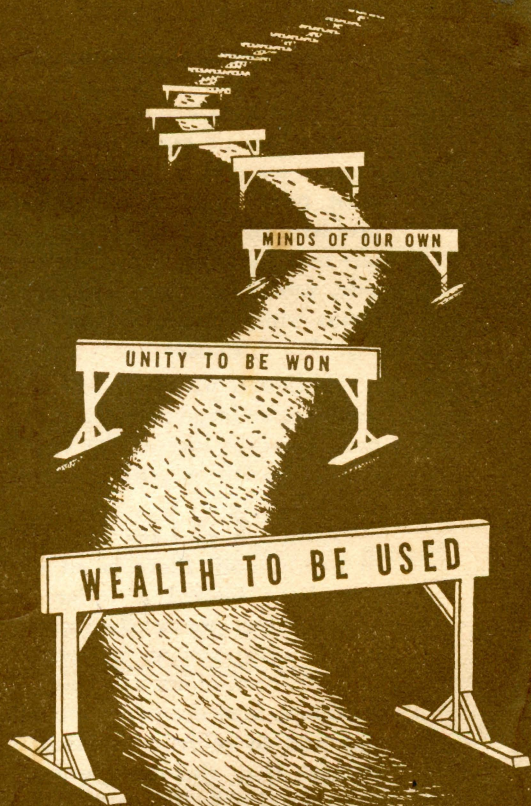


LOOKING AHEAD

CANADIAN POST-WAR AFFAIRS: DISCUSSION MANUAL No. 4



CANADIAN HURDLES

FOREWORD

The title "*Canadian Hurdles*" has a negative sound to it, so let us make clear at the outset that this discussion manual is intended to inspire nothing but the most positive approach to some of the outstanding problems of Canada's future. While some of the chapters may perhaps seem to be overloaded on the gloomy side, remember that there are many positive achievements which could be listed under each chapter heading. For instance:

Although we often feel that our population is too small for so large and rich a country, our numbers have been steadily increasing; and we have shown that a small population, pulling together, is capable of doing a big job.

Although we have not as yet attained the ultimate in nationhood, there is an unmistakable urge among Canadians toward a fuller national expression. Our country has made distinctive contributions towards world advancement in every field. Internationally, Canadian solutions are being advanced and accepted. At home, laws are being introduced to give us our own flag and to re-define Canadian citizenship. It is only natural that this burgeoning spirit should find expression also in the cultural field—and so we see characteristically Canadian books like "*Earth and High Heaven*" and "*Two Solitudes*" making best-selling lists in the U.S.A. as well as in Canada.

There are plenty of achievements upon which we could dwell. Many of them have already been dealt with in Manual 2 of this series *The Job We've Done*. But now is no time to rest on our laurels—or on our oars. The progress we have already made towards overcoming all of the hurdles in our path should encourage us to go still farther. For that reason no punches have been pulled in the following pages—and neither should they be pulled in your discussions.

August
1945

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INTRODUCTION

For the Discussion Leader

Canada has been called "a precarious creation, geographically, politically, and racially".

Be that as it may—and we'll examine the truth or falsehood of the statement in this pamphlet—we are Canadians and feel all the more conscious of it because of the war. We have mingled more with each other and we have been overseas and mixed with other peoples, too.

We do things differently. We have a different approach; you might almost say a typically Canadian approach. Many things we do a lot better, it seems, than others do them. Some things we're not so good at. As Canadians, we feel and react to situations differently. Even five years away from home for some of us—five years of exposure to other peoples' ways—hasn't changed our essentially Canadian character. As Canadians, we're bound to compare ourselves with the British, the Americans—with the Russians if we happen to have seen them on the job—and with the other peoples of Europe.

Exercise in Self-Appraisal

Of course, we don't have to go around like adolescents squawking our heads off to show how good we are. And we certainly don't have to retire within our shells in abashed confusion. However, as Canadians, in spite of our pride in ourselves as flyers and fighters, as water rats or rear echelon Romeos, it will pay us to open our eyes to some of our special problems and shortcomings. You wouldn't exactly call these faults. Rather are they certain obstacles in our path that have arisen out of our national history and development and have been influenced by factors as widely separated as weather and war.

For the want of a better word, we have called them *hurdles*. Hurdles can be jumped, or they can be outflanked. They are challenges—not insuperable obstacles.

Almost every country has its own special national hurdles to overcome. To the Canadian mind, the strong distinctions between different classes in Great Britain would probably seem like a distinct

hurdle. Our own class system is based on wealth rather than on birth; and many Canadians who aspire to a good income and the gracious things of life may not give a hoot for a gilt-edged pedigree.

Let The Group Name Them.

Just what, then, are these *Canadian Hurdles*? What can we all agree on as being the main difficulties Canada has to face in the years ahead?

Here's a question for the group to answer collectively. But first let us further define what we mean by Canadian hurdles.

Someone will probably suggest right away that *jobs* and a *decent place to live* are two of the first and highest hurdles. And so they are. But so also is the building of international security. These are problems that have already been dealt with in earlier pamphlets and you should have had a chance to thrash them out to everyone's satisfaction. In any case, jobs, homes and security are basic problems for all peoples and all countries—as much for the British, the Americans and the peoples of Europe and Asia as for ourselves. The difference between these hurdles and those which are exclusively Canadian should be made clear from the start.

Personal Experience the Best Guide

Set the group thinking about them in terms of their own personal experiences. At this stage we're not concerned with dredging up theoretical constitutional snarls. It will be your job later, as discussion leader, to relate these personally realized difficulties to our constitution, our topography, our climate and the other national characteristics from which they spring.

Pause for Hurdle Identification.

The years we have spent in the service have, of course, removed us to some extent from the day-to-day realization of these hurdles. Life in uniform is a very special kind of life. It is self-contained. It consists of well-defined limited objectives. We got accustomed to using dynamite where diplomacy would have been the slower peacetime method. So, for most of us, it will take a bit of concentration to project ourselves back into civil life in Canada and try to unearth these hurdles.

If you have made clear to everyone what is meant by hurdles in this introduction, now is the time to throw out some questions in order to define them in terms of day-to-day life in Canada.

Why not have everyone write down briefly his ideas on Canadian hurdles. Collect these and keep them till the end of the series of discussions covering this pamphlet. Use a recap period to let each man reconsider what he wrote in the light of the ideas and information that were exchanged in the group.

These are some of the types of experiences you are likely to hear:

"I was born in Ontario, but while still at school moved to Quebec with my family. Montreal became my home town. My training qualified me for a good job in the civil service—but I never learned to speak French properly while at school. The fellow that got the job was less qualified, but he was bi-lingual."

"I was doing war work in a small Winnipeg plant before I joined up. My union local elected me delegate to a national convention on production, but they couldn't afford the dough to send me to Montreal where the meeting was and I couldn't afford time off from the job. My brother-in-law—he's a doctor—is in the same fix. Most of the time he has to pass up the meetings of the medical association because they're too far away."

"I lived in a small town in the Maritimes. I always wanted to be an artist—did well in art school—but there's not enough people to support artists and writers and singers unless they pull up stakes and go to the big cities or the States. I like my home town—but after the war I guess I'll have to leave if I want to fulfill my ambition."

"Once I visited a beach with my wife on summer vacation. After a swim we strolled along the village street for a coke—me in slacks, my wife in shorts. The local cop descended on us, hauled us off to the magistrate and my wife was fined for appearing 'indecently' dressed on a public thoroughfare, contrary to a local by-law. We could do it back home; but they said: pay up, chum; ignorance of the law is no excuse."

"I was raised a farmer. When I get my discharge you're going to find me the new occupant under the

SPEAK
DIFFERENT
LANGUAGES—
DON'T ALL
SPEAK THE TWO
MAIN ONES

DISTANCE IS A
CONSTANT
FACTOR IN
OUR LIFE

POPULATION
TOO SMALL TO
FORM MARKET
FOR ALL OUR
TALENTS

DIFFERENT
LAWS AND
CUSTOMS—YOU
DON'T ALWAYS
FEEL AT HOME

Veterans' Land Act of a nice little farm I know is for sale. I'm going to pitch in and raise not only crops but that family that had to wait for so many years. There's only one snag. My wife was raised on a farm where they have electricity. My place hasn't any. They say there's water power close enough—but so far they've done nothing about it."

These examples of 'hurdles' are all very personal ones—the sort of thing you should get from the group. Now let us take more of a bird's eye view of these problems. You'll have laid the foundation for a good series of discussions if you succeed in drawing at least one idea from the group under each of the marginal headings that follow. Check them off as they're covered from the floor.

"I've read about various people's plans and suggestions for developing our country... but it's a laugh. How can twelve million people develop the resources of half a continent?"

"I'm from B.C. If it hadn't been for the war I probably never would have gone east and met other Canadians. Travelling opened my eyes—and mind."

"I'm a Canadian, born and bred. But I couldn't describe myself as Canadian on my attestation papers; I had to say British."

"You can't legislate for national unity; you've got to feel united. And how can we feel united when we don't even speak the same language?"

"The B.N.A. Act is the bane of our national existence. As long as we're saddled with that, we have as much chance of getting ahead as we'd have of getting an M.A. in a kindergarten."

"Everybody talks about our great national resources, but I stood in a breadline along with thousands of others in the dirty thirties."

A glance at the contents (on page 3) will show how the foregoing hurdles have been dealt with in six separate chapters for the sake of convenient discussion. A seventh chapter has been added to help us arrive at some useful conclusions on how to solve the problems.

DIFFERENT
LIVING
STANDARDS IN
RURAL AREAS

RESOURCES
UNDEVELOPED

POPULATION
SMALL

DISTANCES
GREAT

LACK
INDEPENDENCE

NATIONAL
UNITY

B.N.A. ACT
THE BOGEY

WEALTH
GOING TO
WASTE

TOO FEW PEOPLE

Someone has taken the trouble to figure out that if the entire population of the world were brought together it could be corralled in a field no larger than twelve miles square.

On this basis, every living soul in Canada could be cornered in three-quarters of a section of land—three-quarters of a square mile.

Canada is larger in area than the United States but has only one-twelfth the number of people. The actual number by count of the 1941 census was 11,506,655.

Canada has 1/14th of the world area but only 1/188th of the world population.

Canada has 3 people to the square mile of land as compared with 250 in the British Isles. (One hundred years ago the United States had only 3 people to the square mile; today she has 44.)

Comparisons don't tell the whole story, and are often misleading. The Dominion stretches away up into the Arctic Circle and includes remote spots like Baffinland and Ellesmere Island. Parts of Canada are only a few miles from Greenland.

But it must be admitted that the population of Canada is, in relation to our size, almost embarrassingly small. Why?

Having asked this, we have touched off a train of highly explosive questions about our country and its people. Do we want a larger population? How can we get it? How would we find jobs for more people? Should we encourage larger families? Should we make a bid for a large influx of immigrants? What can we offer them? Should we invite everyone? Or only a selected type of immigrant? And what type?

Are There Too Few of Us?

Our small numbers, in relation to the size of our land, mean that the country is very unevenly populated. For instance, more people live in towns than in the country. Out of every thousand persons, 543 live in urban and 457 in rural communities. One-third of all our people live in the dozen largest cities. Toronto and Montreal alone account for more than one-sixth of the population. This makes Canada a more 'urban' country than, for instance, France, which is a much more compact country.

Since there are not enough of us to spread over all the choicest sections of the land, we have naturally tended to concentrate where the living is easiest. The natural, geographic barriers of the country have helped this segregation.

We find that we inhabit four main centres of population and all of these centres lie along a very narrow strip bordering the frontier with the United States. Three-quarters of our people live within 200 miles of the U.S. border. The four main land areas are: the Maritimes, the central provinces of the St. Lawrence Valley, the Prairies, and the Pacific coast province of British Columbia.

POPULATION
HUGS THE
BORDER

For most Canadians, communications make it easier to move north and south (to the United States) than east and west (to neighbours in Canada), with the result that we don't really know each other very well.

STRANGERS TO
EACH OTHER

Another disadvantage of our small population is economic. Even though our standard of living is one of the world's highest, our domestic market for con-



CAN PRODUCE
MORE THAN
WE NEED

sumer goods is limited. Even before the war it was far out of proportion to the ability of our modern, technically advanced plants to produce. The war has increased this disproportion. Based on wartime standards, we could produce automobiles, radios, refrigerators and similar durable goods still more efficiently, thus increasing the disproportion between ability to consume and ability to produce. It does look as though we have the resources and the resourcefulness to sustain many more people.

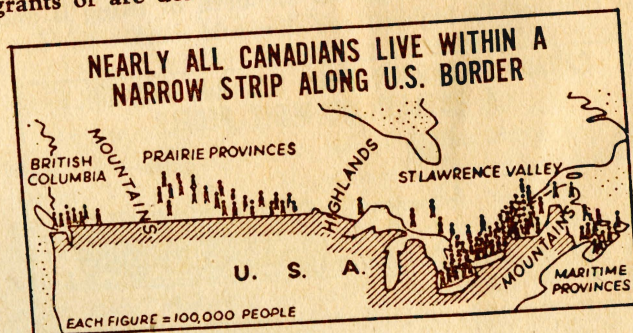
Why is our Population so Small?

A population of less than twelve million people would seem to be a pretty poor achievement for a country which was discovered over three centuries ago and soon recognized as a storehouse of wealth. In those days furs and fish were enough to lure trappers and fishermen to the new country, despite the hardships of primitive pioneer life. Yet these two commodities represent only a fraction of the wealth that has since been discovered.

There are only two ways in which our population has been able to grow: through the descendants of people who came to the country a long time ago, and through the stream of immigration which has ebbed and flowed as conditions for the reception of newcomers into the country became more or less favourable. It's worth remembering that all Canadians with the exception of Indians and Eskimos are either immigrants or are descended from immigrants.

NATURAL
INCREASE

IMMIGRATION



The people whose roots go down deepest in Canadian history are the French-speaking Canadians. They make up one-third of our population today. With very few exceptions they are descended from the 10,000 colonists from old France who were the original settlers of this country.

FRENCH FIRST
TO COME

The majority of the rest of us came to Canada within the last one hundred years — more specifically since 1851. Since that date, almost 7 million immigrants came to Canada. In the same period of time some thirteen million people were born in the country.

Why Did People Want to Come?

Nobody ever uprooted himself from his native environment, no matter how inhospitable it was, without good and sufficient reason. Yet people came to Canada, from across the world, braving primitive methods of travel and all the uncertainties of a new pioneer country. What incentives brought them here?

THERE WAS
ALWAYS A
REASON

A glance back into history reveals not one reason but many. The original French explorers hoped to discover the riches of the Orient. They found not what they expected, but enough substitute wealth, furs in particular, to attract the attention of settlers and interest the Crown of France and the Church. In 150 years, up to the time of the Conquest, their descendants had multiplied to the number of only some 70,000.

What Brought the British?

The reasons for the arrival of the British on the scene are many and complex. In short, it was the result of two rival colonial systems—the French and the English—trying to exploit the resources of the same general area of land. Remember, the British were already thriving colonists to the south. When the French tried to horn in on their territory, the rivalry flared up into war between the two European powers. In 1759 Wolfe's forces defeated Montcalm's on the Plains of Abraham. The British took over the colonial administration of the newly-won territory in the interests of an expanding Empire.

1759

Some twenty years later, a stream of exiles began to arrive from what had been the Thirteen Colonies to the south. These exiles had refused to align themselves with their fellow American colonists in the fight for independence, and had fought against them. Reviled as Tories by the Americans, but hailed as United Empire Loyalists by King George of England, they moved to Canada. Starting in 1783, some 40,000 of these United Empire Loyalists settled in the Maritimes and what is now Ontario.

In spite of the existence now of two countries—one still under British rule and the other newly independent—border-crossing was freely indulged in. Many Americans were attracted northward by the cheap land that was to be had.

Did the Old Country Send People?

So far, much of the immigration had been essentially American in nature. But by 1806 the rise of the timber industry attracted English and Irish immigrants who were only too glad to escape poverty and destitution in their own countries. A few years later, Britain was encouraging people to go to the new colony as a calculated policy. War in Europe had cut the English off from their accustomed sources of raw materials. Canadian raw materials — and the people to extract them from the land—were therefore badly needed. This immigration also helped to balance up the British population with the French. It also served the interests of defence against the United States.

The potato famines of Ireland gave it another hoist during the next few years as families fled famine in Ireland to find space and food in North America. By 1850, the population had grown to 2,400,000.

