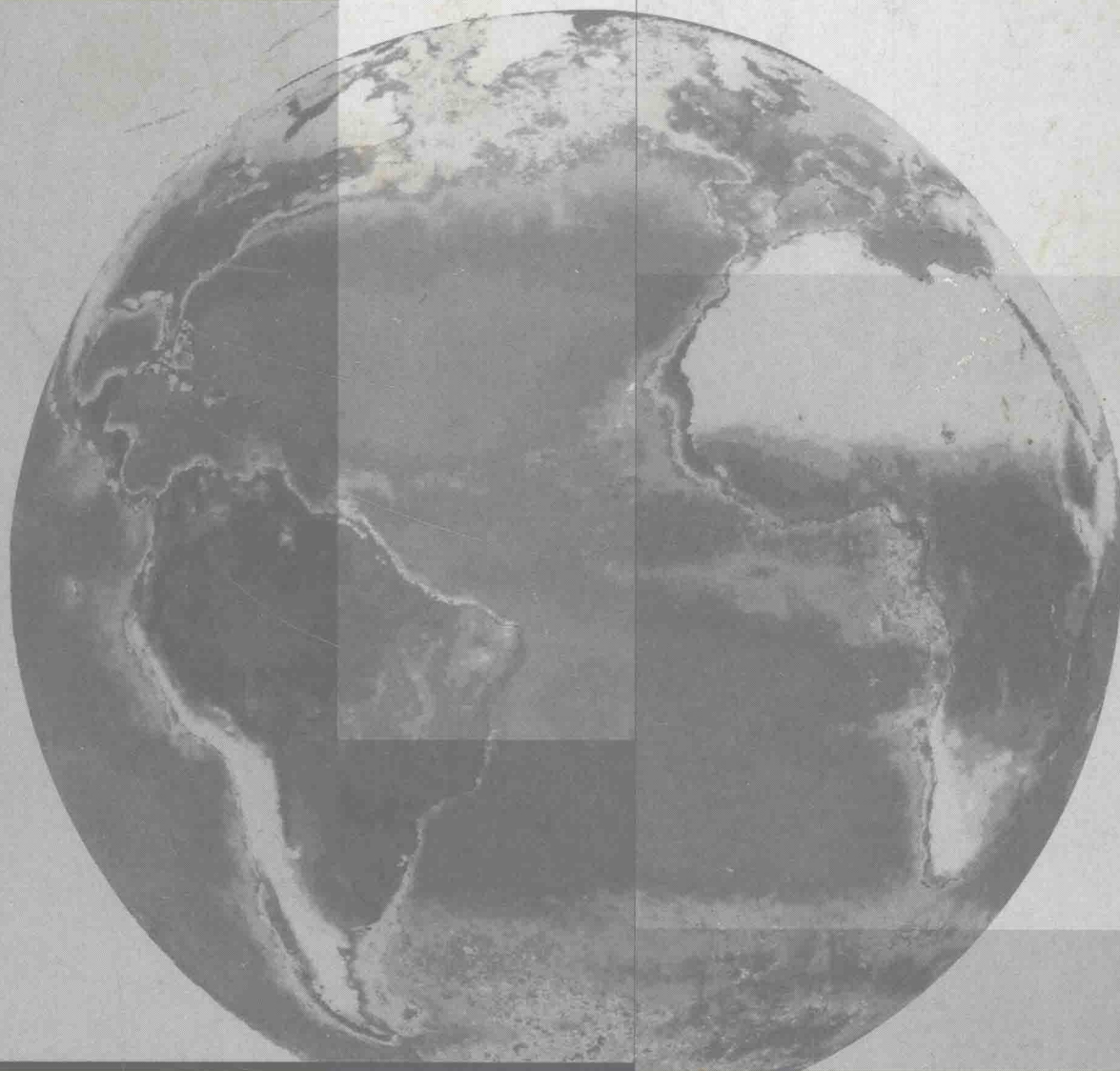


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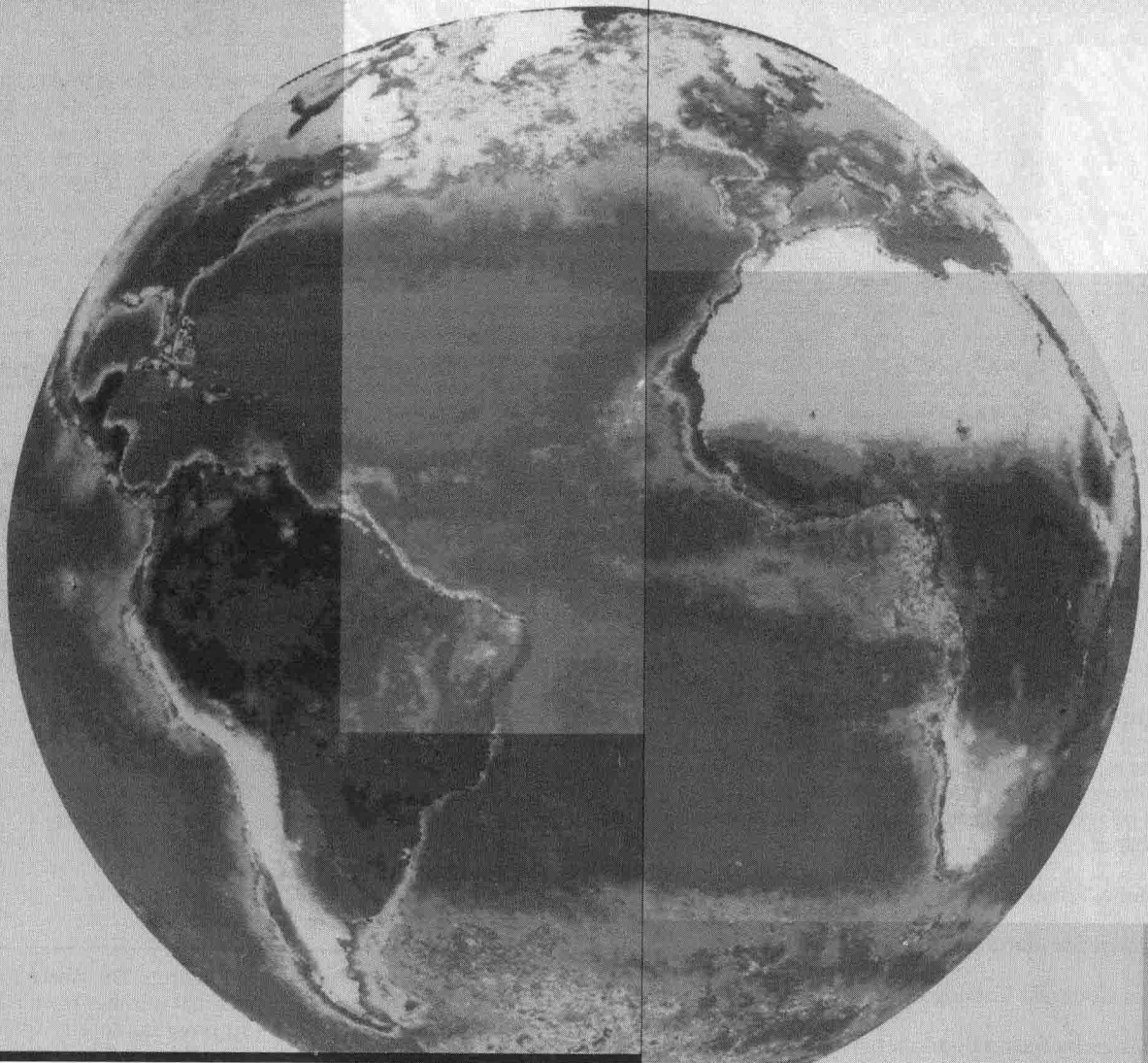
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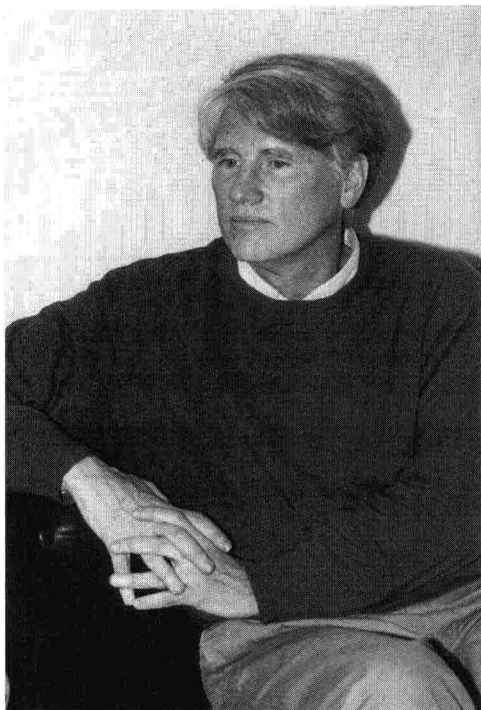
WAYNE C. THOMPSON, Ph.D.



