

# 6

## Canada in the Post-War World

### FOCUS ON

- What was the Cold War, and what was Canada's role in it?
- Why was globalization of the economy an issue by the end of the twentieth century?
- What were Canada's post-war relations with the United States and with the developing world?
- How did Canada's involvement in U.N. peacekeeping, NORAD, and NATO affect the way Canadians saw themselves as a nation?

### Counterpoints Issue

- What role should Canada play in U.S.-dominated military alliances?



*Horse and Train* by Alex Colville. The end of World War II did not bring world peace, as many had hoped. Tension between the United States and the Soviet Union increased, and the threat of nuclear war was ever present. The sense of confrontation in this painting reflects the tensions of the post-war period.



**Expressing ideas** Alex Colville painted *Horse and Train* in 1954, when it was clear to everyone that the so-called Cold War was underway. Why do you think Colville chose a horse and train as his subjects? How would you describe the mood of this painting?

## Introduction

On a hot evening in September 1945, Igor Gouzenko, a Russian clerk at the Soviet embassy in Ottawa, left work with several documents hidden under his clothes. These papers proved that a Soviet spy ring was operating within the Canadian government. Gouzenko was enjoying life in Ottawa, and he had decided to defect from the Soviet Union to Canada.

Gouzenko took the documents to the *Ottawa Journal* and tried to convince the newspaper of the Soviet spies' existence. No one paid attention. The next day, fearing for his life, and with his pregnant wife and child in tow, Gouzenko tried again. This time, he went to the offices of the RCMP, the department of justice, and the prime minister's office. Again, his efforts were in vain. Only when Soviet agents broke into Gouzenko's apartment did the Ottawa police finally listen to his story. Shocked Canadian officials secretly informed the British and U.S. governments that a Soviet spy ring had been operating in Canada.

On a grey February dawn in 1946, the RCMP rounded up several people suspected of being Soviet spies. They kept the suspects in isolation, without charge, and without legal counsel.

Eventually, eighteen people were brought to trial; eight were found guilty and imprisoned.

The spy ring was likely trying to discover the secrets of the atomic bomb, but it appeared that the Soviets had learned very little. The Gouzenko affair did, however, startle Canadians into the new era of foreign affairs.

During World War II, the United States and the Soviet Union had been allies. Nevertheless, they had little in common except for their opposition to the Axis powers. Once the war was over, tensions between the two countries surfaced. The two powers were soon openly hostile towards each other, though they were careful not to start a new war. Instead, they used espionage (spies) and helped their allies in “little wars” and revolutions. Both East and West built stockpiles of conventional arms, powerful nuclear weapons, biological and chemical weapons, long-range bombers, missiles, and atomic submarines.

Post-war tensions between the Soviet Union and the United States forced Canada to align itself closely with U.S. interests. At the same time, Canada tried to remain true to the goals and aspirations of Canadians—no easy task. Through the early part of the twentieth century, Canada had achieved independence from Britain; in the



**Figure 6-1** Igor Gouzenko and his family were given new identities and settled in Ontario. Gouzenko wrote a book about his experiences and occasionally appeared in public, as in this television interview. He always wore a hood for fear that the KGB, the Soviet Secret Service, would kill him if they discovered his new identity.

latter half, it struggled to keep U.S. influences from weakening its national identity. In this chapter, you will examine the various ways Canada tried to fulfil its commitment to international organizations while maintaining sovereignty over its policies.

- **1945** World War II ends.  
United Nations is created.
- **1949** United States, Canada, and ten Western countries form NATO.  
Communists take over China.
- **1950** North Korea invades South Korea; Korean War begins.
- **1955** Soviet Union and many Eastern European countries form Warsaw Pact.
- **1956** Lester Pearson, as Canada's Minister of External Affairs, works to defuse the Suez crisis.
- **1957** Progressive Conservative leader John Diefenbaker becomes prime minister.
- **1961–1975** Vietnam War is fought.
- **1961** Berlin Wall is built, dividing Berlin into east and west.
- **1962** Cuban missile crisis threatens world peace.
- **1963** Liberal leader Lester Pearson defeats Diefenbaker and becomes prime minister.
- **1979** USSR invades Afghanistan.
- **1989** Berlin Wall is destroyed, marking symbolic end of Cold War.  
Canada–U.S. Free Trade Agreement is implemented.
- **1991** Canada participates in the Gulf War.
- **1994** Canada joins NAFTA.
- **1999** Canadian air force joins NATO attacks on Yugoslavia.

## The Cold War Begins

While Canadians and other allied countries celebrated the end of World War II, they soon realized that the world was about to become involved in another kind of war. The military strength of

the Soviet Union and the United States made them **superpowers**, each capable of inflicting massive destruction. As a result of this destructive capability, the two superpowers did not fight a direct war between themselves. To do so would have meant nuclear annihilation. Instead, they competed for political influence in other parts of the world, especially in developing nations that were poorer and less politically stable than themselves. This rivalry between the two superpowers was called the **Cold War** because it did not erupt into an open war. It was to last over forty years.

The roots of the Cold War lay in the differing views these two countries had on political and economic systems. The Soviet Union was communist; the government controlled all industry and commerce. Under communism, no political opposition was tolerated. The United States and most Western countries were **capitalist**. Their economies were based on private enterprise, with individuals investing in business for profit. Citizens had basic freedoms such as a free press and freedom of speech.

Western countries were suspicious of communism. As in earlier decades, they feared that communists aimed to overthrow Western societies in a world revolution. The Soviet Union, for its part, was suspicious of its previous allies. It believed that the Western countries might try to invade Soviet territory through Europe, particularly through East Germany.

To create a buffer between the USSR and Western Europe, the Soviets took over the countries of Eastern Europe and established communist governments there. Then communists took over China in 1949, and the former government fled to Taiwan. The United States took drastic action to stop any spread of communism on its home front. The U.S. Congress established a Committee on Un-American Activities to root out communists from all areas of public life. This committee was chaired by Senator Joseph McCarthy, who terrified the nation with secret lists of supposed communists in government, universities, the entertainment industry, and even the Girl Scouts. Anyone suspected of being a communist could be persecuted, fired, and black-listed (prevented from finding another job).



**Figure 6-2** The United States and the Soviet Union both stockpiled weapons in the years following World War II.

**Gathering information** Where is Canada on this polar projection? In what way does the polar projection clarify the threat to Canada?

## The Cold War at Home

While Canadians saw little of the hysteria and “witch-hunting” that took place during the McCarthy era in the United States, they were shocked to learn that a communist spy ring had been operating in Canada during the war.

In 1949, the leader of the Conservative Party tried to make the spread of communism, or the “red menace”—the term used to describe the Soviets—an issue. He accused the government of harbouring communists in the civil service. Prime Minister Louis St. Laurent, however, re-

fused to outlaw communism. He reminded Canadians that such tactics were the trademarks of dictatorships, not democracies.

