

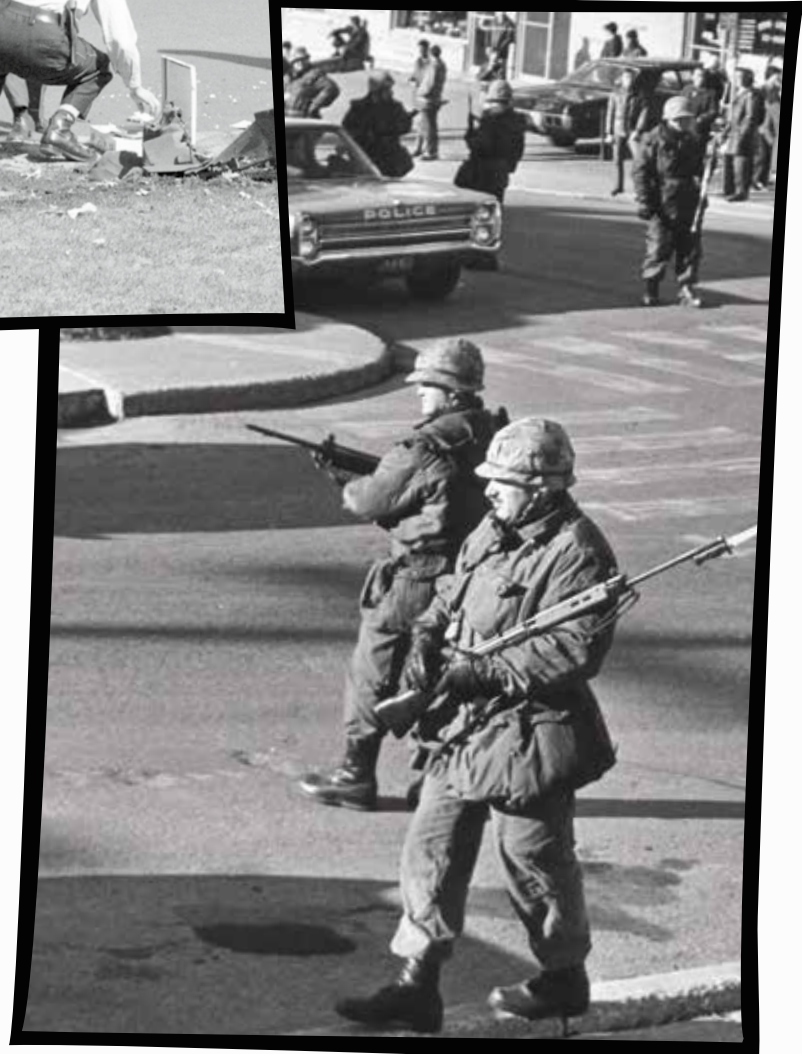
Chapter Fifteen

INTERNAL STRIFE



Figure 15–1 In the 1960s, the Front de libération du Québec, a loosely connected group of extremists who supported Québec independence, carried out a bombing campaign to try to achieve their goals. A number of bombs were planted in mailboxes, which the FLQ viewed as a symbol of Anglophone domination in Québec.

The photograph at the top shows a Canadian soldier who was injured while trying to defuse a mailbox bomb. In response to the FLQ's actions, which climaxed in October 1970 with the kidnapping of British Trade Commissioner James Cross and Québec Labour Minister Pierre Laporte, the federal government imposed martial law — military government — on the country. As a result, soldiers (bottom) patrolled Montréal streets.



CHAPTER ISSUE

How did Canada address internal strife?

The 1960s marked a period of change in Canada and Québec. The province's largely rural way of life — with its focus on the Catholic Church as the centre of the community — had been shifting as more and more Québécois moved to towns and cities to work in factories and businesses. Québec society became less centred on the Catholic Church and traditional Québécois rural culture.

Francophone Québécois feared assimilation into the broader North American culture, and some came to believe that the solution was self-determination or sovereignty for Québec. The Front de libération du Québec (FLQ) was one of many groups working toward this goal. Few Québécois supported the FLQ's violent tactics, but the group's existence highlighted the differences that were threatening Canadian unity.

Examine the photographs on the previous page and respond to the following questions:

- How might an increasingly urban way of life have contributed to the growth of the sovereignty movement in Québec?
- What do you suppose the FLQ hoped to gain by resorting to violence?
- What are some different ways that governments could have responded to the FLQ and its demands?
- How should the rest of Canada have responded to the violence in Québec?
- What other strategies might **separatists** have used to try to achieve their goals?

Key Terms

separatists

allophones

White Paper

LOOKING AHEAD

The following inquiry questions will help you explore how effectively governments responded to the political challenges of the times:

- Did Canada meet the challenge of rising nationalism in Québec?
- Was Canada's response to violent separatists justified?
- Did Québec leaders have the answers?
- Did Canada resolve other social justice issues?

LEARNING GOALS

In this chapter you will

- describe key events that took place in Québec during the 1960s and 1970s
- explain some significant events for Aboriginal peoples during the period
- identify examples of social inequality during the 1960s and 1970s
- describe the contributions of individuals and groups to Canadian society and politics
- analyze how the lives of Canadian women changed and stayed the same

Did Canada meet the challenge of rising nationalism in Québec?

The nationalism of Canadian Francophones grew out of a sense that their language and culture were threatened. In 1905, for example, the new province of Alberta had outlawed the use of French in business, education, and the courts. In 1915, the Ontario government had passed a law that severely limited the use of French as the language of instruction in both public and Catholic schools. And the conscription crises of World Wars I and II tended to split the country along language lines.

The Quiet Revolution

Many historians believe that the death of Québec premier Maurice Duplessis in 1959 marked the beginning of a period of great change that became known as the “Quiet Revolution.” Duplessis, who was known as “le Chef” — “the Leader” — and the Union Nationale had controlled the province for decades, rejecting ideas that were considered progressive and working to support the Catholic Church, the French language, and Québec’s rural culture.

Check Back

You read about Maurice Duplessis and the policies of the Union Nationale in Chapter 9.

As a result, social conditions in Québec had fallen behind those in the rest of the country. Women, for example, could not vote in provincial elections until 1940. And even after that, married women in Québec had much the same status and rights as children.

Less than a year after Duplessis’s death, a provincial election was held — and the Liberals under leader Jean Lesage defeated the Union Nationale and formed the government. Under the new Liberal leadership, Québec society became more secular, moving away from its previous focus on the Catholic Church.

Many people also began to openly question many social standards. Traditions based on a rural way of life, such as high birth rates and early marriages, began to change. Institutions such as education and health care were transformed as people welcomed the move to create a social safety net that was similar to that developing in the rest of Canada. High school enrolment jumped as more young people in Québec stayed in school, labour groups began to play a more prominent role, and a provincial pension plan was introduced.

Continuity and Change: Why would this period of change in Québec have been called the Quiet Revolution?



Figure 15–2 Between 1960 and 1966, Premier Jean Lesage and his government ushered in changes that reflected the shifts in Québec society. As a result, Lesage has become known as one of the “fathers of the Quiet Revolution.”

A Transformed Society

The changes taking place in Québec required the provincial government to play a greater role. New government departments were created, and new institutions, including a changed system of postsecondary education, were established.

These changes required more staff. During the Duplessis years, the government had been staffed largely by Union Nationale supporters. This changed when Lesage's government hired professional civil servants.

Lesage also encouraged Francophones to play a greater role in the Québec economy. When he took office, Anglophones controlled most of the province's businesses and industries, while Francophones tended to fill unskilled positions.

To help Québécois gain more economic control, Lesage bought privately owned electric power companies and amalgamated them to create the publicly owned Hydro-Québec. At Hydro-Québec, French was the language of business, and Francophones were the managers. The new corporation became a source of pride for Québécois.

