voted to allow West Germany to join the alliance and rearm. In response, the Soviets created an alliance of countries to mirror NATO. In 1955, the Soviet Union and seven Eastern European countries met in Warsaw, Poland, to sign the Warsaw Pact.

As in NATO, these countries agreed to come to the aid of any other member that was attacked. Central command was in Moscow, and the Soviet Union effectively absorbed the military forces of all member states. Furthermore, members could not withdraw. When Hungary tried to break away in 1956, the Soviets crushed the revolution there.

Historical Perspective: Figure 13–7 shows how NATO and the Warsaw Pact divided the world into East and West, communism and capitalism. What might the nonaligned countries have thought of dividing up the world this way? Can organizations like these help maintain peace? List three points to support your response.

The Avro Arrow

After the Gouzenko affair, Canadian politicians became increasingly concerned about the possibility of a surprise attack from the Soviet Union. This fear inspired them to spend more on the military and defence than on any other budget item for the next 15 years.

In 1953, for example, the government agreed to pay for the development of a new aircraft for the Royal Canadian Air Force. The requirements were tough — only the best technology in the world would do. A Canadian aircraft company, A.V. Roe Canada, would use its experience to design and build a new, all-weather, supersonic jet interceptor — the Arrow, or CF-105. These fighter planes would be stationed all across Canada's North to be called into action if enemy aircraft were sighted.

On October 4, 1957, a huge crowd gathered at Malton, Ontario, for the presentation of the Arrow to the public and press. As it happened, the Arrow's debut was overshadowed by the launch of the Soviet Union's *Sputnik I*, the first artificial satellite to be put into orbit around Earth. This caused a sensation because Western scientists believed that the same technology could lead to crewless ballistic missiles — which the Arrow was not designed to stop.

Figure 13–8 Amid a huge crowd, on October 4, 1957, the supersonic interceptor aircraft Avro Arrow is wheeled out of a hangar in Malton, Ontario. Why was the cancellation of the Arrow project controversial?



Grounded

In time, the Arrow's costs began increasing, and on February 20, 1959, Diefenbaker cancelled the program. More than 15 000 A.V. Roe employees were laid off, and the company was ruined. Diefenbaker argued that all Canada needed were American Bomarc anti-aircraft missiles. But this program, too, was cancelled within two years.

To keep the air force flying, Diefenbaker eventually had to settle for used Voodoo fighter jets bought from the United States. By that time, many of A.V. Roe's highly skilled employees had left the country. The completed Arrows had all been cut into scrap, and all technical drawings, models, photographs, and nearly every operating manual had been destroyed.

Recall... Reflect... Respond

1. Identify five examples of Canada's participation in the Cold War.
2. Choose one example from Question 1 and reflect on how it changed Canada's role in the world community. Explain how it was — or was not — good for Canada.
3. Imagine that you are a 1950s Canadian journalist reporting on your chosen example of Canada's role in the Cold War.
 - a) Create an interview question to elicit a person's opinion about how this participation reflected on Canada.
 - b) Record your interviewee's possible response.
 - c) Ask a classmate the question and compare his or her response with that of your interviewee.

What Canada Lost with the Arrow

The cancellation of the Arrow program was most shattering to the more than 15 000 Avro employees who eventually lost their jobs. Here, three well-known Canadians reflect on what else was lost when the Arrow was abandoned.



ANDRÉ BELTEMPO was editor-in-chief of *The Iron Warrior*, the newspaper of the University of Waterloo Engineering Society, in 2004.

Although the Arrow was an incredible airframe, we should lament not so much about the loss of the particular aircraft, and more so about the loss of the best and brightest in Canada's aerospace sector, at a time when Canada had the fleeting potential to actually take the lead in a world-class field.



In 1958, freelance journalist and author **JUNE CALLWOOD** witnessed and wrote about a test flight for the Iroquois engine — the engine destined for the Arrow.

It's not that we weren't proud of Canada's audacity in building the world's best combat airplane, superior to anything developed in the United States or the USSR. My point is that the Arrow didn't seem a fluke. We thought it natural that Canadians would be among the best, if not the best, at anything we really tried to do.



On a CBC broadcast in 1997, Canadian author and historian **MICHAEL BLISS** argued that the costs of producing the Avro Arrow had spiralled out of control, so the government really had no choice but to cancel the program. He believes

that the "mythologizing about the Arrow" is not based on historical fact.

