

## Chapter Fourteen

## TRANSFORMING CANADA



**Figure 14–1** Expo 67 — a world's fair — was held in Montréal in 1967 to celebrate Canada on its 100th birthday. The poster at the top of the page was used to advertise the event. An Expo 67 tour guide stands in front of a map showing the artificial islands created especially for the fair. The Canada Pavilion, an inverted pyramid, was aglow every night.



## CHAPTER ISSUE

### What kind of Canada did Canadians want in the 1960s?

In 1967, Canada seemed to have a lot going for it. The economy was strong, and Prime Minister Lester Pearson had made Canada an effective middle power. The government was developing social programs to benefit all Canadians. And Canada had managed to stay out of the Vietnam War. The baby boomers were now teens or young adults, and their vast numbers gave the country a young look. Canada felt like a good place to be.

Examine the photographs on the previous page. Then respond to the following questions:

- The name of the key building in the Canada Pavilion was Katimavik. This Inuktitut word means “meeting place.” The mascot for the fair was Ookpik — the Inuktitut word for the snowy owl. Would Canada have used these words and symbols to represent itself 30 years earlier? Why or why not?
- What does the poster show? For what reasons might the fair’s organizers have chosen these images?
- Would Canadian organizers use the same images in a poster advertising a world’s fair today? Why or why not?
- Expo 67 generated a great deal of pride among Canadians. What kinds of events generate a sense of national pride today?

#### Key Terms

universal health care  
co-operative  
federalism  
civil rights  
capital punishment  
free vote  
gay rights  
point system  
multiculturalism

#### LOOKING AHEAD

The following inquiry questions will help you explore what kind of Canada Canadians dreamed of during the 1960s:

- Why did Canada improve its social programs?
- Why did a new generation want to change Canada?
- Where did the demand for human rights lead?
- Why did Canada begin to feel more Canadian?

#### LEARNING GOALS

In this chapter you will

- analyze the impact of key social welfare programs on the lives of Canadians during the 1960s
- describe some key developments in immigration policy during the period
- describe instances of social inequality in Canada in the 1960s
- analyze what changed and what stayed the same for Canadian women
- describe contributions of individuals and groups to Canadian society during the 1960s

# Why did Canada improve its social programs?

Today, Canada's social programs are the envy of many countries. Canadians who become ill do not have to worry about personally paying for expensive medical treatments. Many Canadians have jobs where their employers help them save for retirement. The government funds social programs through taxation. By paying their taxes, everyone contributes to providing for those who need help. People use the phrase social safety net to describe Canada's collection of social programs. What does this phrase mean to you?

## Check Back

You read about the social safety net in Chapter 8.

## Voices

Everyone has the right to a standard of living adequate for the health and well-being of himself and of his family, including food, clothing, housing and medical care and necessary social services, and the right to security in the event of unemployment, sickness, disability, widowhood, old age or other lack of livelihood in circumstances beyond his control.

—United Nations Universal Declaration of Human Rights, Article 25, 1948

## The Right to Health Care

Several factors led Canada to develop a strong social safety net. The Depression had profoundly affected many Canadians, especially in the West, where farmers had lost their land because of economic conditions and a long drought. Unemployed workers had wandered the country in search of jobs, and poor families had lived in appalling conditions. During World War II, Canadians had sacrificed for the sake of others. After the war, Canada sent aid to Europeans left destitute. Looking around their own communities, many Canadians began to see a need to do the same for Canadians in difficult circumstances.

Moreover, Canada was still in tune with developments in Britain, where the government was boldly creating a social safety net after World War II. There was a clear example for Canada to follow.

### Historical Significance:

Examine Article 25 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights in Voices. How would this declaration, which Canada signed, lend weight to the argument that Canada should provide social programs?



**Figure 14–2** In 1955, the front page of the *Toronto Daily Star* drew attention to a campaign to raise funds for St. Michael's Hospital. The newspaper noted that 60 per cent of the hospital's patients could not afford to pay for their care. Despite its own financial difficulties, the hospital did not turn them away. How might reading about the situation at St. Mike's have affected people's ideas about the need for a universal health care program?



## The British Example

Even before World War II had ended, British politicians had seen an economic crisis coming. The war destroyed Britain's economy, reduced its industries to rubble, ruined its infrastructure, and threw many people out of work. Many believed that the growing number of destitute people would increase social tensions.

To avoid a social crisis, the British asked reformer and academic William Beveridge to come up with a solution. He recommended cradle-to-grave welfare — the state would care for all citizens, including people who were sick, unemployed, retired, widowed, or orphaned, throughout their lives. By the late 1940s, the world viewed Britain as a model welfare state.

**Historical Significance:** Why might Britain's example have had more influence in Canada than it did in the United States? Explain your response.

## The Struggle for Health Care

**Universal health care** means that all people have equal access to medical care. Every man, woman, and child can see a doctor and receive health care, paid for by the government, no matter where they live in the country and no matter how much money they have.

### Tommy Douglas and the CCF

Universal health care in Canada was born in Saskatchewan. Tommy Douglas, leader of the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation (CCF), started a program when the CCF won a landslide victory in the 1944 provincial election. He devoted 70 per cent of his first budget to social services. Many people predicted his programs would fail.

Douglas began by providing free medical, hospital, and dental care for senior citizens. He also funded treatment for people with cancer, tuberculosis, mental illness, and venereal disease. Many believed that this would bankrupt the province. But after two years, the CCF government had actually reduced the provincial debt by \$20 million.

In 1947, Douglas introduced universal hospital insurance. For a fee of \$5 a year, Saskatchewan residents would have all their hospital bills covered. In 1957, the federal government agreed to share the costs.

By December 1959, Douglas was able to announce that a universal health care system would be introduced for the people of Saskatchewan.

**Figure 14–3** How Universal Health Care Works

Through universal health care all citizens who pay taxes pitch in to ensure that everyone has access to health care — even people who cannot afford it.



**Figure 14–4** In March 1953, a physiotherapist helps a child learn to walk again. A polio epidemic in the 1950s left thousands in Canada in need of long months of hospitalization and therapy. In what ways might a health crisis like this have affected people's views on universal health care?

## Voices

The act has created a government monopoly in health matters, with written-in controls over all aspects of doctor services. You and I, doctor and patient, will lose our rights in health matters once we accept such conscription. This we cannot do.

— College of Physicians and Surgeons, Saskatoon, 1962

## The Doctors' Strike

Saskatchewan became a battleground for universal health care. Douglas's proposal angered many doctors. They feared they would lose their professional freedom or would not be paid enough. And they did not want to become government employees.

On July 1, 1962, the province's doctors went on strike to protest the plan. But the government brought in doctors from elsewhere, and 23 days later, the strike ended. Though doctors won the right to opt out of the plan, nearly all of them decided to participate in the government program.

**Figure 14–5** Saskatchewan residents protesting on July 11, 1962. People were afraid that with universal health care they would not be able to choose their doctor, and that doctors would leave the province to practise elsewhere. Why is it sometimes hard to predict the consequences of certain actions?