This period of intense change encouraged Québécois to question their province's role in Canada. Francophones turned away from the kind of nationalism that had flourished under Duplessis in favour of a form that demanded equal status in Confederation for Francophone culture, as well as greater autonomy for Québec.

Many Québécois wanted to control their own destiny. During the 1962 election campaign, this feeling was captured by the Liberal slogan, *Maîtres chez nous* — Masters in our own home. Out of this idea grew a sense that Québec, the political territory, was also the Québécois nation.

But Lesage's changes were costly, and provincial taxes rose. In 1960, Québec's provincial tax rate had been the lowest in Canada. Six years later, it was the highest, and many Québécois were unhappy about paying higher taxes.

Some also believed that Lesage's changes had gone too far, while others believed that they had not gone far enough. They wanted complete independence for Québec. This split in opinion allowed the Union Nationale to win the 1966 provincial election. But the province had already been transformed, and the new government could not turn back the clock.

Cause and Consequence: Which factors do you think played the most significant role in deciding the results of the 1966 Québec provincial election?

Voices

There is no doubt in my mind; it's now or never that we must act to become masters in our own home.

— Jean Lesage,
premier of Québec, 1962

Figure 15–3 Angry fans gather outside the Montreal Forum on March 17, 1955, after National Hockey League Commissioner Clarence Campbell, an Anglophone, handed a long suspension to Canadiens' star Maurice Richard, a Francophone Québécois. Many Québécois believed that the penalty was unfairly harsh — and, for them, Campbell's action became a symbol of Anglophone domination. Some historians say that the "Richard riot," which erupted later that night, was the spark that ignited the Québec sovereignty movement.



CONNECTIONS

In 1968, the Québec government changed the name of the province's legislative assembly to the *Assemblée nationale du Québec* — the National Assembly of Québec — and staked the province's claim to status as a nation. This was the first of many name changes that reinforced the idea of Québec as a nation. Some examples include the *Fête nationale*, the *Archives nationale*, and the *Bibliothèque nationale*.

Voices

One language sets you in a corridor for life. Two languages open every door along the way.

— Frank Smith

Bilingualism and Biculturalism

The developing sense of Francophone nationalism gave rise to a new movement that believed that Québécois could control their own destiny only if they had a country of their own. This rising sense of nationalism in Québec encouraged the federal government to take action.

In 1963, Prime Minister Lester Pearson established the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism — known as the B and B Commission. The commission's purpose was to examine the state of the French and English languages in Canada and to recommend actions to ensure that both languages remained vital.

Ten commissioners representing Canada's language and cultural diversity travelled the country, hearing comments in both languages. The commissioners found that economic opportunities for Francophones, in Québec and elsewhere in Canada, were limited, especially if they spoke only French. Education in French was often inadequate and did not meet students' needs. In addition, federal civil servants often knew little or no French, so that Francophones had trouble gaining access to government services. And many private businesses offered no service in French.

Over the next six years, the commission made many recommendations. Underlying their comments was the idea that Francophones and Anglophones deserve equal opportunities. The following were some of the recommendations:

- Both English and French should be declared official languages.
- Ontario and New Brunswick, the provinces with the largest Francophone populations outside Québec, should become officially bilingual.
- Regions in which at least 10 per cent of people are Francophones should become officially bilingual.
- Where demand is great enough, parents should have the right to choose to educate their children in either French or English.

Responses to the B and B Commission

The response to the B and B Commission's recommendations was mixed. Many Francophones believed that the focus on language hid the bigger issue of Québec's role in Canada and its desire for greater political autonomy and even sovereignty. Some Anglophones believed that bilingualism was being forced on them. And some **allophones** — Canadian immigrants who speak neither English nor French upon arrival — said that the commission's focus on just two languages pushed them to the sidelines.

But overall, Canadians have accepted the commission's recommendations and support the idea of language equality. According to a 2010 report, *The State of French-Second-Language Education in Canada*, 96 per cent of allophone students believe that bilingualism will have a positive effect on their future employment, and 59 per cent want to learn more about Francophone culture.

Official Bilingualism

By 1969, Pierre Trudeau, a bilingual Québécois, was prime minister. That year, his Liberal government passed the Official Languages Act, which gave French and English equal status as Canada's official languages.

The act also said that government services, including services offered by federal courts, must be provided in either official language and that all federal laws and regulations must be published in both English and French. In addition, parliamentary debates were to be translated into both languages.

To hear language-related complaints and to monitor the federal government's progress toward ensuring the equality of Canada's two official languages, the act specified that a commissioner of official languages should be appointed.

To meet the requirements of the act, civil servants were encouraged to become bilingual, and bilingual Francophones were actively recruited to fill government jobs.

Federal officials believed that education was the key to the success of bilingualism in Canada, but education is a provincial responsibility. So the federal government developed programs and services to help provinces and municipalities improve access to services in both languages.

New Brunswick became officially bilingual in 1969, and Ontario improved French services in areas where French is commonly used. All provinces improved French-language instruction in schools, and many Anglophone students enrolled in the French-immersion programs that were introduced in many school districts.

Bilingualism Today

The 2011 census found that 17.5 per cent of Canadians said they could conduct a conversation in both English and French. It also found that in Québec, the rate of bilingualism rose between 2001 and 2011, from 40.8 per cent to 42.6 per cent. In the rest of Canada, the rate of bilingualism was less than 10 per cent in 2011.

Up for Discussion

Is it possible for people to feel united as a nation when they do not speak the same language?

Figure 15–4 A sign in English and French instructs motorists and bicyclists to share the road. Should we have French — English bilingual signs in every community in Canada? Why or why not?



Figure 15–5 Rate of English–French Bilingualism among Anglophones Outside Québec, 1996–2011

Draw at least one conclusion from the line graph. Consider age and any changes to patterns.

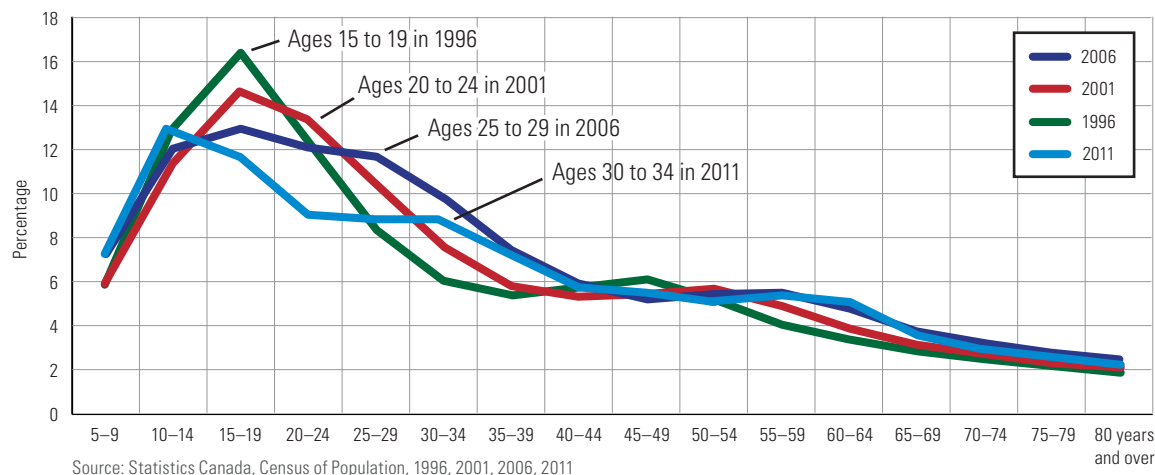


Figure 15–6 Québec Premier René Lévesque, a Liberal who left the party to become the founding leader of the Mouvement souveraineté-association, expresses his disappointment with the result of the 1980 referendum on sovereignty association. Why might Québécois have been reluctant to support sovereignty association in 1980?