What I think the [CBC] series [*The Arrow*, in 1997] actually represents is more Americanization in the country. We're now thinking that we should play fast and loose with history the same way the Americans do. And that we should go and be tub-thumping chest beaters the way American jingoists are. Well, the country I was brought up in always turned up its nose at that kind of raw, rampant nationalism.

Explorations

1. Which of the three speakers would agree with each of the following statements? Choose one phrase or sentence from each quotation to support your choice.
 - a) Canada gained a legend that it can be the best in the world.
 - b) Canada lost some of its modesty in favour of a louder patriotism.
 - c) Canada lost the engineering design ability that could have made it an international leader.
2. Select one of the speakers. In small groups, prepare to role-play your speaker by recording some arguments you think he or she might use to respond to this statement: "All in all, Canada gained from its experience with the Avro Arrow." Then conduct your roleplay.

What did Canada accomplish in the Korean War?

For nearly a century before World War II, Korea had been ruled by the Japanese. When Japan's empire evaporated after the war, the Soviet Union occupied the northern half of Korea and installed a communist government. The United States occupied the country south of the 38th parallel. While the Soviets wanted the country to be unified under a single communist government, the Americans wanted free elections. By 1950, Kim Il Sung, the North Korean leader, had laid claim to the entire country and wanted to invade South Korea. The Soviets, however, did not want to clash directly with the United States. Instead, they decided to arm the North Korean army and have it fight for them in a **proxy war** — a war fought by one country but for and in the interests of another.

Canada Joins the UN Mission

The North Koreans attacked on June 25, 1950. The South Koreans could not stand up to them and by September had been driven back to the tip of the Korean Peninsula. Even though the Soviets were not directly involved, American President Harry Truman saw the aggression as Soviet expansion. He called on the new UN Security Council to intervene, and a UN force was approved to “render every assistance” to South Korea. Though other UN members participated, 90 per cent of the troops were American. Many non-Europeans saw this as another imperialist war.

Canada's Secretary of State for External Affairs Lester Pearson supported aid to South Korea because he believed one of the UN's roles was to help weaker states defend themselves. The Canadian Army Special Force was formed to contribute to the UN mission. Canada eventually committed 27 000 military personnel — the third-largest contribution of the 22 nations that took part.

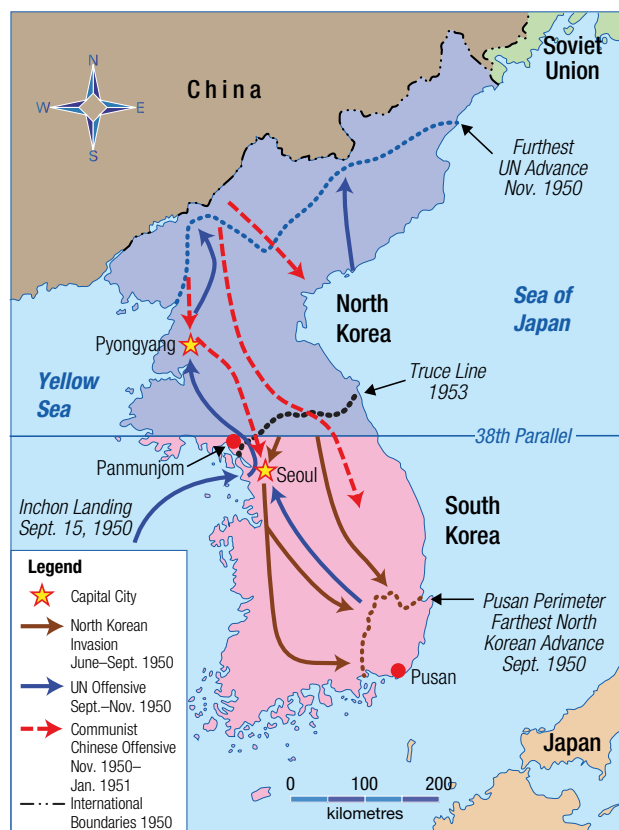
The Battle for Seoul

American General Douglas MacArthur led the UN operation, and within two months, it had recaptured Seoul, the South Korean capital. But to Pearson's dismay, MacArthur kept advancing north, almost to the border of the People's Republic of China.