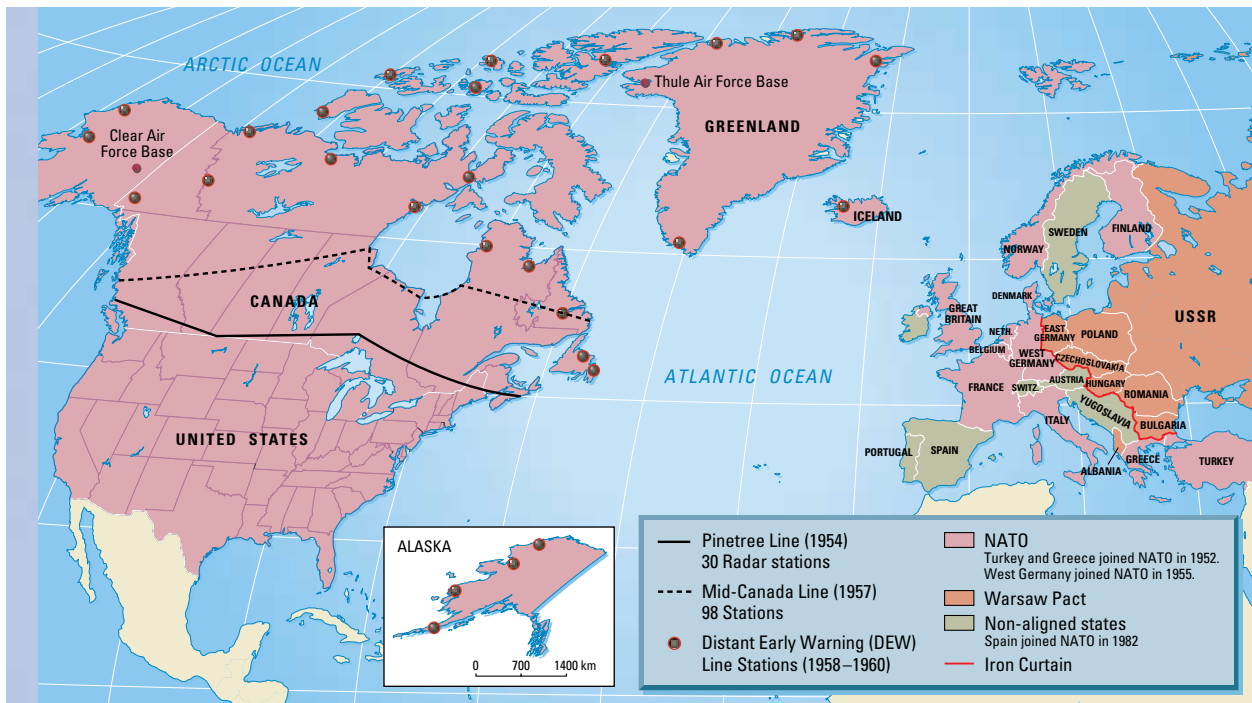
Nevertheless, some Canadians continued to fear the spread of communism. Union leaders who fought for better conditions for workers came under suspicion. Defence industries secretly sent lists of their employees to Ottawa for screening. Workers suspected of communist sympathies found themselves dismissed for no apparent reason. The RCMP Special Branch watched those who “might be or might become” a security risk, including artists, peace activists, union leaders, and intellectuals who were seen in any way to criticize the Canadian government. In Quebec, Premier Maurice Duplessis took a strong stand against communism. Police raided offices and private homes in search of “revolutionary” material. The Padlock Law was used to shut down suspected organizations and newspapers. When a poorly constructed bridge collapsed in Trois-Rivières in 1951, Duplessis blamed communist sabotage.

## NATO and the Warsaw Pact

The United States took the lead in founding a new alliance aimed at protecting Western countries from the threat of invasion by the Soviet Union. In 1949, Canada joined the United States, Great Britain, and other Western European nations in a military alliance—the **North Atlantic Treaty Organization** (NATO). Any attack on one NATO member was to be treated as an attack on all. NATO members agreed that, if conventional weapons were not sufficient, they would use tactical nuclear weapons—atomic bombs and artillery shells. As a last resort, they would be prepared to wage total nuclear war.

When NATO admitted West Germany as a member, the Soviet Union felt threatened by NATO countries, and it established the **Warsaw Pact** in 1955. This alliance, made up of Eastern European countries, was to protect these countries and the Soviet Union from attack. A large





**Figure 6-3** Countries of NATO and the Warsaw Pact. The dividing line between the Western European and communist countries was known as the “Iron Curtain,” and movement of people and information from one side to the other was tightly restricted.

**Thinking critically** Why would countries in Western Europe feel threatened by the countries of the Warsaw Pact?

part of the northern hemisphere was now effectively divided into two hostile camps. Armies constantly practised for war, and countries continually added to their arsenals of weapons. Everywhere, spies and counterspies probed for weaknesses in their enemy’s security, searching for secrets and carrying out assassinations and murders, promoting revolutions and counter-revolutions. In 1956, Soviet troops brutally crushed a revolution in Hungary. In 1961, communist-controlled East Germany built a wall around West Berlin to keep East Berliners in and West Berliners out. The Berlin Wall became a powerful symbol of the Cold War and the tensions that divided East from West.

## Canada’s Commitment to NATO

Prime Minister Mackenzie King defended Canada’s decision to join a military alliance in a time of peace. In a 1948 speech to the House of Commons, he stated:

Where force threatens, it can be kept at bay by superior force. So long as communism remains a menace to the free world, it is vital to the defence of freedom to maintain ... military strength on the side of freedom, and to ensure the degree of unity among the nations which will ensure that they cannot be defeated one by one.

Force has not in itself the power to create better conditions. But a measure of security is the first essential. If properly organized, the force required to provide security would have the power to save from destruction those who have at heart the aim of creating better conditions....

Canada made a serious commitment when it joined NATO. It agreed to keep a full army brigade and several air squadrons in Europe. It built and supplied military bases overseas. Canadian ships and aircraft tracked the movements of Soviet sub-



**Figure 6-4** Canadian sailors watch from the deck of HMCS *St. John's* as a Dutch refuelling ship prepares for an open-sea refuelling practice during NATO exercises in the Adriatic Sea, October 1998.

#### Thinking critically

Why were these kinds of activities necessary in the late 1990s?

marines. Canadian forces participated regularly in military exercises with Canada's allies. And perhaps most significantly, by joining NATO, Canada had to adapt its defence policy to those of its allies.

### ACTIVITIES

1. **a)** What groups of Canadians came under suspicion of being communists? What actions were taken against some of these people?  
**b)** How was communism considered a threat to democracy?
2. What was the Cold War? Why did the Soviet Union want to have a buffer of countries between it and Western Europe?
3. What is NATO? Why was it formed? What did Prime Minister King mean when he said, "it is vital to the defence of freedom to maintain ... military strength on the side of freedom"?
4. What commitments did Canada make as a member of NATO? How did membership in NATO affect Canada's foreign policy?

## The Issue of North American Defence

At first it seemed that, if hostilities broke out, Europe would be the battleground. However, when long-range bombers were developed to carry warheads to distant targets, North America also became vulnerable.

To protect against direct Soviet attack from the air, the United States built three lines of radar stations across Canada. The Pinetree Line, the Mid-Canada Line, and—in the Arctic—the DEW (Distant Early Warning) Line were constructed between 1950 and 1957. These stations were designed to detect a surprise Soviet attack over the North Pole, giving the United States time to launch a counterattack.

For the first time, U.S. military personnel were stationed on Canadian soil. Some Canadians felt that this defence system compromised their country's independence. To visit the DEW Line, for example, Canadian members of Parliament and

journalists had to fly first to New York and gain security clearance from U.S. authorities. Most Canadians, however, accepted this loss of independence as the price of added security against an attack from the Soviet Union.

Their peace of mind was short-lived. Soon, the superpowers had developed intercontinental ballistic missiles, armed with nuclear warheads. Missiles launched from the USSR could reach North American cities within thirty minutes. The radar stations in Canada would not be able to detect them in time for anything to be done.

To meet the possible threat of Soviet attack on North America, Canada and the United States agreed, in 1957, to establish an integrated North American Air Defence agreement (NORAD). It would include fighter forces, missile bases, and air-defence radar, all controlled by a central command station built deep within Cheyenne Mountain, Colorado. NORAD had a force of one

thousand bombers at its disposal at one time, some of which were always in the air, armed with nuclear weapons. A separate Canadian command post, under joint control, was established deep inside tunnels at North Bay, Ontario.

## Civil Defence: The Home Front in the Cold War

Canadians feared that an open war between the USSR and the United States would result in a rain of nuclear bombs and missiles on their cities. The federal government developed civil defence plans, and cities prepared to protect their populations. Some cities had nuclear shelters in deep basements or subway lines. If an attack were to occur, sirens would sound a warning and people would try to find shelter. Schools ran drills to teach students to “duck and cover” (hide under desks) or to lie in ditches. *Scientific American* magazine declared that fallout shelter programs were a hoax—none of these shelters could provide real protection in case of nuclear attack. Nevertheless, the fear of a nuclear World War III was very real. Ironically, the existence of nuclear weapons—and the threat of mass destruction—probably prevented an all-out war between the superpowers.

**Figure 6-5** Radar station at Hall Beach in Canada’s Eastern Arctic. Northern radar stations made up the Distant Early Warning (DEW) Line.

**Developing understanding** How would you describe this location? Why do you think this location was chosen by NORAD?



## Planning for Peace: The United Nations

Despite the growing tensions at the end of World War II, world leaders began making plans for an international agency that would prevent another global conflict. In April 1945, delegates from fifty-one countries, including Canada, drew up a charter for the United Nations. The United Nations was based on the idea of collective security, as the League of Nations before it had been. This time, however, the nations of the world were ready to support the idea.

The General Assembly of the United Nations provides a forum in which member nations can debate issues of concern. Each member is given a seat and the right to vote on issues. The United Nations was given three powers it could use against aggressor nations. It can:

- condemn the aggressor through speeches and resolutions;
- use economic sanctions, urging members not to trade with the aggressor; and
- respond militarily by sending in an armed force.

Over the decades, these measures have had only limited success.