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Wayne C. Thompson . . .

Professor of Political Science, Virginia Military Institute, Lexington, Virginia. Ohio State University (B.A. in Government); Claremont Graduate School (M.A. and Ph.D., with distinction). He did further graduate study at the University of Göttingen, Paris/Sorbonne and Freiburg im Breslau, where he has since been guest professor. He has studied and researched in Europe for many years as a Woodrow Wilson, Fulbright, *Deutscher Akademischer Austauschdienst* (DAAD) and Alexander von Humboldt Fellow. The Canadian government, through its Embassy in Washington, awarded him a Faculty Enrichment Grant to do research in Canada. During the 1995–1996 academic year he served as a Fulbright Professor in Estonia. He has authored eight books and many articles and book reviews on politics, history and political theory. His publications include three articles on Canadian defense which appeared in 1988.

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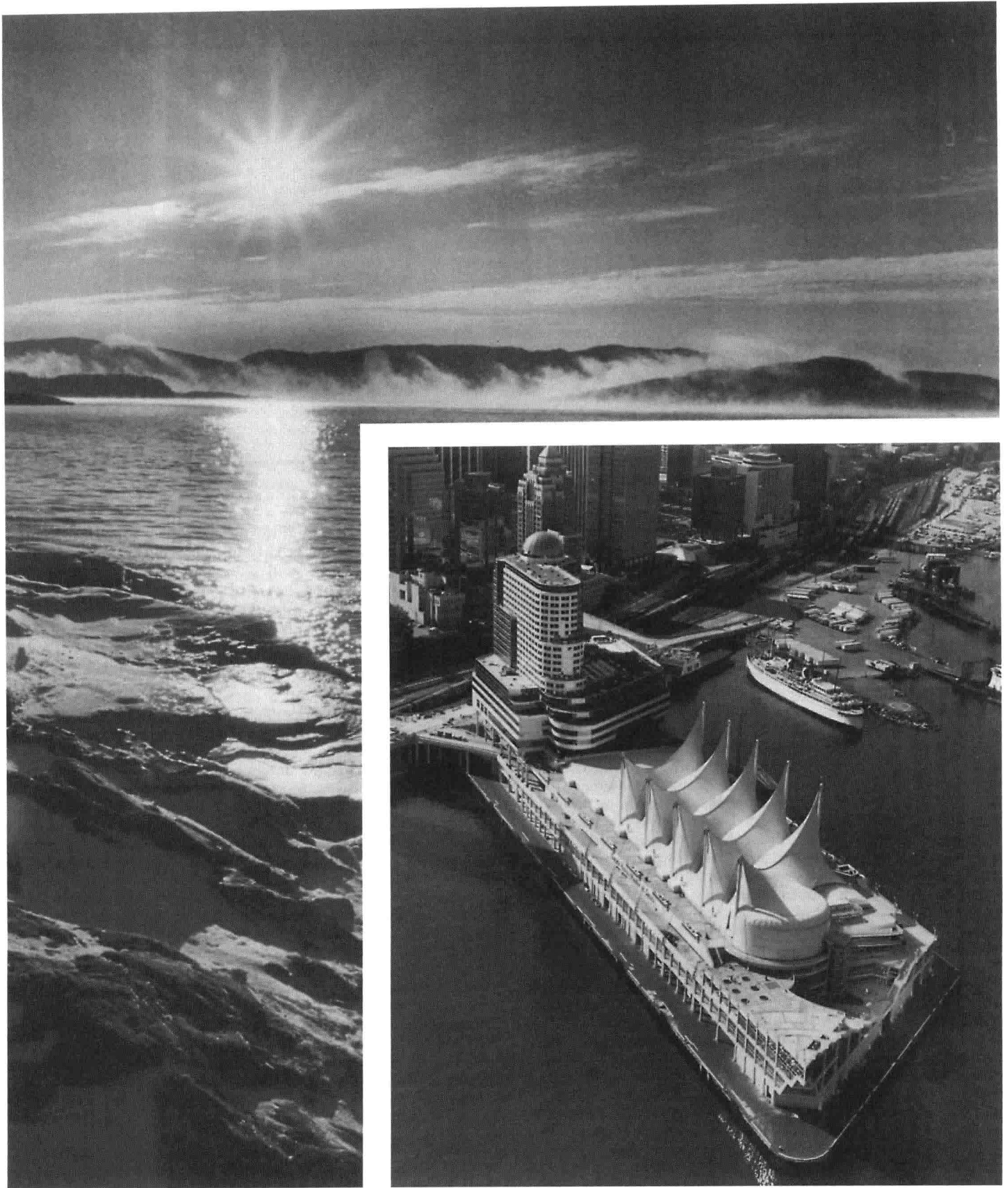
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Vancouver: Canada Place, harborfront site of the Canada Pavilion at Expo 86

To Juliet and Katie

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I wish to thank several institutions and individuals who helped me while I was preparing this book. The Canadian government, through its embassy in Washington, D.C., gave me a Faculty Enrichment Grant, which enabled me to spend an entire summer in Canada, conducting interviews and research in nine of the ten provinces, and especially in Ottawa and Quebec. Dr. Norman London, the Embassy's academic relations officer, was always ready and able to provide advice and assistance. American scholars doing work on Canada owe Dr. London much gratitude for his sympathetic and effective efforts on their behalf. The staff of the embassy library was generous and helpful to me when I used their well-organized materials.

I wish to thank the *Liberal Party* of Canada for arranging numerous interviews for me in Ottawa, providing me with many materials and inviting me to attend its leadership conference in June 1984. The *Progressive Conservative Party* also gave me much useful material and kindly permitted me to attend its leadership conference in June 1983. I discovered that one can learn more about Canadian politics in a few days of party congresses, at which the country's prime minister and opposition leaders are chosen, than in months of library work abroad. The headquarters of the *New Democratic Party* in Ottawa welcomed me cordially. Its staff patiently answered my many questions and provided me with reading material which I found to be very beneficial. Too, it arranged my visit to its provincial office in Winnipeg, Manitoba. Finally, I am grateful to the staff at the party headquarters of the *Parti Québécois* in Montreal for being so generous with its time and for providing me with reading and campaign materials, which I needed for this book.

Professors Richard Beach, Jeanne Kissner and Martin Lubin of the State University of New York, Plattsburgh, accepted me

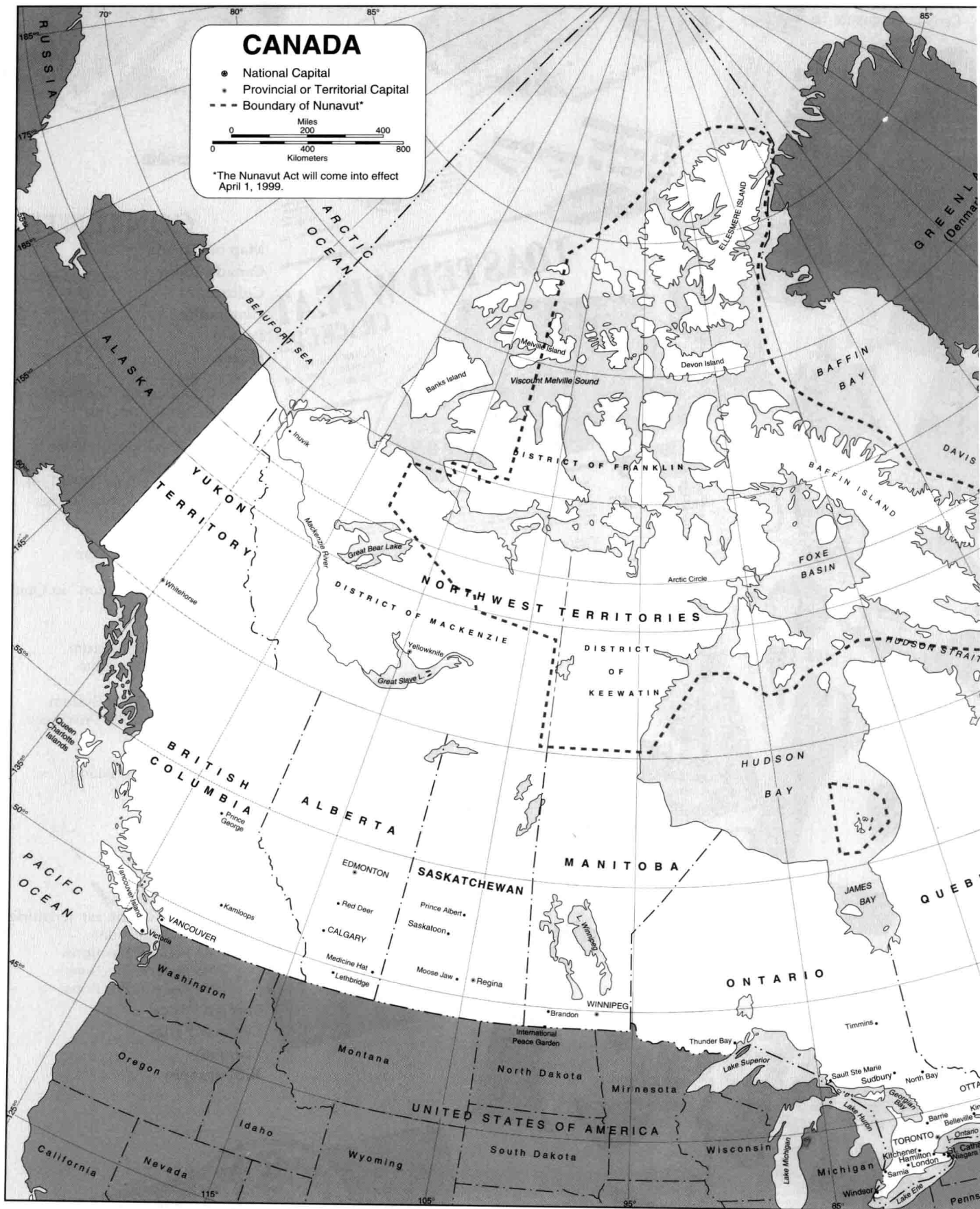
as a participant in the Fifth Annual Quebec Summer Seminar in Montreal and Quebec City in June 1983. At this seminar I had the opportunity gain a deeper understanding of the changes which Quebec has experienced since the early 1960s and to discuss Quebec's future with them and with many political and opinion leaders, such as Lise Bissonnette, Robert Bourassa, Roch Carrier, Gerald Godin, Roger Landry and Henry Milner. The Association of Canadian Studies in the U.S. (ACSUS) and the Mid-Atlantic and Southeastern Associations of Canadian Studies helped me pursue my interest in Canada by sponsoring conferences at which I could familiarize myself with many diverse aspects of Canada which are not within my field of specialization.