## Youth Making History

# Lucille Cecillon — Babies Can't Wait

In 1962, 24-year-old Lucille Cecillon was under constant medical care at St. Elizabeth's Hospital in Humboldt, Saskatchewan. Her pregnancy had not gone well, and her doctor had ordered bed rest until the baby arrived. As the doctors' strike began, her condition became worse.

"It was a terribly stressful time," Cecillon said in an interview. "I was relieved to learn at the last minute that the hospital was to remain open." A skeleton staff kept the nearly empty hospital going.

"One of the doctors told me I was fine and sent me home," Cecillon said. "[But] I began to hemorrhage [bleed]. When I got back, one of the nurses had saved a bed in a

semiprivate room next to a window. That way, I could wave at my two daughters outside."

The end of the strike brought relief to Cecillon and other patients. "I remember waking up and finding my own doctor, sitting on the bed, holding my hand," she said. "I was relieved that the strike was finally over."

**Figure 14–6** Lucille Cecillon with her children — Leanne (left), Brenda (right), and David (centre), who was born a few months after the doctors' strike.



## Explorations

1. What thoughts might Lucille Cecillon's doctor have had about going on strike?
2. Write a note to Cecillon's doctor expressing your thoughts about his actions both during and after the strike.

## Health Care Goes National

Across Canada, people watched with interest as universal health care — also known as medicare — became a reality in Saskatchewan. As prime minister, John Diefenbaker responded to public pressure by financing half the hospital insurance costs in Saskatchewan and promising to do the same for other provinces that introduced similar schemes. One by one, other provinces followed Saskatchewan's lead.

By 1961, all Canadians had access to public hospital insurance. But health care outside hospitals was not covered, and few believed that such extensive coverage was possible. Circumstances soon helped set the stage for the introduction of universal health care in Canada:

- In 1961, Tommy Douglas left Saskatchewan to lead the New Democratic Party, which had emerged from the CCF. In Ottawa, Douglas's goal was to do for Canada what he had done for Saskatchewan.
- Once universal health care was established in Saskatchewan, Diefenbaker set up a royal commission to report on the most effective way of providing health care in Canada. The commission's report, which was released in 1964, declared that adequate health care was "a right of citizenship" and recommended a national health care program.
- By the time the commission's report was released, Lester Pearson had replaced Diefenbaker as prime minister. But Pearson led a minority government and needed the support of the NDP to stay in power.
- Inspired by public pressure, the desire to stay in power, and a strong interest in social justice, Pearson reached an agreement with Douglas. In return for supporting Pearson's government, the NDP secured Pearson's promise to introduce universal health care in Canada. In 1966, the federal government passed the Medical Care Act, which created a nonprofit, universal health care system for all Canadians.

**Cause and Consequence:** If any one of the circumstances listed above had not come about, would Canada now have a universal health care program? In the long term, what has been the impact of universal health care on the health and well-being of Canadians? On our ability to assist the most vulnerable among us? On taxation levels? Explain your responses.



**Figure 14-7** General practitioners are at the front line of health care, ensuring that people are healthy and watching for signs of illness in its early stages. In what ways might your life be different without universal health care?

### .....CONNECTIONS.....

The Trudeau government brought in the 1984 Canada Health Act. This law requires that all provincial health care plans be

- nonprofit
- operated by the government, not private companies
- comprehensive — meet all medical needs
- portable — applicable anywhere in Canada
- accessible — available to all



# The Right Time, the Right Place

Tommy Douglas took on many roles in his life: champion boxer, Baptist preacher, social activist, provincial premier, founder of the CCF, and first leader of the NDP. He was also the father of universal health care in Canada.

How did he accomplish all this? For one thing, he loved to tell a good joke — especially if it made a political point. He was an inspiring communicator, convincing people that together they could transform Canada. In the words of Stephen Lewis, “I have never seen . . . such magic worked.”

What historical conditions led to his success? It all began when Douglas was a child in Scotland. He suffered from osteomyelitis, a bone infection that was ravaging his leg. A local doctor operated on Tommy’s leg on the kitchen table. After the family came to Canada in 1910, the leg got worse, but public health care did not exist. A local surgeon took pity and performed the surgery for free. This experience changed Douglas. He was deeply aware of how lucky he had been.

The Douglas family lived in Winnipeg during the period of civil strife after World War I. Douglas was a teenager during the Winnipeg General Strike. He saw government forces crush unarmed ordinary people who just wanted to improve society.

Douglas later became a preacher in a gospel movement that fused religious belief with the struggle for social justice. He was deeply affected when the government stood by as Prairie families suffered from drought, grasshopper plagues, and low wages. He saw people suffer and die for lack of health care.

Douglas decided that if the government would not help people, people should change the government. So he entered politics, became a socialist, and dedicated his life to achieving social justice in Canada.

As premier of Saskatchewan, Tommy Douglas accomplished enormous changes that transformed Saskatchewan. He brought in government-run auto insurance, a minimum wage, paid vacations for workers, and a 40-hour workweek. Later, in federal politics, politicians in other parties were receptive to his dream to make Canada a nation that protects its most vulnerable citizens. Canadians were inspired by his ideas too. Luckily for them, the Canadian economy was booming, giving politicians the manoeuvring room they needed to help achieve that dream.



**Figure 14–8** In 1961, Tommy Douglas’s record in Saskatchewan helped him win the federal leadership of the political party he helped form, the New Democratic Party.

## Explorations

1. Social, political, economic, and cultural conditions can all influence whether or not events take place.
  - a) What conditions in the early 20th century helped shape Douglas into the leader that he became?
  - b) What conditions in Canada helped Douglas achieve his dreams?
2. What was more important: the conditions, Douglas’s actions, or both? Explain your answer.

## Improving Canada's Social Programs

Canada had begun introducing social programs before the 1960s. The family allowance, old age security, and employment insurance had already been put in place. Provincial governments were vaccinating children against contagious diseases. But many older Canadians still lived in poverty, and the level of welfare assistance varied widely.

### The Canada Pension Plan

By the mid-1960s, federal old age pensions were not keeping Canadians older than 65 out of poverty. To ensure that retired Canadians had additional income, the federal government proposed the Canada Pension Plan (CPP).

The CPP was introduced in 1966. The plan requires working Canadians and their employers to contribute every year. Participation entitles contributors to a government pension after retirement.

The negotiations over the CPP marked a turning point in federal–provincial relations and became one of the first examples of **co-operative federalism** — a system in which the federal, provincial, and municipal governments work collaboratively to achieve mutual goals. Québec wanted to control its own pension plan, tailored to the needs of Québeckers. After a series of negotiations, Pearson agreed.

To help people who did not qualify for CPP, the government also introduced the Guaranteed Income Supplement in 1967 as a temporary measure. This additional supplement for low-income seniors was made permanent in 1971.

As of 2014, the maximum payout from CPP was just over \$12 000 annually. Is this enough to live on? Ontario Premier Kathleen Wynne has proposed that the CPP be expanded or Ontario will “go it alone.” Do you agree with this strategy? Why or why not?