The Security Council is the body of the United Nations that is responsible for maintaining peace and security. The Council has five permanent members—the “Big Five” powers—Britain, France, the United States, Russia (formerly the Soviet Union), and China (represented by the government in Taiwan until 1971). There are also ten other non-permanent members, each holding a two-year term. Decisions need the consent of nine members, but each of the five permanent members has the power of veto—the right to reject actions with which they disagree. The use of the veto has often prevented the United Nations from taking decisive action. Up to 1955, as the Cold War escalated, the veto was used seventy-eight times, seventy-five of them by the Soviet Union. When permanent members agree on a course of action, however, the United Nations has the potential to be a great power.

The founders of the United Nations also pledged to abolish disease and famine and to protect human rights. To achieve these goals, they created various agencies such as the World Health Organization and UNICEF (United Nations



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

**Thinking critically** Judging by this photo, how would you describe debate and proceedings at the United Nations?



**Figure 6-7** The World Health Organization (WHO) tests wells and undertakes other initiatives to help reduce illness from water pollution. This girl in Peru is pumping water from a well whose water has been declared safe.



Children's Fund). The United Nations also established the **International Monetary Fund** to stabilize the world economy by helping countries that face great debt and the collapse of their currencies. The United Nations has benefited millions of people worldwide, especially through its social and economic agencies and peacekeeping operations.

Canada has been a strong supporter of the United Nations since its creation. Through a variety of U.N. agencies, Canada has aided refugees from war or natural disasters and worked on development projects in various countries—for example, by helping to build schools, dams, and roads. By 1999, Canadian peacekeepers had been involved in every U.N. operation since the start of these missions in 1956.

## The Korean Conflict

Though the threat of nuclear annihilation kept the major powers from open war, both sides had allies in the developing world, where wars did occur. World War II left the Asian country of Korea divided. In the north was a communist state, supported by the USSR and communist China. In the south was a fragile democracy backed by the United States. In 1950, war broke out as North Korea tried to invade South Korea.

A U.N. force, composed largely of Americans, tried to force the invaders to retreat. Encouraged by the United States, Canada sent thousands of troops and three naval destroyers to Korea. At the United Nations, Lester Pearson, Canada's Minister of External Affairs, urged all sides to



**Figure 6-8** Lester Pearson, with his wife, Maryon, displays his Nobel Peace Prize medal. He helped defuse the Suez crisis.

agree to a ceasefire. At one point, the United States considered using the atomic bomb, but luckily, calmer heads prevailed. Although a ceasefire was reached in 1953, the war had increased tensions between the West and the communist nations.

## The Suez Crisis

In 1956, a crisis over the Suez Canal, in Egypt, gave Canada a chance to take a leading role at the United Nations.

The Suez Canal links the Mediterranean and Red seas, and provides the shortest sea route from Europe to the Indian Ocean. It was built in the late 1800s, and was privately owned by British and French investors. In 1956, Egypt's president, Gamal Abdel Nasser, on behalf of the Egyptian

government took over the canal. The neighbouring state of Israel was frightened by what it saw as Egyptian aggression, as Egypt threatened to bar ships to and from Israel from using the canal. Britain and France were quick to support an Israeli invasion. Ignoring a U.N. Security Council resolution to cease hostilities, they landed troops in the canal zone. The Soviet Union immediately offered Egypt financial aid and missiles.

The United States was angry at its allies, Britain, France, and Israel, who had not consulted the U.S. government before attacking Egypt. Nevertheless, the United States threatened retaliation against any Soviet involvement.

Canadian public opinion on the crisis was divided. The Conservative Party and many other Canadians felt it was their duty to support Britain. Liberal Prime Minister Louis St. Laurent, however, denounced the British and French intervention and, like the United States, refused to support them. Once again, Lester Pearson went to the United Nations to try to work towards a solution.

Pearson proposed that a United Nations Emergency Force be sent to the Suez Canal to separate and mediate between the rival armies. The U.N. agreed. The force, under the command of a Canadian general, was chosen from countries not directly involved in the conflict. For his efforts in defusing the crisis, Lester Pearson was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize.

## ACTIVITIES

1. Identify: **a)** the United Nations; **b)** NORAD; **c)** the DEW Line; **d)** WHO.
2. Why was Canada willing to enter an air defence agreement with the United States?
3. **a)** What is the purpose of the U.N. General Assembly?  
**b)** Why were the five permanent members of the Security Council given veto powers? How did this power create a stalemate in the United Nations?
4. What caused the Korean War? How did Canada participate?
5. What important roles did Canada play in the Suez crisis?

## Towards a More Independent Defence Policy

As the Cold War intensified, tensions developed between Canada and the United States during the early 1960s. Personal relations between Prime Minister John Diefenbaker and U.S. President John Kennedy were strained. The men had very different styles, and they took a strong dislike to each other. These differences were particularly obvious during the most serious crisis of the Cold War: the Cuban missile crisis, which took the world to the brink of nuclear war.

### The Cuban Missile Crisis

In 1959, Cuban rebels under the leadership of Fidel Castro overthrew Cuba's pro-U.S. leader in a revolution. The United States reacted angrily

by imposing trade and economic sanctions on Cuba. In 1961, the United States backed an invasion of the island by a group of anti-Castro Cubans. The invasion was a failure, but it encouraged Cuba to turn to the USSR for support.

In October 1962, U.S. planes took photographs showing that the USSR was installing offensive nuclear missile bases in Cuba. Missiles launched from these sites were a direct threat to U.S. security (see Figure 6-9). President Kennedy announced a naval and air blockade of Cuba. U.S. forces and NORAD were readied for war. Aircraft loaded with bombs were constantly in the air. The world was poised on the brink of war.

Soviet Premier Nikita Khrushchev at first refused to remove the missiles. The armed forces of the USSR were put on full alert. Soviet ships steamed towards the U.S. ships that were blockading the island. At the last minute, Khrushchev agreed to dismantle the missile bases in exchange for a promise that the United States would not

**Figure 6-9** The Cuban missile crisis.

**Thinking critically** Why did this situation threaten world peace?



## The Avro Arrow

As part of its military program in the 1950s, Canada and the A.V. Row (Avro) Company developed the Arrow, a state-of-the-art supersonic jet aircraft. In 1959, the project was cancelled by the Diefenbaker government. The existing planes were cut up for scrap, and most of Avro's designers and engineers moved to the United States. However, the memory of the Avro Arrow remains. Canadians, looking back, often feel that they lost an opportunity to establish their country as a technological leader.

Why was the Avro Arrow cancelled? Opinions vary. In 1997, one newspaper summarized a view so popular that it has become a Canadian myth, kept alive by a TV movie:

Avro's dauntless little band of aircraft engineers ... worked out the highly original design for the new fighter.... But this hardy band of Canadians were bucking the odds. Senior American officials, including [the] President, conspired to kill the project. Why? Because if they could not build so grand a fighter, Canada couldn't have one either!

[In the TV movie] ... the Americans—who declare ... that Canadians should stick to building canoes, not warplanes—find a gullible ally when John Diefenbaker is elected Prime Minister.... Dief and

his ministers hate the Arrow because it is a Liberal-initiated project.

Source: *Financial Post*, January 18, 1997.

The reality was different, say several historians:

Everyone in authority knew that the Arrow had to go—costs had soared, there were no foreign orders, A.V. Row Canada was a ramshackle, disorganized company....

Source: Michael Bliss, *Right Honourable Men* (Toronto: HarperCollins, 1994), 204.

The Arrow cost six times more to produce than its American counterpart.... No one, not even the Canadian Air Force, wanted to buy it.

Source: A. Finkel and M. Conrad, *History of the Canadian Peoples* (Toronto: Copp Clark Pitman, 1993).

### Questions

1. What opportunity do some people feel Canada lost when it cancelled the Avro Arrow project?
2. What are the different points of view surrounding the cancellation of the Avro Arrow?

**Figure 6-10** The Avro Arrow. When the superpowers developed long-range missiles, interceptor fighter planes like the Arrow seemed obsolete.





invade Cuba. The Americans had won a game of “nuclear chicken.”

During the crisis, the United States expected Canada—its partner in NORAD—to provide unconditional support of its policies. Prime Minister Diefenbaker, however, preferred that the United Nations send a fact-finding mission to Cuba, and implied that he did not believe the U.S. photographs. Diefenbaker was reluctant to have Canada drawn into a major conflict that seemed largely rooted in U.S. policy and interests. At first, the Canadian government refused to place Canada’s NORAD forces on alert. Nor did it allow U.S. planes with atomic weapons to land at Canadian bases. The Americans were furious.