The Parti Québécois

Neither the B and B Commission nor the measures taken to ensure that Francophones felt included in Canadian society diminished the Québec sovereignty movement. Many Québécois continued to want greater autonomy for Québec — and some wanted complete independence. In 1968, the Parti Québécois (PQ) emerged to give voice to these goals.

The PQ was formed from the merger of two other parties. One was the Mouvement souveraineté-association, which had split from the Québec Liberal Party and wanted sovereignty association. This plan called for Québec to maintain economic connections with Canada but to become independent in all other respects. The other party was the Rassemblement pour l'indépendance nationale, which wanted complete independence.

In the provincial elections of 1970 and 1973, the PQ experienced some success, and their support increased. In 1976, the PQ won the provincial election after promising to give Québécois a direct say in their future by holding a referendum on sovereignty association.

A referendum is a vote on a single question by the electorate. Why would a referendum be necessary before such a drastic step as creating a new country?

To prepare for the referendum, which was held in 1980, the PQ launched initiatives to improve social conditions in Québec. Family law, for example, was changed to make it fairer. The PQ also introduced a provincial auto insurance plan, started programs to preserve farmland, and declared French the only official language of Québec.

Despite these efforts to win support, nearly 60 per cent of Québécois rejected the idea of sovereignty association when the referendum was held. This result forced the PQ to pull back on its commitment to change the relationship between Québec and Canada.

Recall ... Reflect ... Respond

1. Create a chart like the one shown to summarize the changes brought about by the Quiet Revolution in Québec.

Which change do you think was the most historically significant? Explain your choice.

The Quiet Revolution and Changes in Québec		
Area	Before	After
Role of Government		
Role of Social Institutions		
Economic Role of Francophones		
Form of Nationalism		

2. Was the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism an effective response to the rise of nationalism in Québec? With a partner, create a T-chart like the one shown and discuss evidence to include in each column.

When you finish, write a statement that sums up your assessment of whether the B and B Commission achieved its goals.

The B and B Commission as a Response to Québécois Nationalism	
Evidence Showing That It Was an Effective Response	Evidence Showing That It Was an Ineffective Response

Was Canada's response to violent separatists justified?

The strength of the sovereignty movement in Québec became evident in October 1964, when Queen Elizabeth II and Prince Philip visited Québec City during a tour honouring the 100th anniversary of the meetings that had set the stage for Confederation in 1867. Québec sovereignists protested the visit, and riots erupted. At one point, the royal limousine was pelted with debris.

Incidents like this, as well as the actions of the Front de libération du Québec, made it impossible for governments to ignore the separatist movement, and debate over the issue of Québec's separation became a feature of Canadian politics in the 1960s and the decades that followed.

Continuity and Change: How was the Québec sovereignty movement similar to other social justice movements that were emerging at the time?

The Front de libération du Québec

Members of the Front de libération du Québec (see pp. 410–411) viewed most Francophone Québécois as victims of the powerful Anglophone elite that controlled business and industry in the province. FLQ members had little use for the Québec government, which they believed was in league with the Anglophone establishment.

The FLQ's goal was complete independence for Québec. In its place, they wanted to create a French-speaking workers' society.

Although Québec was changing, the changes were not taking place fast enough for FLQ members. So they resorted to violence — including bombings, robberies, and kidnappings. They believed that these tactics would disrupt society so much that people would rebel and overthrow the government. This would clear the way to put in place a new social order based on the Francophone Québécois culture and language.

Between 1963 and 1970, members of the FLQ planned and carried out more than 200 violent acts, in which five people died and others were injured. The FLQ was set up as at least six independent cells, and though members were arrested for and convicted of many of these crimes, the police had trouble destroying the organization.

In 1969, the FLQ stepped up its campaign of violence, detonating a bomb in the Montréal Stock Exchange and another in the home of Montréal mayor Jean Drapeau. The FLQ was also blamed for killing a police officer.

Figure 15–7 Duncan Macpherson of the *Toronto Star* created this cartoon after the 1964 royal visit to Québec City. Prime Minister Lester Pearson (left) explains to Governor General Georges Vanier the reason for including the city in the visit. How do you think people in other parts of Canada responded to this incident?



"WELL, IT SEEMED LIKE A GOOD IDEA AT THE TIME, GEORGE."

Voices

The Front de libération du Québec is not a movement of aggression, but is a response to the aggression organized by high finance and the puppet governments in Ottawa and Québec. . . . Workers of Québec, start today to take back what is yours; take for yourselves what belongs to you.

— *Manifesto of the Front de libération du Québec, October 1970*

Up for Discussion

Is violence ever justified as a way of bringing about change in a civil society?

Up for Discussion

What is the best strategy for dealing with terrorists? Give in to their demands, negotiate a compromise solution, or take a hard line and refuse to negotiate?

Figure 15–8 On October 15, 1970, about 3000 students and professors at French-language schools and universities gathered in a Montréal arena to show their support for the FLQ. Why might these students and their teachers have supported the FLQ?



Voices

I think the society must take every means at its disposal to defend itself against the emergence of a parallel power which defies the elected power in this country and I think that this goes at any distance.

— Pierre Trudeau, prime minister,
October 13, 1970

The October Crisis

On October 5, 1970, the FLQ took the violence a step farther. Members of one cell kidnapped James Cross, the British trade commissioner in Montréal. They then issued a media release outlining their demands:

- the release of “political prisoners” — FLQ members who had been arrested or imprisoned
- the payment of \$500 000
- the publication of the FLQ manifesto
- an airplane to fly FLQ members to Cuba or Algeria

A joint federal–provincial team was established to deal with the crisis. The team took a tough stand and refused to give in to the FLQ’s demands, although the media published and broadcast the manifesto in both official languages.

Ethical Dimension: What arguments could be used to justify the media’s publication of the FLQ manifesto? What arguments could be used against this action?

Then, on October 10, another cell kidnapped Pierre Laporte, Québec’s minister of labour and a key member of the government team.

The deepening crisis divided Canadians. Some believed that the federal and Québec governments should continue to take a hard line, while others said that a compromise should be found.

On October 15, Québec premier Robert Bourassa, who had taken office only about eight months earlier, faced the challenge of protecting countless public officials who could become kidnapping targets. So Bourassa asked the federal government to send the military into Montréal. Later that day, Bourassa announced some concessions that he hoped would bring about the release of both hostages. The concessions included releasing some prisoners and guaranteeing the kidnappers’ safe passage out of Canada.

The War Measures Act

In the early morning of October 16, Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau’s government invoked the War Measures Act. Trudeau argued that this action, the first time the act had been invoked in peacetime, was justified by the evidence of an insurrection — open resistance to established authority.

The War Measures Act, which had been passed during World War I, suspended Canadians’ rights and freedoms and gave the government sweeping emergency powers. It allowed the government to

- declare anyone who publicly supported the FLQ to be a member of the group
- arrest and hold any member of the FLQ without bail for up to 90 days
- imprison FLQ members for up to five years

On October 18, the body of Pierre Laporte was discovered in the trunk of a car in Montréal. His captors had murdered him the day after Trudeau declared the War Measures Act.

In the following weeks, about 450 people, including leading academics, entertainers, labour leaders, and Parti Québécois members, were arrested. Most had nothing to do with the FLQ. They were held in isolation and not allowed to contact a lawyer.