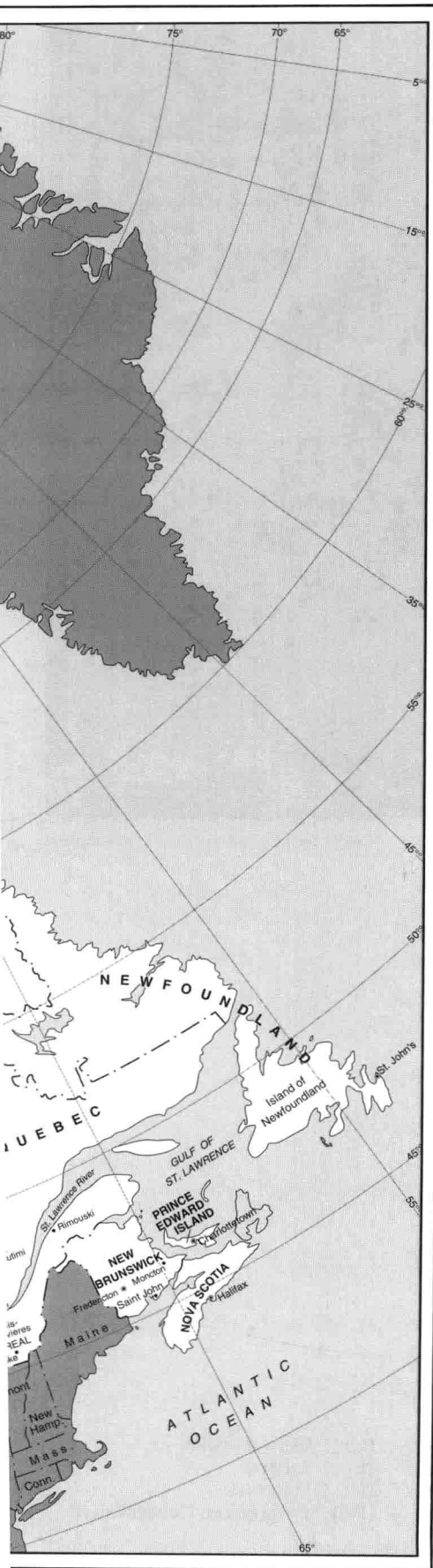
I wish to thank many unnamed Canadians whom we met in places as diverse as camp grounds, folk festivals and political rallies. Many of their insights, comments, opinions and concerns have found their way into the lines of this book. I wish also to thank those cadets at the Virginia Military Institute, Derek R. Fix and Matthew W. Brown, who assisted me in the revision of this edition.

I could never have written this book in computer form without the able and limitless assistance of the Virginia Military Institute's Computer Center and Office of Computer Services. VMI's library staff obtains all the written material I have needed for this work. Finally, I wish to thank my wife, Susie, and my two daughters, Juliet and Katie, for sharing my enthusiasm for Canada and for assuring me in many ways that my effort to prepare, write, and annually update this book is very worthwhile.

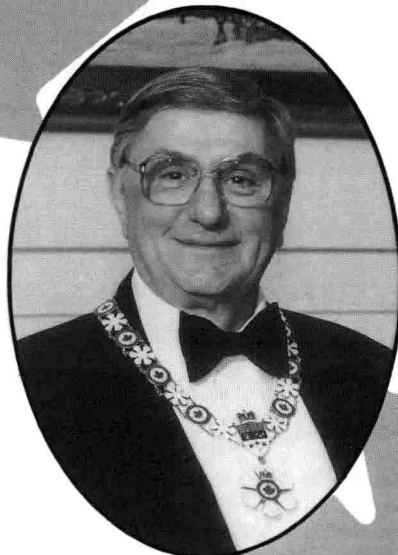
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Lexington, Virginia, June 1997





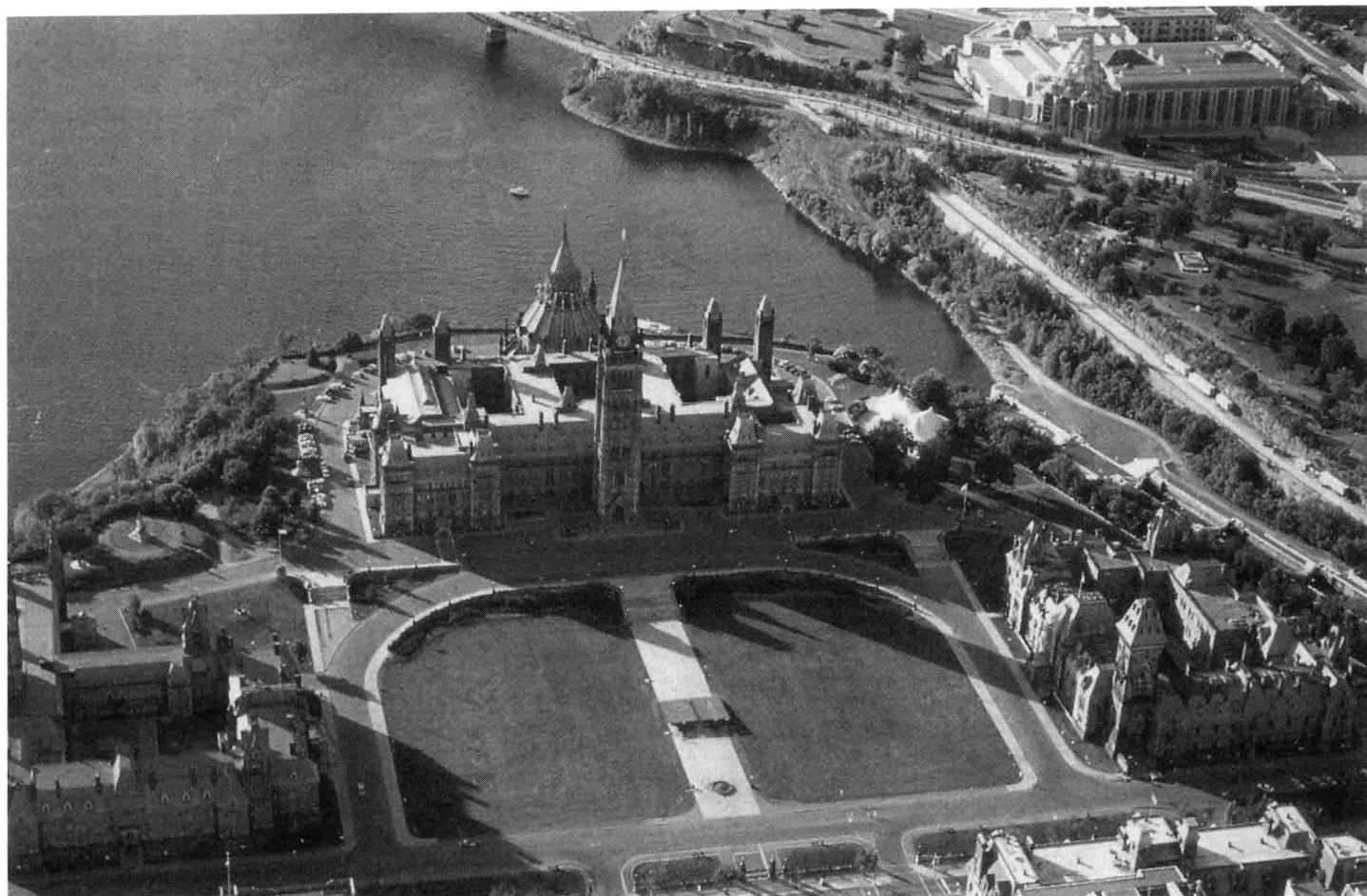
Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II



His Excellency The Rt. Hon. Roméo LeBlanc
Governor General of Canada



The Rt. Hon. Jean Chrétien
Prime Minister of Canada



Aerial view of Parliament.