Diefenbaker believed he was defending Canada’s independence, but a poll later showed that 80 per cent of Canadians thought he was wrong. Eventually, Diefenbaker did put Canadian troops on alert, but damage to Canada–U.S. relations had already been done.

## The Nuclear Issue in Canada

The Cuban missile crisis caused a debate about Canada’s defence policy and the country’s stand on nuclear weapons. Should Canada accept nuclear weapons on its territory, as the United States wished? When the Avro Arrow was scrapped, Canada had agreed to accept U.S. Bomarc mis-

## building your skills

### Interpreting Visuals

When photographers cover events, they don’t just point their cameras and shoot. They have points of view. What they choose to photograph and how they present their subject can have different impacts on the viewer.

For example, a close-up view of a person’s face can bring the viewer closer to that person, emotionally if not physically. A wider view of an event can make

the viewer feel more involved in the action. A black-and-white photograph may create a certain mood that the photographer wants to convey. Painters also have points of view. The angle of the subject, the colours used, and the details that are included are important clues to the message the artist is trying to communicate. When you look at a photograph or painting, it is

a)



**Figure 6-11 a)** Canadian artillery firing on enemy positions in Korea.

**b)** *Contact* by Korean War artist Edward F. Zuber.

**c)** A Korean child accidentally burned by napalm (a jelly-like substance used in fire bombs and flame throwers). He is showing soldiers his burns.

siles, which were capable of carrying nuclear warheads. The years that passed before the missiles were actually installed, however, allowed time for second thoughts.

Many people were starting to realize that nuclear war amounted to global suicide. In 1963, the ruling Conservative Party was divided on the issue. The minister of external affairs felt Canada should be a non-nuclear nation. He argued that it was hypocritical to urge the United Nations to work for disarmament while accepting nuclear weapons. The defence minister, in contrast, insisted that nuclear weapons were vital in protecting Canada against communist aggression.

Meanwhile, the anti-nuclear movement was growing among ordinary Canadian citizens.

During the election campaign of 1963, the Liberals, under the leadership of Lester Pearson, proposed that Canadian forces accept nuclear weapons under certain conditions. Prime Minister Diefenbaker and the Conservatives, on the other hand, appealed to Canadian nationalism, including Canada's right to decide for itself on international matters. Many business leaders and influential newspapers supported the Liberals, fearing that Diefenbaker's anti-Americanism would injure trade and investment from the United States. The nuclear issue split the country and reflected uncertainty in the minds of Canadians.

b)



c)



important to “read” the work and try to interpret the viewpoint of the photographer or artist.

Examine the three figures, then answer the questions that follow.

### **Applying the Skill**

1. What do you think the people in figure (a) might be saying? Does the photographer have a particular point of view? If so, what is it? How do you think this viewpoint differs from that in figure (b)? In figure (c)?
2. What emotions do you associate with figure (b)? What viewpoint do you think the artist wants to convey?
3. Why do you think artists and photographers were sent to record scenes of the war? Should we view their pictures as primary or secondary information sources?
4. Choose another photograph or painting from this book or another source. Interpret it, applying the skills you have learned.



**Figure 6-12** In 1961, Canadian activist Thérèse Casgrain helped form the Quebec chapter of the Voice of Women. VOW was an organization set up to lobby government and educate the public to promote peace and nuclear disarmament. Its members used political demonstrations before these became a popular method of protest.

Diefenbaker was narrowly defeated in the election of 1963, and the Liberals formed a minority government. This federal election was the first since 1911 to be fought over Canada–U.S. relations.

## The Vietnam War

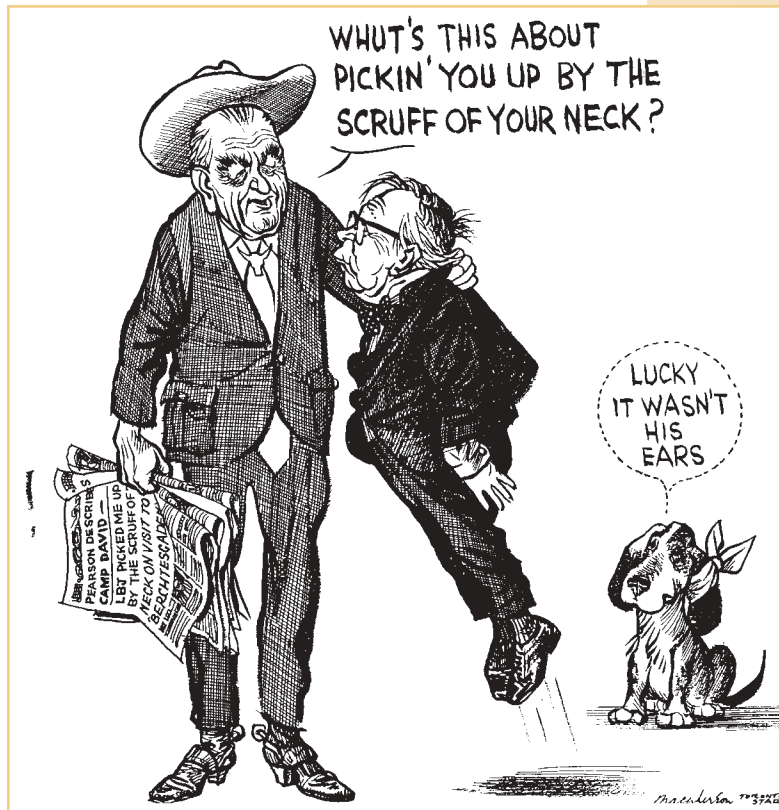
The war in Vietnam was a major conflict in the Cold War. Like Korea, Vietnam was divided into

two. The north was communist-controlled. The government in the south, although more a dictatorship than a democracy, was supported by the United States. The Americans felt that if the south should fall to communism, then other Asian states would fall, one after another, like a set of dominoes. At first the United States offered only military advice and economic help to the South Vietnamese, but by the 1960s it was sending U.S. troops as well.

In 1965, U.S. President Lyndon Johnson increased the number of U.S. troops and authorized the bombing of North Vietnam. By 1966, there were 190 000 U.S. soldiers in Vietnam, and the number kept growing. At the same time, the USSR and communist China supplied weapons and help to North Vietnam.

Vietnam was the first war recorded by television cameras. As Americans watched Vietnamese villages being bombed—and their own young men returning home disabled or in body bags—some began questioning their involvement. Anti-war protests were held across the country, as more and more Americans disagreed with their government's actions. In 1968, the public learned that U.S. soldiers had massacred women and children in the village of My Lai. Then, the North Vietnamese launched the Tet Offensive, simultaneously attacking cities throughout South Vietnam and briefly seizing the United States embassy in the city of Saigon. Despite their superior weapons, U.S. troops were unable to win the war.

In 1969, a new U.S. president, Richard Nixon, took office, pledging to pull U.S. troops out of Southeast Asia. The last U.S. combat forces left South Vietnam in 1973. Less than two years later, a North Vietnamese offensive crushed the South Vietnamese army. Vietnam, a nation ravaged by decades of war and destruction, was unified under communist rule. Many anti-communist Vietnamese fled their country. They took to the seas in crowded boats. These people made their way to sprawling refugee camps in Malaysia and Hong Kong, where they applied for refugee status. Thousands were accepted into Canada.



**Figure 6-13** This cartoon recalls the incident described by author Lawrence Martin.

**Interpreting a cartoon** How is Lester Pearson portrayed in this cartoon? What is the cartoonist telling us about Pearson? About Canada?

## Canada's Reaction to the War

Canadians were at first divided over the war in Vietnam. Some benefited from the war. Canadian firms sold goods such as berets, boots, airplane engines, and explosives to the U.S. Defense Department. And most people still saw communism as a real threat to Western security. All the same, many were not sure that the peasants of Vietnam were “better dead than Red (communist),” as a popular saying of the time claimed. Prime Minister Pearson shared the growing doubts that many Canadians had about the war. In 1965, he criticized Operation Rolling Thunder—the name of the U.S. bombing campaign of North Vietnam—in a speech at a university in Philadelphia. Pearson later joined President Johnson for lunch at his retreat at nearby Camp David. The president was enraged that the Canadian leader had dared to criticize him in his own country. As one observer later reported:

As the luncheon dragged mercilessly on, Pearson finally chose to throw the raw meat on the table. “Well,” he offered daintily, “What did you think of my speech?” LBJ’s growl was audible. “Awwwful.” He stretched his large hand across the table, clutched the prime minister by the upper arm, and led him on to the terrace where there was room for wrath. Striding the porch, his arms sawing the air, his sulphurous vocabulary contaminating it, Johnson ripped into Pearson full-voltage. The prime minister had betrayed the president. He had joined the ranks of ignorant liberals, “those know-nothing do gooders”....

