

Section A

HISTORY OF CANADA

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CANADA UP TO CONFEDERATION

Poetry has a way of harnessing the unknown in striking ways, and so it is with the poet Robert Kroetsch. Far from asserting the inscrutability of originary moments, Kroetsch points out the essential Canadian truth: that there is no single celebratory moment to which the national narrative can be traced, simply because such a single moment does not exist. What does exist is the multiplicity of historical origins, where each culture has vitally contributed to the making of the composite mosaic of what we know today as the multicultural state of Canada. As Eli Mandel has rightly phrased it, Canada is characterised by “one common response to land and history expressed in many strong variants of the one” (48).

From this point of view, to trace the history of Canada up to the Confederation is not so much to discover beginnings, as to discover how Canada came to be what it is today. In other words, history is not so much about the past, as about how the present and the future grew out of that past, giving the inhabitants of Northern America the identity that we can distinctively recognise as ‘Canadian.’

Today, Canada is the world’s second largest country, a Federation of ten Provinces, and a member of the international comity of nations that can hold its head high owing to its immense contributions to human development. When one looks at Canada, it is easy to ignore the fact that this point of arrival was not easy in the making. It is easy to forget the complex processes that go all the way back to pre-historic times which have made Canada what she is today. One could say that the choice of the name “Canada” was a prophetic one, because of its origin in the Iroquoian term meaning “community” (though McNaught, while admitting the

Indian origin of the name, states that its meaning is obscure (21)). Today, Canada is indeed a community, a very diverse community, and one that has accommodated into itself multiple trajectories, multiple events, and multiple histories. How did this happen? What were the forces that went into the formation of Canada as we know her today? How crucial were they to the making of the Canadian mosaic? The answers to these questions are interesting not only because they show us the complex ways in which the warp and woof of history interweave, but also because they show how a determined nation sought to create a new destiny for herself, a destiny that was at once visionary and far-reaching.

Certainly, a convenient entry point into the complex task of understanding the origins of Canada is the historical event of Confederation, and the events leading up to it. The “Confederation” marks a watershed in the history of Canada, one that foregrounds the complex processes that went into the making of Canada since pre-historic times, and one that determined how Canada would be mapped in the days to come. Canadian history up to the Confederation reveals a combination of diverse and complex historical forces and circumstances, ranging from migration, colonial ambition, political chicanery, economic rapine, linguistic anxiety, and nationalist aspirations. It was out of this complex matrix that Canadian multiculturalism was forged.

A series of “arrivals” into Canada mark the beginning of the onset of the diversity that underpins Canadian multiculturalism today. The First Nation Indians, the earliest inhabitants, had come in from Asia in the Pleistocene Ice Age; the earliest records of the Bluefish Cave people go back to 11,000 BC, and records of Mongoloid habitation on the Pacific coast go back to 7000 BC (Friesen). By 1600, the First

Nation Indians numbered 1,50,000. Of these, the Iroquois had formed themselves into a Confederacy between 1390 and 1450. The Iroquoian-speaking Huron and Iroquois lived in permanent farm settlements in the St Lawrence Valley. Hence, they were the first to come into contact with European trading interests.

While the attempt to discover a northwest passage to India turned out to be a hopeless mission, Canada began to gradually dawn upon the European consciousness as a territory from which it could profit. In this sense, Canada began rather ambivalently as both an obstacle and an opportunity. The gradual rise of commercial and political interests transformed the innocent Canadian landscape into a contested territory, in which the conflicting powers vied first for economic and later political control. As McNaught has pointed out, “The beginnings of North American history are to be found in the almost frenetic adventuring of renaissance Europe - adventuring which broke through the customary frontiers of politics, science, religion and economics” (20).

Of the two European powers, it was France which first had the dream of an Empire in the New World. While the travels of John Cabot to Newfoundland in 1496 laid the foundations for English claims to Canada, the explorations of Jacques Cartier during the 1530s and 1540s made it possible for Canadian territory to be claimed by France. From the beginning of the seventeenth century, trade settlements were established in Acadia and Quebec on the St Lawrence River. Samuel de Champlain, “the natural hero of the French Canadian nation” (McNaught 22), played a key role both in the settlement of Quebec in 1608, and in the colonisation of Canada by France. French forays into the harsh Canadian interiors enhanced the rivalry between the Algonquins-Hurons on the one hand, and the Five-nation Iroquoian

Confederacy on the other, the latter wanting to divert the fur trade to their Dutch patrons. The French-Indian conflict raged on till the 1660s, when Louis XIV assumed power in Paris and gave a fresh lease of life to French imperial ambitions in Canada. In 1663, New France came under the royal authority of Louis XIV as a Royal Province. Efforts were under way to establish New France in rivalry to the English colonies in the south, as well as to wipe out the Iroquois resistance. The establishment of the Hudson Bay Company in London in the year 1670 saw the beginning of a proper British presence in Canada for the next two hundred years.

This Anglo-French rivalry intensified over the years, as European powers transferred their political rivalries in Europe onto a new theatre of war. In the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, English and French imperial rivalries spilled over into Northern America. New England, hemmed in by the French in New France to the North and the Mississippi in the South, and the French themselves hemmed in by the Hudson Bay Company in Northern Canada and the English colonies to the south, presaged a potentially conflicting situation. The wars of Europe precipitated this uneasy balance. The War of the Grand Alliance and the European war of Spanish Succession led to warfare, and the defeat of France. The Treaty of Utrecht (1713) gave the British the French territories of Newfoundland, Nova Scotia and the Hudson Bay region comprising of Rupert's Land and the adjoining Northwest Territories. Acadia had been recaptured in 1710 and was renamed Nova Scotia.

Of course, the Treaty of Utrecht did not end Anglo-French hostilities, which came to the fore again in the context of the War of Austrian Succession, leading to further French defeat in the Seven Years' War. The Anglo-French conflict of 1754

led in what was called the Great Upheaval of 1755 to the deportation of 12,000 French Acadians to southern Louisiana in order to circumvent a possible invasion of New England from the north. The conquest of Louisbourg and of Quebec in 1758 by a British army led by John Wolfe, and the subsequent surrender of Montreal in 1760 marked the transfer of New France to British rule by the Treaty of Paris. It was thus that British North America began to take shape.

The conquest of Quebec meant that governance involved relationships with new subjects of a different language, civil law and religion. James Murray and Sir Guy Carleton were important names here, in that they persuaded the Crown to guarantee the protection of French culture. As a result, the collaboration of the land-owning class and clergy was made possible, and a brief period of unity against the American troops who had captured Montreal in 1775 was ensured, such that they were repulsed and defeated at Lake Champlain.

The Quebec Act of 1774 is an important document in the ongoing saga of Anglo-French relations. An important offshoot of the American Revolution was that it not only impoverished the British, whose dreams of Empire in the New World was curtailed now by the loss of America, but it also evoked fears of a similar revolution in British North America. Moreover, the Loyalist refugees from the American War of Independence had settled in Nova Scotia, and their agitation for political rights led to the creation of New Brunswick out of Nova Scotia in 1784. The Constitutional Act of 1791 also divided Quebec into the largely French Lower Canada and the mostly English Upper Canada.

However, demographic equations were fast changing. Large-scale immigration after the War of 1812 between the United States and Britain added to the size of

the English-speaking populations, and there were attempts to anglicise Lower Canada. Tension increased with the final defeat of Napoleon at Waterloo. The half decade following the 1820s was crucial for Confederation. The new middle class of businessmen in all the colonies resented the English-speaking, largely Anglican ruling class, while immigrants from America advanced democratic norms; the Protestants and French Canadians of Lower Canada and the Irish Roman Catholics in New Foundland advanced religious differences as the basis of opposition. The idea of reform slowly gathered steam, and was strengthened by reform groups both moderate and radical. The British Government also encouraged union, as it was finding colonial defence expenditure too heavy. The rebellions of 1837 and 1838 pushed forward the case for reform and, though suppressed, brought matters to a head.