Did We have Prosperity Unlimited?

For a time it looked as though the new land was, figuratively speaking, paved with gold. Back of all the different reasons for immigration was the important fact that the affairs of the continent were expanding and North America was prospering. As long as this was so,

there was room for new people. But unfortunately, North America turned out to be just as vulnerable to depression as the rest of the world. The world depression of 1873 hit this country too and immigration slumped as a consequence.

By and large, immigration rose and fell in relation to periods of boom and depression.

The completion of the C.P.R. in 1885 threw open the broad lands of the west for still further immigration. Immigration agents let their imaginations run wild in describing the delights and opportunities of the new land. But there were very tangible inducements, too, in the form of cheap ocean passages, free railroad travel, and cheap and plentiful land.

What about More Recent Years?

In the boom years from the turn of the century until the collapse of the world wheat market in 1920, immigrants from all over the world continued to come into Canada. More than 70 million acres of free land in the Prairies and British Columbia were settled during the first 15 years of the century alone.

In one year, 1913, over 400,000 people came to Canada.

How Quickly were Newcomers Assimilated?

Standards for accepting immigrants were rough and ready. Naturally, the newcomers hadn't prepared themselves with a correspondence course in the English language before coming. It was only natural that, in our vast space, many should settle in self-contained communities of their own people. This made assimilation difficult. Distance made social intercourse with others very difficult. Many settlements retained their own language and customs and often their own religious and cultural standards.

In fact, the promise of religious freedom was itself an incentive for many groups, notably the Doukhobors, to come to Canada and thus escape persecution at home.

NEW SOURCE
OF RAW
MATERIALS

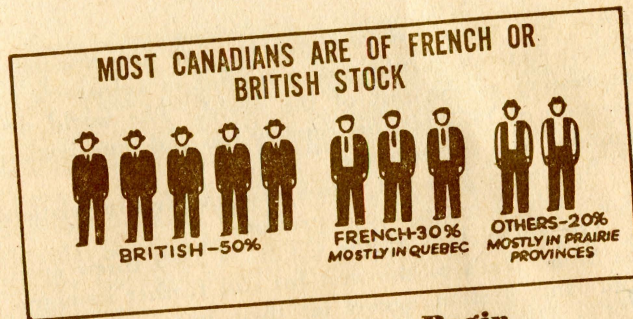
DEFENCE
AGAINST
UNITED STATES

POTATO
FAMINES

BOOM YEARS

DISTANCE
SLOWED
ASSIMILATION

LANGUAGES
AND CUSTOMS
RETAINED



When Did Immigration Begin to Fall Off?

IMMIGRATION
CUT DOWN

The first serious restriction to immigration into Canada imposed by Government policy coincided with the period after the last war during which servicemen were trying to rehabilitate themselves. Re-establishment measures in those days were pretty primitive in comparison with today's measures. But public opinion made itself felt sufficiently on behalf of the returned men of the first war to cause immigration to be slowed down to one-third of the pre-war rate until our own returning men had been properly taken care of. We have to remember, too, that the country had other problems: inflation (which we have nearly beaten this time) leading to depression, especially on the Prairies. Any one who spoke up for immigration in those days was merely sticking his neck out and there were plenty of people, not least the veterans, willing to wield the axe.

However, there were brave souls who pointed out that our transcontinental railroad system had been built to serve many more people than we had in the country. The result of these opposing views was that we virtually slammed the door in the face of nearly all immigrants. We welcomed only those who could buy or would work on the land. Britishers and Americans for whose services there was a definite demand were also allowed in.

The great depression of the thirties put an end to mass immigration to Canada. Mass feeling existed against allowing newcomers in when there were no jobs for tens of thousands already in the country.

What Happened to the Immigrants?

From the beginning of the century until the depression more than five million people came to Canada from different countries. That is a figure approaching half of our present population. Offhand, this makes our present total of twelve million strangely low. You would think that the families of these immigrants alone would account for the whole sum of our present-day population. And very likely they would have—had they all stayed. We have seen some of the reasons why they came. Why did no less than three-and-a-half million of them go away again?

MANY IMMI-
GRANTS WENT
AWAY

First, many who could not adapt themselves to life in North America went back to their native lands. Either they did not have the stuff in them to take on the pioneer job facing them, or for one of many reasons (and remember it may quite easily have been *our* fault) we could not keep them in Canada.

Many others remained in Canada only long enough to be transformed into North Americans. Then they moved on to greener pastures in the United States. Probably a large percentage of this group has since become assimilated into American life, and we might well ask ourselves why Canada did not hold the same attraction for them.

OTHERS WENT
TO THE STATES

Was it Only Immigrants who left?

The answer is—no. While the country was turning over large numbers of immigrants, and coming out of the deal in the long run with no debit balance, thousands of our native-born population were also leaving

NATIVE-BORN
ALSO LEAVING



VICIOUS CIRCLE

the country. Few countries have lost such a high percentage of their native population as has Canada. Most of these people went to the United States in search of greater opportunity. Thus, lack of opportunity because of a meagre population in their homeland drove them away and even further intensified the problem. The Dominion Statistician has estimated that, counting all those of Canadian stock, *perhaps one-third of us are south of the border*. That makes Canadians the third largest 'foreign' group in the States.

What about Natural Increase?

AS MANY WENT
AS CAME

It comes as a surprise to most of us that, on balance, immigration into Canada has been cancelled out by emigration, and that our net population increase over the years has been only equal to our natural increase—that is, the surplus of births over deaths.

What is Happening to our Birth rate?

BIRTH RATE
FALLING

We didn't have a very complete system of registration of births until 1921, so nothing conclusive is known about the ups and downs before that time.

Since then, however, the rate of natural increase *has been steadily declining*. Until the war, that is, when it began to go up again. In general, it has followed the curve of prosperity, in much the same way as immigration. It was down very low during the depression, and went up with the advent of war—for war, whatever its horrors, has also meant sufficient food, a job and a living wage for many who had almost forgotten these basic requirements of life.



Who are We?

Canadians are typically North American in that they share in the melting pot tradition of the United States. There are at least as many ingredients in our national cocktail as there are south of the border. About one-half of us are descended from British stock; about one-third from French. The latter group is the most intact, 'racially' speaking. Close to one-fifth of our population is of mixed origins, predominantly European.

HALF BRITISH

ONE-THIRD
FRENCH

REMAINING
FIFTH OF
MIXED ORIGINS

At the turn of the century, the last group—the 'others'—accounted for only one-tenth of our population, so we can see how immigration has resulted in our becoming less 'British'.

We are less 'British' than many of us suppose. For in the half of us that is described as being British in origin, no differentiation is made between those who came directly from the Old Country and those who came from the States. In classifying our people, we go right back to their nearest male ancestors and ignore the length of time they may have spent on this continent. The diagram shows the leading groups among those of other than British or French origin.

LESS BRITISH
THAN WE
THINK

What of the Future?

Although, as we have seen, our rate of natural increase is falling, this does not mean to say that the population is not increasing through natural means. However, it is not increasing as fast as it might. Without some radical and unlikely change in the birth rate it is impossible that we shall have a population of more than 15 million in another generation, unless we also have renewed immigration.

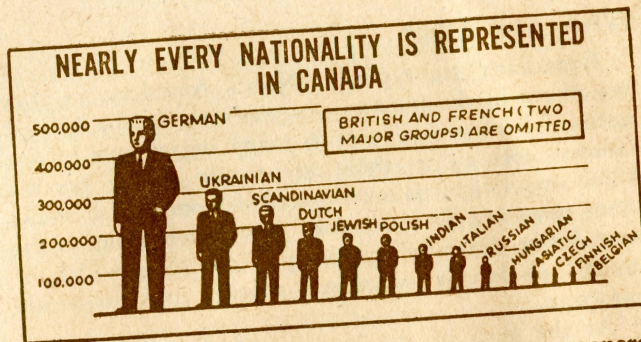
POPULATION
GOING UP
THOUGH BIRTH
RATE GOING
DOWN

Our success or failure in continuing to provide security and opportunity for our citizens will have a lot to do with whether our birth rate goes up or down.

MUST HAVE
SECURITY

Is Immigration the Answer?

It must be obvious to those who think of Canada supporting a population of anywhere from 25 to 100 million that we cannot achieve this target through



GROWTH WILL
BE SLOW
WITHOUT
IMMIGRATION

natural increase alone. At least, not for many generations. Immigration is the only remaining method. Opinions on this are varied and much heat is dissipated to the Canadian breeze in discussing them. Before considering the pros and cons, it would be well to look at our present immigration policy.

What is Our Present Policy?

IMMIGRATION
RESTRICTED
AND
SELECTIVE

WE DIDN'T
ASK THEM
TO COME

HAD TO
HAVE MONEY...

OR A
BREADWINNER
ALREADY HERE

IMMIGRATION
FALLS OFF
RAPIDLY

SOME
COULDN'T
GET IN...

OTHERS TOLD
TO SCRAM

Since 1930 immigration in Canada has been on a restricted and selective basis. When depression came in the door, our hospitality flew out the window. Easy immigration was allowed only to Britishers from the Old Country or the Dominions, and also to United States citizens crossing the border. Even these groups came uninited (in contrast with the 'come to Canada' advertising ballyhoo on which, in the past, we had spent thousands of dollars). They had to show that they could support themselves until they found jobs. The only other people we would let in were farmers with money of their own who were willing to go onto the land, and the wives and dependent children of family heads who were already established in Canada and able to support the newcomers. These restrictions resulted in an immediate falling off of the number of immigrants—from 105,000 in 1930 to about 28,000 in 1931. In 1938, the last full year of peace, only 17,000 came in.

It is interesting to note that, from the beginning of the restrictions up to the year 1942, 1,249 British immigrants were refused admission and no less than 9,500 were deported after admission.

What Effects Has the War Had?

The principal effect of the war has been to slow down immigration even further, for obvious reasons. A trickle of people, however, has continued to come in. The number was down to 8,500 in 1943. Most of these have been of British, French or Central European origin. Of the last group, many refugees from Hitler terror have imported both capital and special skills which have been put to good use in the war effort. Many of them also brought eyes sharpened by experience to see their responsibilities as citizens.

WAR REDUCES
FLOW TO
TRICKLE

REFUGEES

Anti-Nazi internees who came to Canada from England form another group who may be considered as wartime immigrants. As ways were found of utilizing their talents, many of this group were released from internment and employed by the government or private employers. Canada has had the benefit of their contributions as economists, artists, linguists, and skilled workers of various kinds. It is not yet clear on what terms they may be permitted to remain in Canada.

ANTI-NAZIS

Lastly, don't let us forget the 25,000 brides of Canadians overseas, many of whom are already in Canada, with more to follow. It may come as a surprise to find that they make up the largest single group to have immigrated to Canada since the depression.

WAR BRIDES
LARGEST
SINGLE GROUP

Will People Come?

We can't be sure what the policies of other countries are going to be—but if we achieve an effective world security organization, develop world trade and embark on a period of world prosperity—then the chances are there will be a good and useful living for people in their own home countries. We can expect a certain number of immigrants from the British Isles, although we have lately been warned that the British birth rate won't bear a continuing exodus. The International Labour Office points out that few can be expected from Scandinavia, Belgium, Holland or France. These are 'preferred' countries with those Canadians who favour large-scale immigration. The greatest pool of possible immigrants however, is Central Europe. The upheaval

WORLD
PROSPERITY
WILL CREATE
JOBS EVERY-
WHERE

FEW BRITISH
EXPECTED

CENTRAL
EUROPE IS
LARGEST
IMMEDIATE
SOURCE

of war has resulted in an estimated forty million or more homeless persons. Many will no doubt want to come to Canada, if they can. But if they see stable conditions at home, many more will want to stay there.

Whom Do We Want?

Apart from the likelihood of being disappointed if we insist on welcoming only 'nordic' immigrants, are we justified in such a policy of 'racial' exclusiveness? Remember, 20% of our people now are of varied European and Asiatic origins. Only half of us claim British ancestry, and that includes all who came via the States. Another third is French. It is probably true that middle class Britishers correspond more closely in custom and tradition to the majority of Canadians than do people fresh from Central Europe. But in holding out only for Britishers, we could be said to be side-stepping the evident need to shake together all our ingredients into a smooth Canadian mixture.

What Do the Pessimists Say?

Those who don't want renewed immigration base their case on our past inability to hold on to the people who did come. They point to the unemployment of the thirties as evidence that we cannot support even our present population properly. We saw in discussing jobs that the main difficulty is not immigration. They point out that all the best land in Canada was snapped up long ago, and that the 'wide open spaces' theory is a myth. Some sections of labour fear that wages will be forced down in competition with surplus imported labour; and if they support immigration, they do so with reservations.

What Do the Optimists Say?

The optimists think that our mistakes of the past can be remedied in the future. One authority believes that Canada could support 50 million people on our present standards of living, since Canada scores good marks on each side of the four factors that determine the 'habitability' of a country—temperature, rainfall, elevation above sea level and coal deposits.

HOW CHOOSEY
CAN WE BE
ABOUT PLACES
OF ORIGIN?

UNEMPLOYMENT

NO LAND LEFT?

CANADA HELD
HIGHLY
HABITABLE

Which Came First — Chicken or Egg?

Two points are generally conceded: First, we have very few people relative to our size and importance in the world; second, we have untold wealth yet to be developed. So it all boils down to this:

POSSIBLE
APPROACHES TO
PONDER

- (1) Can we sit on what we have?
- OR (2) Shall we invite people here now, and with their help go to work developing that wealth?
- OR (3) Shall we plug along with our present numbers until we have many more jobs than we have people to do them—and then send out invitations, either to the world at large or to selected countries?

QUESTIONS

Which of the three possible approaches listed at the top of this page do you think most desirable? Why? What effect might it have on your life and livelihood if our present population were doubled?

If you favour immigration—would you want to invite and encourage people to come to Canada; or would you leave it to their initiative to come if they so desired? Would you offer any inducements? Would you want to warn immigrants about anything in advance? What do you know of Canada's past efforts to attract immigrants—to inform them—and to exclude them?

What are your views on 'restricted' or 'selective' immigration? (Remember, we have been warned that mass immigration of Britons to the Dominions is very unlikely.) Do you know any people from Britain or the Continent who have gone to Canada or say they want to go? What are their reasons?

In the past, Canada has lost many citizens to the United States. Do you think they were justified in migrating south? What reasons do you think they might have had? How do you suggest Canada could hold on to her citizens in the future?

POPULATION
AND SIZE TWO
SIDES OF THE
SAME PROBLEM

The problem of our population is closely tied up with the enormous size of our country. We deal in distances which, to the Englishman, for example, seem astronomical. Most of us have met the fellow from Europe who says: "So you're from Canada. I wonder if you know Joe Brown. He lives in Winnipeg, I think." No use telling him you're from Vernon and only saw Winnipeg once, and then by chance on the way through to an Eastern Canadian port.

THIRD LARGEST
COUNTRY

In area, Canada is the third largest country in the world. (Larger: U.S.S.R. and China.) We have an undefended land frontier of no less than 5,400 miles—counting the 1,500 miles which border on Alaska.

CAUSE AND
EFFECT

Seven of our nine provinces are closer by air to Moscow than the remotest parts of the Soviet Union are to their own capital! Montreal is closer to Scotland than it is to Vancouver.

