PROGRAM/PROGRAMME

Transformation: State, Nation, and Citizenship / Transformation: l'État, la nation et la citoyenneté

Thursday, 13 October 2011 / Jeudi, 13 octobre 2011

17:30 - 19:00 / 17 h 30 - 19 h 00
Room / Salle W132 Schulich Building / Pavillon Schulich

1. Round Table / Table ronde The New Citizenship Guide. A Round Table / Le nouveau guide sur la citoyenneté
Facilitator / Responsable de la séance: Marlene Shore, York University

Participants:
Raymond B. Blake, University of Regina
Adam Chapnick, Deputy director of Education, Canadian Forces College
Xavier Gélinas, Curator/conservateur, Canadian Museum of Civilization / Musée canadien des civilisations
Ian McKay, Queen's University
Patricia Wood, York University

In 2009, the Department of Citizenship and Immigration issued *Discover Canada: The Rights and Responsibilities of Citizenship,* a new Citizenship guide explaining Canada to immigrants. This guide has attracted much comment and criticism, particularly the sections on Canada's military history and values that govern society and relations between men and women. This session brings together individuals who participated in preparing the new guide and historians who have been critical.

En 2009, le ministère de la Citoyenneté et de l'Immigration a publié un nouveau guide, *Découvrir le Canada : Les droits et responsabilités liés à la citoyenneté,* expliquant le Canada aux immigrants. Ce guide a suscité de nombreux commentaires et critiques, notamment les parties consacrées au passé militaire du Canada et aux normes qui gouvernent la société en matière d'égalité entre les hommes et les femmes. Cette séance réunit des individus qui ont participé à la préparation du nouveau guide ou qui ont formulé des critiques.

19:30 - 20:30 / 19 h 30 - 20 h 30 - Dinner / diner
Room / Salle Executive Dining Room Schulich Building / Pavillon Schulich

20:30 - 21:30 / 20 h 30 - 21 h 30
Room / Salle Executive Dining Room Schulich Building / Pavillon Schulich

The 2011 Avie Bennett Historica-Dominion Institute Public Lecture in Canadian History / La conférence 2011 Avie Bennett Historica-Dominion Institute en histoire canadienne

Speaker / Conférencier: Professeur Gérard Bouchard, Université du Québec à Chicoutimi (Québec)

Social Structure and Social Change: Why and How Culture Matters? Bringing Myth Back on the Agenda

For a long time, myth has been analysed by anthropologists as a feature of the so-called primitive communities. And when it has been addressed by sociologists and literary critics with reference to modern ("civilized") societies, it was basically cast as a lie, and a dangerous lie, for that matter. It is time for social and human sciences to part company with those simplistic approaches along with the misleading assumptions that underpin them.

I will outline another view of myth as a universal sociological mechanism operating in all societies at all times. I will set forth what I think is a much more relevant definition, I will illustrate how myths work in a society, I will highlight the functions that they usually perform, I will review the factors and processes that govern their emergence and their decline, and I will wonder about the future of myths in our post-modern societies.

In a second part of the lecture, I will briefly exemplify the foregoing with a few remarks about national myths in several societies and draw out a few implications for the management of ethnic diversity.

Friday, 14 October 2011 / Vendredi, 14 octobre 2011

9:30 - 11:00 / 9 h 30 - 11 h 00

Session / Séance 2-A: Education and Citizenship / L'éducation et la citoyenneté
Room / Salle W132 Schulich Building / Pavillon Schulich

Facilitator / Responsable de la séance: Sean Mills, University of Toronto

Paul Axelrod, Roopa Desai Trilokekar and Theresa Shanahan York University - The Politics of Policy-making in Post-secondary Education: Ottawa and Ontario, 1990-2000

How public policy is imagined, developed, modified, and implemented is a major preoccupation of political historians and political scientists. In light of their enormous impact on nations, individuals and communities, policy decisions matter immensely in the life of society, and this paper seeks to contribute to new literature on this subject. It

draws from a SSHRC-funded project entitled, “Making Policy in Post-secondary Education, 1990-2007.” The study examines post-secondary education policy initiatives over this period in the context of new economic and political paradigms both at the federal government and provincial (Ontario) levels.