### The Canada Assistance Plan

In the 1960s, social welfare programs varied greatly from province to province. The British North America Act had given provinces jurisdiction over social assistance, so the federal government could not create a national program on its own. So the federal government offered to provide 50 per cent of the required funds. In exchange, the government asked each province to meet minimum standards. This initiative, enacted in 1966, was called the Canadian Assistance Plan, and is often referred to as welfare.

**Figure 14–9** Senior Anne Skuba walks with her husband, Walter. Skuba walks or bikes 90 minutes a day and takes fitness classes. She is a member and former chair of the Active Living Coalition for Older Adults in Winnipeg. In what ways does encouraging older Canadians to remain active and healthy benefit all Canadians?



### Up for Discussion

If the provinces were already providing welfare assistance, why did the federal government become involved?

### Recall ... Reflect ... Respond

1. List the factors that encouraged Canada to enhance social programs in the 1960s.
2. Was the development of Canada's social safety net a coincidence — or was there something about Canadians that encouraged the introduction of these programs? Explain your response.
3. Create a dialogue between two health care workers — one supporting nationalized health care and one not. The discussion takes place at the time of the national health care debate. Consider views on what is best for patients and the role of government in medicine.



## Why did a new generation want to change Canada?

Most generations of teens “know better” than their parents. Few have the influence to shake things up. In the 1960s, though, the baby boom generation was hard to ignore. There were just too many of them.

### Voices

Never trust anyone over 30.

— Jack Weinberger,  
civil rights rights and free speech activist,  
Berkeley, California, 1964

### The Ideals of the 1960s Generation

The parents of the hippie generation had dreamed of having a job and raising a family in the suburbs. They were happy to enjoy the benefits of prosperity. In contrast, their children rejected the constraints of the consumer culture their parents had created. Instead of “taking life seriously” by settling into a job, young men threw out their suits and ties, and refused to cut their hair. Instead of typing business letters or perfecting their homemaker skills, young women burned their bras and wore flowers in their hair. Instead of joining the bowling league, young people went to musical festivals called “love-ins,” and attended peace marches to argue for “peace not war.”

The ideals of the generation centred on peaceful co-existence. They embraced the ideals of racial harmony and nonviolent protest that stemmed from Martin Luther King, Jr., and the **civil rights** movement in the United States. Baby boomers joined the growing women’s movement, because it was a struggle for equality. They drove the emerging environmental movement as well as the growing peace movement, both of which condemned the actions of authorities.

### Snapshot in Time

## Hippie Fashion

Older generations of Canadians could only shake their heads at the new hippie fashions. Teens of both sexes wore bell-bottomed jeans, tie-dyed shirts, long hair, head-bands, strings of beads, and “peace” buttons. How could you tell them apart? Unlike the kids of the 1950s, many young people threw off their parents’ ideas about appropriate male and female attire. Instead, they embraced the unconventional. Inspired by women’s liberation, young women threw out their high heels and makeup. Young men got in touch with their gentler side, embracing flower power and nonviolence. The flower children of the 1960s proclaimed their values through their fashion choices — they wore loose, unrestrained clothing, favoured sandals and natural fabrics, and let their hair grow as long as possible.



**Figure 14–10** The hippie generation trumpeted their ideals even on their vehicles.

## Era of the Protest Song

If music ever inspired a generation, it was the music of the 1960s. A blending of folk music and rock brought the songs of Pete Seeger, Bob Dylan, Joni Mitchell, Neil Young, Buffy Sainte-Marie, and Joan Baez to prominence. Teens learned to play the guitar themselves, and would sing antiwar songs like “Where Have All the Flowers Gone?,” “Ohio,” and “Blowin’ in the Wind” around the campfire. It was an era that saw the first massive music festivals. Young people would travel from far and wide to join together and “get back to the land.”

**Continuity and Change:** Buffy Sainte-Marie was born on the Piapot Cree Reserve in Saskatchewan and wrote “Universal Soldier” in a Toronto café in the early 1960s. Read the words in Voices. What is she saying? Does her message still have power today? Why?

## The First Televised Protest Movement

Their large numbers gave young people a confidence to speak up — a confidence that comes when you feel part of something larger than yourself. Television increased their influence. Never before had North Americans witnessed the brutality of war played out on the news every night. The Vietnam War was not popular in the United States or in Canada. Young Americans fled over the border to escape being drafted (conscripted) into the American armed forces. And Canadians welcomed these war resisters. Their presence reinforced antiwar feelings among Canadian youth, especially on university campuses. When their protests were televised on the evening news, young people felt even more empowered. The Vietnam War was not only the first televised war; it also sparked the first televised protest movement.



## Voices

### Universal Soldier

He's five foot two and he's six feet four  
He fights with missiles and with spears  
He's all of 31 and he's only 17  
He's been a soldier for a thousand years

He's a Catholic, a Hindu, an atheist, a Jain,  
a Buddhist, and a Baptist, and a Jew  
and he knows he shouldn't kill  
and he knows he always will  
kill you for me, my friend, and me for you

And he's fighting for Canada,  
he's fighting for France,  
he's fighting for the USA,  
and he's fighting for the Russians  
and he's fighting for Japan,  
and he thinks we'll put an end to war this way

He's the universal soldier and he  
really is to blame  
His orders come from far away no more  
They come from him, and you, and me  
and brothers, can't you see  
this is not the way we put an end to war?

— Words and lyrics by:  
Buffy Sainte-Marie. Published by: Universal Music  
Publishing Group. © Caleb Music-ASCAP [1963]

**Figure 14–11** Canada did not take part in the Vietnam War, but the massive American youth protest against that war spilled over into Canada. Why would a young Canadian wear this button? Do Canadians still protest foreign wars today?

## Recall ... Reflect ... Respond

1. Compare the influence of various media on youth today and in the 1960s. Does the media today cover issues that are important to you?
2. Create a T-chart, with the ideals of the 1960s generation listed in the left column. In the right column, identify a modern connection. For example, the “back to the land” ideal could be paired with today’s local foods movement.
3. Based on your chart, how extensive would you say was the long-term influence of the 1960s generation?
4. How would Canada’s acceptance of war resisters have affected relations between Canada and the United States? How might it have affected Canadians’ views about what kind of country Canada was?

## CONNECTIONS

Canada does not have a clean record on human rights. In the 1960s, about 400 Black Canadians were living in a rundown but tight-knit community called Africville, on the north side of Halifax. But developers had long wanted the land. So in 1964, Africville began to be bulldozed out of existence. By 1968, the entire community had been relocated to an area authorities said would provide better living conditions. The citizens of Africville were given no choice and were not consulted. In the end, bulldozers destroyed their houses, businesses, and an historic church.