The first news about the fate of James Cross came on October 27 — he was alive and still being held by members of the FLQ cell. Behind the scenes, police negotiated with the kidnappers, and on December 3, Cross was released. In return, five of the kidnappers and some of their family members were flown to Cuba.

Youth Making History

Fallout from the October Crisis

Many Canadians and Québécois were shocked and angered by the FLQ's actions, which were labelled terrorism. But some expressed sympathy with the FLQ's goals. On October 22, 1970, *The Vancouver Sun* published a news story about an incident in one British Columbia secondary school. The following are excerpts from this story.

Teacher fired over claims he expressed FLQ support

DAWSON CREEK, British Columbia (CP) — A Dawson Creek high school teacher has been fired as a result of complaints to his school board by some of his students and their parents that he expressed support for the FLQ.

Arthur Norton Olsen, 30, a chemistry teacher, was dismissed Tuesday night after a special meeting by the Peace River South school board.

Rudy Landsfried, chairman of the school board, refused Wednesday to give the reason for Olsen's dismissal, although he admitted the meeting had been called to examine the complaints and obtain Olsen's answers to them. . . .

In a defence lasting some two hours, Olsen told the school board he had not stated, as some pupils claimed, that it

was "too bad that there aren't more FLQ types in Western Canada."

George Hartford, principal of the South Peace Senior Secondary School where Olsen was employed, said the affair began Monday after [Hartford] and a group of students decided the school should send a telegram of support to the federal government for its actions in attempting to curb FLQ terrorism in Québec.

Olsen, however, decided this was "a little unfair," Hartford said, and subsequently got into a discussion with some of the students.

Hartford said he, personally, could not pinpoint any "flagrant flouting of the law . . . indiscretion, maybe, yes." . . .

Ronald Kimak, secretary treasurer of the school board, said Olsen's FLQ remarks "may have been a contributing factor" in his dismissal, but were not the only reason.

Explorations

1. On the basis of the evidence provided in the news story, would you have fired Arthur Norton Olsen? Why or why not?
2. What does this news story reveal about the responses to the October Crisis of many Canadians outside Québec?
3. If you had been a student at South Peace Senior Secondary School in 1970, would you have been among the students who wanted to send a telegram of support to the federal government? Explain your response.

Perspectives on the War Measures Act

By analyzing what multiple people say at the time of an event, we can get a clearer picture of the event itself. We also learn about the individuals — their beliefs and values, their thoughts and feelings.

Historians try hard to draw their conclusions from the evidence that they have, and not to make unfounded assumptions. Consider a 1970 advertisement selling a car with “the latest, greatest technological advantages.” It is not talking about Bluetooth capability and onboard GPS navigation. The ad may not even specify the exact car features. However, we do know the ad creators believed the technology was worth boasting about.

Now have a look at six different pieces of historical evidence surrounding the War Measures Act. Every piece was created during the period of the FLQ crisis. But each reveals something different about the War Measures Act. As you read, consider the concerns and values of each speaker.

FLQ

The following is an excerpt from the FLQ manifesto, “A Message to the Nation” (translated from the French). In response to FLQ demands, the government allowed it to be read on Radio-Canada on October 8, 1970.

A national revolution cannot, of its very nature, tolerate any compromise. There is only one way of overcoming colonialism: to be stronger than it is! Only the most far-fetched idealism may mislead one into thinking otherwise. Our period of slavery has ended.

QUÉBEC PATRIOTS, TO ARMS!
THE HOUR OF NATIONAL
REVOLUTION HAS STRUCK!
INDEPENDENCE OR DEATH!



In an impromptu exchange, Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau answered the questions of two journalists on October 13, 1970, the day after armed forces were sent to guard Ottawa. This is part of their conversation.

Trudeau: You know, I think it is more important to get rid of those who are committing violence against the total society and those who are trying to run the government through a parallel power by establishing their authority by kidnapping and blackmail. And I think it is our duty as a government to protect government officials and important people in our society against being used as tools in this blackmail. . . .

Well, there are a lot of bleeding hearts around who just don't like to see people with helmets and guns. All I can say is, go on and bleed, but it is more important to keep law and order in the society than to be worried about weak-kneed people who don't like the looks of . . .

Q: At any cost? How far would you go with that? How far would you extend that?

Trudeau: Well, just watch me.

Q: . . . if you extend this and you say, okay, you're going to do anything to protect them, does this include wiretapping, reducing other civil liberties in some way?

Trudeau: Yes, I think the society must take every means at its disposal to defend itself . . .

Figure 15–9 The War Measures Act on October 16, 1970, was big news. What can you infer about the editor of *The Ottawa Journal* from this photograph?





Minister of Justice John Turner gave a speech on October 16, 1970, in the House of Commons to explain the government's use of the War Measures Act. The following is an excerpt.

I want to recite a list of events that have contributed to the rapid acceleration of this dangerous situation in Québec. They are the kidnappings, which in themselves, if they were isolated, would be a purely criminal affair but, within the context of a wider conspiracy and being used for ransom against a legitimately constituted government, are something else. We have the continuous threats to life and property. . . .

We have also a series of bombings and violence, a rising increase in thefts of dynamite. . . .

The Attorney General of the province of Québec and the premier of the province of Québec advised us that the law as presently constituted and directed in a free society was not equipped at the moment to meet the serious situation they were facing, and that they needed additional powers of arrest, of search and of detention.



On October 17, 1970, Claude Ryan, editor of the French-language daily *Le Devoir*, wrote an editorial in response to the invocation of the War Measures Act the previous day. The following is an excerpt.

[The War Measures Act] grants to the federal government such extensive powers that it has never been used, in living

memory, in peacetime. It is the first time in the history of Confederation that a government dares to invoke such an extreme law for purposes of internal peace. . . .

[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.



Tommy Douglas, leader of the federal NDP, gave an interview to the CBC on October 26, 1970, to explain his position on the use of the War Measures Act. Here is an excerpt.

We must do everything in our power to preserve the basic rights and fundamental freedoms upon which our democracy is founded. . . .

Under Canadian law, individuals are presumed innocent until proved guilty. But the War Measures Act regulations state that any person attending a meeting of an unlawful organization or having conveyed material by telephone, broadcasting, or in print from an organization declared to be unlawful is presumed to be guilty of being a member of that organization unless he can prove otherwise.

It is a dangerous course to abrogate [remove] basic freedoms in this manner. We have seen this course followed in such countries as South Africa, Rhodesia, and Czechoslovakia. In each of these countries people were told that their rights were being taken away temporarily for their own protection. Surely it is the responsibility of all those who love freedom in this country to question the need for the absolute and sweeping powers of the War Measures Act . . .

Explorations

1. Create a table to organize your thinking about the five excerpts. For each, ask
 - What main points does this person make?
 - What can I infer about this person's thoughts and feelings about the FLQ?
 - What can I infer about this person's thoughts and feelings about use of the War Measures Act?
2. Consider the variety of perspectives here. What does this tell you about the kind of debate that was taking place in Canadian society at the time?

Up for Discussion

Was invoking the War Measures Act justified?

Figure 15–10 Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau announced the release of James Cross on December 3, 1970. By this time, the FLQ was all but finished. Many members were in jail, and most others were about to go into exile. In your opinion, would such repercussions discourage future terrorists? Why or why not?

**Responses to the War Measures Act**

Invoking the War Measures Act in 1970 was one of the most popular actions ever taken by a Canadian government. Various polls taken at the time showed that at least 85 per cent of Canadians supported the action.

Still, using the War Measures Act was opposed by some people, such as Parti Québécois leader René Lévesque and federal NDP leader Tommy Douglas, as well as groups such as the Canadian Civil Liberties Association, which had been founded in 1968. They argued that the federal government had overreacted to the crisis and did not have a reasonable grasp of the damage to civil liberties.