For more than an hour he tore on until ultimately, ... he moved beyond the realm of words. Having pinned the much smaller Pearson against the railing, the president of the United States grabbed him by the shirt collar, twisted it and lifted the shaken prime minister by the neck. The verbal abuse continued in a venomous torrent.

Source: Lawrence Martin, *The Presidents and the Prime Ministers* (Toronto: Doubleday, 1982), 1–2.



## ACTIVITIES

1. Identify: **a)** Nikita Khrushchev; **b)** Fidel Castro; **c)** John F. Kennedy; **d)** John Diefenbaker.  
Explain the role each played in the Cuban missile crisis.
2. What questions about nuclear weapons did the Cuban missile crisis raise in Canadians' minds? Why did these questions divide Canadians?
3. **a)** What is the U.S. policy towards Cuba at present?  
**b)** How is Canada's policy different?  
**c)** Which policy do you agree with? Why?
4. Should Canada have accepted nuclear weapons in 1963? Explain your answer.
5. Write a brief article explaining the war in Vietnam to modern newspaper readers who know little about it. Answer the following questions: **a)** Who? **b)** What? **c)** When? **d)** Where? **e)** Why?
6. "The Vietnam War helped define Canada as a nation since it encouraged Canadian leaders to distance their country from U.S. foreign policy." Explain this statement in your own words.

## Trudeau's Foreign Policy

In 1968, Pierre Elliott Trudeau, a Liberal, was elected prime minister. As you will see in Chapter 7, he reflected many changing attitudes in Canada at that time. One of his goals was to chart a course in foreign policy that was less dependent on U.S. approval. This intention was clearly signalled in 1970, when Canada officially recognized the communist government of the People's Republic of China. Even though Trudeau had defied U.S. pressure to withhold this recognition, his decision made sense to most Canadians. Mainland China was clearly a great power. Also, as a major purchaser of Canadian wheat and other goods, it was an important trading partner.

At the same time, Trudeau had no wish to anger the United States. Neither did he think Canada could act on foreign affairs without considering the U.S. government to some extent. He explained his views in one of his most famous speeches:

Let me say that it should not be surprising if our policies in many instances either reflect or take into account the proximity of the United States. Living next to you is in some ways like sleeping with an elephant. No matter how friendly and even-

**Figure 6-14** In 1976, Trudeau became the first leader of a NATO country to pay a state visit to Fidel Castro's communist Cuba. At the end of one speech, he surprised and delighted his audience by proclaiming "Viva Fidel Castro."

**Expressing ideas** How do you think U.S. officials would have reacted to this photograph? Why?



tempered is the beast, one is affected by every twitch and grunt.

Source: Pierre Trudeau, speech to the National Press Club, Washington, DC, March 1969.

Trudeau's approach to national defence was a departure from previous policies. He wanted to scale back Canada's participation in the nuclear arms race with the Soviet Union in the hope that this would ease Cold War tensions. From 1970 to 1972, nuclear missiles were removed from Canada's NATO forces in Europe. Bomarc missile sites that Pearson had accepted in 1963 were dismantled. In 1984, the last nuclear warheads were removed from Canadian soil. Trudeau also cut the national defence budget and reduced Canada's NATO contingent in Europe to half its former strength, in spite of protests from military officers, diplomats, and the U.S. embassy. Canada did, however, continue to participate in NATO and NORAD.

## Canada as a Middle Power

Throughout Trudeau's period in office, the Cold War dominated international affairs. The world remained divided between the West (the United States and its allies) and the East (communist

China, the Soviet Union, and countries friendly to it).

Outside the two rival power blocs, however, most of the world's people lived in countries not officially allied with either superpower. Indeed, the new African and Asian nations that had emerged from colonial rule after World War II tried to remain detached from Cold War rivalries. But other divisions were emerging. Most of the new nations were located in the southern hemisphere. They were also, for the most part, far less industrialized than countries in the northern hemisphere. So, while the Cold War split the world politically between East and West, a huge economic gap separated the rich North from the poor South.

The Trudeau government aimed to bridge both gaps in order to promote world peace and understanding among nations. Canada had become a "middle power," building links between East and West and North and South. Trudeau's efforts to reduce nuclear weapons and to establish trade and sporting links with communist states were part of this plan. Trudeau called for more aid for the poor countries of the world. He believed that the prosperous nations of the North should be helping the poverty-stricken countries of the South to develop their economies and



**Figure 6-15** Canadian-sponsored immunization program in the Philippines.

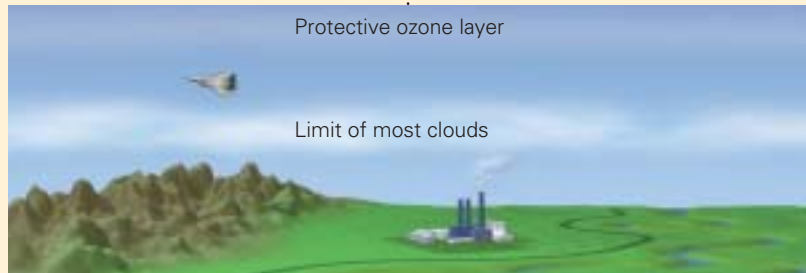
**Developing understanding** How would Canadian programs such as immunization improve living conditions for less developed countries? How would improved living conditions promote peace?

# Innovations

## Advances in Science and Technology

Even a famous science fiction writer could not begin to guess the extent to which technology would transform life in the decades after World War II. H.G. Wells, author of books such as *The Time Machine* and *The Shape of Things to Come*, predicted that by 1950 soldiers would wage war from bicycles and drop bombs from balloons. In reality, by this time, the atomic bomb had demonstrated the awesome power of science. The following inventions were just a few of those that transformed military technology and everyday life.

July 21, 1969, marked the first manned *moon landing*. U.S. astronauts from the Apollo XI spacecraft landed on the moon in the lunar module Eagle 5. The first person to set foot on the moon's surface was Neil Armstrong. As millions of people around the world watched the historic event live on television, Armstrong proclaimed he was taking "one small step for man, one giant leap for mankind." ▼



▲ In 1976, scientists discovered damage to the *ozone layer*, the part of the Earth's upper atmosphere that protects the planet from ultraviolet rays coming from the sun. The damage was caused by freon and chlorofluorocarbons (CFCs), chemicals used by industry, and in refrigerators and spray cans. As concern about the damage grew, Canada and other countries passed legislation restricting the manufacture and sale of products containing freon and CFCs.

The U.S. Defense Department and four U.S. universities linked their computers in a network in 1969. They called their new link the *ARPANET* (Advanced Research Projects Agency Network). Its aim was to decentralize the Defense Department's computer system and make it less vulnerable to attack by the Soviet Union. It was the first step in the creation of what would later become the Internet. Other networks slowly began to appear and link to each other. ►



The first *nuclear reactor* built by Canadian scientists was switched on at Chalk River in September 1945. In 1967, Ontario Hydro completed the first CANDU nuclear reactor, and began a program by which nuclear fission would supply about one-half of Ontario's electricity.

The first *Canadarm* was designed and built by Spar Aerospace in 1981. The remote arm is attached to NASA's space shuttles. It allows crews to launch satellites into precise positions in orbit, and to recapture satellites to return to Earth for servicing. Without this technology, much of the world's satellite communication would be impossible.





improve living conditions for their people. This policy of **trade and aid** became the cornerstone of Trudeau's foreign policy in bridging the *North–South gap*.

In 1968, a new government body known as the Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA) was formed. CIDA's responsibility was to boost foreign aid to less industrialized countries. Countries receiving aid would have to agree to use it to buy products manufactured in Canada. In this way, Canada would benefit, as well. This was known as “tied aid,” and it made up over half the total development aid Canada extended to less industrialized nations. During Trudeau's administration, the total amount of aid Canada extended to developing countries increased from \$277 million in 1969 to over \$2 billion in 1984.

## The Commonwealth and la Francophonie

Canada was in a good position to build bridges between North and South because of its membership in two organizations, the Commonwealth and la Francophonie. The Commonwealth was made up of several countries that had once belonged to the British Empire. La Francophonie was an organization of French-speaking states, many former colonies of France. Both organizations had many members that were less industrialized, and both offered a forum for discussing solutions to the North–South gap. In 1950, Commonwealth countries, including Canada, established the *Colombo Plan* to provide money and aid to less developed countries in the organization. Canada contributed in a number of ways, for example, by inviting overseas students to study in Canada, and by sending Canadian experts overseas to give technical assistance. Most Canadian aid under the Colombo Plan went to India and Pakistan.