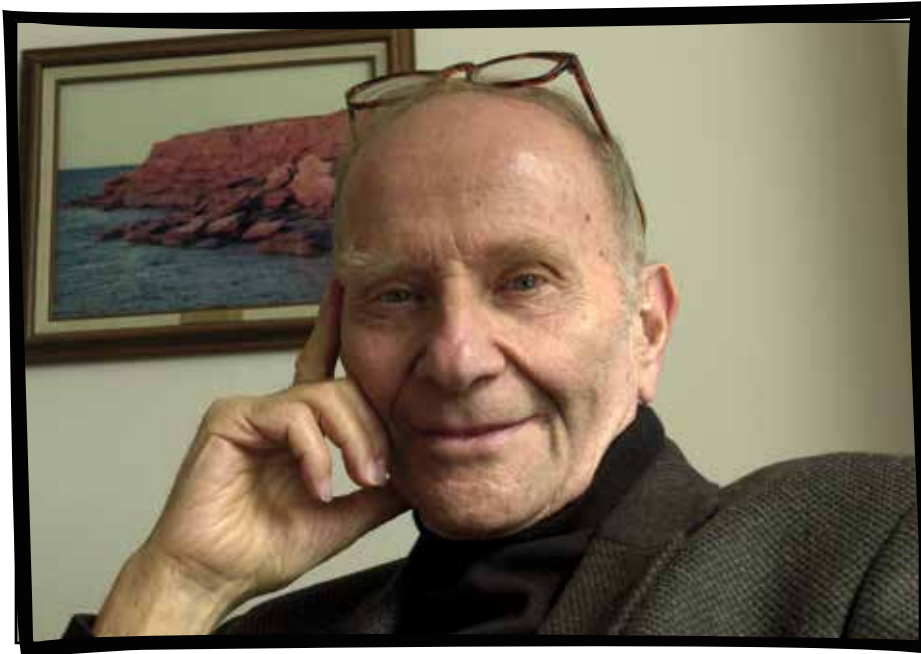
## Where did the demand for human rights lead?

The 1960s was a time when people sought freedom from unjust laws and social expectations.

In some cases, people sought liberation from society's expectations. The role of homemaker, for example, was a constraint that many women began to reject. Feminist writers such as Australian Germaine Greer and Canadian Doris Anderson wrote books and articles that raised people's awareness. Women shared their views in feminist groups, wrote newspaper columns, protested, and ran for political office in the hopes of changing society.

Canadians were very affected by what they saw on television. News about the civil rights movement in the United States affected many Canadians. Civil rights are the basic rights of all citizens. Canadians saw Americans struggle with unjust laws that denied Black Americans their civil rights. Canadians felt a little smug that they did not have such conflict in Canada. But the issue also forced many Canadians to examine their personal views and to seek ways to ensure equality for all in Canada.

### Grassroots Organizations



**Figure 14–12** In 1968, Alan Borovoy became the lead lawyer for the new Canadian Civil Liberties Association. In his 1991 book, *Uncivil Obedience*, he presented the inventive ways he and the association used the law to achieve a more just society. What do you think “uncivil obedience” means?

In the 1960s, many Canadians became increasingly aware of a gap between the society they lived in and the society they wanted Canada to be. They began forming and joining grassroots organizations that could help them express their views.

The Canadian Civil Liberties Association (CCLA) grew out of opposition to government interference in people's lives. It has launched campaigns to defend freedom of speech, control censorship, end mandatory religious teaching in schools, end forced retirement, defend citizens'

rights to privacy, and guarantee the rights of groups to demonstrate.

CCLA tactics have varied from straightforward media campaigns to legal challenges that went all the way to the Supreme Court. The group's leader, Alan Borovoy, has often used unusual, attention-getting, and creative strategies to make a point or highlight an issue. To draw attention to inequities in housing, for example, he sent a white couple to rent an apartment. If a landlord maintained that the building was free of nonwhites, Borovoy made sure the landlord's position was made public.



## A Leader Who Matched the Mood

In the early 1960s, Prime Minister Lester Pearson believed that Canada's future required that Québec be more strongly involved at the federal government level. To that end, he recruited three prominent Québécois, including Pierre Elliott Trudeau, to run for office. After all three won seats in Parliament in the 1965 election, Pearson made Trudeau his parliamentary secretary.

Pearson soon saw potential in Trudeau. Trudeau was both intelligent and worldly, having studied in Canada, the United States, France, and Britain. Although untried in politics, Trudeau was a committed federalist and able to hold his own in debate. Unlike Pearson, Trudeau was also bilingual.

By 1967, Pearson knew he would leave politics soon. But he wanted to leave the country in the hands of a leader with the qualities necessary to lead Canadian society toward bilingualism and constitutional reform. Pearson thought Trudeau might be that leader, so in 1967, Pearson appointed him minister of justice.

When Pearson resigned in 1968, Trudeau made a bid for the leadership of the Liberal Party. Because the party was in power in Ottawa, Trudeau needed only to win a majority of the delegates' votes at the Liberal convention to become prime minister. He won. Within months, he called an election and won a Liberal majority — the first in many years.

Many found the 48-year-old Trudeau cocky and arrogant. Many others, especially in the media, liked his style. This prime minister was seen dating and dancing with movie stars and famous musicians, so wherever he was, the media had a story. The media also described every joke he made and every prank he played — everything he said was news. "Trudeaumania" took hold as the public came to admire his intellect and his confidence.

**Historical Perspective:** Many Canadians of your age in the 1960s were fans of Trudeau and his vision of Canada as a more equitable society. What did they admire about him? List five major qualities you want to see in a prime minister. Would Trudeau fit your requirements? Explain your response.



**Figure 14–13** In July 1968, Pierre Trudeau was featured in the Canadian edition of *Time* magazine. Trudeau was a politician who often behaved like a celebrity. News photographers followed him everywhere. People clamoured for his autograph. Young women tried to kiss him. Are there leaders today who provoke similar reactions? Who are they and what makes people react this way?

### Voices

Why a program about Trudeau rather than some other equally new and equally promising cabinet minister? . . . [Because Trudeau is] the first real chance for the turned-on generation to have a real voice in national affairs. . . . [And he is] a rebel and a swinger. . . . Most of all, though, he cares.

— Norman DePoe, television journalist, on the CBC's *Newsmagazine*, 1967

# Learning from Gay History

History has an ethical dimension. We can study the past, and use it to help us make informed judgments about contemporary issues. Although no historical comparison can be an exact match, we can get ideas about how to resolve issues and which strategies are successful at effecting change.

Canada is a country that protects Canadians from persecution, including persecution based on sexual orientation. But just a handful of decades ago, things were different.

In 1965, Everett George Klippert was a 39-year-old mechanic living in Pine Point, Northwest Territories. During a police investigation into an arson case (in which Klippert was not involved), Klippert acknowledged that he had engaged in consensual sex with men. He then became the last Canadian to be charged with “gross indecency.” A Crown-appointed psychiatrist assessed him in 1966 and pronounced him “incurable.” Klippert was deemed a dangerous sex offender and given an indefinite jail sentence. In 1967, the Supreme Court upheld the conviction.

Klippert’s member of Parliament, Bud Orange, said that throwing a man into prison for consensual sexual activity was outrageous. He endured nasty letters from Canadians who disagreed with him, but he stood firm. In 1969, the Liberals decriminalized gay sex.

By studying our history of persecution, we can be more informed when making judgments about persecution happening today. We can look for parallels, see who made a difference and how, and recognize the challenges of fighting persecution.

Here are two other examples from history that might help us deal with issues in the present.