In response, the Crown appointed George Lambton, First Earl of Durham, a liberal English aristocrat as the first Governor General of North America in order to resolve the conflict scenario. The Durham Report of 1839 recommended the reunification of Upper and Lower Canada, and the creation of an executive responsible to the elected legislature. In 1840, the British Parliament passed the Act of Union into law, thereby uniting the two Canadas into the Province of Canada.

It is significant that the Union and Confederation phase marks the beginnings of a new phase for Canadian literature. It was around this time that Canadian literature began to come into its own. While continuing to imitate British literature, it would also strike out into new paths. The Confederation Group of Poets include William A. Stevens (*Hamilton and Other Poems*), William Kirby (*The*

U. E.) and Charles Sangster, who was hailed as the “national poet of Canada.” Charles Mair was a poet who took to play writing, writing such plays as *Tecumseh* (1886), a national drama which proved that Canadian character and incident were suitable material for a native Canadian drama. Literature begins to give expression to the spirit of the age, crafting in course of time a Canadian national identity. As Lorne has stated, “Confederation was still far off, but the idea of political union had been tried out, and a wider scheme was in the offing” (Lorne 7-8).

While the Union registered remarkable progress thereafter, the old ethnic tensions did not die out, indicating that a more permanent settlement than the Act of Union was necessary. The two Canadas were riven by misunderstandings between the neo-rich, urban business class and the rural farmers and professionals. “The Protestant British in Upper Canada particularly disliked what they considered undue French Roman Catholic influence in local affairs. The French in Lower Canada, on the other hand, resented English efforts to dominate and anglicise the colony. No coalition of parties was able to overcome these differences to win a stable majority, and by the mid-1860s, the two Canadas were almost ungovernable” (“Canada” 21). Moreover, Upper and Lower Canada, renamed Canada East and Canada West, were united under a single legislature, which was felt to be not in the interests of Lower Canada. Compounding the problem was the designation of English as the sole language of both the legislature and government, and the fact that Lower Canada had to bear the burden of a much higher Upper Canadian debt.

Furthermore, the American Civil War that broke out in 1861 seemed threateningly poised to take over British North America in a kind of belated aftermath of the War of Independence. A number of factors that have been identified as congenial for the rise of Confederation include fears of American expansionism, the rise of English Canadian nationalism, the democratic ethos of responsible government, the federal delegation of responsibility, the desire to create a new nationality, the desire to avoid the drawbacks of the dysfunctional Union of 1840, and the desire for survival. Belanger has argued that “[. . .] in Quebec [. . .] the massive pro-Confederation argument rested not so much on the idea of union with others, a prospect that highlighted the minority position of Quebec and potentially frightened its people, but, rather, that the federal system would recreate an autonomous province of Quebec, in the hands of French Canadians, and with a Legislature that would take care of all of the subjects so important for the survival of the people of Quebec as a separate entity in North America. While the principle of union was the biggest selling point in Ontario, provincial autonomy was stressed instead in Quebec” (5). It was out of this matrix of affairs that the movement for unification arose.

In 1864, the coalition government of Cartier-Macdonald and George Brown, though of different political persuasions, met at Charlottetown first, and subsequently at Quebec City, putting forth 72 resolutions advancing the agenda of unification, and giving shape to the Canadian Confederation. Adopted by most of the colonies, they became the basis for the London Conference of 1866, in the wake of which the British Parliament passed the British North America Act in March 1867, proclaiming Canada a Confederation on July 1, 1867.

The Dominion of Canada - a federation of the Atlantic colonies Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Quebec and Ontario, thus came into being, remaining within the British Empire as a self-governing colony. Sir John Alexander MacDonalD was elected Prime Minister in 1867. He would shoulder the task of building a nation with grit and tact. As Paquin has stated (6), the regionalism of pre-Confederation Canada had made the Union of 1840 unworkable, and the Fathers of Confederation had created what Paquin calls a “quaisfederalism.” John A. MacDonalD gave the Dominion Government “extraordinary powers for a federal system in a bid to eliminate regionalism and create a new nationality” (Paquin 6).

This new nationality was perhaps most aptly symbolised in the Canadian railway. The Intercolonial Railway, linking Montreal with the Maritimes, and the Grand Trunk Railway, extending from Sarnia through Montreal to Portland, Maine were the two railway companies that charted the nation’s geographical contours. From 1852 to 1867, over 3200 kms. of track were laid.. Kevin Flynn points out (quoting Russell McDougall) that the Canadian Pacific Railway has been regarded as “a potent symbolism for enacting the sense of nation, steel lines running through the disparate regions of the mosaic” (70). He adds, pointedly, that the Canadian Railway differs from that of the US: in the latter, the railway embodied the “individualist vision of the American Dream,” while Canadians adopted the railways as their “national dream,” which was “a vision of cooperation and collective industriousness” (70).

The saga of Canadian Confederation did not end in 1867. It was in a sense only the beginning of the story. It would take a while before the reservations about Confederation were fully addressed. The opposition strength was seen in the fact

that in Canada's first election of September 1867, opponents of Confederation in Nova Scotia won 18 out of 19 seats; in the provincial elections, they won 36 out of 38 seats. In Quebec, unlike in Ontario, the response to the Confederation was less enthusiastic because of the perceived losses arising from it. However, as Belanger has stated, a mix of political realism, the support of powerful elites, the lack of viable alternatives, and the advantages of federalism, made Confederation in line with the survival of Quebec and hence worthy of support (1).

Despite these initial setbacks, the path of Confederation was clear and would grow in the succeeding years. Manitoba and the Northwest Territories joined the Confederation in July 1870, followed by British Columbia (July 1871), Prince Edward Islands (July 1873), and Yukon (June 1898). In the twentieth century, the Confederation was to be enlarged with the entry of Alberta and Saskatchewan (September 1905), Newfoundland (March 1949), and Nunavut (April 1999). In this sense, the Canadian Confederation is an ongoing process, both in its geographical and its imaginative and emotional sense. Today, there are ten Provinces and three Territories in Canada.

The history of Canadian Confederation, however, largely obscures the presence of the native and other populations within the Canadian Confederation. As Daniel Francis has pointed out, "The successful, and relatively peaceful, settlement of Canada by European newcomers was possible largely because a vast number of the original inhabitants, the First Nations, were wiped out by terrible plagues against which they had no defence. This holocaust is arguably the most important episode in Canadian history, yet most of us pay it far less attention than Confederation (...)" (11-12). In this sense, Confederation is fraught with ambiguity, for even as it

reveals the centrifugal forces in Canadian society, it also shows the centripetal trends. However, this is not necessarily a disadvantage. As Ralph Nelson and others have pointed out, “Canadian Confederation represents a particular kind of amalgamated security community, one with a federal structure” (51). Nelson goes on to argue that Canada must be viewed essentially as a political unit that has become amalgamated, without necessarily achieving integration (85). Morrison makes the point succinctly: “Many Canadians revel in a national self-image as a mosaic - each ethnic group maintaining its distinctive character while still being essential to the whole. The image has some validity, but it seriously underplays pressures towards cultural conformity, especially at the regional level” (13).

This is particularly true if Canadian history is seen as an extension of either United States history or European history. The attempt to apply the Turner hypothesis of the Frontier to Canadian history, or the tendency to view Canadians as a “British” race and Canadian history as a historical process to engender what Careless calls a “Britannic community” (4) in Canada, are instances that point to this trend. Nonetheless, this view sets off Canada independently from the US, amounting to what Careless calls “a declaration of independence from the US” (5), which was a point that gathered strength from the foiled invasions of 1776, 1812, and 1867. Confederation thus marks the emergence of Canada as an autonomous nation in the Northern American continent.

However, it was in the post-1867 phase that Confederation began to move away from the attestation of an anti-American faith in British institutions, and from the tendency to see Canadian history as a realisation of British institutions, to the emphasis on autonomy and national rights, and to the essential task of survival. As

McNaught has argued, “[...] if there was suspicion of the direct democracy assumptions of the Americans, there was also a belief in the virtues of the parliamentary tradition and particularly in the pragmatic flexibility of that tradition. But above all there is a conviction that survival, with its connotations of regional cultural differences could be ensured only by federation. And both risks and opportunities were embedded in this conviction” (137). As late as the 1920s, Mackenzie King would argue for the right not to have a foreign policy, which, at its essence, represented a desire to move away from political and national traditions in shaping a new Canada in the light of evolving priorities.