## The Cold War Renewed

While Trudeau was trying to bridge the economic gap among countries during the early 1970s, tension between the United States and the Soviet Union also eased, and they agreed to reduce the

number of their nuclear weapons. They signed the Strategic Arms Limitation Treaty (SALT I) in 1972. This agreement was a breakthrough in relations between the two superpowers. In 1979, however, the Soviet Union invaded Afghanistan. At the same time, the USSR sent new medium-range missiles to Eastern Europe. In response, NATO announced that it, too, was deploying new, more advanced missiles in Europe. A second round of SALT talks on the issue of further disarmament was halted. In protest against the Soviet occupation of Afghanistan, many Western nations, including Canada, boycotted the 1980 Olympic Games held in Moscow. In 1981, the U.S. government announced a massive increase in defence spending, with most of the money to be spent on modernizing the U.S. nuclear arsenal.

In September 1983, Soviet jets shot down a Korean passenger jet that had strayed into Soviet air space. A month later, U.S. forces invaded the



**Figure 6-16** Paul Henderson of the Montreal Canadiens after scoring the winning goal in the Canada–USSR hockey series in 1972. This popular sporting event was one of the steps taken by Canada in a new approach to foreign affairs.

**Gathering information** How would you describe Henderson's reaction to his goal? Why do you think this victory was particularly thrilling for Canadians?



Caribbean nation of Grenada and deposed a pro-Soviet government. The United States carried on a covert (secret) war against the left-wing Sandinista regime in Nicaragua. Each superpower accused the other of provoking war, and watched nervously for any sign of attack. The world seemed closer to nuclear war than at any time since the Cuban missile crisis.

Prime Minister Trudeau appealed to the United States and the Soviet Union to show more restraint. He made a special tour of a number of world capitals to enlist other political leaders in his campaign to mediate between the superpowers. In February 1984, he summed up his peace initiative in a speech to Parliament:

Let it be said of Canada and of Canadians, that we saw the crisis, that we did act; that we took risks; that we were loyal to our friends and open with our adversaries; that we have lived up to our ideals; and that we have done what we could to lift the shadow of war.

But Trudeau was growing tired of politics. He felt he had played his part. On the evening of February 29, 1984, he left his official residence at 24 Sussex Drive in Ottawa for a walk through the snowy streets of the capital. It was then that he decided to retire from politics. The Trudeau era had come to an end.

## ACTIVITIES

1. What did Trudeau mean when he said living next to the United States was like sleeping next to an elephant?
2. How did Trudeau's leadership change Canada's relations with:
  - a) communist countries?
  - b) the United States?
  - c) new nations in the southern hemisphere?
3. How did Trudeau try to bridge the gap between rich and poor countries?
4. In what areas of the world did Cold War tensions increase from 1979 through 1984? What was Canada's response?

## The Mulroney Era: Closer Ties with the United States

Conservative leader Brian Mulroney became Canada's prime minister in September 1984. His approach to international relations was in many ways the opposite of Trudeau's. While Trudeau had tried to separate Canadian from U.S. interests, Prime Minister Mulroney worked to forge closer links. He developed a close personal relationship with U.S. President Ronald Reagan, with whom he shared a similar conservative philosophy.

In 1985, the U.S. government unveiled an ambitious plan to create a defence shield, part of which would orbit the Earth. This Strategic Defence Initiative (SDI), nicknamed "Star Wars," had an enormous budget. Canada belonged to the North American Aerospace Defence Command (formerly NORAD). Did this membership commit it to becoming involved? Across Canada, anti-nuclear groups protested Canada's possible involvement. These groups believed that Star Wars would provoke other nations to develop similar weapons. Prime Minister Mulroney finally said no to Canada's official participation. However, the door was left open for private Canadian companies to bid on Star Wars contracts if they wished.

At the same time, the Mulroney government tightened other links with the United States. Over the years, some Canadians had continued to express concern that U.S. companies controlled so much of the Canadian economy. Some measures had been put in place to limit U.S. investment. In 1973, the Trudeau government had formed the Foreign Investment Review Agency (FIRA) to block any foreign investment that seemed not to be in Canada's interest. Now Mulroney announced that Canada was "open for business." He dismantled FIRA and replaced it with Investment Canada, a body that would encourage suitable foreign investment. Then, in 1987, he started negotiations that led Canada into the **Free Trade Agreement (FTA)** with the United

States. The agreement removed tariffs on goods crossing the border, and opened Canada to U.S. investment as well as opening the United States to Canadian investment.

Free trade proved to be a very controversial issue for Canadians. Those who supported free trade argued that, by eliminating tariffs, Canada would attract more U.S. investment—which would help Canadian industry grow and benefit the whole economy. Free trade would also provide access to the larger U.S. market, which would increase Canada's productivity and growth. With larger production runs, Canadian products could be sold at lower prices to compete effectively with imports. A free trade agreement would also attract U.S. firms to Canada to take advantage of our natural resources, skilled workers, and well-planned transportation system.

Many people did not support the Canada–U.S. Free Trade Agreement, however. These groups argued that once protective tariffs were removed, those U.S. branch plants operating in Canada to avoid paying tariffs would simply return to the United States, thus eliminating hundreds of thousands of jobs in Canada. This would mean that free trade would increase unemployment and de-industrialize Canada. Canadian businesses would be unable to compete against giant U.S. companies, which were able to flood the Canadian market with cheap goods and services. Perhaps most significantly, opponents of the deal argued that free trade threatened Canada's independence—that economic union would lead to pressure for political union, as well.

After much heated debate, the FTA was established in 1989. In 1992, the Mulroney government expanded the free trade zone by signing the **North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA)**, which included free trade with Mexico. This agreement, too, proved to be controversial. The major fear of NAFTA's opponents was that companies operating in Canada would move to Mexico to take advantage of the low wages and less strict anti-pollution laws. Those who supported NAFTA argued that while a few compa-



**Figure 6-17** Canadian Prime Minister Brian Mulroney, on the left, sings “When Irish Eyes Are Smiling” with U.S. President Ronald Reagan. Mulroney was Canada’s prime minister from 1984 to 1993.

**Developing understanding** What does this photograph tell you about Canada’s relations with the United States during this period?

nies might move to Mexico, most would remain in Canada, preferring better educated and better skilled Canadian workers. Canada had other attractions, such as transportation and communication systems, social services, and social stability.

Amid protests, the Liberal government under Jean Chrétien signed the North American Free Trade Agreement, which came into effect in 1994. Although the Conservatives had been defeated in 1993, their policies had linked Canada’s political and economic fortunes much more closely to those of the United States.

## The End of the Cold War

The Cold War ended astonishingly quickly. Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev realized that the Soviet Union could no longer afford its costly arms race with the United States. He proposed massive cuts in the arsenal of both superpowers. Gorbachev then began a series of sweeping economic, social, and political reforms that would help the communist countries run more efficiently and create better conditions for their citizens. He also loosened censorship and allowed greater freedom of speech. These policies, called *perestroika* (reconstruction) and *glasnost* (openness), encouraged people of East Germany, Czechoslovakia, Poland,

Hungary, and Romania to demand similar reforms in their countries. In November 1989, East German border guards, who earlier would have shot anyone crossing the Berlin Wall, watched people from East and West demolish it. Even the powerful Soviet Union fell apart, as member states became independent countries. The Cold War in Europe was over.

Communist China, too, experimented with a kind of *perestroika*, allowing capitalism to flourish in many areas of the economy. Many Chinese people demanded political freedom, as well. Their hopes were brutally dashed, however, in Tiananmen Square in June 1989. Red Army soldiers and tanks attacked students involved in the democracy movement, killing hundreds, perhaps thousands.

In the end, few of the world's communist governments survived. With the dissolution of the Soviet Union in 1991, the great division between East and West—between the communist and non-communist world—had gone.

**Figure 6-18** In November 1989, Canadians joined television viewers around the world in watching the fall of the Berlin Wall.

**Expressing ideas** How were these people's actions symbolic of what was happening in East-West relations?



## The New World Order

Many thought the end of the Cold War might bring a new age of world peace. However, this was not the case. There were numerous regional conflicts and ethnic rivalries, most notably in the Persian Gulf, the former Yugoslavia, and Africa.