Credit: First Light Associated Photographers

Canadian Prime Ministers since Confederation

Rt. Hon. Sir John A. Macdonald (2)	(C)	July 1867–Nov. 1873	
Hon. Alexander Mackenzie (11)	(L)	Nov. 1873–Oct. 1878	
Rt. Hon. Sir John A. Macdonald (2)	(C)	Oct. 1878–June 1891	
Hon. Sir John J. C. Abbott (17)	(C)	June 1891–Nov. 1892	
Rt. Hon. Sir John S. D. Thompson (10)	(C)	Dec. 1892–Dec. 1894	
Rt. Hon. Sir Mackenzie Bowell (19)	(C)	Dec. 1894–Apr. 1896	
Rt. Hon. Sir Charles Tupper (16)	(C)	May 1896–July 1896	
Rt. Hon. Sir Wilfrid Laurier (3)	(L)	July 1896–Oct. 1911	
Rt. Hon. Sir Robert L. Borden (7)	(C)	Oct. 1911–Oct. 1917	
Rt. Hon. Sir Robert L. Borden (7)	(U)	Oct. 1917–July 1920	
Rt. Hon. Arthur Meighen (14)	(U–L & C)	July 1920–Dec. 1921	
Rt. Hon. Wm. Lyon Mackenzie King (1)	(L)	Dec. 1921–June 1926	
Rt. Hon. Arthur Meighen (14)	(C)	June 1926–Sept. 1926	
Rt. Hon. Wm. Lyon Mackenzie King (1)	(L)	Sept. 1926–Aug. 1930	
Rt. Hon. Robert B. Bennett (12)	(C)	Aug. 1930–Oct. 1935	
Rt. Hon. Wm. Lyon Mackenzie King (1)	(L)	Oct. 1935–Nov. 1948	
Rt. Hon. Louis Stephen St. Laurent (4)	(L)	Nov. 1948–June 1957	
Rt. Hon. John G. Diefenbaker (13)	(C)	June 1957–Apr. 1963	
Rt. Hon. Lester B. Pearson (6)	(L)	Apr. 1963–Apr. 1968	
Rt. Hon. Pierre Elliott Trudeau (5)	(L)	Apr. 1968–June 1979	
Rt. Hon. Charles Joseph Clark (15)	(C)	June 1979–Mar. 1980	
Rt. Hon. Pierre Elliott Trudeau (5)	(L)	Mar. 1980–June 1984	
Rt. Hon. John Napier Turner (18)	(L)	June 1984–Sept. 1984	(C) Conservative
Rt. Hon. Martin Brian Mulroney (8)	(PC)	Sept. 1984–June 1993	(L) Liberal
Rt. Hon. Kim Campbell (20)	(PC)	June 1993–Nov. 1993	(U) Unionist
Rt. Hon. Jean Chrétien (9)	(L)	Nov. 1993–	(PC) Progressive Conservative

Note: The number in parentheses immediately following their names reflects the relative effectiveness of the Prime Minister as rated by Canadian scholars in 1997. The categories are Great (1–3), Near Great (4), High Average (5–7), Average (8–13), Low Average (14–15) and Failure (16–20).

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CONTENTS

Map of Canada	vi
Canada Today	1
Culture	2
Geography	12
People	20
History	30
New France	32
The Conquest (<i>La Conquete</i>)	34
British North America	35
The War of 1812	37
The Road to Independence	39
Confederation	40
Tightening the East–West Link	43
Loosening the Apron Strings	46
The First World War	46
The Interwar Years	48
The Second World War	50
After 1945	51
The “Quiet Revolution” in Quebec	52
Political System	64
Constitution	66
Governmental Structure	68
The Political Executive	71
Parliament	75
Law and the Court System	79
Federalism and the Provinces	82
Newfoundland	84
Nova Scotia	85
Prince Edward Island	86
New Brunswick	87
Quebec	88
Ontario	92
Manitoba	94
Saskatchewan	95
Alberta	96
British Columbia	97
Yukon and Northwest Territories	99
Parties and Elections	102
1984 Federal Elections	108
1988 Federal Elections	110
1993 Federal Elections	110
Foreign Policy	113
Defense Policy	120
Economy	124
Bibliography	139

Canada Today

Against All Odds

It has often been said that Canada is a "geographic improbability" a huge, sparsely-settled country whose diverse people have in common only a map and a preference not to be absorbed by the United States. As poet Al Purdy put it, it is "an opposite nation talked into existence." Because of Canadians' enormous differences in language and cultural heritage, it is difficult to call them a "nation." Nevertheless, they have shaped a democratic, peaceful and prosperous country seemingly against all odds. Canada was created in the middle of the last century from those remnants of the British empire in North America which had managed to escape America's momentous revolution in the 18th century and exuberant "Manifest Destiny" in the 19th century, that American dream of the "Stars and Stripes" flying all over North America. It was a country born of patience and compromises, not of violent revolution, and its unity has been preserved through the years by forbearance and concessions, not by civil war.

For Americans, Canada is no longer a region for expansion or merely for recreation, but a vibrant sovereign country with a British governmental system and characteristics which should be studied and understood. Canada is a neighbor, and a very desirable neighbor at that. Former Prime Minister Brian Mulroney was right when he said a couple of weeks after his 1984 election victory that "if I were the President of the United States, I'd wake up in the morning and probably look at the events around the world—Americans under attack here, U.S. Embassy attacked there, acts of terrorism and violence—I'd look at all that, and I'd look at Canada and say, 'Thank God I have Canada for a neighbor. Now, what can I do for Canada today?'" The two countries conduct the world's largest bilateral trade and are each other's best trading partners. They are each other's most preferred country for foreign investments. They share the world's longest *undefended* border and are close allies in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) and the North American Aerospace Defense Command (NORAD).

What other country but Canada would have harbored American diplomats who had escaped from the American Embassy in Teheran, Iran, on that fateful day in 1979 when scores of Americans were taken hostage and held captive for more than a year? At great risk to their own diplomatic personnel, the Canadians issued fake diplomatic passports to the Americans, closed their embassy in the Iranian capital and escorted the nervous Ameri-

cans through the checkpoints and controls onto an airplane bound for home. America's gratitude was accurately conveyed when a sign was put on a giant billboard overlooking the border into Canada reading, "Thank you, Canada!" Ambassador Kenneth Taylor, who directed the rescue operation, received a hero's welcome in New York, where he was later assigned to duty.

John F. Kennedy had said about Canada: "Geography made us neighbors. History made us friends. And economics made us partners." A quarter century later, President Ronald Reagan made no secret about his reasons for meeting with the Canadian prime minister in March 1985, a practice that is usually repeated twice a year: "No other country in the world is more important to the United States than Canada, and we are blessed to have such a nation on our northern border." In both his terms in office, his first foreign trip was to Canada, and Brian Mulroney visited the President in Washington on his eighth day as Prime Minister of Canada. The first foreigner to fly into space with American astronauts was a Canadian, Marc Garneau. Canada is the only foreign country which is permitted to locate its embassy on Pennsylvania Avenue. Former Canadian Ambassador Derek Burney had this to say about the modern building, opened in 1989 and situated halfway between the White House and the Capitol: "It conveys the message that I want to convey: Canada counts."

The United States and Canada are different countries, but perhaps no two other nations in the world need to remind themselves so often of that fact. Canada has a population of 29 million, and the U.S. is one of the world's two superpowers and has a

population and economy ten times larger, but in a land area 10% smaller, than Canada's. The relationship between the two countries is therefore lop-sided and difficult for the smaller of the two. Former Prime Minister Pierre Elliott Trudeau once remarked that sharing a border with the United States is like "sleeping with an elephant. No matter how friendly or even-tempered is the beast, if I may call it that, one is affected by every twitch and grunt!"