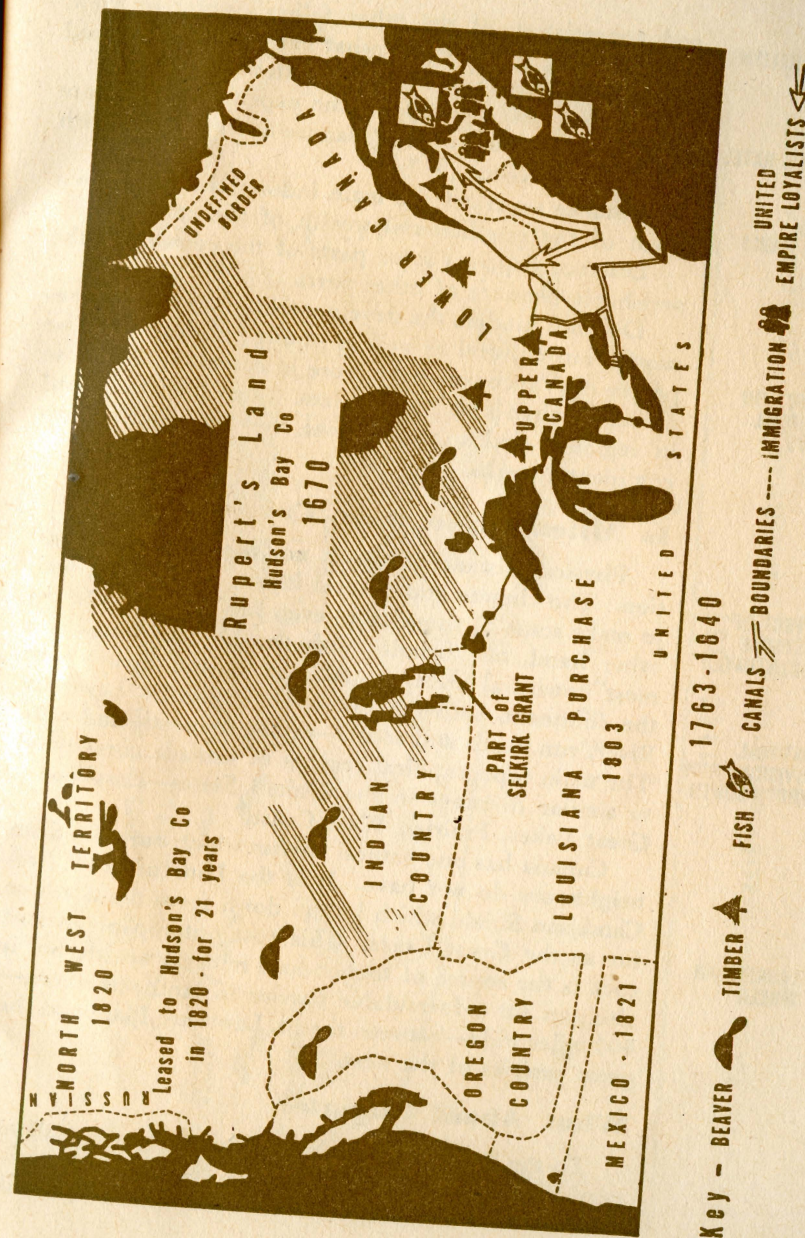
POLITICAL
SOLUTION

Of course, we have adapted ourselves as well as possible to great distances. We poured energy and money into great transcontinental communications. We have more railroad mileage per head of population than any country in the world. And we take long trips in our stride. We helped make aerial history by our early and routine use of planes to get into the North country. We learned to reckon in hundreds of miles, almost as readily as the inhabitants of a sleepy little English or French hamlet would reckon in miles or kilometres. In the political field we met the challenge of distance by developing our federal parliamentary system of government. We shall discuss this later.

But distance still remains a formidable factor in all our doings.

What does Distance do to us?

Distance separates our main centres of population; retards the process of mingling that brings knowledge



SECTIONALISM

and appreciation of the other fellow's point of view. We have had in the service what many of us never had before—the chance to meet our fellow-Canadians.

FREIGHT RATES

Distance burdens us with the expense of elaborate and costly communications; plagues our producers with heavy freight costs.

LONG HAULS

Distance separates the main industrial centres from much of the raw material wealth of the country.

Distance deprives some parts of the country of the perishable produce of other parts.

EFFECT ON NATIONAL UNITY

Distance hinders the development of a sense of oneness in our cultural as well as in our political life. The people of Vancouver have more in common with those of Seattle than with Montrealers. Ideas tend to spread in regional circles, as much as they go along trans-continental tracks.

Is Mileage the Only Consideration?**EFFECT OF DISTANCE ACCENTUATED**

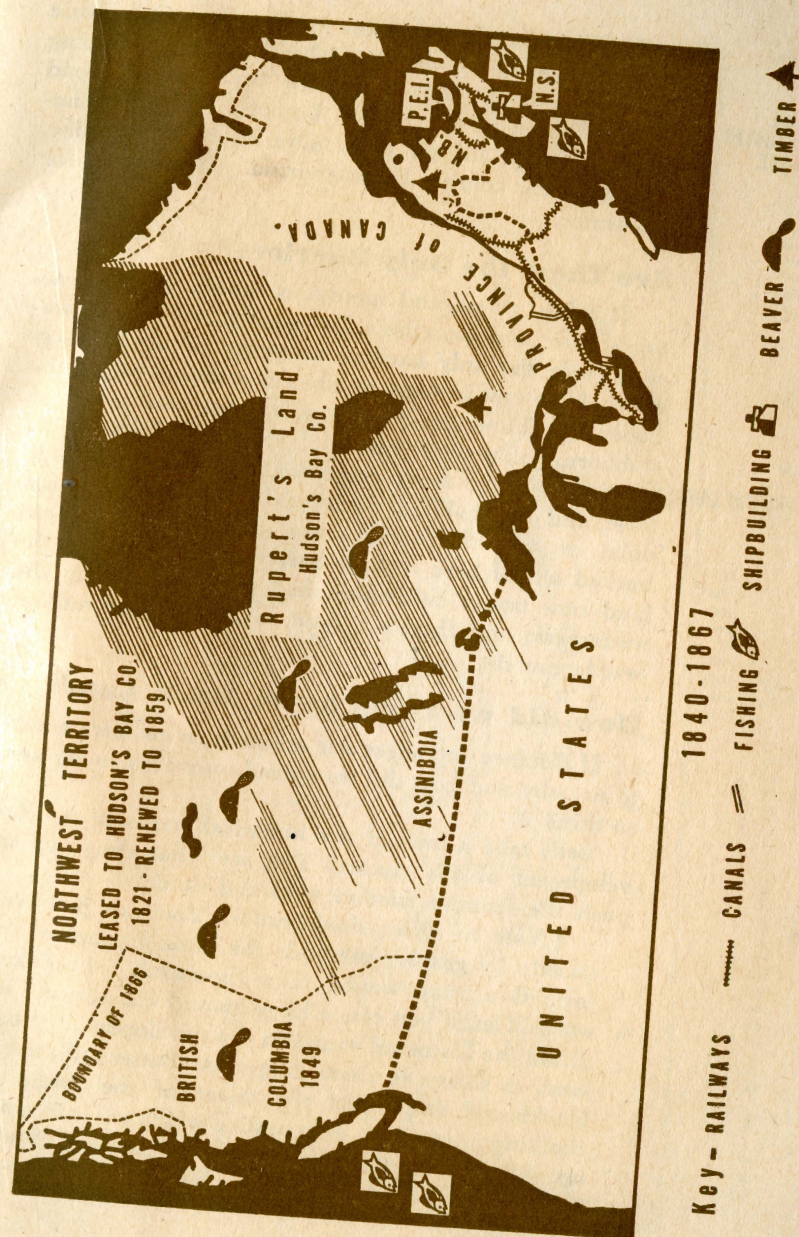
Physical distance alone is not the only consideration. The climate and natural layout of the land tend to make some of those miles even less passable. On the other hand, our frontier with the United States is a most unnatural creation. All the natural divisions of the continent, with the exception of the St. Lawrence River, run north and south—rather than east and west. The main topographical regions of Canada correspond to similar divisions in the United States—East Coast, Great Lakes, Prairies, West Coast.

NATURAL DIVISIONS RUN NORTH-SOUTH

Canada has one natural barrier which our American neighbours do not have. It is the Laurentian or Pre-Cambrian Shield which bulges down from the north as far as the Great Lakes. This vast outcrop of ancient rock is the source of tremendous mineral wealth, but it also sets up a formidable barrier to land settlement—800 miles wide—between the St. Lawrence Plain and the great prairies of the west.

LAURENTIAN SHIELD**What About Climate?**

To the Englishman (who can and does play golf all year round) the Canadian climate comes as a bit of a shock; and he may not take our winter too seriously



CLIMATE
ACCENTUATES
DISTANCE

until he lets his ears freeze for the first time. Our severe winters intensify the effect of sheer distance: shipping between the Great Lakes and the ocean ceases; road communication in many parts becomes difficult or impossible; except for rail and, more recently, air traffic, sections of the country become virtually inaccessible for the winter.

Are These the Only Barriers?

If lakes, rivers and mountain ranges, made sometimes more and sometimes less manageable by the seasons, were the only barriers chopping us up into segments from east to west, we should probably not be too badly off. However, huge tracts resist civilization so stubbornly that they too form barriers. Much of the railroad mileage from coast to coast passes through bush and uninhabited wilderness. Even within a few miles of some large cities the tracks run in a path hacked out of bare rock or barren scrub. Much of the land now under cultivation had to be won from the wilderness; and there's a limit to what twelve million people can do.

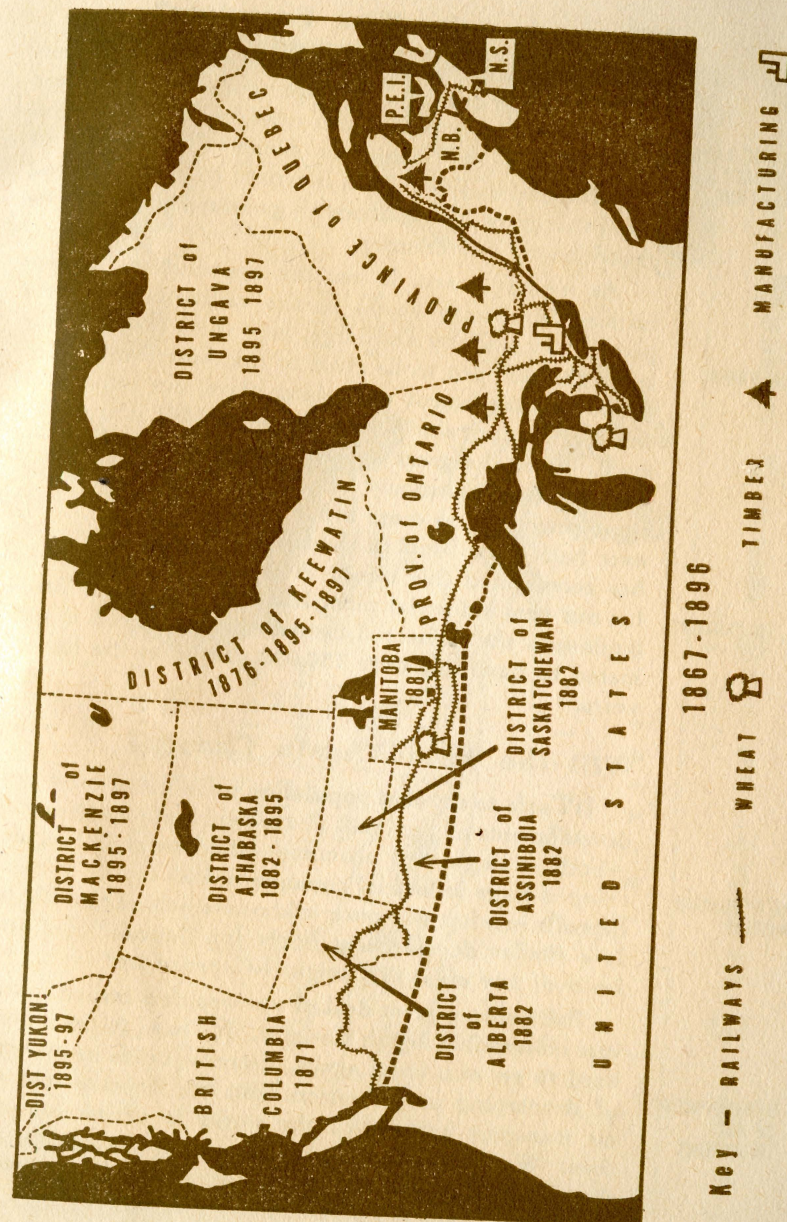
STUBBORN LAND

How did we Come by so Much Land?

If distance and sheer size are such an embarrassment to us, why and how did we spread ourselves so far and so thin?

Let's take a look at the historical stages in the development of the country and see what drove us to push the frontier further west and north.

(Note to Discussion Leader: You can put over quickly by graphic methods the same amount of information that would take thousands of spoken words. Get, if you can, a large map of Canada and indicate the historical stages in the development of our land, as shown in these diagrams. Better still, use a blackboard and enlist the talent of the group in chalking up a rough map outline which you can mark up with coloured chalks—as far as possible obtaining the necessary information from the members of the group.)



Where Are the New Frontiers?

When we discussed immigration, we were considering new people coming from other countries. But there is another kind of migration to consider. It is the movement of existing population within the borders of Canada—and this migration is caused by new ideas and needs that grow up as successive generations unfold the panorama of our country.

As we have seen, it was the opportunity for new farming land with access to the railroads, that sent people west and, by and large, kept them to the fertile strips that happen to lie close to the American border. When this movement was taking place, our population was largely *agricultural and rural*—in 1891 it was 68% rural. Since the great days of the development of the west our whole economy has changed. Canada has become progressively more *urban and industrial*—in 1941 over half of us lived in the cities and towns. The war has accentuated this trend. A steady stream of hands for our new industrial plant has flowed from the farmlands into the industrial centres. Saskatchewan is estimated to have lost over 150,000 people in the last 15 years.

Will the Trend Again Change?

It's safe to say that population will shift to meet new developments of the land. For a combination of reasons—both strategic and economic—the Soviet Union developed huge industrial communities on top of mineral deposits in what was once wilderness behind the Urals. *Is a similar development likely for Canada? Do you know of any areas that might be opened up?*

Even now, a great deal of our wealth is buried in the vast inaccessible North Country. It's hard to get at and hard to get out. Once again, distance stands in the way of developing our resources. But the development of air transport has caused the world to shrink in wartime. We may find that our peacetime conceptions of distance, particularly in the North, will change even more radically.

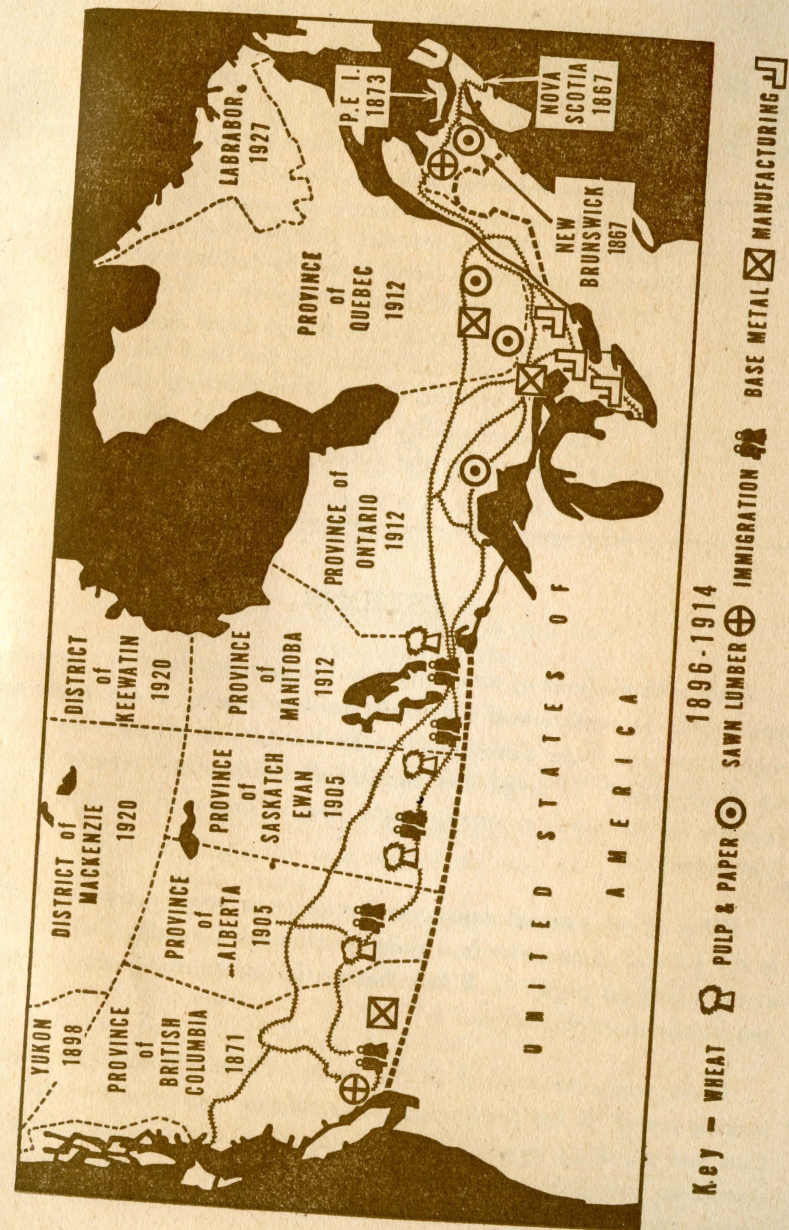
HOW THE LAND
INFLUENCES
POPULATION

FROM FARM...