The Chinese government had clearly stated that it would not tolerate Americans at its border, and soon the UN forces were fighting hundreds of thousands of well-armed Chinese troops. Within two months, the UN forces were driven out of North Korea, and Seoul was again in communist hands. UN forces in turn retook Seoul.

Figure 13–9 The Korean War, 1950–1953

Examine a current map of the Korean Peninsula in an atlas or online. What has changed? What has remained the same?



Up for Discussion

How would China's involvement in a war against Western powers help the Soviet Union?

Ed Oram — On Night Watch Far from Home



Figure 13–10 Ed Oram at 16, three years before he signed up for duty in Korea.

Ed Oram of Muskoka, Ontario, shipped out to Korea with the Princess Patricia's Canadian Light Infantry in February 1951. He served for 18 months and fought in the Battle of Kapyong. There, after other forces had retreated from the Chinese, the Canadians held their position despite being seriously outnumbered. Ed's regiment is the only Canadian unit to have received a U.S. Presidential Unit Citation for outstanding bravery.

Here is how Ed described what it felt like to serve at Kapyong.

I stare intently into the darkness trying to see down the side of the hill; something seems to move, but I know that the mind plays tricks. . . . My heart starts to race, my chest is pounding . . . I'm scared. . . .

This continues for four hours. My buddy takes over at four a.m. I try to sleep but being so tense for so long, sleep doesn't come. During one of my guard duties they did come, by the thousands; we were surrounded, they overran our hill, we brought down artillery fire onto our own positions. We fought them off, sometimes in hand-to-hand combat. Many of my buddies were killed. I will remember them; I try to forget, but I can't.

Explorations

1. List words or phrases that give you an impression of Ed's experiences on night watch.
2. Compare Ed's experience as a Canadian soldier in Korea with that of a Canadian soldier during World War II. In what ways were they the same? Different?
3. Conduct further research to find out why Kapyong was a key Korean War battle.
4. How do Ed's comments help you understand the ways in which war affects the lives of soldiers?

The War Finally Ends

It took two more years before an armistice was reached on July 27, 1953. The Korean borders remained roughly where they had been before the war. But the communists had been kept out of South Korea. For this, 516 Canadians had died and 1000 had been wounded.

Recall . . . Reflect . . . Respond

1. What did Canada accomplish by getting involved in the Korean War? In your opinion, was the accomplishment worth the time, money, and lives lost? Explain your response.
2. Many U.S. and Canadian army recruits knew little about Korea or Asia when they shipped out to serve in the war. What might be the drawbacks of fighting in a part of the world you know little about?

How did Canadians promote world peace?

Many believed that the “peace” achieved through mutual deterrence was not really peace at all. Canadian physicist and peace activist Dr. Ursula Franklin, for example, outlined the peace movement’s position: “Peace is not the absence of war. Peace is the absence of fear. Peace is the presence of justice.” Beliefs like these spurred on many Canadians — politicians and ordinary people alike — to pursue the cause of peace through nuclear disarmament.

Historical Significance: The nuclear arms race loomed over Canadian society during the Cold War. Read Voices on this page and examine *Picturing Life with the Bomb* on the next pages. Identify and discuss some of the effects of the arms race on the lives of ordinary people.

The Pugwash Movement

Bertrand Russell was a British mathematician, philosopher, and Nobel Prize winner who was also a social critic. In 1955, appalled by the buildup of nuclear arms, he published a manifesto with the help of other well-known and well-respected scientists and writers, including Albert Einstein. Their pamphlet, titled “Notice to the World,” sparked a huge campaign for nuclear disarmament.

By 1957, Russell had organized a conference of prominent scientists and public figures interested in reducing the risk of armed conflict. Canadian-born philanthropist Cyrus Eaton hosted the Conference on Science and World Affairs in Pugwash, Nova Scotia. It was the first of many conferences, and the Pugwash Organization earned the Nobel Peace Prize in 1995.

Ethical Dimension: Governments have had the capacity to destroy the human race for many decades. What safety checks do you think should be in place to stop governments from committing mass destruction?

Voices

My sisters had to practise air raid drills in their classrooms. They would all go under their desks so that if there was flying glass or objects during a real air strike you would be protected . . . I remember . . . one night [on television] they aired a program devoted to what it would be like if an atomic bomb were dropped on North America. It was a pretty frightening experience, which I . . . had nightmares about because it was so real.