Because of its economic, political and military weight, the United States' policies and moods cannot help from affecting Canada more than the other way around. Canadians are sometimes offended that Americans are often unaware or unconcerned about their impact on Canada. Mulroney said only half-jokingly that "we get less attention down there than Cuba, Nicaragua, El Salvador, you name it. To get a mention down in Washington, you have to be either Wayne Gretzky [the great Canadian hockey star] or a good snowstorm." Canadians sometimes sense that the United States takes advantage of its greater power and influence. This is at least partly true some of the time. Because "the equation is unequal," in the words of Brian Mulroney, Canada "must always be vigilant. And, if we must be vigilant, the Americans must always be fair."

Nevertheless, Canada is that country in the world with whom the U.S. is most successful at settling differences; the frictions which exist between them are always manageable. The most important reason for this is the common-sense and good will which they are inclined to show toward the other. Americans and Canadians are well practiced at "splitting the difference."

Area: 3,849,670 sq. mi. = 10,693,528 sq. km.

Population: 29.25 million.

Capital City: Ottawa (Pop. 715,000, estimated).

Other Principal Cities: Toronto (3.89 million), Montreal (3.12 million), Vancouver (1.6 million), Edmonton (680,000), Calgary (620,000), Winnipeg (605,000).

Climate: Varying climatic regions from moderate to bitterly cold Arctic, with generally mild summers in the southern areas and long, cold winters.

Neighboring Countries: The United States of America ("The States").

Official Languages: English and French.

Other Tongues: A broad spectrum of languages spoken by immigrants from Europe and Asia. Smaller groups speak native Indian and Inuit dialects.

Principal Religions: Christianity (Roman Catholic, 54%; Protestant, 40%).

Chief Commercial Products: Canada is a highly industrialized nation producing a

wide variety of sophisticated goods; its leading exports are automobiles, machinery and equipment, high technology products, wheat, natural gas, lumber, crude petroleum, metal ores, pulp and paper.

Major Trading Partners: The United States, Japan, the United Kingdom, and Germany.

Currency: Canadian Dollar (value varies, recently about \$.75 U.S.).

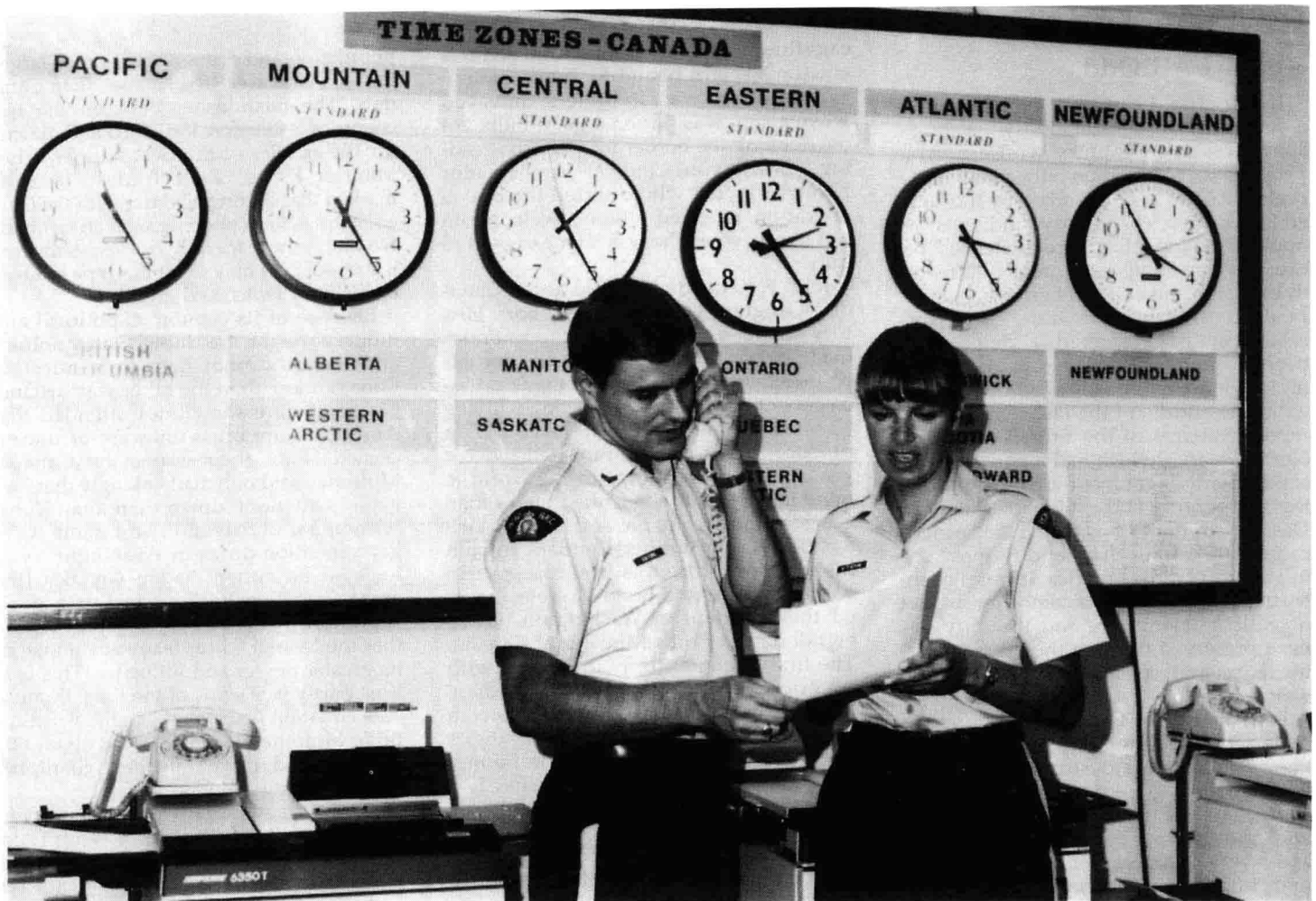
National Holiday: Canada Day (July 1).

Head of State: Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II of Great Britain.

The Queen's Representative: His Excellency The Rt. Hon. Roméo LeBlanc, Governor General of Canada.

Head of Government: The Rt. Hon. Jean Chrétien, Prime Minister (Leader of the *Liberal Party*), since November 1993.

National Flag: A stylized red maple leaf on a white square, flanked by red bars one half the width of the square.



Corporal Doug Ford and Constable Diane Bérubé of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police

CULTURE

Canadians tend to focus on the differences between them and Americans, although, as Pierre Berton admitted, they are often "tongue-tied" when asked to define them. "We know we're not the same but we can't express it succinctly." Americans are inclined to emphasize the similarities. Canadians do not appreciate Americans' habit of viewing Canadians as "just like us" and of not considering Canada to be a foreign country. There is, to be sure, an extraordinary degree of military and economic interdependence between the two countries. The sincere and constant references to Canada as America's "partner" and "good neighbor" help erase in Americans' minds the sharp line which usually appears between "us and them." There are 100 million border crossings at 130 locations between these two sovereign states each year. Certainly the fact that so many Americans are able to cross the border into Canada without hassle enhances feelings of neighborliness. Despite the need for Americans to provide proof of

citizenship (a passport being the simplest), it is about as easy for them to cross the border into Canada as into California!

Perhaps the main reason why Americans consider Canadians to be "just like us" is that at least visually their northern neighbors do bear many striking resemblances. As William Kilbourn wrote in his book, *Canada: A Guide to the Peaceful Kingdom*: "The basic experience of Canadian history has been that of sharing the northern part of the continent with the other, larger America. Everywhere in the twentieth century man is becoming American, or, to put it another way, is moving in some way towards a condition of high industrialization, affluence and leisure, instant communication, an urban man-made environment, and a mingling of cultures and traditions in a mobile, classless global society. There is no country in the world, except the United States, which has gone further in this direction than Canada; none that has done so in such an American way; and none that is so expe-

rienced in the art of living with, emulating, and differing with the United States."

The American traveling in Canada sees people who dress almost exactly like he does. Canadians wear baseball caps, jeans, jogging shoes, sweatshirts and T-shirts with writing on them—basically the same things which are in style in the United States.

The American also meets people who, by and large, speak English as he does except those 23% who speak French as a mother tongue and who therefore might speak English with a French accent. The English which Canadians speak much more closely resembles that spoken in the United States than in the United Kingdom. This is understandable in an age of radio and television, quick travel and strong trade ties. A few British usages do linger on. Most say "vitamin," with the "vit" pronounced like "bit," "aluminium," with the accent on the *third* syllable, "controversy" with the accent on the *second* syllable, and "schedule," as if there were

no "c" in the word. "Been" is pronounced like "bean," and "again" like "a-gane." A "lieutenant" is addressed as "leftenant." Also, the "i" in the last syllable of words ending in "-ile" is likely to be pronounced distinctly, rather than to be swallowed, as most Americans do.