...TO FACTORY

NEW COMMUNITIES?

DEVELOPMENT
OF AIR
TRANSPORT



Summary

Mileage in Canada can be reckoned in large figures. But the effect of mere mileage is further intensified by climate, by small population, by the unmanageable nature of the land, by the existence of the Laurentian Shield as a barrier between the east and the west.

Distance has made intercommunication difficult and expensive. To counteract this we have one of the world's greatest railroad networks and we were pioneers in the development of air transport.

Although distance has always been against us, the hidden and scattered wealth of the land has driven us to develop ways and means of minimizing distance.

The inaccessibility of much of our natural wealth is a challenge for the future.

QUESTIONS

Even with millions of new people in Canada, much of our country would still be remote and relatively hard to reach. What principal regions remain to be developed? How would you propose we open up these areas? If large new industrial communities proved to be feasible in the north country, would you be prepared to make your life there?

What effect is aerial transportation likely to have on Canadian life in the future? Remember how railways changed Canada. Take a look at the chart on page 73. What changes in our thinking about world geography does this suggest to you?

Have you ever worked in the bush, in a lumbering camp, in a mining town? What facilities, if any, did you most feel the lack of? Can you think of any wartime developments which should help us overcome the difficulties of climate and terrain and contribute to a richer life?

WHY CAN'T WE STAND ON OUR OWN TWO FEET?

3

Nothing annoys a Canadian more perhaps than to be called a 'colonial', unless it is the amiable ignorance of things Canadian which is sometimes displayed by a good neighbour south of the border.

COLONIALS?

We are conscious of our unique position as the meeting point of three great cultures—the French, the British and the American—and we like to think that we have some of the best parts of each. But it has occurred to most of us at one time or another that this also has many of the elements of a squeeze play. Between giants our own identity is apt to be somewhat obscured.

WELDING OF
BRITISH AND
AMERICAN

Examples:

1. The newly arrived Britisher who tells you how much better things are done over there—although conditions are totally different.

2. "Where did you learn to speak such good English? I thought everyone up there spoke French."

3. The tourist who arrives in July, equipped for an Arctic expedition.

OUR LADY OF
THE SNOWS

4. Last and not least—our own citizens who will insist on doing everything the 'old school tie' way and, as likely as not, get it wrong.

OLD SCHOOL TIE

These are minor irritations, it is true, made worse by our incomplete sense of national independence. Since that has been undergoing some pretty far-reaching changes in the course of the war (see Discussion Manual No. 2: *The Job We've Done*), let us look into this business of independence or the lack of it.

THINGS HAVE
BEEN CHANGING

Are We An Independent Nation?

As a member of the United Nations, we hold to the idea of the inter-dependence of peace-loving nations. If we are looking for complete independence from all out-

INDEPENDENT
OR INTER-
DEPENDENT?

ISOLATIONISM

side considerations, we had better think of it by its more revealing name—isolationism.

COLONIAL DIAPER DAYS

The real question to be answered is: How far along the road to complete national maturity and independence have we travelled since the diaper days of colonialism?

Are We Politically Independent?

SERIAL STORY OF SELF-GOVERNMENT

Canadian history has been a story of progress away from dependence on Great Britain—progress toward self-government and independent nationhood. The rate of progress has been uneven. Sometimes things went ahead quickly and smoothly. Sometimes, in earlier days, concessions were won only by rebelling.

We didn't have to fight a full-dress war for our independence as the American colonies did. One of the lessons learned from the war by the British government of that day was that they must make concessions to the colonies.

RULE BY A GOVERNOR

Our right to run our own affairs, to build our own kind of democratic government has gone through many stages. In the early colonial days the typical set-up was a British Governor, a 'Council' of local advisors selected by the Governor—generally from a very restricted circle — and an elected Assembly. The Assembly had very few powers. The Governor had a great many. And the Assembly had no say as to who made up the Governor's council. Laws passed by the Assembly could be vetoed by the Governor—or sent to the Colonial Office for approval.

ELECTED ASSEMBLIES

The first elected Assembly was in Nova Scotia, the next in New Brunswick. It was not until 1792 that there was one elected in what is now Ontario and Quebec.

ASSEMBLY GETS PURSE-STRINGS AND RIGHT TO REJECT ADVISORS

The next stage brought the struggles on the part of the members of the Assembly to get control of the revenue of the colony, and to force the Governor to take the advice of a group of advisors having the support of the House of Assembly and responsible to it. When the advisors lost the support of the Assembly they had to resign and the Governor had to find new advisors who had majority support behind them.

This was a big step to take. It was taken only after prolonged controversy and bloodshed. In all the colonies Family Compacts had grown up — not always under that name. The Compact was a group of official families, whose members shared all the important jobs. They had the inside track on land grants. They were the Attorneys General, the Judges, the Surveyors General, and the Bishops of the various colonies.

How Was Democratic Rule Obtained?

And on the outside were the reformers, the "damned democrats" as one Loyalist put it. They were the farmers, the merchants, the increasing number of business men, whose plans were frequently blocked by old fashioned ways of doing things.

Failure to make concessions in time caused rebellions in Lower Canada, under Louis Joseph Papi-neau, and in Upper Canada under William Lyon Mackenzie. Both rebellions were suppressed by harsh measures. But reforms soon came. Governors came out instructed to follow the advice of advisors responsible to the Assembly. That was in 1846 in Canada proper. In New Brunswick, responsible government came a decade later.

What Led To Confederation?

And the third big step was confederation itself. (We deal with this in some detail under Part 5 of this pamphlet—p. 53.) In 1840 Upper and Lower Canada had been united in one province and since then there had been talk of carrying this union further. The Maritime colonies of Prince Edward Island, Nova Scotia and New Brunswick had been talking of uniting among themselves. The British government was at first rather luke-warm to the whole idea but finally swung around to the opposite point of view. The London government saw great difficulties in the military and financial administration of a string of disconnected colonies adjoining the newly consolidated United States. Direct threats to annex these colonies had come from some

UNION WAS IN THE AIR

MINISTRY IN LONDON ALSO SAW THE NEED

BRITISH
PARLIAMENT
MADE HISTORY
UNKNOWNLY

groups in the States, almost as soon as the Union had felt — in fighting the Confederacy to the South — its growing military and industrial strength.

After the provinces had conferred and discussed the project of confederation, the final step had still to be taken in London. The British Parliament had to act. And that is why the basis of our Canadian parliamentary set-up is to be found in an act of the British Parliament. Here is a description of the passage of that act from "Canada, Our Dominion Neighbour" by Merrill Dennison:

"British public opinion at the time was entirely apathetic to the whole idea of Canadian confederation and even, indeed, to Canada. Gladstone had even talked of ceding Canada to the United States of America; other Liberals believed that Britain's Northern American Colonies were headed for independence whatever the mother of parliaments might choose to do about them. The British North America Act was passed without a division through a disinterested and half-empty Commons in 1867, but immediately following its third reading, so the story goes, the members came trooping in and the Chamber filled with excited legislators—a dog-tax bill was up for discussion!"

What Did Confederation Do for Us?

FEDERAL UNITY

The federal parliamentary system of government was a solution to the problem of how to hang together as one united nation while at the same time granting leeway to each province to look after its own 'domestic' affairs. The British North America Act gave us our written constitution. It divided up the responsibilities of government between a new, responsible, elected federal government and the provincial governments. These fields of responsibility have remained essentially the same ever since. In a later chapter, we'll look into them more fully.

WRITTEN
CONSTITUTION

ON THE POINT OF
INDEPENDENCE

But even this big step didn't mean full independence. It gave us control of our domestic affairs, and gradually the British troops were withdrawn from the country. But our foreign relations were still left in the

hands of the British government. And we had no power to amend our new constitution. It was as though we had been given our first long pants, but we weren't yet able to choose and buy our own suits.

NO POWER TO
AMEND

Have We Made Further Gains Since?

The B.N.A. Act gave us a sound measure of constitutional independence. But it's one thing to be independent on paper, and quite another thing to prove it in practice. It really took us till the Great War to learn to wear our long pants with the confidence that proved we'd moved out of the adolescent stage. Our part in that struggle proved that we had really grown up, and set the stage quite naturally for the next advance—equal partnership as a sovereign and independent nation within the British Commonwealth of Nations.

ACHIEVING
INDEPENDENCE
IN PRACTICE

GREAT WAR

This last step, which was taken along with the other Dominions, grew out of discussions starting in 1926 and was put down on paper as the Statute of Westminster in 1931.

STATUTE OF
WESTMINSTER
—1931

We have already seen (in Discussion Manual No. 2) how this war has given us an even greater sense of national maturity.

How Did We Use Our New Independence?

Once again, paper independence didn't grow overnight into full independence in practice. Different groups put different interpretations on our new status. Some welcomed it because they thought it would draw us into a closed corporation of Empire countries. They thought we could develop Empire trade and a sort of imperial isolationism, that we could thumb our noses at the rest of the world. Others felt that independence could mean nothing less than complete severance of our imperial ties.

DIFFERENT
INTERPRETA-
TIONS

EMPIRE
ISOLATIONISM

SOME WOULD GO
FURTHER

In practice we remained dependent on Great Britain in many ways. The British Navy was acknowledged as the logical defence arm of our shores. We began to grope towards a foreign policy of our own, although usually adding our voice to the prevailing policies of

BRITISH NAVY
OUR DEFENCE

NO
INDEPENDENT
FOREIGN
POLICY

STILL NO
POWER TO
AMEND B.N.A.
ACT

WAR CREATES
NEW SENSE OF
NATIONAL
MATURITY

NEW
CONTRIBUTIONS
TO
INTERNATIONAL
AFFAIRS

NATIONAL FLAG

TWEEDSMUIR
ON FOREIGN
POLICY

the British government. We weren't much of an influence for world security in the League. We stood apart from the death struggles of Manchuria, of Ethiopia and of Spanish democracy.

Even when we were able to reach agreement among ourselves as to how our Constitution should be amended, we had to ask another sovereign Parliament to do it—not that they would ever refuse.

As we have already seen (in Discussion Manual No. 2) the war has brought us a new sense of national maturity. We went a long step ahead of the first war in the creation of the First Canadian Army. Our industrial achievements, our successful organization and administration of the Commonwealth Air Training Plan, our readiness to speak up in the international field where before we shut up, certainly make it seem that we are on the threshold of still further independence. Canada has emerged from the experience of war as an acknowledged leader among the middle powers. There is official talk about a national flag and a new definition of Canadian citizenship. This all indicates a new sense of nationhood and a new desire and ability to enjoy complete political independence. We are beginning to see the truth in what Governor General Lord Tweedsmuir said in Montreal in 1937:

"No country can seclude itself and declare that it will go its own way without troubling its head over what other people are doing. Its political security, its economic prosperity, compels it to have some reasoned attitude towards the outer world.

"This attitude must be mainly determined by the citizens themselves. The day has gone when foreign policy can be the preserve of a group of officials at the foreign office, or a small social class, or a narrow clique of statesmen from whom the rest of the nation obediently takes its cue. Today the problems affect us all too vitally in our private interests. The foreign policy of a democracy must be the cumulative views of individual citizens, and if these views are to be sound they must in turn be the consequence of a widely diffused knowledge.

"From this duty no country is exempt. Certainly not Canada. She is a sovereign nation and cannot take her attitude to the world docilely from Britain, or from the United States, or from anybody else. A Canadian's first loyalty is not to the British Commonwealth of Nations, but to Canada and to Canada's King, and those who deny this are doing, to my mind, a great disservice to the Commonwealth. If the Commonwealth, in a crisis, is to speak with one voice it will be only because the component parts have thought out for themselves their own special problems, and made their contribution to the discussion, so that a true common must, as part of its sovereign duty, take up its own attitude to world problems. The only question is whether that attitude shall be a wise and well-informed one or a short-sighted and ill-informed one. Therefore we need knowledge..."

What About Economic Independence?

It's pretty hard to separate economic from political considerations. Canada was first taken over and colonized mainly for economic reasons—for trade and for profit. In the earliest days of French exploration and colonization, the development of the new land cost the Royal purse of France a pretty penny, which the reverse flow of fish and furs was expected to justify.

British money invested in North America was essential for the early development of the country. To the imperialists at the centre of Empire it represented a legitimate means of trade and source of profit.

While the colonies were multiplying and establishing paying undertakings for themselves, profits were still going back to the Old Country from British enterprises in the colonies—like the Hudson's Bay Company.

Apart from these profits, no money from colonial taxes or levies crossed the Atlantic to go into the British Exchequer after 1776.

POLITICS AND
ECONOMICS
INTERTWINED

DIVIDENDS BUT
NOT TAXES

Was British Capital The Only Capital?

BRITISH CAPITAL
FOR
DEVELOPMENT
OF CANADA

BRITAIN
CONTROLLED
TRADE
CONDITIONS

U.S. CAPITAL FOR
INDUSTRIAL
DEVELOPMENT

Since Britain dominated the political scene it's no surprise to find that British money for a long time was the biggest source of 'venture' capital. At various times, whenever it suited the broad plan of British foreign investments, colonial or Empire preferential tariffs were put in effect to encourage the flow of trade from Canada to Great Britain. At other times, and for other reasons, Britain favoured free trade laws. The prevailing trading conditions, as determined by Great Britain, had a good deal to do with the state of prosperity in Canada.

In later years, with the arrival of the industrial era, American capital began to come into Canada as freely as American citizens. By the end of World War I—because many British shares had had to be converted to cash for war supplies—the American capital in Canada was greater than the British.

Compare these figures:

	1913	1937
British	\$2,570 million	\$2,727 million
American	780 million	3,996 million

Has U. S. Capital In Canada Influenced Our Politics?

HOW LOUDLY
DOES MONEY
TALK?

ADVANTAGES
TO U.S.A. OF
COMMON-
WEALTH TRADE

You might expect that American money in the country would have helped slant our politics in favour of the United States. Strangely enough, this is not so. In general, the Americans set up branches of their industries in Canada so that they could benefit from the favourable trading arrangements Canada enjoys with the other countries in the Commonwealth. Any attempt to 'Americanize' our politics would be no more to their advantage than to ours. Rather than make us dependent on the States, American capital has helped us develop Canada more quickly than we would have been able to do with our small population and limited funds.

Are We Less Enterprising?

In the early days in Canada, settlers had little cash for investment. But as the colonial population grew, it too was investing money in the development of the country. Thus, through most of Canadian history, there has been a mixture of some domestic with greater amounts of outside capital.

GROWING USE
OF OUR OWN
FUNDS

The contrast between Canadian and U.S. border towns is often so marked that many Canadians gloomily assert we lack the enterprise of our American neighbours. It was their staggering use of men, money and modern equipment that carved the Alaskan Highway in record time and developed the Canol oil project.

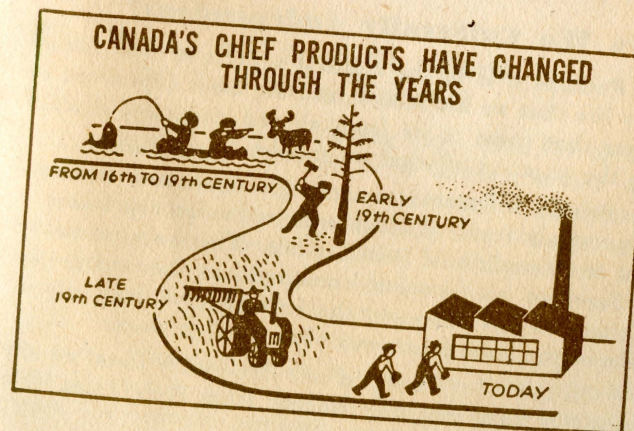
"ARMY OF
OCCUPATION"

War has changed this situation a good deal. One of the immediate results is that we have a much greater financial stake in our own country than we ever had before. However, even before the war, we ourselves were by far the largest shareholders in our own concerns, as these figures for 1934 show:

WAR AGAIN
BRINGS
CHANGES

DOMESTIC
CAPITAL THE
LARGEST

Estimated total capital:	\$18,000 million
Percentage held by Canadians:	62½
Percentage held by Americans:	22
Percentage held by British:	15



BRITISH
HOLDINGS
LIQUIDATED

During the war the government of Great Britain was obliged to take over and sell a large part of the shares in Canadian concerns previously owned by British citizens, in order to help finance the British war effort. And less than 1/100th of wartime plant expansion in Canada has been done with British funds. As a result, the Canadian-owned percentage of our productive facilities has risen considerably at the expense of the British.