In the 1930s, Berlin had a thriving gay community. Gay men, lesbians, bisexuals, and transfolks in 1930s Germany would have laughed if you’d told them their clubs were about to be shut down, they were about to be rounded up, thrown in concentration camps, and murdered.

— Karen X. Tulchinsky, Vancouver-based novelist, 2009

[Kathleen Wynne’s] victory in the [2014 Ontario] election, it was a great win, because in Uganda this is not something that I would dream of right now, but seeing there are [regions] in the world that are getting to look beyond someone’s sexuality and look at the capability of someone, to me that was really inspiring.

— Richard Lusimbo, a Ugandan gay rights activist visiting Toronto during WorldPride 2014



**Figure 14–14** In 1981, these protesters voiced their anger at the brutality of police during raids of four Toronto gay establishments. The demonstrators compared the raids to the persecution of Jews in Nazi Germany. How can knowledge of former persecution inform protests of current persecution?

## Explorations

1. What can Canadians learn from the Klippert case?
2. Berlin was a highly tolerant society in the years before the Nazi regime. What might we learn from this history?
3. Kathleen Wynne is lesbian. In the election, her sexual orientation was a nonissue. What might Richard Lusimbo learn from her victory?

## Responding to Demands for Rights

During the 1960s, many citizens' groups formed and started calling for action. They wanted society to change, and they wanted their governments to do something about everything from unfair treatment of gays and lesbians to the RCMP's overenthusiastic search and seizure practices.

### The Ontario Human Rights Code

The first province to protect human rights was Ontario, which enacted the Ontario Human Rights Code in 1962. This act protects Ontarians from discrimination on the grounds of ethnicity, religion, gender, sexual orientation, disability, age, and marital status. The act also established the Ontario Human Rights Commission and gave it the task of ensuring that people's rights were not violated.

Other provinces soon brought in similar codes and commissions that would hear cases, impose fines, and educate the public.

### Capital Punishment

Since **capital punishment** — the death penalty — was enacted in 1859, Canada has executed 710 people.

Over the years, various crimes, including arson and rape, were removed from the list of offences punishable by death. In 1961, the government limited capital punishment to premeditated — planned — murder or the murder of a police officer or prison guard.

After Arthur Lucas, a man convicted of killing an FBI informant, and Ronald Turpin, a thief who shot a police officer, were hanged in 1962, Pearson's government blocked further executions in 1966. The death penalty was abolished when Trudeau's government brought in Bill C-84 in 1976. The bill passed by 131 to 124 votes in a **free vote** — members of Parliament did not have to vote with their party.

**Ethical Dimension:** Some people think the government should bring back the death penalty. Do you think execution by the state is ever justified? Explain your response.

### Gay Rights

The 1960s saw the first **gay rights** organizations and the beginning of outspoken opposition to laws that limited the rights of gay and lesbian Canadians.

In December 1967, Minister of Justice Pierre Trudeau introduced legislation — called the Omnibus Bill — to update Canada's Criminal Code. One change eliminated a law banning sexual relations between consenting adults of the same sex. Before 1967, these acts were illegal. According to some, these acts were sinful. Trudeau went to great lengths to clarify that the change in the law was not based on whether an act was sinful but on whether it was criminal.



**Figure 14–15** University students march outside the Don Jail in Toronto on the night of December 10, 1962. The students were protesting capital punishment as Arthur Lucas and Ronald Turpin were led to the gallows and hanged. Lucas and Turpin were told they were probably the last people in Canada who would be executed by the state. “Some consolation,” said Turpin.

### Voices

[The Omnibus Bill] is bringing the laws of the land up to contemporary society, I think. Take this thing on homosexuality. I think the view we take here is that there is no place for the state in the bedrooms of the nation. And I think that what's done in private between adults doesn't concern the Criminal Code. When it becomes public, this is a different matter.

— Pierre Trudeau,  
minister of justice, 1967



**Figure 14–16** The birth control pill was introduced in the early 1960s. In its first year on the market, 10 000 Canadian women obtained a prescription. Within five years, that number grew to 750 000. The pill changed people's lives. Canadian couples, for example, began having children a little later, often after establishing their careers.



## Voices

"I believe that this omnibus bill reflects an entirely new governmental approach to criminal law. . . . [The] law shall no longer be thought of as a mirror of morals, and that from now on, crime and sin, law and morals, must be distinguished."

— Mark MacGuigan, Liberal Member of Parliament, 1969

## No-Fault Divorce

Trudeau also tackled divorce. Before 1967, couples in Newfoundland and Québec could divorce only if Parliament passed a private bill because these provinces did not have divorce courts. Elsewhere, husbands and wives had to prove that their spouse was guilty of adultery, cruelty, or desertion. The 1968 Divorce Act was part of the Omnibus Bill. This act made it possible for a couple to divorce without proving that one or the other was at fault.

## Birth Control

Under the 1892 Criminal Code, it was illegal to advertise, sell, buy, or promote any medicine or device that prevented a pregnancy. While this made birth control illegal, many couples still used birth control devices such as diaphragms and condoms. In the early 1960s, oral contraceptives — the pill — came on the market, but it was still illegal to sell them.

Responding to pressure groups such as Planned Parenthood and public opinion, the federal government approved the sale of the pill in 1961. But doctors were not allowed to prescribe it for birth control. Technically, birth control was still illegal. Doctors were forced to prescribe the pill for vague therapeutic purposes.

In the Omnibus Bill, Trudeau introduced changes that legalized birth control methods, including the pill.

## Access to Abortion

The 1892 Criminal Code also stated that abortion was illegal in Canada. Although abortions were illegal, they were still conducted, often by unqualified practitioners. By the 1960s, many of the thousands of women who had illegal abortions every year died as a result.

In the 1969 Omnibus Bill, Trudeau legalized abortion if a committee at an accredited hospital declared that continuing the pregnancy would endanger the life or health of the woman. This made some abortions legal.

Montréal doctor Henry Morgentaler did not believe the legislation went far enough and openly challenged the law. He argued that women should not need their decisions approved by a committee. He set up an abortion clinic in Montréal in 1969 and was jailed in 1973. Meanwhile, in reaction to the Omnibus Bill, a pro-life movement formed in Canada. This movement argued that abortion should remain illegal to protect the unborn. More clinics, court cases, and protests on both sides of the issue followed. Juries in Québec, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and Ontario acquitted Morgentaler in 12 different court cases. Then in 1988 the Supreme Court of Canada struck down the abortion law. As a result, there are now no legal restrictions on abortions in Canada.

## Toward a Multicultural Society

Canada's various immigration acts had restricted the ability of many people, such as Asians, to enter Canada. This policy remained in force until after World War II. Then, between 1947 and 1952, nearly 200 000 European refugees were admitted.

Prime Minister William Lyon Mackenzie King told the House of Commons, "The policy of the government is to foster the growth of the population of Canada by the encouragement of immigration."

This still did not mean that everyone was welcome. King also said, "The people of Canada do not wish, as a result of mass immigration, to make a fundamental alteration in the character of our population. Large-scale immigration from the Orient would change the fundamental composition of the Canadian population." Views like this go back to the early 20th century when Chinese people were not allowed to immigrate to Canada without paying a head tax.