In August 1990, Iraqi troops invaded the oil-rich country of Kuwait. Almost immediately, the United Nations demanded that Iraq withdraw from Kuwait, and threatened economic sanctions if it refused. The United States began to demand that military force be used as a last resort to oust Iraqi forces from the country. For the first time since the Korean War, the United Nations was poised to lead a multinational force against an aggressor nation. And as in Korea, the United States would take the lead. The Americans were joined by a coalition of forces from twenty-seven other countries.

In January 1991, when the U.N. deadline for an Iraqi withdrawal from Kuwait came and went, U.S. and coalition forces began bombarding targets from the air and sea. Canada participated with a squadron of CF-18 fighter bombers, units of the Canadian Army, and ships from the Canadian Navy patrolling the Persian Gulf. “Operation Desert Storm” had begun.

The Gulf War destroyed the Iraqi fighting force and much of the country’s infrastructure. The use of “smart” weapons, such as laser-guided bombs and cruise missiles launched many kilometres from their targets, changed the nature of war.

After victory in the Gulf War, U.S. President George Bush proclaimed a “new world order.” From now on, the United Nations would take a much more active role as a global police force. In the past, the United Nations had been dedicated to *peacekeeping*—negotiating settlements and keeping warring factions apart. Now it would have more of a peacemaking role: it would, where necessary, use force to punish aggression. Military action would preserve long-term peace and security. And the United Nations would undertake this role under the guidance of the United States. As the only superpower remaining after the collapse



**Figure 6-19** Canadian members of the United Nations force in the Persian Gulf.

**Using evidence** How does this photo demonstrate a change in the peacekeeping policy of the United Nations?

of the Soviet Union, the United States was left to dominate world affairs.

### Somalia

In 1992, the United Nations launched “Operation Restore Hope” in Somalia, an east African nation that had been ravaged by years of civil war and starvation. The mission was directed by the United States, but Canadian forces joined those from other countries in distributing food and other essential supplies to the desperate local population.

The mission resulted in a crisis in Canada’s armed forces. One night, members of the Canadian Airborne Regiment arrested a Somali



## What Role Should Canada Play in U.S.-Dominated Military Alliances?

In 1991, ethnic wars broke out in the former Yugoslavia. Slobodan Milosevic, leader of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, began to talk about establishing a greater Serbia by uniting all the Serbian population from surrounding states into one country. By 1992, fighting had spread to the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina, which formed part of Yugoslavia. Bosnia-Herzegovina was inhabited by Croats, Serbs, and Muslims. U.N. peacekeeping missions were sent in to try to keep the sides from fighting. Canadian forces were the first U.N. peacekeepers to arrive inside Bosnia-Herzegovina, but neither they nor any other U.N. peacekeeping mission were able to keep peace. Frustrated by the failure of the United Nations to control the situation, the countries of NATO threatened to take steps to end the fighting.

In 1995, NATO forces launched a series of air strikes against the mainly Serbian forces of the Yugoslav army, which was perceived as the aggressor. The warring factions eventually agreed to a ceasefire, and U.S. troops were sent to bolster the U.N. peacekeeping forces on the ground.

In 1998, Serbian forces moved into the province of Kosovo to ensure it would remain under Serbian control. The majority of the population in Kosovo were Albanian Muslims. In spring 1999, after prolonged diplomatic efforts failed to stop the Serbian operations, the U.S.-dominated NATO alliance launched its first-ever military operation against an independent country. It began bombing the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. Canada, as a NATO member, engaged in the controversial air strikes. The stated purpose of the air strikes was to force the Yugoslav president, Milosevic, to stop

Serbs from persecuting, murdering, and displacing Albanians in Kosovo.

Canada's participation in the bombings was the subject of heated debate at home. Some Canadians supported NATO's bombings, insisting that NATO was obligated to act to prevent the Serbian-Albanian conflict from spreading to neighbouring countries. Critics of the bombing argued that NATO should never have interfered in the domestic affairs of a sovereign nation, and that its involvement had escalated the conflict. They thought the United Nations should have pursued peace through its own channels.

Canadians began to question NATO's role in the "new world order" and Canada's role in NATO. Should NATO force be used to prevent or intervene in international conflicts, acting as a kind of North American and European police force?

Perhaps the most important issue for Canadians is: What role should Canada play in U.S.-dominated alliances such as NATO and the North American Aerospace Defence Command (formerly NORAD)? Should we play a role at all? These questions were brought into sharp focus again in 2001, when it seemed likely that the United States would renew its 1985 Star Wars initiative. The new U.S. national missile defence (NMD) project would involve spending billions to protect the United States from nuclear attack.

### For and Against

What views do the following excerpts present on Canada's involvement in U.S.-dominated military alliances?

#### Source 1

Canada has been a member of NATO for the last half century and as a result would have been protected if attacked by another country. This is important because the Canadian military is *not capable of defending this country!* Our military has been bled to the point that it would be impossible to defend ourselves if China, Russia or North Korea for that matter, decides to invade Canada. Therefore we have depended and continue to depend on NATO for our protection and consequently we must *live up to our obligations* to the alliance.

Regardless of what you think of the Kosovo situation, do not be critical of our government or



**Figure 6-20** A young Muslim girl pats a Canadian peacekeeper on the head as he walks by the front gate of the Canadian base in Visoko, Bosnia, in 1994.

military for its involvement. There could come a day when NATO will be there when we most need it.

Source: L. Ryan, a former peacekeeper in Bosnia from Newfoundland, in a letter dated April 19, 1999. In *Canada on the Attack: The Debate*, "Letters from Canadians and Others Outside Yugoslavia." From the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation Web site: <http://cbc.ca/news/indepth>.

## Source 2

Canada **MUST** redefine its independence on the world stage, and in particular set a course in for-

oreign policy independent of the United States. There are already welcome signs of this, including ... Canada's advocacy role in trying to establish a world ban on the use of land mines.... There is much to recommend the long-standing relationship between Americans and Canadians across the longest undefended border in the world, but lock-step adherence to U.S. foreign (military) policy is not one of them. (A recent example of this kind of concern was provided on the CBC National News..., when the Minister of Defence, Mr. Art Eggleton, ... opined that Canada should consider contributing to the resurgent, ultimately destabilizing and doomed-to-failure U.S. "Star Wars" missile defence program.)

In this way [by redefining its independence on the world stage], Canada will recover the world respect it deserves from an earlier time, and rediscover its mandate to provide a much needed forum of sober second thought, a necessary

counter-measure to those "great powers" too often inebriated by their own self-righteous views....

Source: Prof. Donald Fleming, University of British Columbia, "Kosovo and Canada's participation in NATO's war." Letter to Bill Graham, Chair, Standing Committee on Foreign Affairs and International Trade, April 21, 2000.

## Analysing the Issue

1. What key ideas does Source 1 express? How do they contrast with those of Source 2?
2. Do you think it is possible for Canada to "set a course in foreign policy independent of the United States"? In what way? Explain your answer.
3. What do you think Canada's role in NATO should be?
4. Should Canada participate in the development of "Star Wars"? What could be the military and economic benefits? What could be the disadvantages?

teenager found wandering in the Canadian base camp. During the night, the teen was tortured and beaten to death. At first, a military inquiry found that only a few low-ranking officers had committed this terrible, racist crime. As more evidence came to light, however, it became clear that there had been a high-level attempt to cover up the incident. Canadians were shocked by these events. In 1995, the Airborne Regiment was disbanded. A serious shadow had been cast upon the reputation of Canada's armed forces.

## Rwanda

Canadians were also active in the central African country of Rwanda. This small nation was torn apart by ethnic rivalries. France and Belgium, the

former colonial forces in the area, sent troops to try to control the slaughter. A small detachment of U.N. peacekeepers was also sent under the command of Canadian Major General Roméo Dallaire.

When Dallaire realized the extent of the planned killings, he sent a series of urgent appeals to U.N. headquarters in New York. He outlined an ambitious military plan to halt the killing. As he saw it, the United Nations needed to send a huge multinational force to disarm the warring factions. For the plan to work, two things were required: speed and the support of the United States, the only country that could provide enough troops at short notice. Unfortunately, the response from the United Nations and Washington was unenthusiastic. The United States feared a defeat similar to that in Somalia. In April 1994, the world was horrified to learn of a massive wave of killing in Rwanda. Within a few weeks, close to a million people had died, including many women, old people, and babies.

With the failure of the U.N. efforts to keep the peace in the Persian Gulf, the former Yugoslavia, and Africa, many observers wondered what the future of the organization would be.



**Figure 6-21** The United Nations had greater success in Haiti than in Somalia or Rwanda. Canadian peacekeepers assumed a major role in policing this Caribbean country as it recovered from a brutal dictatorship. RCMP officers also helped to train a new Haitian police force in the newly democratic society.