FINANCED
OUR OWN WAR
EFFORT

As we have seen from an earlier discussion, we have in this expansion taken an enormous leap forward during the war as an industrial nation. Nearly \$850,000,000 worth of this expansion has been made possible by the amount of money which we, the people, have ploughed back into Canada in the form of Victory Bonds. We found ourselves able to extend aid, amounting to \$1,723,753,786 to Great Britain, as part of our considerable financial contribution to victory.

LONDON 'TIMES'
COMMENTS

The post-war proposals outlined in the Government's white paper on Employment and Income, which were outlined in Manual No. 3, are an indication of a more mature approach to our economic future. This document has stirred the cautious London *Times* to observe that our policy reflects the increase in national self-confidence resulting from the range and success of the Canadian war effort.

Are We Culturally Independent?

CULTURE
CONFUSING

Perhaps it is in the cultural aspects of our day-to-day life that we are most confused, most dependent on ideas that come to us from abroad and most divided on the question of what we should do about it.

TRADITIONALLY
CLOSE TO
BRITISH LEGAL
IDEAS

British influences are strong from coast to coast. Our whole legal, judicial and parliamentary fabric is cut from traditional British cloth. There are profound differences between our constitutional monarchy—the British way of life—and the federal republican way of life of the Americans, our closest neighbours.

On the other hand, in our day-to-day lives, we are in many ways indistinguishable from Americans. We

like the same soft drinks, Hollywood movies, New York magazines and books. We talk a language and idiom that is closer to the American than to the English, and share the same free-and-easy, aggressively democratic approach to life. In short, relating it to service life, we feel much more at home and find more of our needs satisfied in an American PX than in a British NAAFI.

... BUT STRONGLY
INFLUENCED BY
AMERICANS

NAAFI OR PX
PREFERRED?

Where Is Our Canadian Culture?

Between British influences on the one hand and American on the other, we have somehow failed to produce a mature culture of our own that is truly Canadian and to which we can all equally subscribe. This in spite of the fact that in the 1941 Census, 97.4% of our population described their nationality as 'Canadian'.

MIXTURE
HASN'T YET
JELLED

Here again, we might look to the scatteration of our small population as an important contributing reason. It keeps us separated in groups. Other difficulties in arriving at a strong united national point of view are: the far-reaching differences between the cultural ideas of French- and English-speaking Canadians; our failure to set up a distinctively Canadian ideal, around which all of us, French and English and comparative newcomers from other countries might unite; the loss of tremendous numbers of talented citizens to the States.

FRENCH AND
ENGLISH
CULTURAL
DIFFERENCES

NO PROGRAMS
FOR
ASSIMILATION

Why Have We Lost So Much Of Our Best Talent?

It's a familiar and saddening experience for us to see Canadian after Canadian with literary, artistic or theatrical talents go south to sell them in the more generous and appreciative market across the border. But so long as we ourselves offer no inducements to keep these citizens, we can hardly blame them for going. We have almost come to be persuaded that imported culture is better than anything we can create ourselves. This has led us in the past to neglect talented Canadians who chose to stay at home, and to remain distressingly apathetic to their efforts.

LOSS OF
CITIZENS TO
STATES

LOCAL TALENT
IGNORED

DOES "MADE IN
CANADA" MEAN
SECOND-RATE?

What Of The Future?

CANADIANS
WERE PROUD TO
JOIN CANADIAN
UNITS

AMERICANS
TOO!

GREAT STRIDES
MADE IN WAR-
TIME

Here again, we have to assess our future progress on the basis of what we have achieved in war. We didn't find Canadians regretting that they couldn't cross the border to join American units. They had pride in the traditions and achievements of their own fighting groups. This was great enough to attract thousands of Americans, too, to the Canadian colours. War gave us the incentive that had previously been lacking to put all our best brains and talents to work for our own country. As a result, we made huge strides in science, in medicine, in industrial techniques and in national prestige generally. If we can find peacetime incentives which are as important, we can expect to find a truly Canadian culture growing up. For culture is an expression of the way a people feels about life and the future, learning from the present and guided by tradition and past experience.

QUESTIONS

What differences are there between: independence, nationalism, isolationism? Canada is a free and sovereign state within the framework of the British Commonwealth of Nations. Have we an independent foreign policy? Would you say that our national independence is established in practice, or do you feel that we have farther progress to make? Consider this statement: "Canada entered the war as a nation: She emerged as a power".

What effect do Canada's ratification of the San Francisco Charter and her membership in the United Nations have on the questions of national independence? Does 'Empire Bloc' or 'American Bloc' policy fit in with participation in the United Nations?

How many Canadian artists, writers, musicians, actors, and scientists can you name? How many Canadians of the same professions in the U.S.A. can you name? Has your increased knowledge of other countries given you any new ideas about Canadian culture?

NATIONAL UNITY — FARCE OR CHALLENGE ?

4

Let's begin by admitting that we haven't got that magnificent national unity which many people talk about and which some suspect is just a political football.

NOT AS
STRONGLY
UNITED AS WE
MIGHT BE

Nearly everyone preaches national unity. Nearly everyone wants it. While some think that the words and actions of others *promote* disunity, you will find very few who *preach* disunity as a political sermon.

We should be hurting our chances to become a completely unified nation if we refused to recognize the fact that in some way full national unity has so far eluded us. Perhaps the reason for this is that we don't all agree on the objective—a definition of national unity that will suit all groups in Canada.

NO GENERAL
AGREEMENT ON
WHAT UNITY
MEANS

What is National Unity?

National unity means different things to different people. To some it is the art of compromise in our political life. It is the ability to formulate policies which, while they satisfy nobody 100%, at the same time don't start anybody smashing furniture.

DIFFERENT
MEANINGS:
COMPROMISE

To others it means all for the majority, nothing to the minority. The minority must submit, or else. . .

MAJORITY RULE

To some people it means the obligation of everyone else to 'unite' around their particular program, on which there isn't going to be any compromise for anybody, by golly.

RIGID
PROGRAM

And to some other people, national unity is what they believe we would achieve if we sank all our minor differences of opinion in rallying around the big, important issues facing the country.

THE BIG
ISSUES THAT
COUNT

It isn't an easy thing to define. Perhaps we can get a better idea of national unity by finding out where and why we lack unity at present. Some things are best known by their opposites.

Are We United?

WE GET BY

In spite of the gloomy prophets of civil strife we seem right now to be in a pretty healthy state as a nation. It's hard to conceive of a country putting forth such a mighty war effort as ours unless all the necessary ingredients of national unity were already there.

DIFFERENT
KINDS OF
DISUNITY

However, we do find possibilities of friction between many different sections of the community — between English-speaking and French-speaking Canadians; between the rich, central provinces and the less richly endowed provinces to the east and west; between 'old established' (second or third generation) Canadians and relative newcomers of foreign birth or parentage; between farm workers and their cousins in factories; between employers and workers. We may even yet witness the spectacle of individuals trying, for their own purposes, to drive a wedge between ex-munition-makers and ex-munition-users.

THE LUNATIC
FRINGE

We also find a minority anxious to work up disunity over religious differences (freedom for *their* religion, but not for the other fellow's) and we are no more free than any other democracy from the lunatic fringe which turns freedom of speech into license to spread slanders and falsehoods.

SOME PROBLEMS
COMMON TO ALL

Many of these difficulties are common to other countries. But some are essentially Canadian. They grow out of the very problems we have been discussing — population, scattered communities, great distances and the varied origins of our people. If we agree that disunity grows from these problems, then we must admit that there are *reasons* for disunity. So let us put the *reasons* under the microscope.

SOME UNIQUELY
CANADIAN

THERE'S
ALWAYS A
REASON

What about French-English Differences?

ANCESTRAL
STOCK

The first obvious hurdle to unity—or so it seems to many of us—is the fact that we are not all of one common stock and background and do not all speak the same language.

About a half of us are 'Anglo-Saxon' as we are rather loosely described. (It would be hard to prove a

Welshman, Irishman, or Scottish Highlander to be an Anglo-Saxon!) And some of us are tabbed 'Anglo-Saxon' only because one of our four grandparents was born in the British Isles. Many of this group are only remotely descended from inhabitants of the British Isles, some arriving here by way of America. This British or 'Anglo-Saxon' stock is numerically the strongest in Canada today. But it is hardly a clear majority. One full third of us is descended from the original French settlers in New France—that is, predominantly descended from Bretons and Normans.

NO CLEAR
MAJORITY BY
ORIGINS

Now, one-third of the nation is not a *minority* in the simple sense, as are for instance, the Canadians of Icelandic origin. Canada has many minority groups (which we shall discuss later). Nobody expects any small minority to have a dominant influence on our national policies. Good democratic government sees to it, however, that minority rights are respected. Apart from that, it is only logical and natural that the dog should wag the tail.

ONE-THIRD OF A
NATION NO
'MERE
MINORITY'

But the French-speaking group, because of its very considerable numbers, cannot be so lightly and easily dismissed. It doesn't help much to apply the line of reasoning: I'm bigger than you, so you damn well do as I say.

We hear plenty of loose talk in this direction, based, probably, on a pretty sketchy idea of the history and development of our country. Perhaps you have run into something like the following, which really happened: an NCO from the west, resentful of a 'foreign' language, foolishly tried to pin a charge on a French-Canadian soldier for continuing to speak French, after having been 'ordered' not to. Charges like that cannot be made to stick, even if some of the ill-feeling remains.

WHO IS
'FOREIGN?'

Between us and the solution to this question of unity lies the willingness to get at the facts—and then act constructively on these facts. In military terms, it is the old and proven process of 'appreciating the situation'. Most of us would gain by making a fresh appreciation.

LOOK AT THE
FACTS

What are the Origins of the French in Canada?

Settlement of Canada by Europeans didn't begin until about 75 years after it was originally discovered and claimed in the name of France by Jacques Cartier. Then French settlers came to the country and for the next century and a half there followed the romantic and colourful period of French colonization. Canada's history is full of tales of French explorers, missionaries, traders and coureurs de bois. But, in spite of all the colour and adventure, the colonization was not completely successful—at least, not in terms of population increase and in comparison with similar British colonial efforts. Weak administration, a poor colonial system, and the intrigues of the court of France and its appointees at Quebec—all proved unworthy of the heroism and enterprise of the early explorers.

Military conquest, however, as we are proving again today in Germany, does not by any means solve all problems. The British Government, whose main concern after all was to protect its colonial and trading interests, had to act in a way that would win over, rather than antagonize, the new alien population. Britishers were eager to promote the constructive, profitable development of the new territories. A hostile, rebellious population would have been an obstacle to their trading operations.

This was the general background of the Quebec Act. Passed in 1774 (a date to remember), it remains today one of the most important pieces of legislation in Canada's history. The Quebec Act guaranteed to the 70,000 French in Canada the right to be themselves. It allowed them to keep their own civil laws and customs, their own system of land tenure, their own religion—and, above all, their own language. The French were not opposed to the introduction of British criminal law.

This tolerant Act has been called everything from a piece of weak-kneed appeasement to a piece of statesmanship without rival among conquerors. In the light

of history, the latter interpretation certainly seems to carry more weight, for the allegiance of the French-speaking Canadians to the British crown was never shaken in the years that followed.

It is folly to talk about Quebec today without taking this background into consideration. Almost every important piece of legislation that came later in our path to independence ratified the spirit of the Quebec Act. People with glib 'solutions' to national unity sometimes talk as though almost two centuries of such agreement could be tossed into the St. Lawrence River without leaving a ripple. National unity could hardly be expected to flourish if such notions were acted upon. Perhaps we are sidetracked by difficulties which are really only superficial, and so let the real roots of inequality and disunity in the country escape us.

Is a Single Language Essential for National Unity?

You sometimes hear it said that we'll never have national unity unless we all speak the same language. That's about the same as saying that we have no hope ever of becoming united. For language is the very root of a people's culture. It is the symbol of their identity which they give up least readily. If the assumption is that we all speak English, then it would mean suppressing our other language—French. But suppression of languages has always been associated in history with the most violent forms of tyranny — and nearly two hundred years ago our forebears refused to contemplate such an act. On the other hand, recognition of minority cultures, including languages, has always been a democratic concept. In practice, the recognition of a people's language has resulted in winning their support in more important matters.

It would be a leap in the dark to meddle with the historic right of any Canadian to speak either French or English. Not only would it be impracticable; it would drive us even further away from the goal of unity.

FRENCH
REMAINED
LOYAL

NOT SO FAST

SHOVE OUR
TONGUE DOWN
THROATS

THE OLDEST
EUROPEAN
CANADIANS

HOW TO WIN A
PEOPLE

THE QUEBEC ACT

APPEASEMENT?
... OR STATES-
MANSHIP?

How about Two Languages for Everyone?

This is a more constructive approach, although a little too idealistic for some. Apart from the cultural advantages of speaking more than one's mother tongue, bilingualism has practical advantages for Canadians too. Perhaps the least we could do is recognize the willingness to speak both French and English as a mark of good citizenship in a bilingual country. When all is said and done, the problem is not insurmountable. Belgium gets along very nicely with two languages, Switzerland with three. In the Soviet Union there are no less than 150 languages and dialects in use.

What Other Reasons are There for Disunity?

Apart from the obvious differences in language and culture, there are other sources of misunderstanding and disunity between French- and English-speaking Canadians. The latter are inclined to judge French Canada by purely Anglo-Saxon standards. They have found relatively few French speaking scientists, engineers, technicians, and industrialists and have drawn the conclusion that French-Canadians do not have what it takes for twentieth century development. They may not have noticed how fast the French-speaking technical force is expanding. They point to the very small number of public libraries in Quebec and conclude that its inhabitants are away behind in educational matters. They forget that there are five other provinces below the national average in libraries—two of them further below it than is Quebec.

French standards of culture, however, are quite different—and, from the point of view of purely academic education, at least as good and probably better than the English. For music, for drama and the arts generally, no audience in Canada is better than that in Quebec. Where the English (thanks in part to Andrew Carnegie, the Scottish American) borrow their books, the French prefer to buy and own them. Where English-

TWO STRINGS TO
OUR LARYNX

FRENCH NOT
TRAINED FOR
TODAY?

HUMAN VALUES
VS. TECHNICAL

Canadian educational aims have veered from the human to the technical, the French-Canadian aims have remained human.

What about the French Side of the Question?

Can you name grievances held in French Canada against the rest of Canada? If so, the spirit of national unity demands that English-speaking Canadians give them serious consideration.

For one thing, the people of Quebec are all too aware of the fact that they own and operate a very small proportion of the wealth of their own province. Only 10% of Quebec industry is controlled by French-speaking Canadians. On the rich island of Montreal, according to a pre-war survey, more than 80% of the financial strength of business enterprises was in the hands of English-speaking Canadians. The same disproportion is reflected in the lives of the farmers and workers of the province. The average income for Quebecers has been consistently less than that of inhabitants of the neighbouring English-speaking province of Ontario and less also than the overall Canadian average. French-Canadian workers generally earn less for the same work and French-Canadian farmers have fewer of the modern conveniences and comforts of life.

We should probably look to this economic inequality for the real seeds of disunity in our land.

What is the Outlook for the Future?

The experience of the war ought not to make us in the least pessimistic about the future. On the contrary, it has brought about new trends which look well for national unity. Consider these facts:

A great industrial war plant has grown up in the province operated to a considerable extent by men and women from the farms.

A new emphasis is being placed on scientific, technical and practical as well as theoretical education. Education has now been made compulsory.

SPOILS TO THE
ENGLISH

WHERE QUEBEC
FORGES AHEAD

Following a well established pattern in Ontario, the Quebec government has taken over one of the province's largest private hydro-electric developments to operate it publicly in the interests of cheaper power for the people.

These are all signs of a new trend in the province to iron out many of the inequalities from which grievances and disunity have grown.

Do We Suffer from Other Forms of Disunity?

The fellow who is accustomed to thinking in terms of 'kikes', 'wops', 'polacks', 'niggers', 'micks', and all the other 'superman' words for people of another race, colour or faith is pretty well known to us. He may only be trying to build up his ego; he may simply be carelessly using words he grew up with—or he may be using them consciously and with malice aforethought.