In 1982, the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms, added by the passage of the Constitution Act to Canada’s Constitution, guaranteed, *inter alia*, the equality of the French and English languages. At the same time, there has been an extension and liberal broadening of the processes that led to Confederation, creating the unique Canadian policy of multiculturalism. It appears that the spirit of Confederation is alive (and well) in Canada, though demanding renewed commitments from time to time.

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POST CONFEDERATION: IMMIGRATION, INDUSTRIALIZATION, CANADA TODAY

Canada is a vast land like the United States, though the major part of the country is largely inaccessible and much more of the country is uninhabitable. Majority of the Canadians today speak English while French is spoken by about 27 percent. Way back in 1497 the Italian navigator John Cabot, who was in the service of the English king Henry VII landed on Cape Breton in north-eastern Nova Scotia and claimed it for England. In 1534 Jacques Cartier reached the Gulf of St. Lawrence and claimed the region for France. A French colony was founded in New Brunswick in 1604 and another in Quebec in 1608, while Montreal was founded in 1642. By 1663 the French settlements in the geographical region now known as Canada, formed the colony of New France, which expanded southwards.

With the formation of the English corporation named Hudson's Bay Company (1670), which established trading posts north of New France, began a prolonged rivalry between France and England over provinces in this region. Finally in early 1760s the British captured Quebec and conquered New France. It was only in 1867 that the "Dominion of Canada" was established by the British North American Act, bringing together the provinces of Ontario, Quebec, Nova Scotia and New Brunswick. *Confederation* was the term employed by Canadians, though the establishment was more like a *federation*, with a central government.

AFTER CONFEDERATION: GROWTH OF THE NATION

In the early decades of the Dominion, there were hardships of various kinds. Growing immigration was one problem. Large numbers of immigrants moved into the country from Europe and the United States since the last decade of the nineteenth century. The bitter feelings that lingered between the English-speaking

and the French-speaking peoples of Canada, was another problem. This deepened during the first Métis rebellion, often called the Red River Rebellion. The Métis had feared that they would lose their homesteads when the Dominion government negotiated with the Hudson's Bay Company to buy its lands. Led by Louis Riel, they rebelled, but the government put down the revolt and Riel fled to the United States. Riel returned in 1884 and led another rebellion, which was also put down and he was hanged to death.

Sir John Alexander Macdonald was elected Prime Minister in 1867, and he took up the task of building a nation. The dominion in 1867 did not include all the British territories in North America. All the northern territory was part of Rupert's Land, the fur-trading empire was held by the Hudson's Bay Company. Macdonald planned to purchase the fur company's lands, but the process of transfer was delayed until 1870 due to the Métis rebellion. After the revolt was put down, Red River became Manitoba province and existing land titles were guaranteed. Manitoba, which was bilingual at its foundation, became an English speaking province. English became the dominant language throughout the West because the French Canadians took little interest in distant prairie settlement.

British Columbia became the sixth province of the Dominion in 1871. Prince Edward Island and Newfoundland were the other two colonies on the east coast that had not joined Canada in 1868. The first was constrained by a recession to seek financial relief by joining Canada, which it did in 1873. Alberta and Saskatchewan were created in 1905 out of the old Hudson's Bay Company. Newfoundland did not join until 1949. It became the tenth province in 1949.

The provincial governments of the Dominion were granted powers under federal supervision, so that they could develop their own resources and shape their own social institutions. Unionists hoped that this division of powers would prevent the kind of sectional bickering that had disrupted the American republic. Confederation had created a nation of relatively few people in a vast territory. The Dominion's population was 3.7 million 1871. Of the total population, one million were French Roman Catholic, 850,000 Irish Roman Catholic and Protestant, and more than 1 million English and Scottish Protestants; all of them were mutually suspicious. The rest of the population was a mix of indigenous peoples, other European immigrants, Blacks escaping slavery in the United States, and Chinese who mostly worked with railway companies.

Sir Wilfred Laurier, who succeeded Macdonald in 1896, became the first French Canadian Prime Minister of Canada. Believing strongly in personal liberty and freedom of choice, Laurier argued that there should not be any clash between religion and liberal politics. Religion was a matter for private conscience and choice. The state should, at most, facilitate that choice, not dictate it. Along with race and religion, prosperity and economy too were counted as important issues preoccupying the electorate. Economic controversy centered on the tariff and this issue was the focus of the relations with the United States. But the United States had reciprocally abolished certain tariffs between 1854 and 1866. Though the Americans terminated this tariff regime in 1866 by calling it reciprocity, many Canadians wanted it back. As part of a British delegation sent to Washington, Macdonald tried his hand at negotiating reciprocity in 1871.

Though the Liberals tried in 1874, they didn't succeed in this. In 1878, when the Conservatives returned to power, they remained disposed to reciprocity.

But the attitude of the Americans remained always the same. Somehow reciprocity continued to attract some Canadian voters, especially farmers, who disliked the high cost of Canadian-made manufactured goods. Laurier tried to turn this sentiment for political advantage by proposing for the 1891 federal election "unrestricted reciprocity" or "commercial union."

More people left Canada in the last four decades of the nineteenth century than simply moving on and the strange thing was that the people who moved were mainly Native Canadians. According to the 1900 U.S. census, there were 1,179,922 Native Canadians living in the United States, a figure equal to 22 percent of the contemporary Canadian population. Only a high birth-rate allowed Canada to grow at all. By 1901 the term *American cousin* had literal and quite common meaning and has been applied to French as well as English Canadians. During the years after Confederation, farmers drifted to the cities and as a result, Montreal changed from English-speaking to French-speaking city. But French-language migrants did not stop at the border. They continued to the south, to the industrial cities around Boston, and stayed there. In the long run, they lost their language and most of their distinctive culture, but the fact that they were going to a foreign place did not inhibit their departure. From this vantage point, politics and language appear inseparable. The mixture was so volatile that the temptation to keep politics restricted to other less dangerous topics was overwhelming.

Foreign affairs mattered very little for Canada during the late nineteenth century. The Dominion was a part of the British Empire and the empire was at peace with any country that could seriously pose challenge. The period from 1870 to 1890 witnessed the expansion of the Britain Empire. The expansion was sometimes peaceful but sometimes not, but never in the face of resistance from

any great power. There were only few countries without British investment, for the British were exporting their economic surplus to Russia, to South America, and to North America.

Canada took investment from wherever it could find. Prior to 1900, it was mostly British investment but after 1900, in terms of direct investment, that meant mostly American. From 1895 to 1915, Canada's railroad system expanded rapidly from 16,000 miles of track to 46,000. Two new transcontinental railroads, the Canadian Northern and the Grand Trunk Pacific, were laid down. Both involved government assistance in varying degrees, for the very good reason that the railroad companies could not easily see how they were to make adequate profits. In 1921, the creation of a vast government-owned railroad system, stretching from the Atlantic to the Pacific, called the Canadian National Railway, was a great railroad adventure which ended up in nationalization. The railroad net was both a cause and a consequence of the Great Wheat Boom of 1896-1914, one of the most important developments in Canadian economic history.

Most regions of Canada shared in the economic boom though it was most spectacular on the prairies. One measure of economic advance is the population a region can support. In 1901 the Canadian prairies had a population of roughly 420,000. In 1911, it was 1,330,000 and it was approaching 2 million in 1921. Just like population, immigration too increases. From 16,835 in 1896 it rose to 272,409 in 1907; then after a slight dip, it went up again, reaching 400,870 in 1913, the highest figure ever. The foreign-born population of Canada rose from 699,500 in 1901 to 1,955,725 in 1921; the largest single component among the foreign-born, however was from the British Isles--more than 1 million of the 1921 total. The next-largest group was from the United States with a rate of 374,000 in 1921.