Interdisciplinary in its conception, the project’s four researchers draw from the fields of history and policy analysis in order to shed light on contemporary policy development. Through several case studies on new research initiatives, the creation of new institutions, and changes in legislation in degree granting status, this paper explains the decision-making dynamics involved. It explores the role of individuals, ideologies, policy-development structures, networks and lobbying, and external pressures (primarily social and economic), which helped shaped decision-making agendas. Drawing extensively from interviews with government and educational officials intimately involved in policy development, from available documents, and from pertinent literature by students of public policy, the paper offers insights on comparative policy-making processes, on the relative importance in governance of individuals and social structures, and, in light of jurisdictional tensions in the educational field, on the enduring Canadian problem of federal-provincial relations.

Benjamin Bryce, York University - Linguistic Ideology and Ethnic Space: German-language education in Ontario, 1880-1918

Long before World War I, very few children in Ontario studied German. By 1889, German was not the language of instruction at any school in the province, and there were no “German schools” despite the persistence of this category in some government documents. In the historiography about Germans in Ontario, scholars have often sought to explain low attendance figures by turning to questions of identity and generational differences. Yet an important cultural and political process has been overlooked. From the 1880s onwards, the nascent provincial state in Ontario prounded a very clear linguistic ideology and interest in a homogeneous nation. This paper aims to show that this political process emerged in opposition to the pre-existing status of German-language education.

Drawing on inspectors' reports, discourse in the annual departmental reports, annually published provincial regulations, German textbooks authorized by the province, and the discussion of education in a variety of German-language sources, I examine the linguistic ideology and cultural nationalism of one of Ontario's largest ministries. This paper outlines the lack of ethnic space that this ideology on language and nation created. Instead of allowing citizens to create separate ethnic institutions, it appears that the nature of Canadian liberalism in this time period encouraged people to use locally-run school boards with minor concessions to ethnic interests. I argue that the presence of German-language education in Ontario between 1880 and 1918 was severely limited by the cultural hegemony of the Anglophone state, its linguistic ideology, and its overarching control of local school boards.

Terry Wilde, York University - Dying to be Canadian; Educating Ontario's 19th Century Resource Workers

In the late nineteenth century, workers along Ontario's resource frontiers were almost exclusively, male. The majority were also illiterate and this exacerbated the already dangerous workplace conditions. Through the Ontario Reading Camps Association, (later Frontier College) and the Ontario Ministry of Education *in situ* literacy programs were initiated. The Minister of Education supported them saying: "It is extremely desirable that those who are engaged in mining and lumbering operations should be furnished with some means of having their spare time occupied with what will be entertaining and elevating."[1]

> The 1901 *Annual Report* of the Bureau of Mines observed that it:
> *… seems probable that the considerable proportion of foreigners employed in the mines with their imperfect understanding of the English language and their inability to read, may also have had the effect of increasing the number of accidents.*[2]

The incompatible mix of languages, combined with an inability to read was frequently a recipe for death. For decades, however, there was a persistent increase in fatalities in these workplaces. The province recognized the problem early on but the *Mine Act* was not amended for ten years. Only then were signs posted in the languages of workmen. Perversely however, both the lessons and the teachers were received without much enthusiasm.

This paper will argue that workers resisted conceptions of citizenship for three reasons: 1) a lack of trust manifested by disparate appearances; 2) dense, inaccessible readings; 3) alien models of nationalism and patriotism. The consequence of their opposition was ever-higher death tolls. The lack of progress in literacy led to more and more fatalities and it was not until after World War One that improvements were realized as new definitions of courage, valour and patriotism evolved.