"Out" and "house" are spoken more like "ute" or "whuse," as in central Virginia today, from where many Loyalists fled to Canada during the Revolutionary War. Perhaps the most distinctive sign that a Canadian is speaking, though, is the "eh?" (pronounced as a long "a"), which is frequently tacked to the end of sentences. There is a rough French equivalent in Quebec: *hein*. Their writing is also slightly different: not all Canadians have dropped the "u" when writing such words as "labour" or "colour." "Centre," "cheque," "theatre" and "connexion" are not American spellings, and the word "defense" is still spelled with a "c", as is the custom in Britain.

French-speakers (now called "franco-phones" in Canada, in contrast to "anglo-phones"—English-speakers) have opened the gates to let in hundreds of English words, such as *le fun*, *dialer* ("to dial"), *la patate* ("potato"), *le smoked beef*, *le hamburger*, *les king pins*, *le brake drum*, *un party*, or *une shop*. Notice, for example, the following advertisement for an *Atelier Mecanique-Machine Shop Crankshaft* which once appeared in the yellow pages of the Montreal telephone book: *Moteur nettoyé et*

testé. Moteur grindé all surfaces. Crankshaft nettoyé et testé with sonoflux process. Crankshaft grindé with micro finish.

The mixture of the two languages to form what is often derisively referred to as "Franglais" or "Frenglish" has perhaps reached its height among Acadians in New Brunswick. One francophone from Moncton provided *Maclean's* with an example of the "chiac" dialect: *J'ai drivé mon friend à l'airport, but la plane a také off à dix minutes de quatre. Too bad que j'avais pas findé ça out avant.* Such English words in Canadian French hardly help the American who wants to practice his high school or college French, though; he finds that the pronunciation and slang of the French spoken on the streets of Quebec or Acadia are both frustratingly and intriguingly different than the Parisian French which he learned in class.

In recent years, there has been a tremendous improvement in the quality of French spoken in Quebec as a result of the province's governmental legislation on the use of French on Radio Canada; TV is also a good example of international French. Nevertheless, Candice Bergen's French-language Sprint ads were taken off the air in 1995 because her French was "too Parisian."

Americans also find that most Canadians know far more about the United States than they know about Canada. For instance, a 1995 Louis Harris poll revealed that a mere 1% of Americans knew that



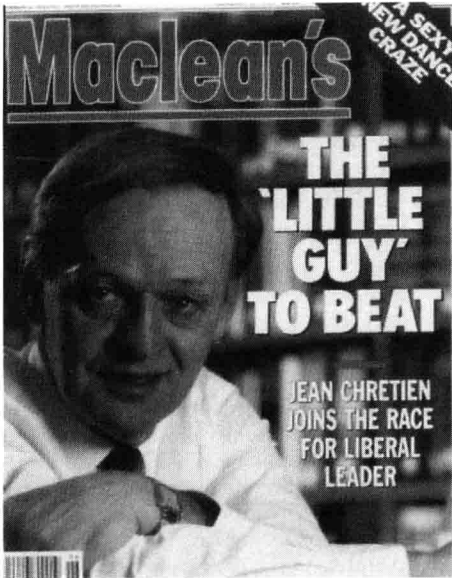
Jean Chrétien is prime minister. Only 11% of American university students surveyed in 1989 knew which city is Canada's capital; only 1% knew the name of the premier of Quebec, a province much larger than Texas and bordering on several New England states. Only 12% knew that Canada is America's largest trading partner (69% mistakenly named Japan), and only 57% had heard of the Free Trade Agreement, vs. 97% of the Canadians. Canadians watch more American television than Canadian, and what Canadian news programs they watch bring incomparably more news about the United States than American newscasts bring about Canada, despite the penetration into the American broadcasting elite of such Canadians as Robert MacNeil and ABC's anchorman, Peter Jennings.

Canadians often read such American



Museum of Anthropology, University of British Columbia

Credit: Province of British Columbia



newsmagazines as *Time* and *Newsweek*, whereas few Americans have ever even held a Canadian magazine, such as *Maclean's*, in their hands, let alone read one. Since 88% of all Americans live farther than 100 miles from the Canadian border and cannot see or hear Canadian programs by simply switching on their dial, Americans must make a more concerted effort to become informed about Canada, and few do.

This is changing somewhat. Major American newsmagazines and newspapers are carrying much more news about Canada. In 1970 only 89 American institutions offered Canadian studies courses; by 1995, over 250 colleges and universities offered 1,100 courses on Canada, with a total enrollment of 23,000. Also, the Associ-

ation for Canadian Studies in the United States (ACSUS) has grown considerably, with well over 1,100 members by 1995. The *Toronto Star* even complained: "Curse those Americans. They are taking away one of our great Canadian preoccupations. They are not ignoring us any more." In any case, the American visitor can still chat with Canadians about a wide variety of American subjects ranging from the president's difficulties with Congress and mid-western farmers' financial difficulties to the Academy or Grammy Award nominations, forgetting in the process that he is talking to a foreigner.

The popular culture on both sides of the border is strikingly similar. One hears rock, country-western and gospel music (in rock or traditional form) either blaring out from car radios or softly channeled into Canadian ears by omnipresent walkman earphones. Paul Anka, Guy Lombardo, Percy Faith, Oscar Peterson, Hank Snow, Joni Mitchell, Neil Young, Anne Murray, Bryan Adams, Michelle Wright, Buffy Sainte-Marie, an Indian who wrote the Oscar-winning theme song for the film, "An Officer and a Gentleman," Sarah McLachlan, and the rock groups Crash Test Dummies and Bare-naked Ladies are all Canadians popular on both sides of the border. In 1997 Ottawa rocker, Alanis Morissette, won the favorite album and female artist awards at the American Music Awards, while Ontario native, Shania Twain, was named best female country artist. Quebec superstar, Céline Dion, who is the top-selling singer of all time in France, won top album and best pop album Grammys in 1997. Her *The Woman in Me* surpassed Patsy Cline's *Greatest Hits* as the best-selling female country album ever. Men in both countries admire the

same beauty, gazing at the British Columbia sex goddess Pamela (Lee) Anderson, who was discovered in 1989 wearing a tight-fitting Labatt's T-shirt at a B.C. Lions football game. In a 1995 cover story, *Maclean's* called her "the most famous Canadian on the planet."

Canadians laugh at the same comedians, such as Dan Aykroyd, Bob and Doug McKenzie, and "Wayne's World" star Mike Myers—all Canadians. The biggest box office hit in the history of screen comedy, *Ghostbusters*, was a product of Canadian film-maker Ivan Reitman.

Quebecers produce excellent French-language films which are of a different style than those viewed by Americans. An example is "Maria Chapdelaine," based on Louis Hémon's classic 1914 novel, a moving portrait of the restricted life led by Quebec women in the frontier. Americans and anglophone Canadians usually go to the same movies, however. Canadians watch more Hollywood films than films produced in Canada. In fact, only 2% of box office revenues are derived from Canadian films. Canadian producers have trouble getting some of their films shown on Canadian screens since American companies largely control distribution of movies in Canada.

Some films to which Americans flock, such as "The Quest for Fire" or "Porky's," are Canadian, often unbeknownst to Americans. Norman Jewison, one of the world's most successful directors as a result of such blockbusters as *Fiddler on the Roof* and *Moonstruck* (much of which was filmed in Toronto!), is Canadian. The 1997 Academy Award for best film was given to *The English Patient*, based on the best-selling novel by Canadian author Michael Ondaatje. He had been assisted in his re-



Dog team on the sea ice, Simpson Strait, Northwest Territories



Fish market in rural Quebec

search by a grant from the Canada Council. More and more American films are being shot in Canada. Toronto has become the third-largest film producing center in North America after Los Angeles and New York City. CBS's *Due South*, starring an impeccably polite do-right Mountie in Chicago, is filmed in Toronto. For authenticity, garbage is trucked in to make the city look dirty. The "Superman" movies, which were filmed in Calgary and small towns in Alberta, and the 1987 controversial TV mini-series, *Amerika*, which was shot in Toronto, are other examples. This fact can also cause problems for Canadian film makers since high-cost American productions inflate the prices which Canadian film crews charge.

Other productions are about famous Canadians, such as Terry Fox, the courageous 21-year-old track star who was stricken by cancer in the prime of his athletic career. As his last event on this earth, he set out to run from one coast of Canada to the other in order to raise money for cancer research. He collapsed outside of Thunder Bay, Ontario, on September 1, 1980, and died nine months later. But his fortitude inspired Canadians and Americans alike, and he helped to raise millions of dollars in the battle against that wretched disease. Other films feature such familiar stars as Glenn Ford, Walter Pidgeon, Raymond Burr, Genevieve Bujold, Margot Kidder, Christopher Plummer, Lorne Greene, Rod Cameron, Jay Silverheels ("Tonto" in *The Lone Ranger*), William Shatner, Raymond Massey, Michael J. Fox (the "all-American boy"), Keanu Reeves, and Donald Sutherland, all Canadians. Even many soap opera stars are from Canada, such as Gordon Thompson, Jean LeClerc, Shawn Thompson, Domini Blythe, Teri Austin and Shannon Tweed.