On November 2, 1970, Trudeau's government passed the Public Order Temporary Measures Act to use instead of the War Measures Act. The new law, which expired several months later, was more specific and less sweeping. It restored some rights to suspected FLQ members. They were, for example, allowed to consult a lawyer immediately. The

War Measures Act stayed on the books, however, in case of a wartime emergency. It was replaced in 1988 by the Emergencies Act, which is subject to the Charter of Rights and Freedoms.

A committee of the Québec Civil Liberties Union was allowed to interview those who had been arrested. Committee members reported that there had been no torture, although the interrogation methods used on some detainees were described as “absolutely unacceptable.” Eventually, the Québec government offered compensation of up to \$30 000 to those who had been arrested and detained unjustly.

A total of 62 people were charged with crimes ranging from being an FLQ member, to conspiracy to commit a crime, to murder. The four men involved in the murder of Pierre Laporte received stiff sentences. Paul Rose and Francis Simard were convicted of murder and

sentenced to life in prison. Bernard Lortie was convicted of kidnapping, and Jacques Rose, Paul Rose's brother, was convicted of helping the kidnappers escape capture.

Recall ... Reflect ... Respond

1. Create a timeline that shows at least five significant events related to the FLQ crisis. Start with the development of the FLQ in 1963 and end with the 1988 Emergencies Act. For each event, include a brief note explaining its importance.
2. In a small group, weigh the pros and cons of invoking the War Measures Act during the FLQ crisis. Would there have been a better way to resolve the crisis? Explain your answer.

Did Québec leaders have the answers?

In Québec, Robert Bourassa's Liberal government was sharply criticized for its handling of the October Crisis. Many complained that Bourassa, who was only 37 at the time, was too inexperienced to provide the leadership needed as the crisis evolved.

The October Crisis had shown that Québec sovereignists did not support a violent split from Canada. Nonetheless, Bourassa feared that they would turn to the Parti Québécois, which advocated peaceful separation.

Québec's Official Language Act

Bourassa knew that many Francophone Québécois feared that the survival of their language was threatened. The birth rate in Québec had fallen sharply since the 1950s, and by the 1970s, it was the lowest in Canada. In addition, immigration rates had jumped — and most immigrants who settled in Québec sent their children to English-language schools.

Continuity and Change: How might a falling birth rate and rising immigration rates threaten the survival of the French language and Francophone culture?

To try to ensure that concerned Francophones did not turn to the Parti Québécois, Bourassa's government decided to promote the use of French by passing the Official Language Act in 1974. The act declared French the only official language of Québec.

The act required public institutions, such as courts, to conduct business in French, and all contracts were to be written in French. Businesses were required to adopt a French name, work toward carrying on day-to-day tasks in French, and advertise in French. In addition, the children of allophone immigrants were required to attend French-language schools.

But the act also tried to accommodate the 600 000 Anglophones who called Québec home. Students who already spoke English, for example, could continue attending English-language schools, and contracts could be written in English if both parties agreed.

But these measures did little to satisfy most Québec Anglophones, who were outraged by the law. They said that the changes went too far too fast. Many turned away from the Liberal Party, and this allowed the PQ to win the 1976 provincial election. Since then, the language controversy has continued and remains a focus of debate in Québec and Canada.

Up for Discussion

Is Québec's Official Language Act discriminatory?

Figure 15–11 In 1974, angry demonstrators gathered outside the National Assembly in Québec City to protest the Official Language Act.



The Parti Québécois in Power

The Parti Québécois's 1976 election victory meant that Québec voters had elected a government dedicated to leaving Confederation — and René Lévesque, the new premier, became the face of the sovereignty movement.

Voices

Bill 101 [the Charter of the French Language] . . . was a major political achievement of the Québec people, correcting a previous injustice inherited from Québec's colonial past. Bill 101 made French the official language of Québec society. Like every legislation of affirmative action that seeks to right historical wrongs, Bill 101 imposed certain limitations on the rights of previously advantaged groups, in this case the Anglophone community and immigrants settling in Québec.

— Gregory Baum, theologian,
in *The Church in Québec*, 1991

Check Back

You read about the Québec language law in Chapter 3.

The Charter of the French Language

Lévesque started by dealing with what sovereignists viewed as the shortcomings of the Official Language Act, and in 1977, the PQ government passed Bill 101, the Charter of the French Language.

This law further restricted English-language education and required all government agencies to use only French. In addition, all advertising and advertising signs were to be in French only, and businesses with more than 50 employees were required to ensure that French was used in the workplace.

These measures further enraged many Anglophones, who complained that their rights had been trampled. Many chose to leave the province, as did at least 42 major companies. Within five years, the number of English speakers in Québec had dropped by 94 000.

Historical Perspective: Has the Charter of the French Language helped ensure the survival of the French language and culture? Explain the reasons for your conclusion.

In the following years, the language law was softened somewhat, partly out of concerns over fairness and partly because of court challenges. Advertising signs, for example, can now include English as long as the French words are larger, and people can access health and social services in English.

The 1980 Sovereignty Referendum

The PQ's sovereignty plan envisioned Québec as an independent state that controlled its laws, policies, and taxes. But its economy would remain linked to Canada so that people, money, and goods could flow freely.

In the leadup to the referendum, the yes and no sides waged energetic campaigns, and polls indicated that the result would be close. To help the no side, Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau promised that if the referendum was defeated, he would amend the Constitution to make it more favourable to Québécois.

When nearly 60 per cent of Québec voters rejected the sovereignty plan and the referendum failed, the defeat was a blow to the hopes of Lévesque, the Parti Québécois, and sovereignists.

Recall . . . Reflect . . . Respond

1. Explain how the Québec sovereignty movement and revitalizing the French language in Québec are closely connected.
2. Suppose you met a citizen from another country who knew nothing of the Québec sovereignty movement. She asked you to describe how governments responded to this challenge. Make

three general statements that summarize your understanding. You might organize your thinking by considering some or all of these categories: short-term consequences, long-term consequences, positive responses, negative responses, effects on Québec, and effects on Canada.

Did Canada resolve other social justice issues?

Though the Québec sovereignty movement generated much debate and discussion, Canadians were also concerned about other issues, such as the rights of Aboriginal peoples and women, as well as regional discontent.

Aboriginal Activism

In 1960, Aboriginal peoples were finally granted the right to vote, but this was a small first step. Many issues had been simmering for decades. Land claims remained stalled, the quality of life of many Aboriginal people was well below that enjoyed by most non-Aboriginal Canadians, and the federal government's assimilation policy remained in effect.

At the same time, Aboriginal peoples were starting to organize to make their voices heard. The Federation of Saskatchewan Indian Nations, for example, emerged as an organization that could speak for First Nations peoples in that province.

Despite gaining the right to vote, many Aboriginal people did not exercise their franchise. Some observers believe that this situation showed Aboriginal people's profound distrust of Canadian political processes.