This isn't a uniquely Canadian problem—as our experience with the Nazis surely proves. But it could do much damage to our national unity and progress if we failed to digest the lessons of Nazism. The fallacy of the Nazi 'superman' race myth has been fully revealed. What isn't quite as obvious is the deeper political lesson that discrimination against any one group can soon be switched to persecution of all free men. The Jews were the first scapegoats of Hitler; but it didn't take long until communists, trade unionists, catholics, protestants, liberals, writers, scientists, artists and non-conformists of every kind followed into Dachau and Belsen on the heels of the Jews. Once we let ourselves become victims of racist ideas, we have lost the first line of defence against the corrupters of democracy.

How Can We Build National Unity?

You can't create unity by passing a law. Some laws are necessary, of course. Perhaps more laws which would recognize racial discrimination as a crime would provide a basis for unity. But in the end, unity has to be felt, lived, experienced.

There's a lesson to be learned from the way in which the United Nations have held together—in spite of occasionally severe differences of opinion. Reporting to the American Congress on the Crimea Conference, Franklin Delano Roosevelt had this to say:

The United States will not always have its way 100%, nor will Russia, nor will Great Britain. We shall not always have ideal answers, solutions to complicated international problems, even though we are determined continuously to strive towards that ideal.

This gives us a good lead on internal affairs as well as on our international dealings. But the United Nations has been a well-organized body in war, and is taking steps to organize even more strongly for the keeping of the peace. There will be ample machinery for the discussion of all world problems. A similar organized approach to our internal problems will surely help.

The Dominion-Provincial Conference on Reconstruction has provided a preliminary forum for discussion. If the various governments can agree on main lines of co-operation, we should be able to take whatever legal and constitutional steps are necessary to cement national unity—up to and including any amendment of the B.N.A. Act needed to bring it up-to-date.

We are a long way from perfect national unity. That is only one side of the picture. We are much further away from critical disunity. At least we are all on speaking terms. No-one (a few fanatics excepted) is seriously suggesting that Canada should be broken up into separate countries. Discussion of disunity may even seem unnecessary to servicemen who for some years have been giving little thought to the nationality of the chap—or the unit—next along. In the same way, union members in war plants have kept their eyes on production, without worrying about the birthplaces of the others in the shop. The emphasis has been on the job to be done. There are still plenty of jobs to do.

RACE
COLOUR
CREED

NAZISM NEEDED
SCAPEGOATS

BY LAWS

BY BEHAVIOR

BY EXCHANGE
OF VIEWS

DOMINION-
PROVINCIAL
CONFERENCES

What Can We All do Individually?

Organized discussions among all parties to a dispute will help. Constitutional amendments might help. Recognizing the tasks of the peace as being just as important as the tasks of the war will help. But all formal means are bound to fail if we personally, as citizens, refuse to inform ourselves correctly of the facts, refuse to think in constructive channels or to free ourselves of prejudice and bigotry.

In a later pamphlet we shall have a chance to study the democratic machinery of our country within which national unity will be built. And we shall study our relationship as individual citizens to that machinery.

QUESTIONS

How would your group define 'national unity'? In what ways does the situation in Canada as you know it fall short of your definition?

Do you feel that your career in uniform has taught you any special lessons in relation to unity? What do you think the chances are of carrying the results back to civilian life?

Some people see unity as a spiritual state of affairs; others think of it in economic terms; still others as a mixture of the two. What is your opinion? Is it possible to make laws that would produce a fuller sense of unity? What kind of laws?



NEW WINE IN OLD BOTTLES 5

Are we Bursting Out at Our Constitutional Seams?

As we have seen, we went into long pants as a nation in 1867 when we achieved Confederation. The Statute of Westminster in 1931 gave us a new suit, cut on more stylish lines. But the main measurements weren't changed from the days of Confederation. Since then we have grown in a number of unpredictable ways. Our needs have changed, and the question arises whether we haven't long since burst through at the seams.

The British North America Act, or B.N.A. Act as it is usually called, is talked about by most Canadians as a definite hurdle in our national life. It probably has slipped into the discussions that have come before this. We could have dealt with it sooner, but in discussing it now in detail we shall probably find that we have benefitted by the discussions already held on other hurdles.

How the Problem Arises

The question of the B.N.A. Act usually arises when we, Canadians generally, want action on some specific problem. Quite often we are told that such and such a course of action can't be taken—"because the Federal Government hasn't the power"—or "because the provinces won't agree"—or "that is a provincial responsibility and the province hasn't the money to do it".

Problems of the Past . . . and Present

Anybody who can remember the days of the depression will remember arguments about the cost of relief. Looking after people who couldn't support themselves had always been a local matter, for the town or city concerned; but with thousands out of work in the

DOES THE LAW
STILL DO WHAT
WE WANT?

early thirties, no town or city could afford to keep on paying relief. So they turned to the government of their province and the provincial governments, as their money ran short, descended on Ottawa—"Relief is a national question; Ottawa must tackle it." But the Federal Government was able to say, and did say, that relief was not its responsibility. In the end, of course, the Federal Government came to the aid of the provinces and cities, at least as far as money was concerned, although the administration of relief remained in local hands.

Our problems today are different. They are problems of full employment, problems of labour relations, collective bargaining, of health insurance and other social security measures. There are a great many problems that have to be tackled on a national scale if we are to have the prosperous developing Canada we want.

And there are people who say that many necessary steps cannot be taken by the Federal Government acting alone, within our present constitution.

What Are Constitutions?

Every country has a constitution—no matter what it may be called. There is no such document as the British Constitution but there is a mass of laws and decisions of ways of doing things that makes just as complete a constitution for the United Kingdom as that of any other country. The constitutions of the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R., since they are big countries with a number of geographic divisions, divide powers between the central government and the governments of the different local divisions. That problem doesn't arise in Great Britain, where one parliament attends to all the business of England, Scotland and Wales. When the original colonies were uniting to form Canada many people thought that there should be just one parliament for the whole country; but the majority opinion felt that regional (provincial) governments should remain to attend to regional matters.

The Fathers of Canadian Confederation had the problem of setting down in black and white what they

meant by "Provincial" matters and what they meant by "National" matters. And they did so in Sections 91 and 92 of the British North America Act, passed by the British Parliament at Westminster in March 1867.

That Act is loosely referred to as our Constitution. Actually there are many other rules, some written, some unwritten, all strictly followed, which are just as much a part of our constitution as the B.N.A. Act. For instance, it doesn't say anywhere in any Canadian statute that the Prime Minister must be able to get the support of the majority of the members of the House of Commons, but that is part of our constitution.

Why Canadian Confederation?

So the colonies of British North America, or most of them, decided to form a federal union. It was an important decision and it wasn't arrived at without debate and disagreement. A series of meetings and conferences of leading figures from the various colonies was held in 1864. At Quebec people from Canada (comprising what are now Ontario and Quebec) and Nova Scotia and New Brunswick came to an agreement which was written down in the form of the Quebec Resolutions. Prince Edward Island and Newfoundland had dropped out of the discussions. These resolutions were then debated in some of the colonies, and delegates went to London where still another conference took place at which the London Resolutions (a slightly amended version of the Quebec ones) were agreed upon, and then incorporated (slightly amended again) by the British Parliament in the B.N.A. Act.

That Act created the Dominion of Canada. Canada has, of course, grown as new provinces have been added. It was an Act of the British Parliament because the colonies that were being united were colonies of Britain, and did not have the power to take such a step by themselves. It was a mark of how much they had grown up, how much they had come to look after their own business, that Great Britain passed the Act more or less completely as the Canadians—the colonists—wanted it passed. Britain's unhappy experience

with the American colonies in the previous century had had a profound effect on her colonial policy, and our gradual climb to self-government was doubtless helped by that experience.

Why Did It Happen?

Those original colonies had a number of reasons for wanting to join up—some economic, some military. Railroads, the American Civil War and the wishes of the British government were all factors.

It was a railroad age, an age in which it was becoming possible to administer larger areas, in which distance had been partially overcome. And the railway promoters and builders, as well as the large groups that would benefit from the existence of the railways, wanted a central government that could back the railway builders and see the projects through to completion. They had to have government aid. It had to be the aid of a central government whose credit was good. And many people were afraid that the U.S., with a strong army built up in the Civil War and cherishing some resentment at Britain because of the sympathies of many Britishers for the slave states, might try to take over Canada. Four or five separate colonies hadn't much chance of defending themselves. One single administration had some hope.

In years before the American Civil War exporters from central Canada had shipped through U.S. ports, but now that privilege might be withdrawn. Saint John and Halifax were ice-free ports. A railway joining them to central Canada would give central Canadians an alternative route in case the American government made it too expensive to ship via Portland, Boston or New York.

Those were some of the factors that added up to Confederation—and the B.N.A. Act.

How Far Does the B.N.A. Act Go?

That brings us to the crux of our question, the wording of that famous Act. It had to provide for a new central government. It had to lay down what that

government would be able to do and what the local provincial governments would be able to do. That is where our problem begins. The Fathers of Confederation were human beings. They weren't prophets. They didn't have the gift of second sight. They sat down and divided duties and powers in the light of the problems of that day and age. And that was all they could do.

Not Mentioned:

Here are some of the things they did not mention.

1. They didn't mention depressions, or unemployment insurance, or full employment. They were accustomed to a country in which a man looked after himself, a country with lots of opportunities for everyone, if not in the settled areas, then out west. They didn't dream of a kind of society in which hundreds of thousands of young men wouldn't be able to find work, through no fault of their own. And they didn't dream of the sort of society we have now, in which governments are promising to provide jobs, or at least promising to assume responsibility for maintaining a "high and stable level of employment".

2. They didn't mention collective bargaining or a labour code or any of the problems of business and labour. Trade unions got pretty rough and ready treatment in those days; there was grave doubt as to whether they were legal organizations at all.

3. No one mentioned Housing or Health Insurance or Old Age Pensions or pensions for the blind or any of the measures we lump together under the phrase "social security". No one thought the government responsible for a man's shelter. In 1867 four men out of five had simple tools and skills, and could better their own homes. Health was a private matter or at best a local matter in those days. People who couldn't find work, or weren't able to work, were looked after by their parish—the place where they had always lived. No one knew much about public health; no one dreamed of days when homeless, out-of-work lads would cross the country looking for work—with each locality disclaiming responsibility for them.

WHAT WAS DONE

JOBS
DEPRESSIONS

LABOUR CODE

HOUSING
HEALTH INSUR-
ANCE AND
SOCIAL
SECURITY

RAILWAYS

DEFENCE

OCEAN PORTS

So, not knowing of these problems, the Fathers of Confederation didn't and couldn't provide for them. That isn't strictly true. They did insert a catch-all phrase in the B.N.A. Act which, on the surface, seemed to fill the bill. The Federal Government was to have the *general* power to make laws for "the peace, order and good government of Canada" in relation to all matters not assigned specifically to the provinces, as well as the *specific* powers laid down for it. That was probably intended to give the federal parliament the right to act in other national matters not specifically mentioned in the Act. But it didn't work out that way.

A Job for the Judges

Obviously there could be differences of opinion as to whether a law passed by the Federal Government really dealt with, for example, "Trade and Commerce" or "Property and Civil Rights" in some province. If it dealt with "Trade and Commerce" then it was properly the concern of the Dominion; if it dealt with "Property and Civil Rights," then it was a provincial matter. Who was to decide? One solution, of course, would have been to let the Dominion Parliament decide, subject to the risk of being thrown out at the next election if people didn't like their decision.

Our solution is to let the courts decide. The case may get into court in a number of ways. It may be referred there by the government to get a decision, or the point of law may come up in a lawsuit between individuals, or between Province and Dominion.

The case could go, and usually did go, from a provincial court to the provincial court of appeal to the Supreme Court of Canada to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council sitting in London. (We'll discuss the reasons for that in a later pamphlet.)

There have been a great number of these 'constitutional cases.' Many learned lawyers and judges have disagreed and continue to disagree over them. But the result of the decisions has been to declare that the 'catch-all' phrase, giving general powers to the Federal

Government, which might have enabled it to deal with new matters of national concern as they came up, didn't really amount to anything except in times of grave emergency. The great depression was not a great enough emergency (that was the effect of the judges' decisions of 1937)—but a war undoubtedly is.

Two Constitutions

The difficulty has been a double one. The Act made only a vague provision for difficulties that might arise. And what little provision it did make has been pretty well whittled away by the legal decisions. So we end up with, in effect, two constitutions. One in *peacetime*—in which the Federal Government must find its authority in the specific words of the B.N.A. Act. Hence Ottawa cannot deal with most of the new questions that have arisen—or at least cannot deal with them until the lengthy legal process of appeal and counter-appeal has been solemnly gone through to the bitter end.

Our other constitution is a *wartime* one—the one under which we proceeded all during the war. Until the courts declare that the war emergency is over, the Federal Government can constitutionally do anything it wishes, subject always to the fact that people can vote it out if they so desire.

And After the War?

What is to happen now the war is over? Health Insurance cannot be tackled on a wartime basis. It's a long-term job. And the same applies to other things.

You might think that even if the Federal Government can't take action, then the provincial governments can, so that we get results one way if not the other. But some provinces are much wealthier than others and can provide services that others can't. A child born in Ontario or B.C. is much more likely to live than one born in New Brunswick or Quebec. One reason for this is that because *health* is a provincial matter it has been tackled in different ways and with different degrees of success in different provinces.

THE RESULT

IN PEACE

IN WAR

WHY NOT
LEAVE THINGS
TO THE
PROVINCES?

WHO DOES
WHAT?

THE COURTS
DECIDE

Some degree of *Reconfederation* is necessary. Some new division of powers and responsibilities between the Federal Government and the provincial governments has to be worked out by agreement. That was the real purpose of our Dominion-Provincial Conference. It was a preliminary attempt to decide how certain pressing problems can be tackled, whether by the Dominion or by the provinces, and whether or not the B.N.A. Act should be amended and brought up to date.

Why Not Amend it?

It's been done before and the machinery to amend it isn't too cumbersome. The Federal Government has to ask the British government to do so. They have undertaken to do it whenever we ask and never to do it if we don't ask. The difficulty is to know just how the asking should be done. Should it be the Federal Government alone? Or the Dominion plus the provinces? And what happens if any provinces object? An amendment was made in 1939 to allow the Federal Government to deal with Unemployment Insurance, and in that case, the Federal Government waited to get the consent of the provincial governments before it sent the necessary letter to London.

No Federal Government can do much if the provincial governments are strongly opposed to the changes suggested.

Why Should a Province Object?

People object to changes because they think the end result will be worse than the existing situation. Some provincial governments and private groups raise the question of 'provincial rights' as an argument against any change in the B.N.A. Act. Provinces have certain rights that must not be interfered with.

It is fitting to point out that the B.N.A. Act does not contain any guarantees of basic human rights, as do some constitutions. It contains no 'Bill of Rights'. There is no mention of freedom from want or the right to work. There is nothing about freedom of speech or freedom of assembly. Nothing is said about religion.

The use of the French or English language in Parliament is established. The provinces are given control of their own educational systems and in general of all local and private matters.

Some of the basic rights of Canadians today—the right to work, to a decent standard of living, to decent health standards, to security in case of loss of job or old age—can only be achieved by some form of co-operation between federal and provincial governments, by which either certain additional responsibilities are given to the Federal Government or else some joint federal-provincial responsibilities are worked out.

Have Any Solutions Been Tried?

All this is no new problem. A Royal Commission on Dominion-Provincial Relations (the Rowell Sirois Commission) was set up before the war in 1937 to make a thorough investigation into Canada's problems. The provincial governments and a large number of organizations, political parties and economic groups and other societies large and small presented their arguments to this Commission in the form of briefs.

The findings of the Royal Commission were published in 1940 as the Sirois Report. This made certain recommendations for changes in Dominion-Provincial relations. In 1941 the Prime Minister of Canada met with the Premiers of the provinces to discuss the recommendations. There was still considerable disagreement, however, on the kinds of changes that should be put into effect and the Conference broke down. But by this time the war emergency had arrived. Our 'war constitution' swung into effect, and the peacetime problems were eclipsed, although they weren't dissolved.

What did the Rowell-Sirois Commission Recommend?

The recommendations of the Royal Commission fill a large book of 295 pages. It is not easy to condense them into a few words without giving a wrong impression.