— Cobourg, Ontario, resident in an interview with a Grade 10 student at Cobourg District Collegiate Institute, 2009

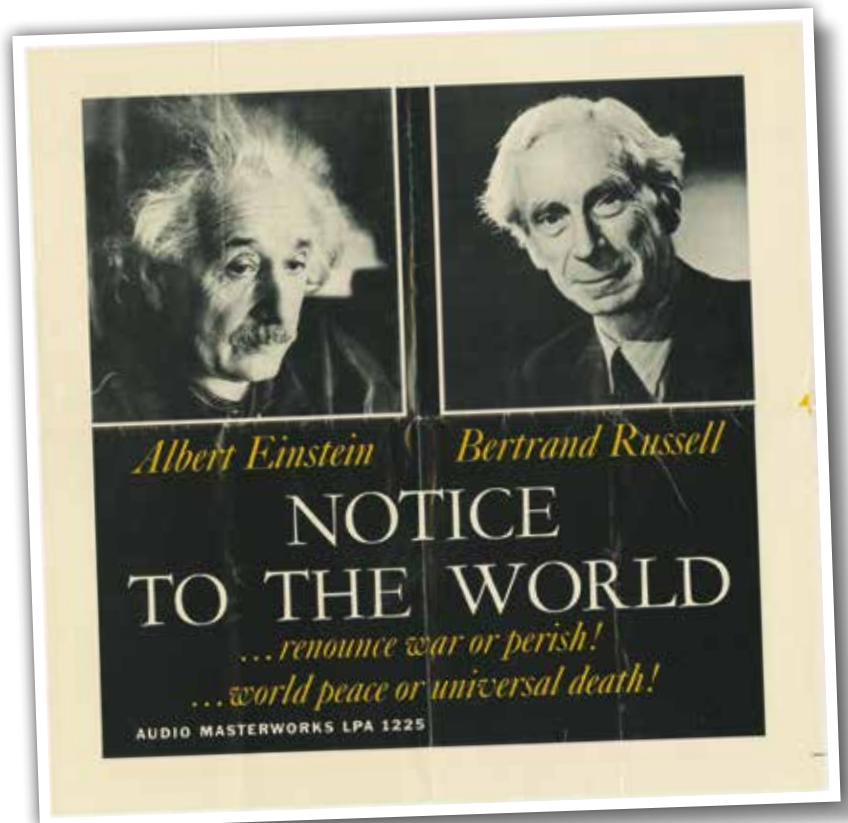


Figure 13–11 The cover of a manifesto issued in 1955 by Bertrand Russell and Albert Einstein. Einstein’s contributions to mathematics and science had laid the foundations for the atom bomb. Why would Einstein’s support be so valuable to the disarmament movement?



Figure 13–12 The Canadian Peace Congress produced this leaflet in 1961. What is its message about the bomb shelters that the government was recommending people build?

The Peace Movement in Canada

As the nuclear arms race gained momentum, many Canadians became fearful. And when Prime Minister Diefenbaker agreed to accept Bomarc missiles, discontent grew. Many Canadians did not want their country to acquire nuclear weapons.

In her May 1960 column in the *Toronto Star*, for example, Lotta Dempsey issued a direct call for women to band together: “I have never met a woman anywhere who did not hate fighting and killing.” Many responded by forming an anti nuclear group called the Voice of Women. As the movement grew, it attracted influential women such as Maryon Pearson, wife of future prime minister and 1957 Nobel Peace Prize winner Lester Pearson.

Historical Perspective: In your experience, do all women hate fighting and killing? What other opinions might they have?

PICTURING LIFE WITH THE BOMB



Scary!

Figure 13–13 Canadian artist John Collins chose Halloween as the setting for this cartoon in 1945. Why do you think he did this? How does his cartoon represent the feelings generated by the atomic bomb?



Run for Cover

Figure 13–15 Cities like Toronto developed emergency evacuation plans, and Canada’s governments put in place thousands of gigantic air raid sirens to warn Canadians in the event of an attack. How practical was it to expect urban dwellers to evacuate Canada’s cities if they were attacked?

Figure 13–14 In 1955, a teacher instructs her students in the approved “duck and cover” techniques in case of nuclear attack. Children all over North America were instructed in these methods. How well would “duck and cover” have protected a person in a nuclear attack?