The wheat-growing lands of the West were shared out among the settlers, so that new and hardier strains of wheat had been developed and farming could go further North than anyone had previously imagined. The federal government negotiated a deal with the Canadian Pacific Railway in 1897 and as a result, rates for transporting grain were lower and it, in turn, encouraged western settlement.

The organization of western settlement was the responsibility of the federal government. Even in Manitoba, Ottawa had retained control over the government land and mineral rights. The rest of the prairies were grouped as the Northwest Territories. As in the United States, territories passed through a system of direct rule, with a government appointed from Ottawa, and then through a period of shared responsibility between elected local representatives and federal civil servants.

In 1905, the prairies were judged to be ready for provincial status. There was no particular difficulty about dividing the territories into three parts. The North remained under direct federal jurisdiction, and the South was cut into two provinces: Alberta and Saskatchewan. As in Manitoba, the federal government retained control of crown lands and minerals. Ethnically, half the population derived from the British Isles, either directly or several generations back, and they set the political tone.

Although Laurier's time in office coincided with the Progressive Era in American history, the Canadian party system opposed the fierce attack of regulated virtue somewhat better than its American counterpart did. Many of the same issues popped up. In Ontario, the issue of public ownership was resolved against "the interest" and in favor of a broader definition of public involvement.

However, the definition drew its support from manufacturers and local entrepreneurs who believed that they would receive fairer treatment through the political system than they would through the operations of an unregulated market.

In the United States too the civil service reform became an issue and was resolved in the same way. Conservation raised its head and was adopted as a cause by Clifford Sifton. The Canadian prairies, like the American Midwest, too discovered a sense of grievance against the eastern economic interests that dominated federal economic policy and plundered western consumers through the tariff. Since Canada was still part of the British Empire, and after 1896 the Empire increasingly demanded attention, Laurier was not free to conduct Canadian-American elections in a vacuum. Britain had been losing ground economically to the United States and to Germany, though it was impressive, prosperous and powerful. British relations with the United States were on the whole placid, but that with Germany and the whole of continental Europe were fragile.

A crisis that occurred in 1899 proved the fragility of Britain's relation with the European countries. In far-away South Africa, the British Empire had come into conflict with two Dutch-speaking settler states, the Orange Free State and the Transvaal. The Afrikaners, or Boers, as they called themselves, invaded British territory in October 1899 and, in the months that followed, defeated everything the British sent against them. To its astonishment, the British government found little sympathy abroad for its predicament. Britain had no allies, and it soon appeared that it had no friends either. Only its colonies rallied to the cause and sent troops. But in Canada's case, the troops were not sent without a political crisis.

The autumn of 1899 witnessed the clash between the two Canadian attitudes: English-speaking imperialism and French-speaking isolationism. Laurier compromise that allowed Canadian volunteer units to go to South Africa on the understanding that the British would pay for them when they got there was accepted. The troops went, fought in several battles and returned home covered in imperial glory. French Canadians neither did object to volunteers getting themselves killed in foreign wars nor did they object to the modest expenditures on horses and saddles and uniforms (many of them made in Quebec) that the war entailed. In the November 1900 general election, Laurier swept Quebec and most of the rest of the country as well.

The South African war ended in 1902 and that year an imperial conference of the self-governing British colonies was held in London. Even if Laurier had agreed for increased Canadian involvement in British foreign and defense policies, he would have had difficulty in defining what those policies should be. The British faced eastward, toward Europe; Canada's government was concerned mostly with its own backyard in North America, and therefore with the United States.

There was a dispute over the Alaskan boundary, which had achieved importance with the discovery of gold in the Yukon in 1896. The gold rush of 1897-98 followed, and so did police administrators and customs officers. The boundary had been defined by a treaty of 1825 between Britain and Russia, which had then owned Alaska.

American President Theodore Roosevelt made it clear that he would not accept any decision unfavorable to the United States, and the American arbitrators he appointed were strong partisans of his view. When compared to the American

arbitrators, the Canadian arbitrators were not better, but they lost. It was clear to the Canadians present at the arbitration that the British had simply decided that American friendship was too important to be sacrificed for Canada, and that in any case there was nothing that could be done to alter Roosevelt's position. As an outcome, Canada was sacrificed.

From the British point of view, the decision was the right one for Britain did not want, and certainly did not need, a quarrel with the United States. Even for Canada, the Alaskan boundary question was not an important issue, for they had no doubt that the Canadians would get over it. They got over it with some serious geopolitical reflections and the conclusion was that although the British Empire was only too happy to have Canadians defend it, such a defence was a one-way street.

The Alaskan boundary dispute increased the necessity for Canada to improve its relationships with the United States. The British embassy in Washington, which handled Canada-U.S. relations, wanted Ottawa's dealings with Washington to be put on a more regular reliable basis. Their messages sent to Ottawa often got lost because there was nobody there to answer them. Laurier established a Department of External Affairs in 1909, under British pressure, to run the files and make sure that correspondence received an answer. The Department of External Affairs was intended to be a housekeeping bureau and it nevertheless became a centre for knowledge and interest on foreign policy. In 1909, the Canadian and U.S. governments settled for an International Joint Commission to regulate trans-border disputes over water, pollution and similar matters.

It was in the context of generally good and improving Canada-U.S. relations that Laurier made his reciprocity agreement of 1911. The rest of the international horizon was, however, not so cheery. Britain started seeking out allies for they were on the verge of an economic decline and they knew that they could not defend their great empire on their own. So they first started an ally with Japan in 1902, with France in 1905 and with Germany in 1907. Their common rival was Germany, which threatened British control of the seas. To meet this threat, the British engaged in a naval race, building as many battleships as they could afford. They also turned to their colonies for financial assistance.

In the 1911 election, Henri Bourassa and his French Canadian nationalists joined hands with the imperialist Conservatives in defeating Laurier. They actually agreed on nothing else. The new Prime Minister, Sir Robert Borden, though talented, was an austere person. But the naval question defied his talents. As a result of the fundamental divisions on the matter between the Conservatives and the Liberals, and between the English and the French Canadians, Canada still did not have a naval policy, and hardly any navy, when the war broke out in Europe in August 1914.

Every citizen, irrespective of cast, creed or position, reacted to the British cause. The Germans had invaded neutral Belgium and violated international law. They were also threatening Britain and were on the point of defeating France and Russia. The Canadian volunteers did not think much. They rushed to the colors, and within a few months the first of hundreds of thousands of them crossed the Atlantic to join the British Expeditionary Force in France.

Laurier knew that Borden was ineffective and unconvincing in French Canada. With the support of the Irish Catholic bishops, Ontario had used this golden opportunity to abolish French-language schools in the province. But the attempts to sway the Conservative government of Ontario to reconsider proved spectacularly fruitless.

Borden provoked a political crisis in 1917 with his decision that only conscription would produce enough reinforcement for the Canadian army in Europe. The English Canadians favoured this while on the other hand, the French Canadians opposed this decision. In the December 1917 election, Canada was split very much on racial lines and Laurier was left to lead a mostly French-speaking Liberal opposition party in the Parliament. Though the French Canadians were bitterly alienated, they had not abandoned Canada. This was Laurier's greatest and his last achievement for he died soon after this in February 1919.

The conscription crisis was just one among the crisis to afflict Canadian society during World War I. The Canadian economy was mobilized to support the war. In 1917 the entry of the United States into war came as a relief to Canada for the American government cooperated with Canada in war finance and war production. Britain's financial instability made them dependent on United States and it became a sign of Britain's weakening position in the world.

In November 1918, when the war ended with Germany's defeat, it was none too soon. The Canadian society has become politically, racially, and economically polarized. Sir Robert Borden believed the contribution of troops, supplies, and money to the empire's war effort by Canada, to be causative in winning Canada the position to be consulted on matters of British foreign policy. The British had

created some mechanisms like an Imperial War Cabinet, which took some important decisions. In 1917, Borden persuaded his empire colleagues to pass a resolution in favor of a better-structured empire. In such an empire, the Dominions would have equal status with the British government.