ACT CONTAINS
SOME RIGHTS

ACT LEAVES
OUT SOME
RIGHTS

SIROIS REPORT

HOW TO
AMEND

PROVINCIAL
RIGHTS

B.N.A. ACT NOT
A BILL OF
RIGHTS

First and foremost, they recognize the fact that the B.N.A. Act is out of date for our present purposes, and acknowledge that it should be suitably amended. "*At the heart of the problem*", says the report, "*lie the needs of the Canadian citizens.*"

The main concern of the Commission was to find a way in which each province could provide its citizens with "the average Canadian standard of services". This would mean a levelling up of the standards of health, education, and social security of all kinds. At the moment, some provinces are able to do much better by their citizens than others can. This inequality is not very helpful in assuring national unity.

It's easy to see, though, that the richer provinces who are able to do all right for themselves don't want to run the risk of having their standards lowered. They aren't eager to give up any of the autonomy they now enjoy. The governments of the poorer provinces, on the other hand, cannot afford to improve their services. They must have assistance of some kind from the central government to bring their standards of service to their citizens up to 'average Canadian standards'.

These considerations prompted the Commission to advise that the Federal Government take over entirely some of the more important taxing powers enjoyed by the provinces and in return assume responsibility for some of the debts of the provinces.

Should we Chat over the Provincial Back Fences?

The Commission also recommended that permanent machinery be set up for co-operation between the Federal Government and the provinces. This co-operation has been irregular in the past. It was thought that a federal-provincial meeting should be held every year in future.

The Commission also thought that the division of powers as between the Dominion and the provinces should not be so rigid. It suggested that the Dominion and the provinces should be able to delegate powers one to the other if they so desired.

The Commission recommended that another restriction on the power of the Federal Government should be removed. At present it is not empowered to make or ratify treaties which touch on matters under provincial control, unless it has the assent of all the provinces. International Labour Agreements are a case in point. About nine out of ten of the agreements reached by the International Labour Organization, of which Canada is a member, have not been ratified by the Parliament at Ottawa, simply because they deal with some matter under provincial jurisdiction. The Commission thought that the Dominion could in future have the power to implement conventions of the International Labour Organization whether or not provincial matters were concerned.

Dominion-Provincial Conference on Reconstruction

Now the same sort of problems are being discussed again. An 'exploratory' conference of representatives of the provincial governments and of the Federal Government has already met in Ottawa. Detailed items on the agenda—questions of full employment, of business activity, of reconstruction and of the division of taxing powers—will be thoroughly discussed by panels of experts from the federal and provincial governments.

They will all boil down to the one question—how to reconcile our wartime and peacetime constitutions so "that the Dominion Government should be in a position to take national action when such action is necessary to achieve the goal, and that the provincial governments should be in a position to discharge their responsibilities adequately and to maintain real autonomy in matters of local and provincial interest."

Where Does the Individual Fit In?

All of us, as citizens, have a double responsibility in the solution of these problems. We shall be able to use our influence as citizens of this or that province. Naturally, as such, we shall want to keep a watchful eye on the affairs of our own corner of Canada. But

AT THE CENTRE
ARE CITIZENS'
NEEDS

SHARING?

OR POOLING?

CONFERENCES















TREATY POWERS

CLEARING THE
LEGAL DECKS
FOR ACTION

we cannot escape the responsibility of being also good citizens of Canada at large. Without a solid sense of citizenship with an eye to the welfare of every separate part of our federation, legal amendments and new governmental formulae aren't going to do very much. We have pulled together in war. We shall have to pull together with the same will in the peace.

QUESTION

During an emergency the Federal Government can do things it cannot legally do in normal times. Who do you think should be the judge of what constitutes an emergency? Why?

PRODUCTION BY REGIONS — 1943							
	MARITIMES	QUEBEC	ONTARIO	PRAIRIES	BRITISH COLUMBIA	N.W.T. & YUKON	TOTAL
							
	P	E	R	C	E	N	T
FARM PRODUCTS 	6	14	28	48	4		100
FORESTRY PRODUCTS 	11	40	25	3	21		100
FURS 	9	16	20	36	7	12	100
FISHERIES 	42	6	6	8	38		100
MINERALS 	6	19	44	17	13	1	100
PETROLEUM 	.2		2	95.4		2.4	100
HYDRO POWER 							
AVAILABLE	.5	33	21	16.5	28	1	100
DEVELOPED	2.6	57.2	26	6	8	.2	100

THERE'S MORE THAN GOLD IN THEM THAR HILLS

6

One of the most frequent complaints of the majority of Canadians is that we haven't, as a nation, developed our abundant natural resources as well as we might have. To the low-paid worker, to the farmer without electricity or to the slum dweller, an exuberant catalogue of our natural gifts or a hearty piece of back-patting by a politician merely serves to point up the bitter irony of poverty amid plenty.

Once again, the war has given us a national kick in the pants that no peacetime emergency proved capable of delivering. And it is to the war experience that we must look for a guide to our future activities in this field.

What are our Natural Resources?

Our concepts of our natural wealth have varied with our growing knowledge of what the land contains and with the changing trends in world demand. As we have seen, fish and fur were among the most lucrative and important of our earliest resources. A hundred years ago, our land was 'the forest primeval'. But the years have wrought changes. With the opening of the western grainlands and cattle ranges, it seemed for a time as though Canada were destined to be above all an agricultural country. The term 'wheat-mining' grew out of the vast and improvident exploitation of the seemingly inexhaustible soil of the prairies.

Neither of these concepts of our natural resources, however, has weathered the test of scientific research and prediction. For a more balanced picture of Canadian natural resources we have to look to what was once considered a major geographical obstacle—the great Laurentian Shield. Hidden in this hunk of rock—one of the oldest parts of the earth's surface—is an untold store of mineral wealth, only a portion of which has yet

WEAKENED MEN
AMID WEALTH
UNTIL WAR CAME

FISH, FUR AND
TIMBER

GRAIN
AND HERDS

MINERALS

been commercially exploited. In search of gold we found much more besides.

What did Nature fit Canada for?

The surveys of the Laurentian Shield and of the far north force us to reconsider the idea formerly held that Canada is essentially a farming country. No less than 75% of the country is *wild land*. Farming areas exist only in scattered belts and pockets.

After three centuries of development, less than 6% of our total land area is improved farming land. But only about 15% in all can be classified as possible arable land for future use. Wild land resources account for a very large part of our production—timber products, including paper; minerals; the hydro-electric power to process raw materials; grazing; fur and game animal life; and the considerable tourist industry based on scenic preserves and sports facilities.

Another trend which has drawn us even further away from being an agricultural country is the increase in the number of manufacturing and finishing processes which we have been applying to our own raw materials.

(See charts of origins and values on pp. 64 and 67.)

Where did the War Hit our Natural Wealth?

This industrial trend has been greatly speeded up by the needs of war. Not only has production of well-known peacetime materials been stepped up, but several war-important items, particularly in minerals (mercury, molybdenum, tungsten—not to mention the all-important 'atomic-energy' mineral, uranium) have been produced in quantity for the first time. (See LOOKING AHEAD, Manual No. 2.)

And the war, forcing us to dip more deeply into our treasure pile, has given rise to entire new industries—optical glass, for example. When you consider Canada's war production in minerals alone, you get a good idea of what our wild land resources mean to us in this technological age. Excluding U.S.S.R. production, Canada has contributed 85% of the combined



nickel output of the United Nations; 78% of the asbestos; 35% of the aluminum; 20% of the zinc; 19% of the lead; and 15% of the copper—and in addition, large quantities of alloying metals indispensable to allied war production.

But isn't there Another Side to the Picture?

It's all very well to talk about the quantity of our natural resources—to point out that we have more board feet of lumber or more kilowatts of hydro-electric power per person than any other country—but the proof of the pudding to the ordinary citizen is still in the eating. We have seen (in "Our Next Job") some of the reasons why the eating for many of our citizens has been pretty meagre at times.

Let's see what bearing the increase in jobs could have on the distribution of natural wealth. We can boast that Quebec has one of the largest power developments in the world. With the adoption of an electrification program, we could also say that Quebec farmers will have electricity on their farms.

We can point with pride to the forests teeming with fur-bearing animals. By putting full employment first on our list of aims we shall move toward the time when everyone who needs a warm winter coat can afford one.

**WAS THE BACON
BROUGHT HOME
TO ALL?**

We can point to our great granaries, orchards, beef ranges and fisheries. Social security and greater sharing of wealth will bring us nearer to the end of hunger and malnutrition.

We can estimate our stands of timber, and our accessible minerals such as copper, nickel and asbestos—but how without a vigorous campaign are we to replace our inadequate and decrepit housing?

We can boast of conquering distance with a very up-to-date and extensive system of communications—but do we remember that it is still a newsworthy adventure to cross the country by ordinary automobile?

The thing to do is to *use* our resources sensibly—not simply to admire them, nor to waste them.

Have we Mismanaged our Natural Resources?

It is easy to imagine how inexhaustible the resources of Canada must have seemed to our ancestors. This was indeed the new land. The forests and streams must have seemed without limit.

In the face of such great expanses of timber, any thought of conservation must have been far from the minds of the early pioneers. On the contrary, the trees were a positive nuisance in the efforts to begin cultivation on the European model. Large tracts were cut, and the wood was burned to be rid of it—or to make potash for soap.

When Napoleon held Europe (in the same way Hitler did), Canada became the Empire's chief source of timber—and particularly the Navy's chief source. A lumber industry grew up which was later sustained in the East by the wooden shipbuilding industry as well by export demands.

Then it was that the parts of Canada most of us live in were deforested by the logging industry. The most accessible stands of timber were naturally the first to go. As operations proceeded, the remaining forest material became less and less easy to reach. As a result we have become acutely conscious today of the dwindling supply

of accessible timber. It has even been estimated *when* the last of some types will be cut—or burned—unless, that is, we mend our ways and take steps to repair the ravages of the past. About half our forest area is said to be commercially accessible. However, it appears to be the better half, containing nearly 2/3 of the merchantable timber.

How shall we Manage our Public Forests?

We are beginning to see forest products as a crop. We know that crops must be regrown—not that century-old fir stands could be reproduced like turnips, of course. Yet somehow the land they stood on must be made to go on yielding. For example, British Columbia, where up to 60% of the provincial income is derived from timber and timber products, has been living on its timber capital for years. The Forestry Department and Chief Forester of B.C. estimate that the province is cutting one-third more timber of the valuable kinds—fir, spruce, hemlock—than it is growing. And this realization of depleted resources is no new one. As far back as 1912 a Royal Commission was appointed to look into the question. We obviously can't have virgin forests forever—even if they were more productive. But there are other alternatives to virgin forest beside waste land.

A tremendous area of our land has been stripped or impoverished. It can only be restored at the cost of human skill and labour, by time and by the eagerness of the citizens to establish and practise wise and frugal methods. It is especially the concern of the citizens because *90% of the forest lands are publicly owned.*

Have we Used or Abused our Wealth?

It has not been only forest land that has suffered; farming lands have also been lost to us.

There has been much soil wastage through the agricultural settlement of land unsuitable for field crop farming. While the area is relatively small, the economic loss to Canada is greater than area alone might

FROM VIRGIN
FOREST TO
CROPPED
PLANTATION

RESOURCES AT
FIRST SEEMED
ENDLESS

WOOD
PRODUCTS
BECOMES
LEADING
INDUSTRY

WASTE AND
LOSE, OR KEEP
AND USE?

indicate. Much of the loss has been in the most accessible areas. The lost investment in social services, property and human time and energy must also be taken into account.

It is difficult to find any other reasons for the wastage and destruction of resources than these: ignorance, carelessness and greed. Combine with these the individual's powerlessness (as in the case of the farmer without the means to take the right measures of soil conservation), and we cannot but be soberer—and, it is to be hoped, wiser. For we can replace ignorance with science, and we are realizing the cost of carelessness. We can substitute enlightened self-interest for greed. We have the curious situation in which we have to blame ourselves for not making sufficient use of some of our natural resources, while ruining others up to the point where we endanger the goose that lays the golden eggs.

Any discussion of our natural resources will have to take into account these two interwoven considerations—*development* and *conservation*. We are trustees of the national endowment.

Who Extracts our Natural Resources?

The power to dispose of the land and its resources was divided between the Dominion and the provinces under the terms of the B.N.A. Act.

PARLIAMENT

The Parliament of Canada was given control of "Sea Coast and Inland Fisheries". It also has the responsibility for the "lands reserved for the Indians". It has responsibilities too in all navigable waterways.

PROVINCES

Each province was given control over the "management and sale of the public lands belonging to the Province, and of the timber and wood thereon". Exceptions are the Forests of the National Parks, Federal Experimental Forest Stations, certain islands, and the North West Territories and Yukon—all of which come under Dominion control.

With the exception of the Maritimes, the provinces have tended to retain control of most of the forest land and to dispose of the timber by means of licenses to

cut issued to private concerns. The following table shows the amount of forest land *publicly* owned in each of the principal forestry provinces:

Nova Scotia	15%	Manitoba	90%
New Brunswick	under 50%	Saskatchewan	92%
Quebec	92%	Alberta	92%
Ontario	96%	British Columbia	91%

Public forest lands are healthy revenue producers for the provincial governments. They contribute to the provincial chest in the form of ground rent, royalty dues on timber removed and stumpage. (It has been argued that the stumpage bonus system has provided the provinces with an incentive to encourage large scale cutting without proper consideration for the future. The more stumps, the more money for the provincial treasury.) It is said that some provinces are more concerned with guarding their constitutional right to the revenue derived from these lands than with fulfilling their parallel obligations to see that the lands are not being spoiled.

FORESTS YIELD
PROVINCIAL
REVENUES

With few exceptions, the mining rights are reserved by the government controlling the land—the Federal Government in the case of Dominion lands and the provincial governments in the case of provincial lands. Private ownership of land does not necessarily include mining rights on that land, unless they are specially stipulated. In the majority of cases the rights to mine must be separately obtained from the provincial government in question.

MINING RIGHTS

Here again, the provincial treasuries gain from the use of the land under their control. Royalties or a percentage of net profits are paid by the company doing the mining.

Although our natural wealth is publicly owned, it is exploited almost wholly by private groups. But anyone who has fished or hunted, with or without a permit, knows who controls the wildlife of the country. It is the provincial game warden who will keep an eye on the game—and on you.

GAME AND FISH

What Resources do Individuals Own?

It is apparent that most of our natural resources come under the general control of one government or another, while they are developed in general by private enterprise.

There are three ways, however, in which individuals themselves may be said to have a much more direct ownership and control of the country's resources.

First, there is the large number of farms owned outright by their occupants. From the small fruit or chicken farms of parts of B.C. to the huge wheat bearing tracts of the prairies, a great part of the fertile, productive land belongs to individual people.

A veteran taking a farm or a small holding under the Veterans' Land Act is in a very real fashion taking ownership in a piece of Canada.

Second, there are the co-operative societies. Co-operative societies jointly own and operate in the name of their members all kinds of enterprises based on the resources of the land. A partial list would include: lumbering, wheat growing, farming of all kinds, fisheries (including canning), pasturage, and even mining. The Canadian co-operative movement is markedly different from the European movements in that here the emphasis is on the producer's rather than on the consumer's side of things. (See CANADIAN AFFAIRS for July 21, 1945.)

Third, we have seen that in the Maritimes there are large private forests.

What Resources are Publicly Developed?

The chief publicly developed resource is our limitless water power, providing electricity for city and farm homes. Ontario has set the pace with its Hydro-Electric Commission. Quebec has recently followed suit. As we shall see in a moment, a great deal of planning has been done on this question across the Dominion.

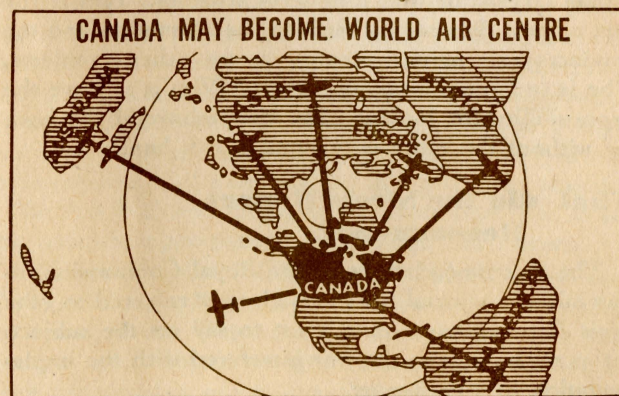
What about the North Country?