Survival Drills

Canadian Scientists For Peace

By working through organizations such as Pugwash, many prominent Canadian scientists tried to make people understand that nuclear war would destroy the planet. Canadian physicist Ursula Franklin, for example, worked with the Voice of Women. Their work contributed to the international Limited Nuclear Test Ban Treaty of 1963, which banned above-ground testing of nuclear weapons. In 1992, Franklin was made a Companion of the Order of Canada and still works to educate people in the cause of peace.

Continuity and Change: What global issues today have sparked the same sort of activism as the nuclear arms race? How are these movements similar to or different from peace movements in the 1950s? Do they have more in common, or are the differences greater?



Figure 13–16 Ursula Franklin at Massey College, University of Toronto. Franklin is a distinguished scientist, professor, and feminist who was a key figure in the peace movement in Canada.

Figure 13–17 Torontonians catch up on the latest news on the arms race. Two months earlier, the Russians had successfully launched Sputnik — the first artificial satellite to orbit Earth. The news headlines proclaim the failure of the Americans to do the same. “Ike’s Sputnik Is Dudnik” read one. “Ike” was President Dwight D. Eisenhower. Were the media just reporting events — or adding to the general fear?

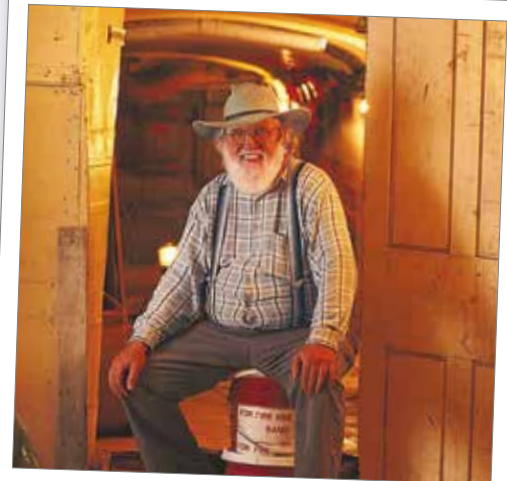
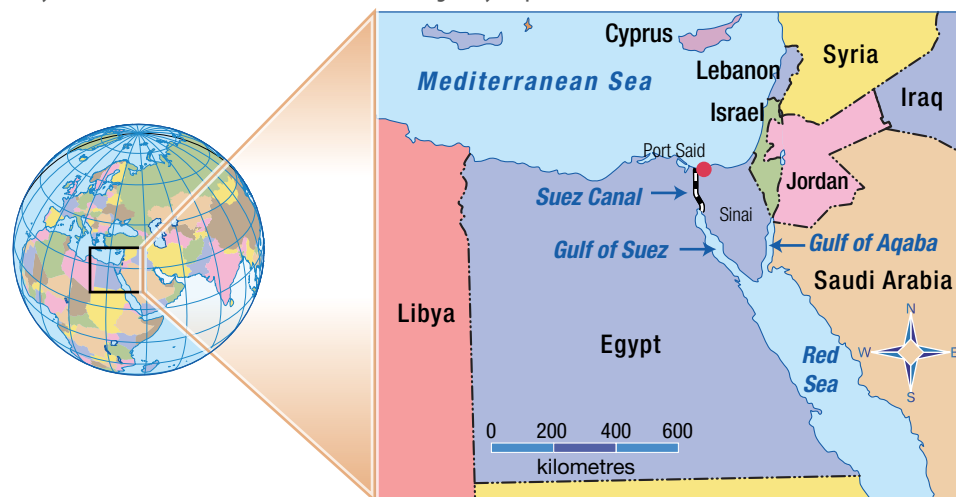


Figure 13–18 Fear of nuclear war inspired survivalist Bruce Beach of Hasting’s Mills, Ontario, to spend 20 years building an underground bomb shelter. He buried 42 school buses under 4 metres of earth, then cemented them together to create 900 square metres of connected corridors and rooms. Was this a reasonable response to the nuclear threat? If not, what would have been a reasonable response?

Figure 13–19 The Suez Canal, 1956

Why would the Suez Canal's location be strategically important?



The Suez Crisis

In 1859, a French company called the Suez Canal Co. financed the construction of a massive canal to link the Mediterranean Sea with the Red Sea. Egyptian labourers dug the 192 kilometre waterway, and more than 120 000 of them died during construction of the canal. Britain bought into the company in 1875.