Borden had British support for autonomous Canadian participation both at the Paris Peace Conference and in the League of Nations. The British wanted Canadian support, but they did not need Canadian advice. The war had been too much for Borden and his government. He never again fully functioned as prime minister after he collapsed in September 1919. He resigned in 1920 and was succeeded as head of a Conservative-Liberal coalition by Meighen. He was controversial, honest, believer in a high protective tariff, had scant sympathy for farmers' complaints about the National Policy.

In retrospect, with all the most unpopular measures of the war, it was not surprising that Meighen lost the election of 1921. He did nothing about farmers' demands for a lower tariff and a more favorable economic system. The man to whom Meighen lost was a former college classmate, William Lyon Mackenzie King. He had been a minister under Laurier, a labor expert in U.S. and a Laurier Liberal in the 1917 election. He, too, could do nothing much about farmers' discontent, but he did not go out of his way to confront them. Mackenzie King saw the division of Canadians into two basic categories: Liberal voters and potential Liberal voters. A decade of confrontation came to an end with the election of King and the Liberals in December 1921. King was determined that Canada should never again have to tolerate such a test.

The Inter-War Period

Canada shifted concentration from foreign affairs to internal ones. The tensions and the after effects of the war were causative factors for this shift. In Canadian life the disturbances were mainly due to foreign affairs. The then prime minister, Mackenzie King, having identified war as the prime disruptive force, placed stress on national integration.

On the other hand, the orators of the Liberal party in Quebec tried to disrupt King's concept of unity by bringing forth conscription into the minds of the voters of Quebec. While many of the French Canadians and the English Canadians pacified down to settle down in Canada, the majority were against it. Though the empire still stood and irrespective of the conditions of peace and war, the majority of the English Canadians considered themselves to be British.

Taking into account the feelings of the people, King announced at the imperial conference in 1923 that at the hour of any "great and clear call of duty," Canada would stand by Britain. And when it came to the real situation, the British government got a pleasant surprise by the support of King. All the while, King was being considerate towards his country and so he wanted to keep minor disputes away. To keep away debates regarding the fundamental differences between the English and the French Canadians, King did not allow the subject of foreign policy to be made prominent in the country. He didn't want his country's support be taken for granted.

The Department of External Affairs was reinforced and a group of brilliantly efficient professional Foreign Service officers was formed. They were made to

keep a sharp eye on international affairs. This “all analysis and no action” had actually disappointed many of the officers.

This action had its own advantages. In the 1920s, the Dominions victoriously established their status of independent countries under the basis of the common language and the few common institutions that included the monarchy of George V. Canada therefore acquired the right to send ambassadors abroad, and the colonial secretary's jurisdiction over Canada finally lapsed.

Thus, Canada followed the route of a minimal foreign policy in the time between the two world wars. Though a very small role, Canada played a constructive part as a member of the League of Nations. “Parliament will decide” was King's approach. He preferred to take no policy until then.

It was disengagement that had become the major feature of the government of King in the 1920s. In his opinion, the federal government had become hyperactive, thereby, very expensive. He was of the opinion that social policy belonged to the provinces. By reducing national debt and gradually lowering federal taxes he was making room for those Canadian governments that were vested with the responsibilities for health and welfare, as per the Constitution.

King's argument could not take him any further than this. The opinions in the Maritime Provinces, in the mid-1920s, exposed the fact that their economies were in ruins. Political action caused agitations and protests and this resulted in systematic investigations that brought much relief in the form of subsidies and concessions. The fact that all the provinces were not capable of affording social services because of their poor economic condition and low tax base got accepted.

The solutions that appeared on screen were either to look forward towards federal and provincial support programs or to migrate to other parts of Canada or to the United States. Canadians migrated from the Maritime Provinces and the countryside to cities with higher per capita incomes and higher rates of employment. After 1921, the census showed a steep decline in the number of Canadians living in rural areas. While many moved on to cities, many others left the countryside altogether. During the 1921-1931 decade, 1.2 million persons immigrated to Canada, but 900,000 Canadians left, mostly for the United States.

The increase in the chances of employment led to the rise in the standard of living and leisure. Like the Americans and western Europeans, their demands on institutions increased. This resulted in the lengthening of the school years, thereby, giving more of the government to the people. Till 1931, Canadian students spent an average of ten years at school. They used to leave by the age of 16. While the students in the Maritimes and in Quebec left earlier, those in the prairies stayed longer. There was great rush to secondary schools.

There was also an increase in the enrolment of students at the universities. This included both men and women, which in turn reflected the broader change in society. At the same time, the percentage of women on the upper positions of the ladder of education was still less. Doctoral research was an area of male reserve. The condition of schools, roads and hospitals are explanatory of the expenditure in the 1920s by the provincial governments and also the rise in the proportion of provincial expenditures, compared with those at the federal level.

This led to the assertion of the provincial government in getting its demands fulfilled like more revenue in the 1920s. The Prairie Provinces secured control over

their natural resources and public lands; the Maritimes, as was already mentioned, received more subsidies; Quebec and Ontario acquired limited federal jurisdiction over hydroelectric power. All these factors led the provinces to limit successfully the abilities of the federal government in amending the Constitution. This decision was later regretted by them.

King kept himself away from helping them at this point of time, though it can't be said that he was being uncharitable. He said that he won't spend "a five-cent piece" to a Tory provincial government for the purpose. The Conservative opposition leader, R.B. Bennett - a Calgary corporation lawyer, utilized this attitude of King. He took this opportunity caused by depression to defeat King in the 1930 general election.

In his approach towards the economic problems, Bennett was no better than King. While King had no solution for financial problems, Bennett's solution was to raise the Canadian tariff. As economists had predicted, building high the tariff walls would not help in curing Depression. The tragic part of it was that nobody listened to the economists.

Due to the lack of luxuries, Bennett's concepts of local autonomy, like King's, couldn't be put to practice. By this time, most of the nine provinces in Canada had reached their limits of raising money for necessities. To save the credit ratings of the country and to save it from the disasters of national finances, Bennett moved out to help them and didn't leave them off to be bankrupt. For these reasons he had to help them, though without genuine interest.

1935 saw the colouring of all provinces, but one, in the hues of the liberal government. Alberta was the one province that stood out from this. In Alberta the

radical Populist Party with its Social Credit, was elected for its promise to print money out of thin air. The fact was that the monetary system of Social Credit was outside provincial jurisdiction.

The efforts of the Alberta government to carry out some small projects were crushed to nothing by the federal government and the courts, thereby, vesting the powers back into the hands of Mackenzie King. Bennett tried a last time to save his position, like the Roosevelt administration across the border. But this failed which resulted in repelling his own Conservative voters. They then turned to Mackenzie King. Their slogan “King or chaos” brought good results in the 1935 federal elections. The Canadian people got King, but they were no closer to ridding themselves of the Depression. Perhaps that did not matter so much as some have believed, for the 1930s proved to be a remarkably conservative decade in terms of politics and policy.

World War II and its Aftermath.

It was believed that the participation of Canada in World War II in 1939 would give rise to racial conflict and social distortion in the Canadian political system, as faced by Canada between 1917 and 1919. But this dark prophesy was proved wrong due to some general reasons, which includes the fact that the war was fought far from Canadian shores and also that Canada suffered no physical damage during the war. Canada’s Western provincial government successfully coped with the demands of war than their predecessors in 1914 because they took steps to understand the administration and economics of Canada.

Apart from these, there were other factors also that favoured Canada, one being the strong position of the Liberal party in 1939. Its leader was a master, par

excellence, in managing and holding together opposites. He elevated compromise and obfuscation to an art form. His cabinet was of exceptionally high caliber, on which he could exert power very tactically, without offending them.

The bureaucracy, over which the cabinet had presided, was a well educated and experienced one. It was small enough to achieve a genuine unity of purpose and practice, as well as esprit de corps. To avoid the terrific inflation caused by World War I, the bureaucracy taxed and borrowed and controlled wages and prices in proportion. By the end of the war in 1945, prices were actually below the levels of that of the previous war. The labour conflict was managed in a very effective manner by the government and so the strikes during this period were far lesser in number than it was in 1917 or 1918. There was profiteering and scandals in the period from 1914 to 1918. The politicians and bureaucrats checked this down.