## ACTIVITIES

1. Contrast Prime Minister Brian Mulroney's approach to foreign affairs with that of Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau. Present your information in the form of a diagram, chart, paragraph, poem, or other representation.
2. List at least four reasons for the end of the Cold War. Which reason(s) would you classify as economic? How would you classify your other reasons?
3. What are some areas in which military conflicts have occurred since the end of the Cold War? How and why have Canadians participated?
4. What did President Bush mean when he proclaimed a "new world order"?
5. What is the difference between peacekeeping and peacemaking?

## A New Era of Globalization

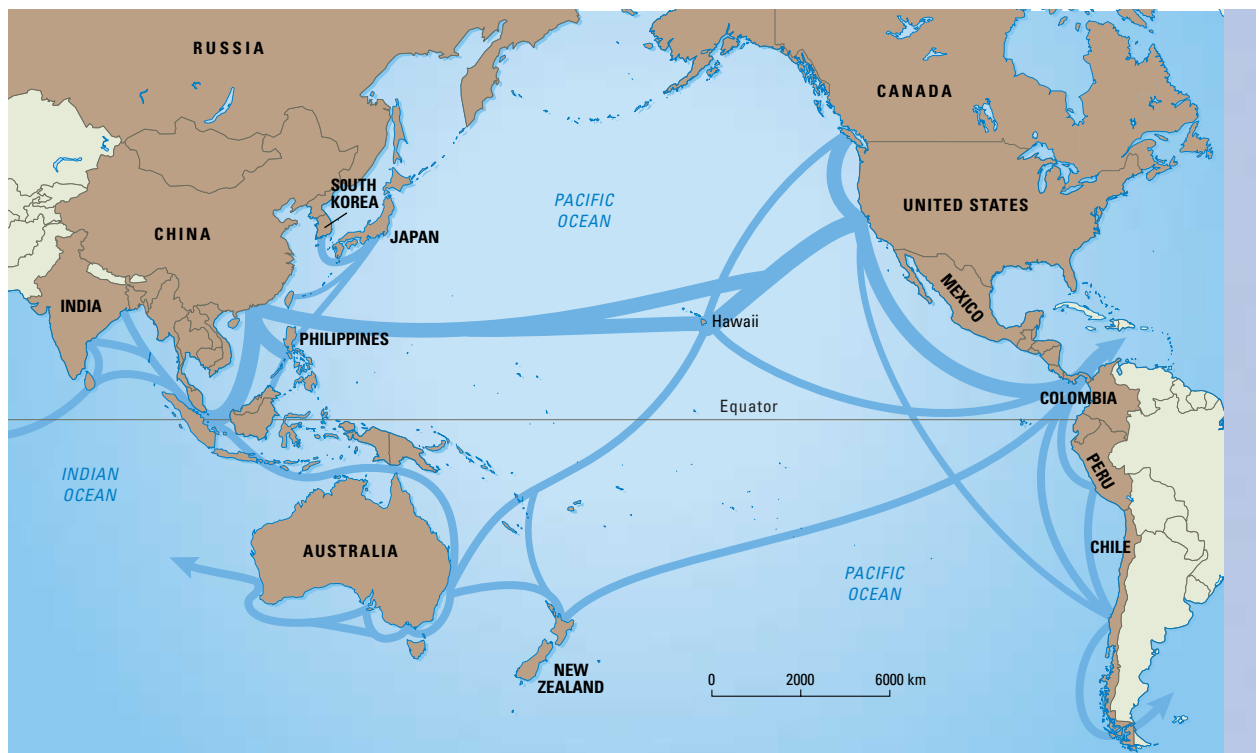
When the Liberals came to power in 1993, one of Prime Minister Jean Chrétien's priorities was to expand Canada's trading opportunities with other countries. He enthusiastically organized "Team Canada" trade missions to Asia and Latin America to secure deals for Canadian investment and exports. The Canadian government has signed free trade agreements with Chile and Israel. Canada also joined APEC (the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation Group) to promote freer trade among Pacific countries.

These trade initiatives were part of a trend sweeping the world by the end of the twentieth century. The trend was **globalization**—a vast network of business, communications, and cultural links among countries. Globalization was partly the result of rapid changes in commu-

tions technology and the fall of communism. Countries around the world were now "open for business." Goods could be easily shipped around the world, and the Internet made it possible to do business on-line in almost any part of the globe.

### Globalization as an Issue

Many people in Canada and around the world believe globalization is a powerful trend that cannot be stopped. They maintain that globalization will raise living standards for everyone, rich and poor. Large corporations will invest in less industrialized countries, creating jobs for many more people and raising standards of living. On the other hand, some observers doubt these optimistic predictions. The booming economies of the Philippines, Malaysia, and other "Asian tigers" had been held up as examples of how global trade could result in



**Figure 6-22** The Pacific Rim trading area, including major ocean trading routes.

**Expressing ideas** Why is the Pacific Rim trading area especially important to British Columbia?



**Figure 6-23** Prime Minister Chrétien participates in a tea ceremony during a trade mission to Japan.

**Thinking critically**

How would missions such as the one shown here lessen Canada's dependence on the United States?



great prosperity. In the late 1990s, however, these countries were hit with an economic crisis whose effects were felt throughout the new global economy. The Canadian economy suffered, especially in British Columbia, since Asian markets for lumber, minerals, and food products diminished. By 2000, the Asian tigers seemed to be recovering, but their economic troubles made some people question the stability of global trade.

There are other problems. Many multinational corporations have relocated to parts of the world, such as Latin America, where labour costs are low, and where there are few environmental regulations. Workers in many countries, including Canada, have lost their jobs because of these moves. Furthermore, globalization presents a threat to many countries' cultures as the ways of Western countries, especially the United States, spread and become dominant.

While Canadians hoped to benefit from the global economy, many also believed they had

global responsibilities. For example, should Canada build trade relationships with countries with a record of human rights abuses, such as China? In response to this issue, Canada introduced human rights as a topic in some of its trade talks, hoping to persuade its new partners to respect these rights in their countries.

## ACTIVITIES

1. Why did Jean Chrétien organize "Team Canada" trade missions?
2. Why do you think trade with Asian countries is especially important to British Columbia?
3. Develop your own definition of the word globalization.
4. List four possible benefits of globalization. List four possible negative effects.

## LOOKING BACK

### Develop an Understanding

1. On maps of North America, the Pacific Region, and Europe, locate and label sites of key events in this chapter.
2. Make up a series of ten or more Canadian newspaper headlines that you might have written if you were a newspaper editor from 1960 to 2001. Focus on the theme of Canadian independence in foreign policy.
3. Write a newspaper editorial on the fall of communist governments in Eastern Europe and the breakup of the Soviet Union.

### Explore the Issues

4. “Canada gained a reputation as an impartial and peace-loving nation.” Find evidence in the chapter for and against this viewpoint.
5. Explain why the war in Vietnam was unpopular with many people in the United States and Canada. What role did the media play? Explain why you think the United States lost this war.
6. Draw a political cartoon focussed on the “new world order.”
7. In a small group, debate the past importance of NATO, and the importance of its continuing existence. Write a summary of the main points raised in your debate, and share these with the class.

### Research and Communicate

8. Make up a set of test questions for a Canadian who might want to work in another country, perhaps in a Canadian embassy or in aid work. Your test questions should help interviewers determine how knowledgeable the candidate is about international events since World War II.

9. Using this chapter and independent research, develop an illustrated timeline for the Cold War.
10. Research the careers and policies of two of these Canadian prime ministers: Lester Pearson, John Diefenbaker, Pierre Trudeau, Brian Mulroney, Jean Chrétien. Write a script for a video play around a fictional encounter between your two chosen leaders.
11.
  - a. Has free trade been a success or failure? To answer this question properly, you need factual information about Canadians and Canada’s economy. Statistics on trade with the United States are useful. What other statistics might be helpful? Look for trends.
  - b. Find some statistics to help you evaluate the impact of free trade.
  - c. Use these statistics to support your view of free trade.
12. Create point-form notes for an overhead presentation on the topic “An Independent Canadian Foreign Policy.”
13. With a partner, research the history and activities of the United Nations. Design three awards that you think the United Nations could present, which represent its goals. Make up a list of criteria for each award.
14. Debate the following topic: *Resolved—That the United Nations should be strengthened in order to deal with peace issues.*
15. Design a “globalization” Web page that includes your own definition for the term, your analysis of its causes, and your evaluation of advantages and disadvantages. Consider using illustrations such as drawings, cartoons, photographs, diagrams, and maps.