Figure 13–20 Timeline — The Suez Canal, 1859–1956

Rather than invade, what other response might Britain have made to Egypt's nationalization of the canal?



Oil and Independence

For much of the early 20th century, Britain ruled Egypt. But an independence movement began after World War II as Egyptians tried to rid themselves of foreign control. Meanwhile, as the number of cars multiplied, the West wanted more oil. By 1955, two-thirds of that oil was being shipped from the Middle East through the Suez Canal. By this time, Britain had left Egypt, because it could no longer afford to maintain its empire.

Egyptian President Gamal Abdul Nasser wanted to build a huge dam on the Nile River to provide the power needed by Egypt's growing economy. To finance the Aswan Dam, Nasser decided to take over the foreign-owned Suez Canal so Egypt could charge user fees and retain the profits. Nasser seized the canal in 1956. But the British government owned a share of the Suez Canal Co.

In response, Britain, with the support of Israel and France, invaded the canal zone the same year. The Soviet Union, the United States, and the UN all condemned this tactic as bullying. Britain was soon nearly bankrupt financing a war it could not afford, but it was too embarrassed to simply withdraw.

Historical Perspective: How do you think Egyptians felt about Britain and France owning and controlling a canal that went through the middle of their country? How might these feelings explain their actions?

Canada Keeps the Peace

In the 1950s, Lester Pearson earned an international reputation for persuasive diplomacy — and averting a possible nuclear war.

Pearson was Canada's minister of external affairs. As the Suez crisis came to a head, he worked to find a solution that would allow the British, French, and Israelis to save face and go home. Pearson was not the first to come up with the idea for an international peacekeeping force, but he was its most able champion. And he obtained the UN General Assembly's overwhelming support for an international force "to secure and supervise the cessation of hostilities."

A Canadian general, E.L.M. Burns, led the first international peacekeeping force, called the United Nations Emergency Force (UNEF). UNEF peacekeepers replaced occupying forces while a peaceful solution was negotiated.

When Pearson was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize in 1957, he was said to have shown that "moral force can be a bulwark against aggression and that it is possible to make aggressive forces yield without resorting to power."

Voices

We are now emerging into an age when different civilizations will have to learn to live side by side in peaceful interchange, learning from each other, studying each other's history and ideals, art and culture, mutually enriching each other's lives. The only alternative in this overcrowded little world is misunderstanding, tension, clash, and — catastrophe.

— Lester Pearson,
minister of external affairs, 1957

Figure 13–21 UNEF peacekeeping troops enter Port Said, Egypt, in 1956. The troops came from 10 countries, with a major contribution from Canada. Robert Borden, a Canadian UNEF soldier, said, "In retrospect, it was wonderful to be there. It was a magnificent attempt on behalf of the world body to do something important. It was an honourable thing to do."



Recall ... Reflect ... Respond

1. Create a mind map with two levels of bubbles. Write the words "Canadians Promoting Peace" at the centre of the map. In the first level of bubbles, record examples of individuals promoting peace. In the second level, record the results of their efforts. Draw lines that show how you think one person's efforts may have affected another's.
2. Add the following developments to your mind map, with connecting lines to indicate ways in which the Canadians in your web may have led to or were connected to these events:
 - a) To date, 187 countries have signed the 1970 Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty, which was designed to stop the spread of nuclear weapons.
 - b) In 1972, Americans and Soviets agreed to the first Strategic Arms Limitation Treaty, which slowed down their arms race.
 - c) In 2012, American president Barack Obama said, "My administration . . . recognizes that the massive nuclear arsenal we inherited from the Cold War is poorly suited to today's threats, including nuclear terrorism."
3. Where would you put yourself in your mind map? In what ways might you fit in?
4. If you were giving out a peace award, whom would you give it to? Why? Choose someone from the Cold War era and someone from today.

Chapter 13 Review

Knowledge, Understanding, and Thinking

1. Identify up to ten key events, developments, or policies related to the Cold War. Present these in a timeline. Add visuals or labels that help explain the significance of each entry.
2. **Historical Perspective:** Historians try to understand the views people have held in the past. Read the song on this page, which was sung during antinuclear protests in the late 1950s. The H-bomb is the hydrogen bomb, which is even more deadly than the A-bomb, or atom bomb. Then answer the following questions:
 - a) What ethical problems were the protesters pointing out in this song?
 - b) Think about another perspective. Many people in the 1950s believed that having nuclear weapons was the only way to prevent an attack by the Soviet Union. Convey the views of those who were in favour of the buildup of nuclear weapons by writing new lyrics for a familiar tune.
 - c) Use these pro- and anti-nuclear perspectives to explain why there were no easy solutions to the nuclear arms race.