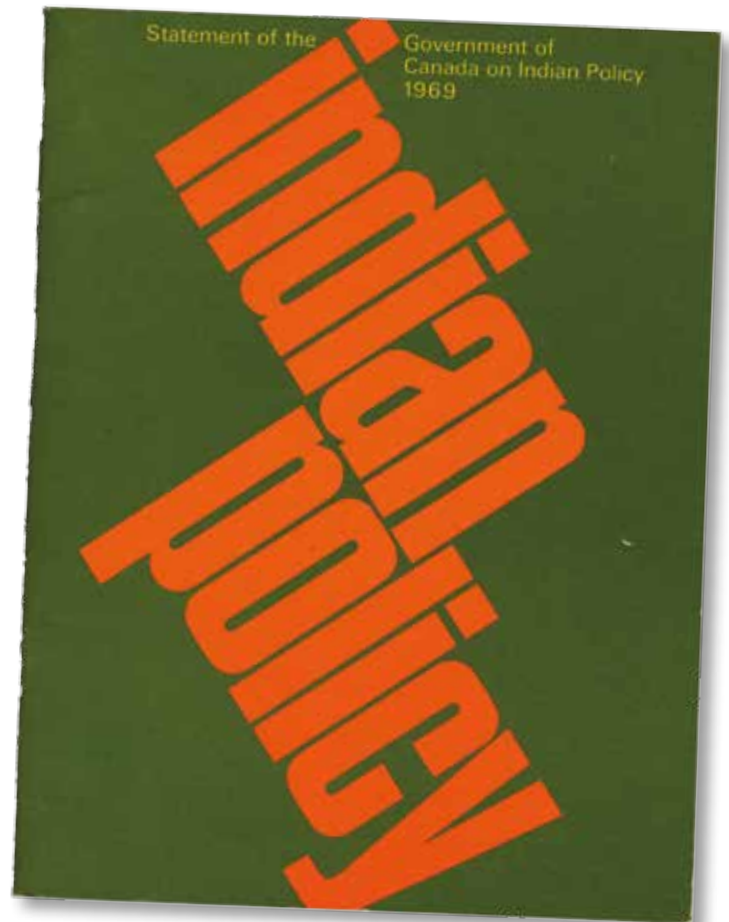
The White Paper

In 1969, Jean Chrétien was the minister of Indian affairs in Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau's Liberal government. Chrétien produced a **White Paper** — a government document proposing a solution to a problem — that suggested ending the federal government's treaty obligations to First Nations. It would do this by dissolving the federal Department of Indian Affairs and abolishing the Indian Act.

The federal government would then transfer responsibility for First Nations to the provinces. This meant that First Nations peoples would lose their Indian status and be treated as if they were just another minority group in Canada. Reserves established by treaties would be dissolved, and land claims would disappear.

Chrétien argued that the proposals would remove the cultural distinctions between First Nations peoples and non-Aboriginal Canadians and would ensure that First Nations peoples had the same opportunities as non-Aboriginal peoples. He also said that the proposed approach would shift the emphasis from cultural protection to economic development and that this would benefit First Nations peoples in the long run.

Figure 15–12 The 1969 White Paper shocked First Nations peoples. Why do you think they reacted this way?



Up for Discussion

Should a treaty be considered a binding contract that lasts forever or merely a promise to be kept if possible?

Voices

It sometimes seems to Indians that Canada shows more interest in preserving its rare whooping cranes than its Indians. And Canada, the Indian notes, does not ask its cranes to become Canada geese. It just wants to preserve them as the whooping cranes. Indians hold no grudge against the big, beautiful, nearly extinct birds, but we would like to know how they managed their deal. Whooping cranes can remain whooping cranes, but Indians are to become brown white men.

— Harold Cardinal,
in *The Unjust Society*, 1969

Figure 15–13 In 1970, Harold Cardinal (standing) and other First Nations leaders met Pierre Trudeau (seated left front) and cabinet ministers in Ottawa. This meeting marked one of the first times that Aboriginal leaders and Cabinet ministers had discussed issues face to face. How might talks like this change the relationship between Aboriginal peoples and the government?

The Red Paper

The White Paper shocked First Nations peoples, who had not been consulted while it was being prepared — and the resulting controversy proved to be a turning point for Aboriginal peoples in Canada.

Harold Cardinal, a Cree scholar from Alberta, voiced the response of many First Nations peoples in 1969, when he published a book titled *The Unjust Society*. The title was a play on a “just society,” the campaign slogan that had helped Trudeau’s Liberals gain power in 1968.

Cardinal’s book, which was nicknamed “the Red Paper,” challenged the view that everyone in a just society must be the same. It said that this view ignored history and denied the rights of Aboriginal peoples.

Referring to the popular idea of Canada as the product of two founding nations — British and French — Cardinal argued that the First Nations in fact are integral to Canada and deserved equal recognition as founding peoples of this land.

Cardinal’s book became a bestseller that focused the attention of both Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal peoples on the struggle of First Nations, Métis, and Inuit to affirm and promote their identities. It also highlighted Aboriginal peoples’ need to unite in strong and effective national organizations that could communicate Aboriginal perspectives to both governments and non-Aboriginal Canadians.

The National Indian Brotherhood, for example, evolved from other national First Nations groups and was renamed the Assembly of First Nations in the 1980s. The Inuit Tapirisat of Canada was founded in 1971 and later became the Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami. And Métis people formed a number of associations which evolved into the Métis National Council in the 1980s.

Through the 1970s and into the 1980s, these Aboriginal organizations and others focused their efforts on two main areas. The first was ensuring that Aboriginal people played a role in the constitutional debate, and the second was the issue of Aboriginal land claims.

In 1974, the federal government developed a process for resolving outstanding land claims. Though this process has been slow, progress has been made in resolving some claims, such as that of the Nisga’a of northern British Columbia.

Historical Significance: Why wouldn’t the Canadian government have consulted the Aboriginal peoples about this important issue?



Perspectives on Canada's Founding Cultures

As time passes, societies change. So do people's beliefs, values, and world views.

Prime Minister Louis St. Laurent regarded the repair of the French–English divide to be his most important responsibility. In a 1948 speech he said, “Our nation was planned as a political partnership of two great races. It was planned by men of vision, of tolerance, as a partnership in which both of the partners would retain their essential characteristics, their religion, their culture.”

Some two decades later, Cree leader Harold Cardinal took issue with that perspective. He argued his case in his 1969 book *The Unjust Society*: “We invite our white brothers to realize and acknowledge that the Indian in Canada has already made a

considerable contribution to the greatness of our country, that the Indian has played a significant role in Canadian history. Our people look on with concern when the Canadian government talks about the ‘two founding peoples’ without giving recognition to the role played by the Indian even before the founding of a nation-state known as Canada.”

Four and a half decades later, the following statement appeared on the Government of Canada website describing “Who We Are” to potential new citizens: “To understand what it means to be Canadian, it is important to know about our three founding peoples — Aboriginal, French, and British.”

Explorations

1. Note the dates when each statement was made. How does each statement reflect the context of the historical period in which it was created?
2. What do the differences over time tell you about how Canada and Canadian identity are changing over time?

The James Bay Project

For many Francophone Québécois, the success of Hydro-Québec was the centrepiece of their efforts to control their economy.

In 1971, Hydro-Québec launched an aggressive development program that included exploiting the hydroelectric potential of rivers running into James Bay. Plans for this megaproject called for building huge dams, diverting major rivers, and creating large reservoirs. The goal was to sell the energy to buyers in Southern Canada and the Northeastern United States.

But the plan was made without consulting the Cree and Inuit who lived in the area. They fought the scheme on the grounds that it would negatively affect the environmental resources that supported their traditional ways of life. And because they had never signed a treaty with any government, they believed that their rights to the land continued to exist.

These Aboriginal peoples formed the Québec Association of Indians and took their case to court. In 1973, the Québec Superior Court ordered the project stopped until the government negotiated a treaty. Though an appeals court later overturned the work stoppage, the requirement for the government to negotiate an agreement remained in force.

Voices

We're up against the perception that Hydro-Québec is the engine [of progress], and they've used it to whip up the nationalism of Québeckers against the Cree and the Inuit.

— Bill Namagoose, executive director,
Grand Council of the Crees, 1993

Figure 15–14 The James Bay and Northern Québec Agreement

Figure 15–15 Cree Chief Matthew Coon Come speaks at the news conference in New York City after delivering 50 000 signatures to City Hall. He succeeded in convincing the state of New York to cancel electricity contracts with Hydro-Québec.