Canadians and Americans read much of the same literature, by such authors as Jack Kerouac, Will Durant, Saul Bellow, Arthur Hailey, Robertson Davies, Mordecai Richler, Alice Munro, Brian Moore and Morley Callaghan, all of whom are Canadians. Other authors focus on their native Canada and are read and admired in both countries. Perhaps the best known Canadian author is Lucy Maud Montgomery, whose precocious, pert, and lovable Anne of Green Gables has delighted children and adults from scores of nations for three-quarters of a century. Hugh MacLennan's *Two Solitudes* is the classic study of the separate worlds in which the *Québécois* and anglophone Canadians have lived. Pierre Berton is perhaps Canada's most prolific writer

who had written 25 books on the country's history and people before 1980 and who is still producing best-selling books almost on an annual basis.

Margaret Atwood writes about the lives and challenges of modern women. In her view, "survival" is the "single unifying and informing symbol . . . which holds the country [Canada] together and helps the people in it for common ends." She also points to the search for identity: "Canadians are forever taking the national pulse like doctors at a sickbed; the aim is not to see whether the patient will live well but simply whether he will live at all. . . ." By 1989 one of her novels had sold 40,000 hardback and 200,000 paperback copies in Canada, an amazing accomplishment in a country with fewer than 20 million fluent English-speakers. Her ninth novel, *Alias Grace*, a mystery about a murder, was a global sensation in 1996, winner of the Giller Prize. By 1997, many of her 41 books had been translated into 22 languages. Clearly Canada's book business is thriving.

Stephen Leacock was one of the most famous Canadians of his time and in his heyday from 1910 to 1925 was the world's best-selling English-language humorist. His stories bring alive the early Ontario of his childhood. Rudy Wiebe's writings, including *The Temptations of Big Bear* and *The Scorched-Wood People*, describe with great vision and understanding the lives of Indians, Métis and white settlers in the Canadian West. Northrop Frye, who hailed from Ontario and taught his entire career at the University of Toronto, is widely acclaimed to be the greatest literary critic of our time. American-born Carol Shields, who moved to Canada in 1957, won the 1995 Pulitzer Prize for her novel about sexual and family values, *The Stone Diaries*.

Quebec also boasts authors of interna-



Baking bread in New Brunswick: an Acadian village woman in traditional garb



Main street in a small Manitoba town

tional renown. Anne Hebert, who now lives in Paris, became famous in 1970 through her great novel, *Kamouraska*, which was later made into a film in Quebec. Gabrielle Roy wrote Quebec's first urban, socially aware novel, *Bonheur d'Occasion* (known to anglophones as *The Tin Flute*), just after the Second World War. This novel, like *Maria Chapdelaine*, deals with survival and a young girl's rejection of a glamorous lover who could have taken her out of the narrow French Canadian world in which she lived. Also like *Maria Chapdelaine*, *The Tin Flute* was made into a movie in Quebec in 1983.

Finally, Roch Carrier has written perceptively and humorously about the gulf between the *Québécois* and anglophone Canadians. In *La Guerre, Yes Sir* he describes Quebecers' negative attitudes about fighting in the two world wars. In a short story, "The Hockey Sweater," the mother of a young boy in rural Quebec orders a Montreal Canadiens hockey shirt from a Montreal department store, which by mistake sends a Toronto Maple Leafs jersey instead. The boy is panic-stricken. But with no other hockey shirt to wear, he goes out to play with his friends, only to be shunned by his pals and ordered from the ice by the parish priest. The boy is devastated and goes to the parish church and prays that moths will descend from the heavens and consume the shirt so that his mother will buy him another. In an interview with *Maclean's*, Carrier implied that the wall which once separated Quebec from anglophone Canada has become much more porous: "When my books were first translated, everybody felt it was a kind of treason, giving my books to the rest of the country. But today everybody wants to be on the other side of the frontier."

If an American does not want to go to a film, read a book or listen to music, he can simply sit at home and immerse himself in Americana by playing "Trivial Pursuit," a game invented by two Canadians, Chris Haney and Scott Abbott. Or he can pick up the telephone, invented by Canadian Alexander Graham Bell in Canada before moving to the U.S. One gradually begins to wonder whether what is sometimes called the "Americanization" of Canadian culture might, in some cases, be better called the "Canadianization" of American culture!

American films, television and radio broadcasting, reading material, music, slang and styles do continue to pour northward across the border because most Canadians themselves are attracted to them. Canadians are usually the first to admit that American culture is produced primarily for domestic consumption and that no American ever forced it upon Canadians. Nevertheless, they are nervous about the massive influx of American customs and usages. It is therefore Canadian policy to encourage and to subsidize Canadian cultural products in order to avoid being engulfed by American culture and to make it possible for talented Canadians to work in Canada rather than seeking their fame and fortune in the United States. The government wishes to help offer the population an alternative.

About 2% of the federal government's budget is devoted to culture, although the sums are lower than in most Western European countries and were slashed by the Mulroney and Chrétien governments. These cuts came at a time of intense upheaval in many spheres of the arts. A communications minister in the federal cabinet disperses money through a variety of institutions which enjoy a high degree of

autonomy from the federal government and which have become powerful lobbying groups when their freedom or budgets are trampled upon: the National Film Board and Telefilm financially support Canadian cinema. In 1997 public funding for television amounted to \$200 million, which helps make Canada the world's second-largest exporter of TV shows after the U.S. Only \$50 million is allotted to feature films. Provincial governments also help finance the production of films, and their censorship prevents "X-rated" movies from being shown in Canadian theaters.

The Canadian film industry has created an Academy Awards ceremony of its own called the "Genie Awards." The National Arts Centre in Ottawa contains several stages of various sizes and puts on more than 900 performances and entertains almost 800,000 persons each year. The semi-independent Canada Council dispenses grants to a wide variety of professional artists and organizations. They include writers, publishers, translators, musicians and composers, dancers, painters, sculptors, photographers and film makers. Government money was instrumental in building and maintaining the National Ballet Company in Toronto, *le Theatre du Nouveau Monde* and *les Grands Ballets Canadiens* in Montreal, the Canadian Opera Company, the Stratford Shakespearean Festival in Ontario, and more than 160 theater groups across the country.

Canadians, most of whom live along the American border, listen freely to American radio and watch much American television. Canada is the most heavily cabled country in the world. Canadians are among the most generous donors to American public television stations along the U.S. border. The Canadian governments do nothing to prevent their citizens from tuning in to American stations, but they do go to great expense and effort to provide Canadian alternatives and to reinforce a sense of Canadian community by making it possible for Canadians everywhere in the country to learn about each other.

One of the few exceptions of attempted information control occurred in 1993, when an Ontario judge banned substantive coverage of one of the grisliest murders in Canadian history: two teenage girls were tortured and hacked to bits, and one's body was encased in concrete blocks, while the other's was deposited in a dump by an attractive and seemingly perfect young couple. Karla Homolka agreed to a plea bargain and was sentenced to only 12 years, while her husband, Paul Teale, faced trial. The judge's motive was to ensure Teale a fair trial. But his order could not apply to the U.S., where the shocking story was reported. Canadians poured over the border to buy

copies of the *Buffalo News* and *Detroit News and Free Press*. They heard about the case from American radio and TV, while students plugged into the Internet computer network to get the details. Custom inspectors confiscated newspapers with the story, Canadian cable operators blocked access to their subscribers, and university officials shut down access to Internet. All these efforts failed, demonstrating just how porous the border is.

The Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC—called *Radio Canada* in Quebec) operates radio and television networks in French and English, as well as in many native languages, in the entire country. CBC sponsors a 24-hour all-news channel in English—*Newsworld*—while *Radio Canada* does the same in French through *RDI*. Among the rapidly proliferating are two privately-operated networks: Canadian Television (CTV) in anglophone Canada and *Reseau de Television* (TVA) in francophone Canada. There are many private radio stations and a growing number of specialty channels on cable. Public money enables the CBC to offer more elevated and experimental programming. But it is not freed from the constant battle over ratings as the country moves toward a 500-channel universe. Between 1989 and 1996 it lost a fourth of its TV audience and it has dropped all of its U.S. connections. Its budget is being steadily reduced while suffering the indignity of attracting fewer than half as many viewers for its *Prime Time News* as do American programs. It has tried to compete with private broadcasters by imitating their programming, but this has weakened the public's willingness to continue supporting it. In 1994 three Canadian channels began beaming into American homes through DirecTV, setting a trend that will continue.