Sing to the tune of "God Rest Ye Merry, Gentlemen"

God rest ye merry, gentlemen,
When you are all in bed,
A friendly little H-bomb
Is cruising overhead.
It's there to kill the Russians
When the rest of us are dead.

3. **Historical Perspective:** Many years after John Diefenbaker cancelled the Avro Arrow program, people were still questioning whether or not his decision had been good for the country.

Examine the editorial cartoon in Figure 13–22.

- a) Why is Diefenbaker shown surrounded by sandbags?
- b) What is the artist saying about Diefenbaker and his decision to cancel the Arrow program?
- c) Write a caption for this editorial cartoon.

Figure 13–22 This editorial cartoon, created in 1992, shows John Diefenbaker on top of the clock tower on Parliament Hill after shooting down an Avro Arrow with a machine gun.



Communicating and Applying

4. **Cause and Consequence:** Does military power have a role to play in creating peace?
 - a) With a partner, create a T-chart and list arguments for and against the idea that the military can play a role in the peace process. For each argument you record, add a counterargument in the opposite column. Consider various perspectives on peace.
 - b) Join another pair of students and conduct a mini-debate on this question. Toss a coin to choose which position each pair will defend.

5. **Historical Perspective:** Many fans of the Avro Arrow still hope that at least one airplane escaped being destroyed. In the 2004 historical novel *Chasing the Arrow*, author Charles Reid raises the possibility in a fictional conversation between two Avro employees.

Read the following excerpt. Then, in a small group, discuss this statement: *Historical fiction undermines the serious study of history*. Should historical fiction be banned? Should it have warning labels attached? Give reasons for your responses.

Their ears were hammered by a thunderous roar.

Joe leaped out of his chair. "My God, Emily, that was a sonic boom!"

Emily got to her feet, too, and scanned the darkening sky. "That sure sounded like an Arrow to me."

"But that's impossible," Joe said.

Emily continued to search the cloudless sky. "Wait a minute, Joe. Didn't you say you saw five complete Arrows being cut up?"

"That's right. Five."

"But we finished building and test-flying six."

"My God, you're right!"

6. **Historical Significance:** Canada played a number of roles during the Cold War. It engaged in international intelligence gathering; it helped to found NATO; it joined the UN mission to defend South Korea against the North; and it intervened successfully in the Suez crisis, leading to the creation of the very first UN peacekeeping force.
- In your opinion, which situation represented Canada's defining moment as a key player in the international community? Justify your choice with reasons.
 - How did Canada's role in the promotion of world peace evolve from the start of the Cold War to the awarding of the Nobel Peace Prize to its prime minister in 1957?

7. **Historical Significance:** From the following list, select an individual whose contribution to Canadian society and politics during the Cold War was most significant:

- Igor Gouzenko
- Ed Oram
- Ursula Franklin
- Lotta Dempsey
- Lester Pearson

8. **Ethical Dimension:** In 1955, Bertrand Russell and Albert Einstein released their "Notice to the World" about arms buildup following the Cold War (p. 379). Issue your own "Notice to the World" about what you see as the major barriers to international peace today. Consider political, social, cultural barriers in your answer, as well as at least two examples drawn from current events.
9. Lester Pearson supported the UN mission in Korea because he believed in the principle of collective security, the idea that the security of one nation depends on the security of others. Yet at the height of the aggression, the United States discussed using the atomic bomb to end the war. How could one situation be viewed so differently by two allies? In this case, what accounted for the difference?
10. Interview a grandparent, aunt, uncle, neighbour, or other person you know about his or her experiences growing up during the Cold War.

- Which experiences had the greatest impact?
- Which Cold War issues did this person become personally involved in (for example, making an evacuation plan, nuclear disarmament)? Ask him or her to describe them.
- What is the perspective of this person today on the Cold War?

Write a report that summarizes the answers to the questions and tells what new information or perspectives you gained from the interview.

11. Hold a class debate on the following statement: *During the Cold War, Canada's relationship with the United States evolved into a partnership.*