In the 1960s, a new openness developed, in part because Canadians were learning through the media about humanitarian disasters and relief efforts in other parts of the world, such as India, Chile, and Yugoslavia. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights, which envisioned a world without discrimination, also played a role in changing people's attitudes. In 1962, the Conservative government of John Diefenbaker introduced changes to the Immigration Act to eliminate most discrimination based on ethnicity, religion, or national origin.

European immigrants were still able to sponsor a wider range of relatives than immigrants from other parts of the world. But attitudes toward immigration were shifting. Government officials began to focus more on who should be allowed into Canada than who should be kept out. In 1967, the government created a **point system** in an attempt to assess immigrants more fairly. All potential immigrants received points for meeting specific criteria, such as the ability to speak English or French, age, education level, and employment skills.

By the early 1980s, the point system had resulted in many more immigrants coming to Canada from Asia, Africa, and the Caribbean, forever changing the fabric of Canadian society and making its largest communities some of the world's most diverse. Although Canadian immigration still operates on a point system, the government can change the way it awards points, which it did in 2012. Canada continues to award the most points for the greatest amount of education and the ability to speak both French and English fluently. It favours younger applicants and those who have been offered a job that other Canadians would not be likely to take.

**Cause and Consequence:** How would you improve Canada's point system? What could result from your improvement? Give reasons for your answer.

### Check Back

You analyzed statistics about Canada's immigration patterns in Chapter 8, and read about its post-World War II immigration policies in Chapter 12.



**Figure 14-17** A mother and daughter in a boat called *Goelo*. They had been picked up in the South China Sea by Médecins du monde — Doctors of the World. When the Vietnam War ended, thousands of Vietnamese fled the chaotic conditions in the late 1970s and early 1980s. Most fled by boat, and many died in the process. Canadians saw what was happening, and many wanted to help. Canada took in about 140 000 Vietnamese refugees.



### Check Back

You read about forces affecting Canadian identity in Chapter 1.

## Official Multiculturalism

Despite the changes in immigration laws, many Canadians had continued to believe that immigrants should try to assimilate, or blend in with, Canadian society as quickly as possible. But this attitude began to change.

During the 1960s, mounting tensions in Québec led the federal government to establish a royal commission to investigate bilingualism and biculturalism in Canada. The commission was also asked to explore the cultural contributions of the many other ethnic groups in Canada.

People appeared at hearings around the country and reminded the commission of the contributions and sacrifices ethnic minorities had made to help build Canada. They declared that they were as Canadian as the founding Aboriginal, French, and British peoples. They argued that ethnic diversity was the essence of Canadian identity.

The commission responded by recommending that Canada be a multicultural country in which all Canadians, regardless of their ethnic and cultural background, are respected and valued. In 1971, Pierre Trudeau's government acted on this recommendation by adopting an official policy of **multiculturalism** within a bilingual framework.

Though many Canadians supported multiculturalism, some worried that it would divide, rather than unite, Canadians. Others argued that multiculturalism would weaken the British traditions that remained a feature of Anglophone Canada. And many Francophones feared that the policy was designed to undermine Québec nationalism.

Though some believe that multiculturalism has not worked well, according to a survey conducted in 2009 by The Strategic Counsel, 81 per cent of respondents believed that Canada's diversity is one of its important strengths.



**Figure 14–18** Multiculturalism is a concept, or idea. Like many concepts, it can be difficult to explain in an illustration. How effectively does this image by artist Kain Zernitsky convey the idea of multiculturalism?

### Recall... Reflect... Respond

1. Identify three Canadians or organizations that have helped advance the cause of human rights.
2. Write a letter to one of the people or organizations you identified in Question 1. Explain ways in which their efforts have affected your life and awareness of human rights.
3. Reread the Voices feature on page 400. Do you think the law should be a “mirror of morals”? Why or why not?



# Why did Canada begin to feel more Canadian?

In the 1960s, a number of key issues and significant events encouraged Canadians to think about who they are and what it means to be Canadian.

## The Flag Debate

Several times, William Lyon Mackenzie King had raised the idea that Canada should have a flag of its own. In his time, from the 1920s to the 1940s, the Canadian flag was the Red Ensign, a red flag with a small Union Jack, the British flag, in one corner and the coat of arms of Canada in the middle. In every discussion of a new flag, however, veterans rejected any suggestion that did not include the Union Jack. Many Canadians had fought and died under that flag. Many Francophone Québécois, on the other hand, did not want a constant reminder of British colonialism. King quietly let the matter drop.

When Lester Pearson defeated John Diefenbaker's Conservative government in April 1963, he promised to settle the flag debate within two years and asked Canadians to suggest designs. But when he raised the matter in Parliament on June 15, 1964, Diefenbaker went on the attack. He demanded that the design include symbols that honoured Canada's "founding races" and veterans who had fought and died for Britain. Pearson argued for a design that looked forward — and that all Canadians could identify with.

## A Single Maple Leaf

Canadians submitted 5900 design ideas, and a 15-member all-party parliamentary committee headed by John Matheson, the Liberal Member of Parliament for Leeds, examined the designs, consulted experts, and discussed options. Finally, Matheson recommended a design submitted by Canadian historian George Stanley — a single maple leaf with red bars on both sides.

Stanley argued that using a single leaf would reinforce it as a symbol of Canada, much as the eagle is a symbol of the United States. He strongly supported the use of only red and white, which King George V had authorized as Canada's colours.

After 250 speeches in the House of Commons, a vote was taken at 2 a.m. on December 15. The committee's recommendation was accepted 163 to 78. Once Queen Elizabeth II had given her approval by a royal proclamation, the flag was officially flown for the first time on February 15, 1965.

### CONNECTIONS

In a letter to the parliamentary flag committee in 1964, George Stanley outlined his reasons for choosing a single maple leaf in his design for the flag:

- French Canadians were first to use the maple leaf as an emblem of Canada.
- Canadians already wore it as a symbol of their country.
- The maple leaf was in the coats of arms of Canada, Québec, and Ontario.
- The maple leaf was not an emblem of any other country.
- It stands out, even at a distance.
- It avoids racial symbols, which could be divisive.



**Figure 14–19** Does the Canadian flag stand out? Did Canadians make the right choice? Why or why not?

# The Great Flag Flap

Flags are used to symbolize a country and usually incorporate symbols or colours that represent concepts central to that country. By knowing the time and society from which a flag design comes, we can better understand the symbols. In turn, by understanding those symbols, we can better understand the people in the time and society in which the flag was created. We know what concepts they believed best represented who they were.



**Figure 14–20** The Union Jack represented the United Kingdom and by extension its colonies in North America since 1801. It incorporates the three crosses of England (and Wales), Scotland, and Ireland. It was Canada’s official flag until 1946. Troops fought under it in World War I.



**Figure 14–21** The Canadian Red Ensign was approved for use at sea in 1892, and on land in 1922. Many Canadians, including Sir John A. Macdonald, had flown it unofficially even before this time. The Red Ensign incorporates both the Union Jack and the crest of Canada. Troops fought under it in two world wars.