To insure that Canadian networks, *private or public*, do not simply buy cheaper American programs, the Canadian Radio-Television and Telecommunications Commission establishes "Canadian Content" guidelines. "Canadian Content" is defined by means of a complicated formula involving whether the cast, singers, songwriters or production team are Canadian citizens. The exact quotas change according to the political winds. Radio stations must devote 30% of their air time to Canadian music, even though only 13% of music purchased in record stores is Canadian. Ownership of TV and radio stations, newspapers (43% of whose circulation is owned by one Canadian—Conrad Black) and magazines is restricted to Canadians or Canadian companies.

Americans may find such regulations to be like a hand of "Big Brother," but they should bear two important things in mind: first, there is no attempt to prevent Canadians from receiving broadcasts or any other cultural influences from the U.S.; Canadians are free to watch or listen

to any broadcasts they like. Second, Canada does have a culture of its own, and it is not easy to preserve it when such a culturally magnetic country is so close. About 80% of magazines on newsstands, more than 60% of books, 90% of recordings, 64% of TV programs, and 94% of films are foreign, overwhelmingly American. In order to "have the means to communicate with our own people," in the words of Prime Minister Chrétien, Canada insists on exempting cultural industries from its two free-trade agreements with the U.S. Such Canadian governmental decisions as slapping an 80% excise tax on *Sports Illustrated Canada* and other "split-run" magazines (which have Canadian editions and advertising, but mostly American editorial content) and withdrawing Country Music Television's broadcasting license and awarding it to a Canadian-owned country channel, are bound to antagonize Americans. In 1997 the U.S. sought and won a ruling from the World Trade Organization that Canadian punitive taxes on split-run magazines, as well as postal subsidies to Canadian magazines, violate international trade rules.

The American sports fan notices a few unfamiliar sports in Canada, such as curling, but most are strikingly similar. Ice hockey, reportedly invented at Kingston's Tete du Pont Barracks on a Christmas day in 1855 by a group of bored soldiers, who tied blades to their boots and used field hockey sticks and an old lacrosse ball, is a Canadian export to the world.

The National Hockey League is, in fact, *international*, with more professional teams in the United States than in Canada. Four of the eight Canadian teams faced serious financial difficulties in 1994 and were threatening to relocate in the U.S. The Winnipeg Jets left town in 1995. Canada produced the first woman in the NHL, Mamon Rhéume, the backup goalie for the Nashville Knights. One must admire a 122-lb French Canadian wearing size 5 and one-half skates and children's-sized equipment, who shares the ice with players almost twice as big as she. American teams are well-stocked with Canadian players; in fact, 65% of the league's players are Canadian. Priceless hockey property such as Wayne Gretzky is known and admired almost as much in the United States as in Canada.

A troubling aspect of professional hockey in Canada came to light in 1997. To claw their way into the NHL, many adolescent Canadian boys enter an intense and regimented system, which has deep roots in Canada. It culminates in 49 "major junior" teams divided into three leagues. Talented players as young as ten are drawn into the system, and beginning at age 14 top prospects acquire agents and are aggressively pursued by the top clubs. At age 16 or 17 they often move away from home and are billeted with families

paid by the clubs. Attending unfamiliar high schools where they do not play on school teams, they become so dependent upon their all-powerful coaches that they are easy prey for abuse, sexual and otherwise. Fifty-six percent of NHL players come through this system, with only 10% coming from U.S. colleges and high schools. But those who do not survive are unable to continue playing at U.S. universities because they are considered to be professionals; Canadian universities do not offer athletic scholarships.

Asked in 1996 what professional sports they preferred, 60% of Canadian respondents said hockey, 16% baseball, and only 6% basketball. Canadians also play basketball, although as a winter sport it must always take the back seat to hockey. Two NBA teams are Canadian: the Toronto Raptors and the Vancouver Grizzlies. Americans can, however, thank a Canadian, Dr. James Naismith, who devised this game in a Springfield, Massachusetts, YMCA in 1891 as a more interesting indoor alternative to calisthenics.

Football was also first played in Canada and brought to the United States about a century ago when a group of McGill University students came down to Harvard to teach a few of its people the new game. With team names like, "The Blue Bombers," (Winnipeg), the "Ottawa Rough Riders," the "Calgary Stampeders" or the "B.C. Lions," and with Americans composing 45% of the professional players on the Canadian teams, American football fans feel right at home in Canada (at least until they count 24 players on the field, notice scores on the board like "four to one," and see teams punting on third down from the fifty-three yard line!) Even the cheering sections chant familiar yells, such as "Give me a "B," an "L," an "u," an "e," what do you have?! . . ." Due to insurmountable financial difficulties, the



Typical road sign in English and French

American teams in the Canadian Football League (CFL) disappeared. Despite average annual salaries of only \$45,000 and team salary caps, American players still play in the cash-strapped CFL. For example, the Montreal Alouettes signed All-American running back from the Virginia Military Institute, Tom Haskins, in 1997 after being assured that the talented African-American could speak some French.

Baseball and softball are played everywhere in Canada, and in Toronto and Montreal major league teams play "America's favorite pastime." Fans at Blue Jays or Expo home games are treated with the usual major league fare: hot-dogs, peanuts, cokes and beer, organ music and comic figures both on huge electronic boards and in costume running around the sidelines and into the crowd. Games are begun, though, by playing two national anthems, not just one. In 1985 New York Yankee fans booed when *O Canada* was heard in Yankee Stadium prior to a game against the Toronto Blue Jays. That incident was so embarrassing that the American ambassador in Ottawa formally apologized to the Canadians. During the 1992 World Series the president himself had to

do the same after a Marine honor guard unfurled Canada's flag *upside down* in a pre-game ceremony. Horrified Canadians had sweet revenge when the Blue Jays captured the series in a 6-game thriller. To rub salt in the wounds of American pride, the Blue Jays won again in 1993.

In Montreal *O Canada* must be sung in two languages. Of course, the American fan is confronted with intriguing language differences when attending a home game of the Montreal Expos. Announcers use both languages, and the American experiences such play-by-play accounts as this: "The situation is tense for the Expos; there are already two *retraits* (outs). The *frappeur* (batter) steps up the plate. The *lanceur* (pitcher) receives the signal from the *releveur* (catcher) and uncorks a mighty pitch. The *frappeur* is undaunted, though. He swings and, hurray, slams a *circuit* (home-run)!"

The American motorist also notices few differences, except that road signs show distances in kilometers, are in French in Quebec and are often in both French and English outside of the French-speaking regions. The chances are that he will not notice that he is paying more for gasoline

(though not as much as if he were driving in most other foreign countries), since it is measured in liters (spelled "litres" in Canada), not in American gallons. Even when a Canadian speaks in terms of "gallons," he means an *imperial* gallon, which contains a fifth more than an American one. Canada has already adopted the metric system, although many Canadians still talk in terms of inches, feet, miles, pints, quarts, pounds and tons. It cannot be denied that a system of measurement which makes a mile equal the distance a Roman legion could march in 1,000 double steps, a yard equal to the distance from Henry I's nose to his fingertips and an inch as equal to the width of three barleycorns laid side-by-side, is not as illogical as the metric system.

The American will notice that Canadian roads are quite good, unless, of course, he wants to drive deeply into the northern parts of the country. He sees American-looking cars and pick-up trucks everywhere. One author, Joel Garreau, even wrote in his book, *The Nine Nations of North America*, (1981) that "To love Quebec . . . is to love the Pontiac Firebird Trans Am with 205-hp, 301-cubic inch V8 and a flaming eagle painted on the hood. *Québécois* are the worst gas guzzlers left in the world, statistics show." At least one is also very fast. In 1995 the young racing sensation, Jacques Villeneuve, became the first Canadian to win the Indianapolis 500, snatching victory in the final laps from another Canadian, Scott Goodyear. What the American may not know is that all major North American automotive producers have plants in Canada and that completely free trade in automotive vehicles and parts exists between the two countries. Therefore, the American tourist may, in fact, be driving a *Canadian* car, rather than an American one. Canadians put bumper stickers on their cars, and, alas, some even have baby shoes or cloth dice dangling from their rear view mirrors.

Most cities have a North American look, with the full run-down of fast-food chains, gasoline stations and convenience stores. There are some charming exceptions, such as Quebec City and Victoria, British Columbia (BC). There are far fewer slums and less litter and graffiti; concern grows over the noticeable increase of homeless Canadians in its chilly cities. But the cores of cities remain vital and have been largely spared the kind of urban deterioration which has afflicted so many American cities.

Despite a distressing rise in youth gang violence and random brutality during the 1980's and 1990's, Canadian cities are somewhat safer. The chances of being murdered are only about one-sixth as high as in a U.S. city. One of every three homicides in Canada is committed by a firearm, compared with seven in ten in the



The beautiful Kananaskis resort in Alberta