The James Bay and Northern Québec Agreement was signed in 1975. In return for giving up their rights to certain lands, the Cree and Inuit, and later, the Naskapi First Nations, received

- exclusive use of 14 000 square kilometres of territory, as well as hunting and fishing rights to a much larger area
- direct financial compensation of \$225 million
- responsibility for and control over education, health care, and social services in their areas
- roles on committees and boards set up to protect the environment of the region

This treaty was the first signed with Aboriginal peoples in 50 years and established a model for subsequent agreements. Although the treaty did not completely resolve all the issues relating to the project, it represented a significant step forward.

In the 1980s, when Hydro-Québec initiated the second phase of the project, which would have blocked nine rivers and resulted in numerous dams and hundreds of dikes, First Nations of the region were

already concerned about the ecological impact of the current hydroelectric project. Flooding had caused massive decay of vegetation, which in turn had killed fish and wildlife.

In response, Grand Chief Matthew Coon Come led the Cree in protest. Coon Come came up with a unique idea — to paddle with Cree Elders from James Bay down the Hudson River to a press conference in New York City. There he spoke to a captivated press gallery about the environmental impact of flooding First Nations land. Since New York State was planning to purchase electric power from Hydro-Québec, the setting was intentional.

The press conference attracted worldwide attention, and the impact was felt immediately. New York State cancelled its plans to purchase electricity from Hydro-Québec, and the Supreme Court of Canada later ruled that Hydro-Québec would not be able to initiate any further projects without an environmental assessment.

Cause and Consequence: Predict how this issue might have turned out if Aboriginal peoples had not already been through the controversy over the White Paper. Give reasons for your prediction.

Regional Discontent

Canadians had long recognized that significant differences in employment opportunities and income often meant that people in some parts of Canada had greater access to government services than others. During the 1950s, the federal government had started taking action to reduce these regional disparities.

In 1957, for example, the federal government had introduced a system of equalization payments that has continued to the present. Under this system, the federal government transfers taxes collected from people in wealthier provinces to less wealthy provinces to help them cover the costs of providing services, such as education and health care. In this way, Canadians across the country can expect to receive similar government services.

In 1969, Pierre Trudeau's government created the Department of Regional Economic Expansion (DREE) to focus on economic initiatives aimed at improving the economy of disadvantaged regions. The department developed programs to improve infrastructure and support private investment in these regions. Other programs encouraged manufacturing and service industries. As much as 80 per cent of DREE's money was spent east of Montréal.

Cause and Consequence: Why do you suppose the federal governments of the 1960s decided to try to reduce regional disparities that had existed for many decades? How might this issue relate to Francophone nationalism and the Québec sovereignty movement?

Equality for Women

In the early 20th century, advocacy groups fighting for women's rights had experienced success in some areas: voting, access to education, and participation in the workforce. But during this time, women's groups had tended to focus on specific challenges, such as the right to vote. By the 1960s, the women's movement had broadened its focus to address the question of how to achieve gender equality.

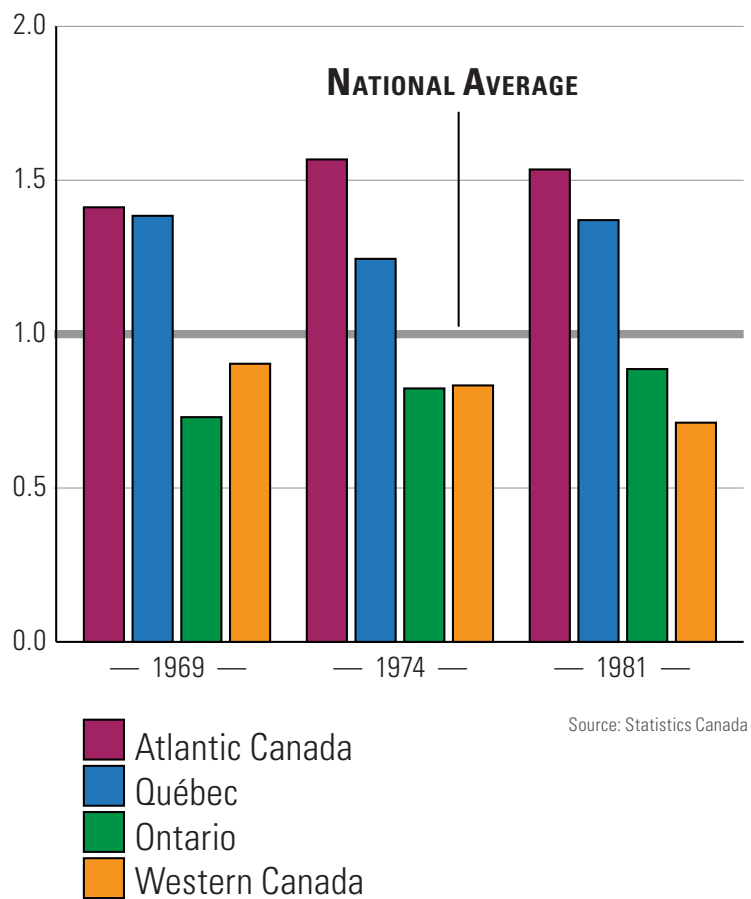
The women who were active in this phase of the movement were largely educated, middle-class Anglophones. Women's groups began to form within political parties, among ethnic communities, and as part of the peace movement. Their activities caused governments to recognize that issues affecting women needed to be addressed.

Check Back

You read about equalization payments in Chapter 2.

Figure 15–16 Ratio of Regional Unemployment Disparities, 1969–1981

A region that is at 0.75 on the graph has an unemployment rate that is 75 per cent of the national average. Which regions suffered higher unemployment between 1969 and 1981? Which regions did not? How might chronic unemployment fuel regional discontent?



Up for Discussion

When women must struggle to achieve gender equality, what message does this send about a society?

CONNECTIONS

Although most bank tellers were women, women were largely shut out of management positions. In 1961, the Bank of Nova Scotia became the first in Canada to appoint a woman manager. Seven years later, only 29 of the 5147 bank managers in Canada were women.

But this started to change. By the end of the next decade, for example, the Royal Bank of Canada had appointed two women to its board of directors, and 40 per cent of the Toronto-Dominion Bank's management trainees were women.

Check Back

You read about the struggle to have women's equality included in the Charter in Chapter 3.

The Royal Commission on the Status of Women

In 1967, the federal government created the Royal Commission on the Status of Women to investigate and report on conditions for women in Canada. The commissioners were to make recommendations for areas that were within the jurisdiction of the federal government.

As the commission travelled the country, it attracted great interest. Its report, which was presented in 1970, documented significant differences in opportunities for men and women. The commission included 167 recommendations dealing with topics such as family law, equal pay for work of equal value, birth control, maternity leave, and conditions for Aboriginal women. The recommendations were based on the principle that opportunities for men and women should be equal.

The commission's report helped shape the activities of the women's movement in the following decades. Over the next 20 years, the federal government implemented most of the recommendations, at least partially. Many companies and government agencies, for example, began employment equity programs designed to improve opportunities for women.

The National Action Committee on the Status of Women (NAC) was established as an umbrella organization to press the government to follow through on the royal commission's recommendations and to co-ordinate the activities of existing women's groups, as well as groups that had developed as a result of the report. At its peak, NAC represented some 700 groups with a broad range of social and political perspectives.

NAC was completely funded by the federal government, at least in part because Pierre Trudeau believed that the campaign to achieve gender equality would unite Francophone and non-Francophone women and help squelch the Québec sovereignty movement.