**Figure 14–22** This popular design was submitted to the parliamentary flag committee in 1964. The design incorporates symbols of Canada’s roots in Britain (Union Jack) and France (*fleur de lis*). It also includes the Canadian maple leaf, which was a symbol of Canada as early as 1700. White is the colour of England and red was the colour of France, so in 1921 George V made red and white the colours of Canada.



**Figure 14–23** The Pearson Pennant was another popular design. Pearson favoured it because it included blue stripes to symbolize that Canada stretched from sea to sea.



**JOHN DIEFENBAKER** led a ferocious fight against the Liberal government's proposal to choose a new flag for Canada.

In what way does the design now proposed embody our history? It denies [the] saying that all greatness rests upon the shoulders of past generations. . . . There is nothing for those who with sword and crucifix went into the wilderness, where they left their names and often their bones as sacred heritage. . . . There is nothing for those who came in the glorious days of French Canada as explorers and navigators and builders. There is nothing of the heroic and legendary pioneers. . . .

Are we as Canadians to have a flag which treats our memories, our past sacrifices, all the milestones of greatness as irrelevancies?



**LESTER PEARSON** fought a long political battle for a new Canadian flag. He believed that, to maintain unity, symbols that might remind Canadians of their differences must be left behind.

The patriotic motives that have led Parliament to adopt a new Canadian flag do not include disrespect for our past or for the emblems of that past. . . .

Under this flag may our youth find new inspiration for loyalty to Canada; for a patriotism based not on any mean or narrow nationalism, but on the deep and equal pride that all Canadians will feel for every part of this good land.



**Figure 14–24** Historian George Stanley sketched a flag design like this and included it in a 1964 letter to the flag committee. He wrote, “The new flag of Canada should be instantly recognizable and simple enough so that school children could draw it.” Why would a simple design be a better design?

## Explorations

1. Examine the two featured quotes on this page. Sum up what each political leader is saying. What do their opinions tell you about Canada at the time of the flag debate?
2. Create an organizer to list (a) the symbols in each of the five featured flags, (b) what those symbols represent, and (c) historical context that would explain the choice of those particular symbols. You may have to draw on prior knowledge to judge the historical context. For example, the Union Jack was designed at a time when Canada was a colony of the British Empire.
3. Canada's first peacekeepers went to the Suez in the 1950s as a neutral party to help keep the peace between British and Egyptian forces. According to flag expert Nick Artimovich, the Egyptians claimed that Canada's red ensign showed that Canada was not neutral. What is it about the red ensign that would lead the Egyptians to that conclusion? How might this help explain why George Stanley's design was adopted in 1965?



### CONNECTIONS

The CRTC uses the MAPL system to make its ratings of Canadian content. To qualify as Canadian content, music must generally fulfil at least two of the following conditions:

- **M** — Music. The music is composed entirely by a Canadian.
- **A** — Artist. The music or the lyrics, or both, are principally performed by a Canadian.
- **P** — Production. The musical selection consists of a live performance that is recorded wholly in Canada or performed wholly in Canada and broadcast live in Canada.
- **L** — Lyrics. The lyrics are written entirely by a Canadian.

### Voices

A lot of my songs come from flashes of things in my past. It's not specific, but you'll get images here and there that are about Canada.

— *Neil Young, in Neil Young: Don't Be Denied: "The Canadian Years,"*  
by John Einarson, 1992

## The CRTC

The Canadian government created the CBC in 1932, largely because it believed that radio broadcasting is an essential tool for developing and maintaining national identity. The CBC was made responsible for not only creating and broadcasting Canadian programs, but also regulating all radio stations in Canada.

Regulatory power was passed on to the Canadian Radio-television and Telecommunications Commission (CRTC) in 1969. The Broadcasting Act said that Canadian broadcasters were to be mainly owned by Canadians. It also introduced requirements to increase the amount of Canadian content presented on radio and television. At first, for example, Canadian content had to make up 60 per cent of television shows and 30 per cent of music played on AM radio. The goal was to use Canadian broadcasting to promote Canadian artists and Canadian identity.

### Promoting Canadian Voices

The CRTC's Canadian-content rules helped a generation of musicians become highly successful. Canadian musicians were heard in Canada, and some developed followings that would propel them to international success. Recording artists and singers such as The Guess Who, Neil Young, Ian and Sylvia Tyson, and Joni Mitchell were first heard in the 1960s and 1970s. Songwriters and performers Stan Rogers and Gordon Lightfoot, tenor John McDermott, and classical guitarist Liona Boyd also began to make their marks in this era.

The CRTC rules are considered controversial by some because it can be hard to define what, exactly, is Canadian music. Neil Young, for example, left Canada in the 1960s. Since then, he has returned to visit but has never stayed. He played in local rock and folk clubs and wrote deeply personal songs on both Canadian and American themes, including "Southern Man," "Ohio," and "Heart of Gold." Along with his talent, Canadian-content rules helped him develop a strong fan base in Canada. He became a star, but was he a Canadian star? Critics would say that he abandoned Canada when he left in the 1960s. Fans would say that he lived in the United States but was never *of* the United States.

Like Young, many performing artists and actors born in Canada are no longer Canadian residents. Should Canadian-content rules continue to consider their work Canadian?



**Figure 14–25** Winnipeg-born Neil Young performs in Copenhagen in March 1976. Millions of Canadians were able to listen to Young's music in part because Canadian-content rules required Canadian radio stations to play Canadian music. Young developed a huge following in Canada, the United States, and abroad.

## Creative Canadians Who Emerged in the 1960s

Creative Canadians who became known during the 1960s include Pierre Berton, one of Canada's most famous authors. He popularized Canadian history in books such as *Klondike* and *The Last Spike*, which tells the story of building the railway that made Canada possible. Norval Morrisseau, an Ojibwa artist, developed the unique woodland style of First Nations art. Karen Kain shot to stardom dancing for the National Ballet and later served as its artistic director.

In the 1960s and 1970s, Canadian fiction writing also came into its own. Alice Munro, winner of the Nobel Prize in Literature in 2013, said that when she first started writing, the phrase “Canadian literature” was an oxymoron — a contradiction in terms. Authors who gained respect and popularity in the 1960s and 1970s changed that. Farley Mowat, Margaret Atwood, Mordecai Richler, Michael Ondaatje, Gabrielle Roy, Margaret Laurence, and Hugh MacLennan all became internationally known. Thanks, in part, to their work, Canadians began to develop a clearer picture of themselves and their identity as Canadians.

### The Order of Canada

Lester Pearson created the Order of Canada on July 1, 1967, as part of the country's centennial celebrations. It is the country's highest civilian honour. The medal is awarded in recognition of outstanding lifetime contributions to the community and service to Canada. It can be awarded to people from all walks of life — activists, musicians, historians, and hockey players alike.

Peter Gzowski, for example, was a broadcaster and author who for two decades hosted *Morningside* on CBC Radio. According to *The New York Times*, “In a country forever in search of its own voice, Mr. Gzowski is a stand-in for Canada, as curious as he is courteous, interested in hockey heroes and indigenous customs and all the forgotten chapters of a national history and culture that he constantly challenges his listeners to cherish and defend.”