The weight of the war was borne largely by the Canadian industry. Many changes and alterations were effected during this period to the industries. The large automobile manufacturing sector could be converted to producing trucks. Locomotive shops were, with less success, converted to tank production. An aircraft industry was created; Britain and United States provided Canada with almost all tools. Even the plans and management skills were taken from them. On the other hand, almost all the war executives were homegrown. Canada also hosted a huge British Commonwealth Air Training programme where Canada-made planes rolled out from the factory to the training fields. By the time, the empire came to be called the Commonwealth.

However, not all these production and training were child's play. The victory loans and taxation were the sole relief. Exports were also very crucial at

this point. As for help, Britain was effectively broke and couldn't help, to quote the British ambassador's words. The only source was the United States. Luck stood with Canada as the war production of U.S. lagged by a year and they bought the products from Canada.

The Hyde Park agreement of 1941, a single system for the purchase of war supplies was formed. This didn't help in free trade but was highly successful in simplifying cross-border transfers. The scarcity of labor and the shortage of military manpower of World War I were repeated this time also. But the King government was better prepared than Borden's government in dealing with these problems.

When the Allied armies in Europe were routed by the Germans in the spring of 1940, and France fell to the enemy, King and Lapointe had steered conscription for home defence through Parliament, with almost no resistance inside or outside Parliament. Lapointe's death was a setback. But Louis St. Laurent - a new recruit to the cabinet took his place as the French Canadian Lieutenant. In the aftermath of Pearl Harbor, King asked the voters if they could free the government from its word of no conscription for overseas service. The electorate consented to this, while most of Quebec opposed. St.Laurent in the referendum too supported King in this.

Though conscription was cleared, it was only for namesake in 1942. Conscription, in real, was practiced only in 1944 when the casualties mounted in Normandy and Belgium. St.Laurent, till the last moment positively refused to send anyone but volunteers to Europe, supported King. By the end of 1944, conscripts, including many French Canadians were sent as they were genuinely needed.

The question of security was put to the forefront in the election of June 1945. Full employment was a topic that was discussed by the government. An attractive package of veteran's benefits was presented as well as a moderate progressive record on things like labour policy. When the war was over, conscription was not at all a topic of discussion in Quebec. In a year when the general trend of opinion was toward the left, the Liberals offered just the right mixture of progressivism and demonstrated managerial capacity. It was this that helped them in winning the elections.

At this stage, the Canadian government faced three major policy questions, viz, the kind of international system that could help Canada, the sort of domestic society that the Canadian government wished to legislate and finally the question of the sort of balance that had to be established between federal power and provincial responsibility in post war Canada. The trickiest part of the complication was that the answer of each question had a bearing on the other two.

The government of Canada was fed up with the prolonged confrontation of the war. The indefinite mobilization of manpower and resources was telling. The troops were called back home and to normal civilian life.

These soldiers were readily accepted into civilian society and so there were no traces of unemployment. Soon the traces of war got subdued. The government had cut off taxes to a great limit. At the same time, it implemented many novel programmes of which the children's allowance was the most notable one. The expenditure on non-essentials was reduced sharply. This reduction included spending on defence.

The success in their wartime planning of Canada's senior civil servants and most of Mackenzie King's senior ministers made him believe that they could effectively make a Liberal economic plan for the country. At federal-provincial conferences in 1945-46, they urged the provincial governments to concede social policy, including health insurance to the federal government.

A plan of the Canadian political agenda was set for the forthcoming twenty-five years in the ambitious social security proposals of 1945. All the ideas, viz, comprehensive pensions, hospital insurance and health insurance, were enforced finally. Ontario reentered the national tax system in 1952 and Canada kept its national unemployment programme. After 1946 there was much prosperity. Old age pensions were assigned to federal responsibility by the constitutional amendment of 1951. As a joint federal-provincial programme, in 1957, hospital insurance followed. Budgets were conceived according to the best Keynesian countercyclical principles. The general prosperity of the times helped the government in forming surplus budgets.

The question that arose at this point of time was the reason for the prosperity of Canada. Statistics explain the reason not to be from trade but something else. The fact being that after 1945, there was no increase in exports but imports did rise. From 1950 onwards, Canada ran a current account deficit. It was the capital imports, especially from America, that made all the difference. Various people for different reasons welcomed these imports. The government accepted it for the reason that it was helping Canada build its industrial base. Ordinary citizen liked it for the variety of new products provided. Finally labours liked it for the job opportunities that were provided.

One of the examples of the mixed economy was broadcasting. It was mostly private, though partly public. In this, the government owned an odd mixture of things which included an airline, a river barge company, a uranium mine, a nuclear engineering firm and a hydroelectric network. Capital expenditures were mostly provincial in the years immediately after World War II, but in 1951 the federal government again took the lead.

In 1948, by the time when King retired, Canada was negotiating the shape of the North Atlantic Treaty with the Americans and the British. This resulted in Canada becoming a founding member of NATO in 1949. Louis St. Laurent succeeded King as the prime minister. He was more inclined towards taking proportionate share in the common defense. When the Korean War broke out in 1950, Canada sent ships, planes, and eventually an army brigade to fight under the United Nations banner.

At the same time while, like all countries, Canada too relied on American nuclear weapons to deter Soviet aggression, it trusted on the point that a small country's conventional military forces helped making a difference in the strategic balance between East and West. The then external affairs minister of Canada expressed his genuine concern in NATO becoming instrumental in discovering economic and political functions rather than remaining a mere military alliance.

In the post war era, Canadian government tried its level best to bail out the British with loans and credits. But it was too small a help to be of any worth. In spite of the fact that Canada was an active and supportive member of the British Commonwealth, it commented that the Asian and African ex-colonies of Britain did not closely resemble the British model from which they sprang.

Informal influence was exerted by the commonwealth, which had by the time become a useful talk-shop. It couldn't provide a substitute in itself for the British Empire. This absence of a substitute made the United States unassumingly important in Canadian life. This stemmed out mainly because of the fact that the United States were the most important trading partner, investor, and military ally, and most of the time they were grateful for the American presence.

Canada, without British support was afraid of standing alone because of the overwhelming presence of America. Canada's distinctive identity was threatened more by the 10:1 ratio of the population. St.Laurent and the Liberals were the ones who were considerably affected by this. In 1957 he realized, contrary to his expectations, that he had lost his hold in the elections. It was too much of a realization for him that Canadians believed that his government was too close to the United States and too far from Britain. It was not late for him to realize that American investment was regarded as a bane than a boon, though it had contributed to Canadian prosperity. It came to him as a great surprise when on the election night of 10th June 1957 he came to know that the Liberals had lost the elections.

On the Path of Progress

The 1957 elections proved to be a turning point in the history of Canada. This election saw the Liberal party lose power, and brought to power the Progressive conservatives. This was the latest name for Macdonald's old Liberal - Conservative party. The party based in Quebec was rejected for a party that derived most of its strength from Ontario, just like in the times of the Liberals. Conservative

partisans later claimed that it tried to replace the rule of the senior civil service, "the mandarins," with a populist government based on the rule of the people.

This change was supposed to be exemplified by the new Prime minister, John Diefenbaker. The Diefenbaker government which had earlier got only a few seats, bounced back with a huge majority in the House of Commons through another election called for not very late. Still he didn't do any considerable deal for the country. He didn't do anything to stop the incessant flow of foreign investment into Canada. He swiftly established a warm relationship with the American president, Dwight Eisenhower, who, like Diefenbaker, was a prairie boy born in the 1890. He was being a mere rubber stamp. As a result, Diefenbaker's time in office, 1957 to 1963, was an era of civil service dominance tempered by political expediency.