The romance of the North is in every Canadian's soul. New air developments during the war have twisted the globe on its axis and forced us to take a new polar view of the world. Polar air maps emphasize the vastness of the Canadian North and make the new maps of our country unfamiliar and almost unrecognizable.

The North has gold, radium and uranium, lead, copper, tungsten and oil. It has teeming fish and game. It has rivers for transportation and lakes for safe aerial staging routes. And it had a peacetime white population of less than 18,000.

The average Canadian knows very little of this tremendous area. Few names stand out as familiar. We associate the name Yellowknife with gold, and Eldorado—meaning 'golden'—on Great Bear Lake with radium. We are aware that large acreages are set aside as hunting grounds for the native Indian population (150,000 square miles in the Mackenzie Valley alone for less than 5,000 Indians.) And most of us associate the North with the traditionally colourful trading activities of the factors of the Hudson's Bay Company.

But in terms of the development that has taken place during the war—the Alcan highway, the Northwest Staging Route, Canol, and the rest—peacetime development of these huge territories scarcely scratched the surface.



A DOOR
HARDLY OPENED

SPACE AND
COLOUR

WAR
DEVELOPMENTS
IN THE NORTH

Most of the projects were undertaken on the recommendation of the Canada-United States Permanent Joint Board on Defence. Ownership of fixed properties which are useful in peacetime will probably rest with Canada after the war.

There are two schools of thought concerning the future of the North.

One school asserts the North does not justify the spending in peacetime of the kind of money that the emergency of war made necessary.

The second school believes that we are all set for a large scale assault on our northern and polar lands. People of this school look on the north as a challenge and as an outlet for the special training, knowledge and adventurous spirit of war-trained young Canadians. The harnessing of the Siberian north lands by the Russians is cited as proof that it can be done and can be worthwhile.

What have we done to Develop our Resources?

Our efforts in the past to do something effective to guarantee the development and conservation of our resources have been hampered to a considerable extent by the fact that the provincial governments, who are charged under the B.N.A. Act with the keeping of this wealth, don't have the great taxing power needed to initiate large-scale and long-term schemes. This is the crux of past discussions between the Dominion and the provinces—on natural wealth, as on other problems. Who is to have the taxing powers? Who is to have the responsibility for looking after the resources? To have one without the other is to remain with hands tied.

What did the Sirois Report Recommend?

The recommendations of the Royal Commission on Dominion-Provincial Relations already referred to (the Sirois Report) have quite a lot to say on the subject. But as we have seen the war interfered with the implementation of this Report.

The Sirois Report discusses natural resources only in relation to the present taxation of the provinces. The Report points out that a great deal of the provincial revenue is at present coming from dwindling natural resources. This is rather like the speeding up of a paint job in order to get through before the paint gives out.

The Report also points out that provincial revenue from natural resources is often rather uncertain. It depends largely on the ups and downs of business in mining, lumbering, and so on. And the general business trend is influenced by the trading agreements and the main economic policies of the nation as determined by the Federal Government.

According to the Sirois Report, "conservation work in general has been seriously neglected, and far too little attention has been paid to developing the most economic methods of exploiting Canadian resources."

Further definite proposals which would integrate the question of natural resources development with the broader question of national reconstruction have already been put forward at the exploratory session of the Dominion-Provincial Conference on Reconstruction.

What are our Plans for the Future?

We would need a tome a hundred times the size of this pamphlet to answer that question in detail. For the war, while urging us on to feats of war production, has also opened the valve on a flood of post-war plans. Governments, business interests, trade unions, groups of students and societies of every kind have laboured and brought forth. Public interest in the future development of Canada is at an all-time high. It's as though we have dazzled ourselves with the array of wartime achievements of the sort set out in a previous pamphlet (*The Job We've Done*) and are determined not to let the post-war opportunity slip through our fingers.

The provisions of the Veterans' Rehabilitation and Re-establishment Program are well known and need not be enlarged on. They are aimed at putting into productive use as much energy, training and ambition as were generated in our national effort against fascism.

END OF THE
TETHER IN
SIGHT

RESOURCES
REVENUE
IRREGULAR

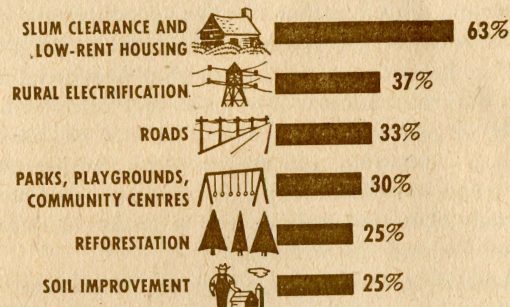
PLAN MAKING
IS RIFE

PLANS FOR
VETERANS

FLASH IN THE
PAN OR DAWN OF
NEW ERA?

REVENUES AND
EXPENSES IN
DIFFERENT
HANDS

POSTWAR PROJECTS CANADIANS THINK MOST IMPORTANT IN IMPROVING THE COUNTRY AND PROVIDING JOBS



RESULTS OF A RECENT SURVEY. PERCENTAGES ADD TO MORE THAN 100% BECAUSE PEOPLE GAVE MORE THAN ONE ANSWER

W. I. B. CANADA

We have also covered the Federal Government's general approach to post-war prosperity — *Our Next Job*. The White Paper on Employment and Income makes no bones about the need to develop much more thoroughly and sensibly the resources of the country.

Private industries of every kind are working out their plans.

Our scientists, having done the kind of job in war which had never been possible for them in peace, are also organizing for an ambitious and active part in the future.

But the main burden of planning and development will fall on the provinces and huge strides have already been made. The picture is becoming better from month to month as new reports are received, new laws passed and new expenditures authorized. Your rehabilitation officers are being regularly supplied with information on federal and provincial post-war plans. The following résumés of provincial plans and proposals may already have been rendered incomplete by the time you read them.

Alberta

Alberta went to work in 1943 with the formation of a Post-War Reconstruction Committee. A new Department of Economic Affairs has been set up. Eight sub-committees have made recommendations covering social welfare, reforestation, land policy, irrigation, education and teaching, municipal works projects, industrial expansion, housing, agricultural and industrial markets.

As the recommendation of the Post-War Reconstruction Committee, the Alberta Power Commission was created in 1944 as the basis of a provincial hydro-electric system.

Social welfare legislation covering free hospitalization for maternity patients, a Child Welfare Commission, and a separate Department of Public Welfare was passed in 1944.

A total of 2 million dollars has already been voted for post-war development.

British Columbia

British Columbia has established three organizations in the field of post-war reconstruction. A Bureau of Post-War Rehabilitation and Reconstruction will co-ordinate all post-war activities as between the provincial government, the Federal Government, the municipalities and private industry. It has made extensive recommendations in a number of fields including the welfare of veterans. Another Committee will act as a clearing house for administrative problems in the field of industrial development. A third is working in the field of research to discover new industries and new uses for the resources of the province.

Nor is it all talk: A hydro-electric system has been approved, with authority to buy up and consolidate power companies and develop new power.

Extensive soil surveys have been carried out. Some 275,000 acres have been mapped and surveyed.

Authority has been given to reserve one million acres of Crown lands for B.C. veterans settling on farms under the Veterans' Land Act. In mining, grants of up to \$300 may be made to prospectors. Training schools are to be established.

A sum of \$50,000 has been voted for forestry research. The government has been authorized to make extensive loans for post-war reconstruction and for expansion of the facilities of the University of B.C.

Manitoba

Seven new agencies in Manitoba are currently working on post-war plans for the province. Government, civil service experts, labour, management—all are represented on one or other agency in a well-knit organization headed up by a sub-committee of the provincial Cabinet.

The post-war program already announced by the government includes a ten-year budget of \$76 million for high priority projects. The program is flexible enough to allow projects to be speeded up or temporarily slowed down according to the employment situation. Large sums are earmarked for roads, for rural electrification, for irrigation, conservation and the general development of the resources of the province.

SCIENCE

FEDERAL AND
PROVINCIAL
POST-WAR PLANS

A further pool of useful works of the same kind is projected. This could be drawn on if necessary to fill in any employment gap, with help from the Federal Government.

A potential hydro-electric power development is planned amounting to \$89 million.

A provincial and municipal health system is intended. A Health Services Act was passed this year. It sets up a system of Health Units, diagnostic services, prepaid medical care and better hospital facilities.

New Brunswick

Post-war planning for New Brunswick is being carried on by three organizations:

N.B. Committee on Reconstruction

N.B. Natural Resources Development Board

Department of Industry and Reconstruction.

Specific recommendations have been made covering natural resources, manufacturing, labour, education, health and welfare, housing and Dominion-Provincial relations.

In addition, immediate plans for the post-war period have been made covering public works, forestry products, flood control and rural electrification.

The forests, the principal natural resource of the province, are the subject of intensive investigation by the Natural Resources Development Board.

The new Department of Industry and Reconstruction is bending its efforts to stimulate new industries in the province and to revive old ones.

Nova Scotia

Nova Scotia got started on post-war planning back in 1943 when a Royal Commission on Provincial Development and Rehabilitation was appointed.

A detailed post-war plan has gone before the legislature. Forty million dollars will be raised by the province and an extensive list of projects completed in ten years. If the Dominion comes across with an equal amount of money, the plan will be carried through in half the time. It includes expenditures on highways, public buildings, education, rural electrification, land conservation and improved land use, and (once again) the development of natural resources.

Ontario

All government departments in Ontario are paying attention to post-war matters. The key agency is the new Department of Planning and Development, set up in 1944. It has three branches in operation — one on conservation, another on town and community planning and another on trade and industry.

The Department of Highways plans to spend \$192 million in four years on roads.

The Department of Public Works has plans for construction projects including Provincial Hospitals at a cost of \$62 million.

The Department of Lands and Forests will undertake an extensive forestry scheme which will include forest protection and management, and fire control.

A number of other important investigations and surveys have been undertaken by various special bodies set up for the purpose. A series of conferences have been held across the province. Recommendations for a program of soil conservation, re-forestation and flood control for the Ganaraska River region have been made. Other groups are working on similar regional schemes.

An Agricultural Commission has already reported on a number of agricultural problems.

Reports on Mining, School Equipment and Construction and Education have been made or soon will be. A provincial school of industrial design is being set up.

A Five-Year Plan for Post-War Rural Hydro Developments has been completed and published. This will need \$22 million for labour and materials.

In the field of veterans' re-establishment, the province has been equally active. Organizations exist to look after the training program for veterans, to appraise and give credit for trade experience, to recommend school or shop training if necessary and to find jobs for those who qualify.

Prince Edward Island

This province has also set up a new Department of Reconstruction. An agricultural survey is under way. Special committees are studying education, tourist and transportation problems, rural electrification, housing, finance and revenue, fisheries, agriculture, public health and welfare, and forestry.

Town planning measures have been enacted among other post-war measures.

Quebec

Most of this province's plans for after the war are based on an inventory of the natural resources of the province.

Land settlement, re-forestation, housing, public works, rural electrification and fisheries have all been the subject of planning.

The Department of Lands and Forests is preparing considerable forest developments. The intention is to extend to the public the benefits of the newest methods for scientific and economic use of wood. The advantages of modernized forestry control and exploitation are stressed. In the cities there is corresponding attention being paid to new skills in the processing and use of wood products.

The Department of Labour is planning retraining centres for the following purposes:

1. Industrial training for veterans.
2. Training of apprentices for the building trades.
3. Rehabilitation of workers injured in industrial accidents.

Saskatchewan

This province has very extensive plans for the post-war period, backed up by considerable new legislation empowering the provincial government to go ahead with projects. It has gone further than any other province to make laws for the public development of the resources of the province.

Initial analysis of many problems of reconstruction was started in 1943, and definite recommendations have been made covering constitutional adjustments, a development program, the standard of living and other matters.

There is a new Department of Reconstruction and Rehabilitation which will co-operate with the Dominion and will also initiate separate provincial projects. Committees have been set up on Rural Housing, Rural Electrification and Co-operative Farming.

The Minister of Natural Resources and Industrial Development has been empowered to take over any mine or quarry, mining machinery, lumber mill, or installation which might be used for the development of water power, and operate them in the interests of the province. He may also develop and utilize the resources of the province which are still Crown property.

Other legislation has been passed covering education, health, labour, agriculture and the re-establishment of veterans.

Under the last heading, plans have been made to help carry out and supplement the rehabilitation program of the Federal Government. The sale of Crown lands has been frozen until everyone gets back home, so that overseas men may have first pick.

Is anything being done to Develop and Conserve our People?

It has often been said that the people of a country are its greatest natural resource. In our own case, with our small population, the protection of this natural resource is of the highest importance.

It has been shown in the past that there is a close relationship between prosperity and birth rate. We have seen what happened to the living standards of members of large families with low income. It would appear that, if we want to see a rising rate of natural increase, we shall have to provide the general prosperity without which large families become a burden to be avoided by the breadwinner. And we shall have to accept the responsibility, through education, vocational training and guidance, of developing all the latent talents and aptitudes of the rising youth of the nation.

It has been said that a farmer in Canada can find out more easily about desirable shelters for his pigs than about housing for his own children. We run the risk, when talking about natural resources, of becoming rapturous about the possibilities in forestry or mining and forgetting the human needs of the people themselves.

OUR FIRST
RESOURCE

HELPING WITH
THE REARING OF
MEN

PIGS AND
HUMANS

Good conservation of people demands a new approach to questions of national health. Twenty per cent of those examined for the services in 1942 were rejected. One in five of our young men failed to make the grade for health reasons. We have already talked about Health Insurance and employment. It is also, in a sense, a part of the natural resources picture.

Under the heading of conservation, we can also include a number of other factors. Good housing, nutrition, healthy outlets for sport, leisure and culture—all of these have a part in conserving the bodily and mental health of the population.

The trend is distinctly towards recognizing these measures as essential for the future. Not only have the governments—federal and provincial alike—been planning and acting. There is also a rising public interest in social security measures and a demand for them.

HEALTHY
INHABITANTS
TOO

QUESTIONS

What do you understand by the expression 'natural resources'? What are the main natural resources of Canada? Which resources have we been slow to develop? Can you give reasons for this?

Are you aware of the measures your province has taken or has promised for the development and conservation of its resources? (See résumés in foregoing chapter.) How might these measures affect you as a citizen of that province? How are they likely to affect the number of jobs to be had? Are there any further measures you would suggest?

How many different kinds of ownership and development of natural resources can you think of? What are the main differences between them, from your point of view as a citizen?

WHAT CAN WE DO ABOUT IT ?

LEARN EACH
OTHER'S VIEWS

SET EACH
OTHER'S
RECORDS
STRAIGHTER

DISCUSSION IS
TRAINING FOR
DEMOCRATIC
ACTION

We have covered a great deal in this pamphlet. More perhaps than we have a right to in such a short space. However, even a bird's eye view of the main Canadian hurdles is better than nothing. The chances are that all the main divisions of opinion have been voiced by one or other of the group. The mere voicing of these contrary opinions breaks the ice for the ultimate solution of the problems.

In the course of the foregoing discussions, let us hope that Maritimers, Westerners, Quebeckers, Ontarians and Canadians from all parts have set the record straight with candour and mutual benefit.

Having understood the nature of the hurdles, the problem of surmounting them remains. But how?

Discussion leads us a considerable way along the path to solution. The more complete the knowledge of a problem, the better the chances for action and solution. We can go still a step further by doing some further reading and study, particularly on the problems which most concern us—those on which we shall be expressing opinions by voice or vote as citizens.

The time is rapidly approaching when we shall become citizens in the civilian sense once again. By our actions as informed citizens over the years that follow, we shall have the opportunity of contributing continuously to the overcoming of these hurdles.

A democracy such as ours gives to its citizens both rights and duties. Only the best citizens accept the duties as readily as they do the rights. The degree to which more and more people are willing to accept and carry out the duties will govern our success in overcoming the obstacles between us and the good things we look forward to.

Citizens in Action

The last pamphlet in this present series (Government by the People: Discussion Manual No. 5) will give us a chance to study and discuss our democratic rights and obligations in detail.



LOOKING AHEAD, a series of pamphlets dealing with Canadian post-war affairs, was prepared by the Wartime Information Bureau at the request of the Directors of Education of the three Services. The material is meant for *discussion* by servicemen and servicewomen headed for home. These pamphlets, like the regular *Canadian Affairs* which they supplement, have been compiled by members of the Armed Forces.



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