**Figure 14–26** Norval Morrisseau's monumental painting, *Androgyny*, was mounted in Rideau Hall, the home of the Governor General, in 2008. Morrisseau originated the “woodland school” of Aboriginal art. He received the Order of Canada in 1978.



### Voices

[T]here is profound merit in the notion that anyone and everyone can perform outstanding service and deserve recognition for it. When I read the correspondence informing me of my government's decision . . . I felt as if I had climbed a mountain and was drinking in an awe-inspiring, breathtaking view from the top of the world. . . . Nothing can surpass recognition by one's homeland and all the people within its boundaries.

—Oscar Peterson, jazz pianist, on receiving the Order of Canada, 1972

### Recall . . . Reflect . . . Respond

1. Can two people with different visions of Canada both contribute to the development of Canadian identity? What are the key opportunities and challenges for a country that has many different visions of its national identity? Explain your choices.
2. Nominate someone you think should receive the Order of Canada. Describe the person and explain how she or he has made a lifetime contribution to the community and served Canada. Researching the criteria for nomination to the Order of Canada may help you make your decision.

## Chapter 14 Review

### Knowledge, Understanding, and Thinking

1. Read the following comments on Expo 67. Lester Pearson was prime minister at the time. Historian Desmond Morton presented his own view in his book *A Short History of Canada*, published in 1997.

Compare Pearson's and Morton's views using the following categories:

- the time — before, during, or after the event
- the person's connection to the event
- the underlying reason for the comments
- the main message of the comments

Which view do you agree with more strongly? Why? What are the weaknesses in the other view?

Expo 67 offers perhaps the most striking proof . . . that the future well-being of the whole world community . . . depends on achieving the unity of peace within the vast diversity of national policies.

By the time the gates of Expo are closed six months from now, its success will have made all Canadians prouder of our own country than ever before, and more conscious of the interdependence . . . [of] all nations.

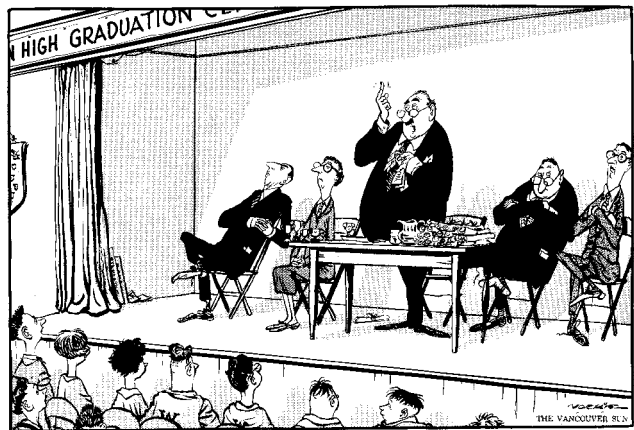
— Lester Pearson

No centennial project could match the magnitude of Montréal's. Almost single-handed, Mayor Jean Drapeau had dreamed up the idea of a world-class exposition . . . and virtually blackmailed Ottawa and Québec City into underwriting his efforts. Despite Canada's vast empty spaces, the fair would be staged on islands in the St. Lawrence, built with earth excavated for the city's new subway line. Of all the absurdities of centennial year, Expo 67 easily took the prize. For a city with crowded slums and without even proper sewage treatment, it was an extravagance beyond excuse.

— Desmond Morton

2. **Historical Significance:** Create a list of the major changes of the 1960s. Categorize these changes as social, political, economic, or cultural (some events may qualify as more than one). For each change, explain why Canadians wanted the change. Identify the most significant change and give reasons for your choice.
3. **Cause and Consequence:** Why do you think it became so important for Canadians to address inequality in the 1960s? Identify at least two factors that could have influenced this shift.
4. **Historical Perspective:** Examine the cartoon in Figure 14–27 and read the caption. This cartoon was created by Len Norris and appeared in *The Vancouver Sun* in 1955.
  - a) What is Norris's message?
  - b) Do you feel as carefree about entering the world after high school as the principal in the cartoon suggests that 1950s youth should feel?
  - c) You live in a country with most of these programs in place. How is your perspective the same as or different from Norris's?

Figure 14–27



" . . . and now you leave these happy, carefree school days, to make your way in the pension planned, health insured, paid holiday, guaranteed annual wage world . . . "



## Communicating and Applying

5. **Historical Perspective:** “Mouseland,” the story at right, was told by Tommy Douglas at a political rally in 1944. Douglas was relating a parable — a simple story that teaches a lesson. Note that a Bolshevik was a Russian communist. This label was commonly applied to politicians who favoured social programs. It was intended to brand them as communists.

Read the story, then answer the following questions:

- Identify the parallels between the story and the situation in Canada.
  - What lesson was Douglas trying to teach his audience in 1944? How does this apply to the 1960s?
  - In a small group, prepare a skit that expands on the story told by Douglas. Write parts for black cats, white cats, mice, and a narrator. Pay attention to perspective — show the audience each group’s point of view.
  - Put on your skit for your classmates. Alternatively, create a video of your skit.
6. **Historical Significance:** Select one Canadian artist, musician, or author mentioned in this chapter and describe how he or she contributed to the development of Canadian identity in the 1960s.
7. **Cause and Consequence:** Canada’s evolving immigration policy and its status as an officially multicultural country mean that every person living in Canada is familiar with the term “multiculturalism.” And yet, this term means different things to different people. For some, multiculturalism simply means cultural diversity. For others, multiculturalism is a social value. It means that Canada actively encourages cultural differences and respect for those differences because that is the best way to live.
- What does multiculturalism mean to you?
  - Why do you think Canada has succeeded in creating a multicultural society where other countries have failed?
  - Where do you think multiculturalism might be headed in the 21st century? Explain your answer.

### Mouseland

Mouseland was a place where all the little mice lived and played, were born and died. And they lived much the same as you and I do.

They even had a Parliament. . . . And every time on election day all the little mice used to go to the ballot box and they used to elect a government. A government made up of big, fat, black cats.

Now if you think it strange that mice should elect a government made up of cats, you just look at the history of Canada for the last 90 years and maybe you’ll see that they weren’t any stupider than we are.

Now I’m not saying anything against the cats. They were nice fellows. They conducted their government with dignity. They passed good laws — that is, laws that were good for cats. But the laws that were good for cats weren’t very good for mice. One of the laws said that mouse holes had to be big enough so a cat could get his paw in. . . .

[So] they voted the black cats out. They put in the white cats.

Now the white cats had put up a terrific campaign. They said. . . . “The trouble with Mouseland is those round mouse holes we got. If you put us in, we’ll establish square mouse holes.” And they did. And the square mouse holes were twice as big as the round mouse holes, and now the cat could get both his paws in. And life was tougher than ever. . . .

Presently there came along one little mouse who had an idea. My friends, watch out for the little fellow with an idea. And he said to the other mice, “Look fellows, why do we keep on electing a government made up of cats? Why don’t we elect a government made up of mice?” “Oh,” they said, “he’s a Bolshevik. Lock him up!”

So they put him in jail.

But I want to remind you: you can lock up a mouse or a man, but you can’t lock up an idea.