Something that he could have confided was that the economy was in a fundamentally good shape. Though from 1957 to 1959, the growth rate had diminished, there was still some growth. In 1961, Canada embarked on another economic boom which was accompanied by a higher unemployment rate, the type of which was never witnessed by Canadians in the post war period. For this reason, the happy news of economic success was not believed.

Diefenbaker, though unbelievably, symbolized another message. The message being that the great prosperity was not all-inclusive. In the Maritimes and the prairies it was very low. The government of Canada could not cope with the American government in subsidizing wheat sales. As wheat shortage and the resultant high prices were replaced by a wheat glut, the Ottawa government was blamed by the farmers for its inability to sell their products.

Diefenbaker government had come to office at the time when China had discovered that they were facing a drastic shortage of grain as Soviet Union had experienced a series of bad harvests. The brilliant civil servants of the Canadian wheat board, who were in charge of Canada's wheat marketing, grabbed this opportunity. The credit for this came to the shoulders of Diefenbaker and gained him much popularity.

A segment of French Canadians were appeased by Quebec Nationalism, which from 1936-39 and then from 1944-59 was canalized into a newer direction under the leadership of Maurice Duplessis. The Quebec government stood hostile when the federal government started approaching them more and more for income support and educational subsidies. By 1960, the Quebec middle class was ready to turn in another direction.

The same year, the Liberal party was elected under Jean Lesage. He presided over what was called the quiet revolution. It was during this period that the provincial government expanded into social services. At this time, the size and competence of the provincial bureaucracy had increased substantially. This resulted in a competition with Ottawa for funding. Lesage, essentially a moderate, seemed unable to control the liberal nationalists in his cabinet, who took heart from the nationalization of roughly half the province's hydroelectric firms in 1962. In 1944, under the Liberal government the first half had already been nationalized. The result was that the language of work in this part was French and not English.

In matters of language and jurisdiction, Diefenbaker was a total failure. A commission was appointed to investigate bilingualism and biculturalism in Canada, under Lester B Pearson, by the opposition Liberals. Pearson could very

conveniently place Diefenbaker in a minority position in the 1962 federal election, though his victory was not a spectacular one.

This came as a blow to Diefenbaker because of his recent quarrel with the American president John F Kennedy in which he failed. He stood against the youth and style of Kennedy and also because of the fact that Kennedy was in support of the more internationally minded, Nobel Peace prize winner Pearson. Diefenbaker was unable to make up his mind over the stationing of U.S. nuclear warheads in Canada, and he was similarly unable to offer support to Kennedy during the Cuban missile crisis of 1962.

With the assumption that the relations with the U.S were better than they actually were, Washington issued a stark disapproval. This was the cause for the collapse of the Diefenbaker government. At this point his tactical political errors too didn't help. Three ministers from his government resigned and he lost a vote of confidence. Then the Liberal party was thumped down to the position of a minority after the general election of April 1963.

Diefenbaker and his forces, due to the ill-chosen phrase "sixty days of decision," discredited the new government as put forward by Pearson. Thanks to Pearson's minority position and the Liberals' tactical ineptitude, Diefenbaker succeeded in reducing the House of Commons to shambles during the two parliaments of 1963-65 and 1965-68.

The universal pension plan, also known as the Canada Pension plan, the universal health insurance, a unified armed force and a new flag were the contributions of the Liberals through which they revamped. The income for this

was met from the abounding prosperity and a gradual reduction in the defence budget.

At a point of time when Canada had played an active and relatively prestigious role abroad, in the aftermath of World War II, Pearson had proved himself to be a successful and effective external affairs minister between 1948 and 1957. By the time Pearson left office in 1957, Europe and Japan had recovered from the war but Canada's position as a world power saw its sunset. Canada had placed great hope in the United Nations during the 1950s. But this hope was shattered as the United Nations failed to emerge as a powerful impartial international arbiter. This was due to the outbreak of the 1967 Arab-Israeli war and the subsequent expulsion of a Canadian peace keeping force from Egypt. It also undermined the authenticity and popularity of Pearson's foreign policy. Pearson had his hands full with the unpopularity of U.S. involvement in Vietnam. Although Canada was not so belligerent in that war, Canadian public opinion mirrored the divisions of U.S. opinion on the subject.

This caused much discomfort to the Canadian government which had founded its international policy on alliance with the United States. Pearson troubled both the U.S government and some vocal segments of the Canadian public opinion when he brought out both sides of the Vietnam issue.

By 1967, the Pearson government was greatly discredited. The diversity in the opinions of Quebec and the rest of Canada was exposed by the intervention of the French President de Gaulle in 1967. It was for the first time that there was a possibility for Quebec nationalism and the assertiveness of the Quebec government to lead to that province's withdrawal from Canada. When in December 1967,

Pearson declared that he was about to retire the following spring, it helped that Diefenbaker's party had already retired its unwilling leader.

A Montreal writer and professor, Pierre Elliott Trudeau - the justice minister of Pearson government (the first-term Member of Parliament) was the one to succeed him. He swept the country in the 1968 federal election and although, as a Liberal, he did not carry the prairies, he did better there than any other Liberal since 1953. He used the majority that he had gained in the federal elections of June 1968 to reduce the foreign commitments of Canada, especially to NATO. He brought back almost half the troops to Canada. He also used his power to address the question of reforming the Canadian constitution and to secure its "patriation."

Trudeau also stimulated the greater use of French in the essentially English-speaking Ottawa bureaucracy. This was to promote strong and competent French-speaking ministers to give "French power" in the national capital a higher profile. In October 1970, confronted by an outbreak of separatist terrorism in Quebec, Trudeau called in the army, suspended civil liberties in that province, and discouraged any attempts to compromise with the terrorists. Though many people disagreed with these steps taken by him, it was evident that terrorism sharply declined. But these acts couldn't do anything to curb down legal, non-terrorist separatism. These separatists, in 1976, under Rene Levesque, triumphed in a provincial election and formed a government.

The attractiveness of Trudeau to English-speaking voters declined over time, although in federal elections he maintained his hold over many voters in Quebec who were simultaneously casting ballots for Levesque. Trudeau hardly could win a plurality in the House of Commons. It was with the help of the semi socialist New

Democratic party that he clung on to power. This period was marked by the spendthriftness of the federal government. It also established a Foreign Investment Review Agency to respond to the concerns of those Canadians who wished to restrict the expansion of American investment.

Petro Canada - a federal oil and gas company was formed. In 1973-74, when an unprecedented scope in the rise of international oil price occurred, the federal government acted to control prices in Canada. It used tax on Canadian oil exports to subsidize the price of petroleum in the Maritime Provinces and Quebec, which were dependent on high-priced imports from overseas.

Trudeau could defeat the opposition in a federal election in 1974 and get hold of the majority of seats. His performance had disappointed the Canadians. In 1979 a minority Progressive Conservative government under Joe Clark was elected. He promised conciliation between the federal government and the provinces, notably lacking under Trudeau, but failed to deliver. He lost the confidence of the Conservative government of Ontario as he was unable to satisfy the aggressive Conservative governments in Alberta and Newfoundland.

After miscounting his probable support in a crucial vote, Clark was defeated in the House of Commons and swept away in the subsequent federal election of February 1980. Trudeau being the real inspiration, the federalist forces were led from within the province. Trudeau prevailed on referendum night of 20 May 1980. The separatists got only 40 percent of the votes. Even on the counting of the votes of the French Canadians, the separatists would have lost the elections. Trudeau had a mandate from the voters of Quebec and not Levesque. The mandate for this was that in May 1980 Trudeau promised a “renewed federalism” to the Quebecers.

The outcome of the promise is still unclear. The federalist forces were almost certain to win. The words of Trudeau were unlikely to have motivated very many voters to switch their votes to him. Trudeau set the constitutional machinery in fast motion. The attempts to reform the tax system on the part of the Liberals failed. They proclaimed a National Energy Program, designed to increase the federal government's control over petroleum resources, and succeeded; but when the price of oil plummeted in the early 1980s many saw that the cost had been great and the positive results small. Trudeau prevailed on the constitution. The future amendments of Canadian constitution would be in Canada. Quebec would not have a veto over constitutional change; neither would any other single province.