A major thrust of the women's movement in the late 1970s involved ensuring that gender equality was written into the new Constitution that Trudeau had promised. Demanding that their voices be heard, women used social and political networks, as well as media connections, to educate the public about their concerns. Many of their ideas eventually made their way into the Charter of Rights and Freedoms.

Recall... Reflect... Respond

- Describe how each of the following people might view the changes proposed in the 1969 White Paper:
 - an Anglophone resident of Central Canada
 - a member of a First Nation in Western Canada
 - a sovereigntist from Québec

In each case, provide at least one criterion the person might use to justify his or her position.
- When Cree Grand Chief Matthew Coon Come paddled down the Hudson River to protest the James Bay hydroelectric project, he gained instant international attention for Aboriginal rights. How might this event have changed Canadian perceptions of Aboriginal identity? How might it have changed perceptions of Canadian identity?
- What changed for women during the 1970s? What stayed the same? Present your findings in a T-chart.

Significance of a Groundbreaker

Some people become historically significant because an action they have taken has profoundly affected people's lives. Maybe they start a war, pass a law, or make a trade deal. Others become historically significant because they are the first to do something. They set an example that shows other people what is possible. Some of them inspire. Dee Brasseur is such a person.

Born in Pembroke, Ontario, Brasseur grew up an "army brat" during the 1950s and 1960s. Her dream was to be a fighter pilot, so she joined up at the age of 19. At the time, though, the military restricted women to support roles such as clerk and nurse. Brasseur was assigned the job of typist in a military dental clinic in Winnipeg. She had joined up believing the U.S. army slogan: "Be all that you can be." Instead, she says, "I listened to six dentists drilling all day long."

In the meantime, the Royal Commission on the Status of Women published its report in 1970. It recommended that the Canadian Forces should broaden the roles women could play. When the military responded by opening up new trades to women, Brasseur leaped at the chance.

The flight training program is one of the most gruelling in the military. Brasseur also had to put up with sexual harassment by some of the male trainees who felt threatened by a female presence.

But Brasseur persevered and earned her wings in 1981. Finally, in 1988, she was invited to train as a fighter pilot. For a year she trained 18 hours a day learning to handle the CF-18 Hornet, the most advanced — and deadly — fighter aircraft in the world.

In 1989, Brasseur and Jane Foster graduated together, becoming the first women CF-18 fighter pilots in the world.

"For me, it was challenging. It was physically demanding, mentally demanding, emotionally demanding but very rewarding. When it went well, it was, 'Look at me. This is amazing.'"

Figure 15-17 In 1998, *Maclean's* magazine named Dee Brasseur to its Honour Roll for drawing attention to the issue of sexual abuse in the military. A year later, she was named to the Order of Canada.



Explorations

1. Is the kind of discrimination Brasseur faced still evident today? Discuss the question with a partner and arrive at a response. How does your answer affect Brasseur's historical significance?
2. How does the publication of Brasseur's story in *Creating Canada* affect her historical significance?
3. In a small group, brainstorm other historical figures who are historically significant because they experienced a "first." Remember that the "firsts" do not have to be positive experiences. Consider, for example, the first athlete to be caught taking banned substances or the first victim of a hate crime.

Chapter 15 Review

Knowledge, Understanding, and Thinking

1. **Historical Perspective:** The issue question for this chapter asks how Canada addressed internal strife in the country.
 - a) Create a three-column chart like the one shown. In the second column, note what each person listed in the first column is likely to have considered the most significant challenge to face Canada in the 1960s and 1970s. In the third column, assess how each person is likely to have judged the effectiveness of Canada's response to the challenge (1 = ineffective; 5 = highly effective). In each case, note at least one reason to support your assessment.
 - b) From today's perspective, which challenge do you think was the most historically significant? How effectively do you think Canada met this challenge? Explain the criteria you used to make your judgment about how well Canada addressed internal strife.

Person	Greatest Political Challenge	Assessment of Response
A Francophone Hydro-Québec worker		
A Francophone Québécois woman		
A Cree hunter from the James Bay area		
An Ontario allophone		
A member of Parliament from Western Canada		

2. **Cause and Consequence:** At the same time as Québec Francophones were experiencing a rise in nationalism, the world was becoming more globalized. In some people's view, globalizing forces have made national boundaries irrelevant. For example, when Jan-Erik Lane published *Globalization and Politics: Promises and Dangers*, he wrote the following about the effects of globalization on nationalist and separatist groups.

Globalization makes groups more heterogeneous [diverse or varied] and it undermines the belief in and value of separate nations co-existing as compact groups. How could a country proclaim that its nation is special today, especially when the country participates as an equal partner in the world community . . . ? And even if a country could cling to a national identity as a belief system, multiculturalism or the growth in social heterogeneity would make such a claim contested within the country. . . .

Is nationalism dead then . . . ? Not quite, but it has lost its futuristic promise, at least so in the advanced countries characterized by decreasing social compactness and increasing regional integration. . . .

When ethnicities [groups united by a common language and culture] struggle for recognition in advanced countries, then separatism is far from the only option chosen. As a matter of fact, separatism is so unusual in rich countries that the few cases of nationalism—separatism have received enormous attention: the province of Québec in Canada and the Basque provinces in Spain. Even in these two examples it is not clear whether it is a matter of true separatism or only increased autonomy, at least for the majority of the population living in these provinces. In many countries ethnicities have chosen other options than separatism in order to promote their interests.

- a) In Jan-Erik Lane's view, how has globalization affected nationalism?
- b) In your view, is the situation in Québec a "matter of true separatism or only increased autonomy"? Provide evidence to support your response.
- c) What are some other options, besides separation, that Francophone Québécois could pursue to satisfy their nationalistic desires? Identify the advantages for Québec of the options you suggest.

Communicating and Applying

3. **Evidence:** Many non-Francophone Canadians, both in Québec and in the rest of the country, reacted strongly to the Charter of the French Language.
- What is the message of the protester shown in Figure 15–18? How did he convey this message?
 - If this person lived outside Québec, the Charter of the French Language would have had little effect on his life. Should people who are not affected by a law have the right to comment on it?
 - Besides attending public protests and rallies, what other means can people use to express their opinions about a law?

4. **Continuity and Change:** Though much of this chapter focused on strife related to the Québec sovereignty movement, it also dealt with the challenges faced by Aboriginal peoples, regional disparities, and gender equality. These issues overlap in a number of ways. Gender equality, for example, can be linked to issues facing women in Aboriginal communities.

Create a three-circle Venn diagram like the one shown. With a partner or small group, discuss ways the topics are connected and record your ideas on the Venn diagram.

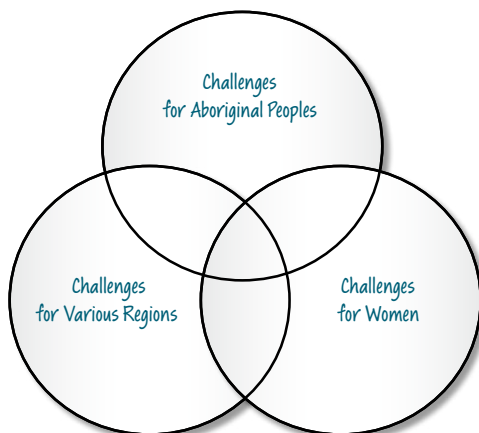


Figure 15–18 A man protests Bill 101, later known as the Charter of the French Language.



5. **Historical Significance:** From the following list of key political developments during the period, select two developments and describe for whom they were significant, whether they were positive or negative, and why.
- official bilingualism
 - invoking of the War Measures Act
 - the rise of the Parti Québécois
 - the White Paper
 - the Royal Commission on the Status of Women