Rights like language rights and mobility rights were stretched beyond the power of a province to alter. Similar to the U.S Bill of Rights, a charter of rights was formed. If ever the parliament or the provincial legislatures wanted to override the charter, they had to do so publicly, which was embarrassing. It was sure that no one would ever do so and the new Constitution was proclaimed in 1982.

The new constitutional regime had satisfied everybody, even the Quebecers. The uninterested separatist government of Quebec who were not interested in the proper working of Canada was the sole group who objected to this constitution. They used the "notwithstanding clause" to exempt every single piece of Quebec legislation from the Charter of Rights. This was considered to be an act of petulance, a temporary one. The reason being the electoral defeat in 1985 at the hands of the federalist provincial Liberals.

This clause was used elsewhere in Canada only once. The use of this phrase was supposedly signifying irresponsibility and refusal to abide by the laws. Canada followed suit of the United States in moving away from the parliamentary supremacy into legal constitutionalism.

From the unity of federal states and the federal government's strong commitment to this, an unusual aspect of the foreign policy under Trudeau was derived. This led Canada in supporting the Nigerian federal government during the Nigerian civil war of 1969. Fearing the chances of the French-speaking states in Africa to be supporting the international pretences of the Quebec government, Canada supported the Nigerian government.

Trudeau resigned in 1984, out of free will. John Turner, one of his former ministers succeeded him first as Liberal leader and then as prime minister. The entire grudge against Trudeau's assertive policies was lined towards Turner as the Progressive Conservatives under Brian Mulroney defeated him in the September 1984 election.

Mulroney wanted to bring back harmony to federal-provincial relations, unlike the agenda of Trudeau. This was the standard aim that every new government would like to put into action. He began strongly, abandoning some of the Trudeau government's policies in the energy field, thereby appeasing opinion in western Canada. Mulroney then turned to Quebec from where most of his successes stemmed out. It was the people of Quebec who voted against Trudeau in the 1980 referendum. Mulroney tried to bring back these people to the regular Canadian political system. At a meeting at a government resort called Meech Lake, all the provinces agreed in April, 1987, to recognize Quebec as a free society in

itself and to restore its veto on constitutional amendments, and alter federal institutions to provide for provincial nominations to the Senate and Supreme Court.

The schemes of Mulroney remained unhinged radically. It required unanimous consent from each province. The increasingly unpopular Mulroney government and the Quebec government mismanaged the issue. Bourassa attempted to sway English-speaking Canada by threatening, in the event of failure, to reconsider the province's position within Canada and perhaps hold a new referendum on separation. Though only two provinces, namely Newfoundland and Manitoba, had rejected the proposal, the English speaking communities opposed this constitutional package.

The Meech lake agreements failed in June 1990. This, according to Quebec, was a grave and that it was in minimum a sign of respect and affection from the rest of the Canada that was long overdue. The restrictions in the public use of English language on signs and in business were seen as deprivation of basic human rights for the province's English-language minority.

In other areas the Mulroney government was very active, like when it reformed certain aspects of Canada's tax system. The federal deficit could not be brought under control. Under Mulroney, despite tax increases, the deficit and consequently the debt grew rapidly. As a last resort, Mulroney tried hands at a free trade agreement, FTA, with the United States. In November 1988, he won the federal election

For regulating trade disputes between the Canada and United States, an international tribunal was established and over a period of ten years, tariffs were abolished between the two countries by the free trade pact. Though in this

economic recession, trade rose between Canada and United States. In terms of imports to the United States, Canada in the early 1990s ranked behind Japan and the European Economic Community. He resigned, leaving in his place, the not much efficient, Kim Campbell - Canada's first woman prime minister. She was subject to the disaster of the election in October 1993. Under Jean Chretien, the more nationalist Liberals ratified NAFTA. They also confirmed that there was no intention on the part of the Canadian government to withdraw the existing free trade agreement with the United States.

The chances of Quebec's choice to secede tore away Canada. A huge number of separatist MPs in the 1993 federal election filled the national parliament. In 1994, the separatists also won a provincial election in Quebec. By shortening the welfare programs of the country, government spending was reduced.

At the same time, there was a pertinent question on the authorization of individuality and equalizing nationalism of the French Canadians. Their requirement for the sustenance of their collective language and culture was also worth being questioned. There were many divisions and turmoils that were going on under the façade of these events in Canadian history - regionalism or provincialism versus nationalism; French Canadian nationalism versus pan-Canadian nationalism; the attraction of the United States versus fears that Canada would be overwhelmed, at the prevailing population ratio of ten to one. Hopes of these problems being solved by the next Quebec referendum or even by the current generation of politicians would be insensible. Chances of the danger of these problems hounding Canadians in the twenty first century are more.

Though the Canadians did not appreciate all the practices of their government, they showed a very strong attachment to its principles. This was caused due to the constitutional reforms of the 1980s. The Canadian sense of identity was fostered by this provision of a national standard in political life. It was yet to be seen if this ideological commitment would hold these together or would offset the centrifugal forces that called for devolution of more and more authority to the provinces.

Canada has not been immune to the general trend to the right in western politics. The Liberals - the moderate centrist party of the country, expressed this trend. There was a sudden resurgence of the regional fervor in Canada in the 1990s, like the United States. The maintenance of a strong national authority was very difficult for Ottawa, which was even more than that of Washington. The cause for this was the weak central government in Canada, which had no place in the international scenario at that moment.

In the 1990s, there was increasing discontent in Quebec which is predominantly French-speaking with the failure of constitutional reform talks combined with a rising sense of alienation in the western provinces due to the government's attempts to convince Quebec to officially endorse the Constitution. In 1993, Kim Campbell became Canada's first woman Prime Minister, following the resignation of Mulroney. However, Campbell remained in office only for a few months and the the Progressive Conservative Party collapsed in the 1993 election. The Quebec-based sovereigntist Bloc Québécois became the official opposition. In 1995, the government of Quebec held a second referendum on sovereignty in 1995 that was once more rejected. In 1997, the Canadian Supreme Court ruled

unilateral secession by a province to be unconstitutional, and Parliament passed the *Clarity Act* laying out the terms of a negotiated departure.

The decade was also a period of economic turmoil in Canada as the country suffered from high unemployment in the early years. Moreover, a large debt and deficit that had been accumulating for years began to show its ugly face. Both Progressive Conservative and Liberal governments in the federal government and Progressive Conservative governments in Alberta and Ontario made major reductions in social welfare spending, followed by significant privatization of government-provided services, the crown corporations, and utilities which were hoped to bring down government deficit and reduce government debt.

In 1995, a contentious altercation in Ontario resulted in the killing of an aboriginal protester in police shoot out and a ensuing inquiry revealed prevalent racism among the police officers involved. In spite of this, a number of notable changes occurred to improve aboriginal rights, such as the Nisga'a Final Agreement (1999), a treaty between the Nisga'a people, the provincial government of British Columbia and the federal government resolving major land claims issues. Responding to demands by the Arctic Inuit people for self-governance, the federal government sanctioned the creation of the territory of Nunavut in 1999, with Inuktitut as an official language of the new territory.

Since the turn of the century, momentous social and political changes have occurred in Canada. Canada's border control policy and foreign policy were altered as a result of the political impact of the September 11, 2001 attacks on the United States. There has been increased pressure from the U.S. and Canada has adapted initiatives to secure its border with the U.S. Canada also supported the U.S.-led military action in Afghanistan, though it kept away from supporting the U.S.

military action in Iraq in 2003. This led to a temporary political animosity between the two powerful neighbours.

In 2002 Canada's Liberal government signed the Kyoto Accord on climate change which was indicative of the nation's increased commitment towards resolving environmental issues. Recently, however, the present government has nullified the agreement, proposing a "made-in-Canada" solution to climate change. A merger of the Canadian Alliance and PC Party into the Conservative Party of Canada was completed in 2003, and was elected as a minority government under the leadership of Stephen Harper in the 2006 elections, putting an end to the dominance of Liberal Party for thirteen years.

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