Session / Séance 2-B: Rebellions, Violence, and Reactions / Rébellions, violence et réactions
Room / Salle S124 Schulich Building / Pavillon Schulich

Facilitator / Responsable de la séance: Jarett Henderson, Mount Royal University

Participants:
Bradley Miller, University of Toronto - Sovereignty, Self-Defence, and International Law in the Rebellion Period Borderlands, 1837-1843

This paper examines the role of international law thought in the rebellion period. During and after the Canadian rebellions the American border was a focal point for legal and political controversy. After the first rebellions in 1837 were suppressed, rebels and

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[1] *Report of the Minister of Education for the Year 1901*. Ontario Government. Toronto. 1902. p.xvii

[2] *Ontario Bureau of Mines Report for 1901*. Prepared by Inspector DeKalb. Archives of Ontario. Government Doc's M. Microfiche. 1901. p.48.

their American supporters embarked on years of cross-border attacks on the colonies, ranging from the large-scale invasions of 1838 to targeted arsons, assassinations, and bombings. These raids prompted policy-makers in Canada and Britain to ask far-reaching questions about international law and the nature of American territorial sovereignty. They explored the legal limits of national self-defence, and pushed the boundaries of international law in declaring that if America could not control its territory and stop the attacks British forces could lawfully cross the border and engage the rebels inside the U.S. In so doing these colonial and imperial officials drew ideas and influences from diplomatic history and from legal writers ranging from nineteenth-century natural law philosophers to just-published American treatises on the law of nations. But these ideas did not coalesce into a clear set of rules, and during the rebellion period this was an especially uncertain and unstable area of international law.

We know very little about international law in nineteenth-century British North America. Diplomatic history has long left out the role of legal ideas in statecraft, while international legal scholarship most often focuses exclusively on internal debates among lawyers and judges, rarely dealing in any substantial way with the law in practice. This paper is an attempt to map both practical and philosophical influences on international law, and to examine the deployment of these legal ideas in Canadian statecraft.

Michael Michie, York University - "Three cheers for the Canadian peasants": the response of British Radicals and Chartists to the Canadian rebellions of 1837-38

On Wednesday 10 January 1838, a meeting was held at the Crown and Anchor Tavern in Westminster to discuss the rebellions in Lower and Upper Canada. Attendance was claimed to be 4000, with thousands more unable to get in. The meeting ended with a rousing "three cheers for the Canadian peasants." This was one of several well-attended meetings of support for the Lower Canadian Patriots and Upper Canadian reformers that were organized by radicals in England and Scotland in early 1838. It is curious that this movement of support has been largely unexamined by Canadian historians and historians of Chartism, all the more so when it is considered that the rebellions coincided precisely with the formative period of Chartism in late 1837 and early 1838. Radicals were receiving news of Canadian events at the same time they were organizing meetings and signatures for the Peoples' Charter.

The paper first presents a brief account of the rebellions in the context of debates over colonial policy and reform. This is followed by analysis of the arguments and language employed by reformers and radicals, by focusing on a few key themes: comparison between political representation in Britain, Canada and America; the importance of the constitutional framework; perception of the conflict as an ethnic/nationalist one; and the often blurred relationship between Whigs, parliamentary radicals and Chartists.

While there has been considerable discussion around the meaning and impact of the rebellions, primarily as part of the debate on colonial policy in the 1830s, an examination of radical and proto-Chartist support introduces consideration of a challenge to the nature of the British State and the political system itself, in the wake of the 1832 Reform Act. Radicals seized upon news of the conflict as a propaganda weapon against the Whig government; the same government allegedly responsible for suppression of "Canadian" and of British political rights. Parliamentary Radicals saw the conflict in Canada as indicating the need for representative government in the colonies. Proto-

Chartists went further, arguing that the Canadian rebels were setting an example for the people of Britain to follow.

Dan Horner, McMaster University - "At risk of becoming slaves to the mob": The Impact of Elite Reactions to Popular Violence in Montreal on Discussions of Responsible Government, 1844-1849

In the decade following the rebellions of the 1830s, the streets of Montreal were the site of numerous outbreaks of political violence. These riots, which were usually situated around municipal and parliamentary elections, prompted extended debates about the limits of democratic reform in rapidly growing colonial cities like Montreal. My paper will examine the impact that political violence had on the debates that led up to the establishment of responsible government. Although they were closely linked to political events, these riots were also part of a larger reaction to the way that migration and the transition to capitalism were transforming Montreal's urban environment. Competing factions of the Montreal elite used these riots as an opportunity to present themselves as rational and composed figures that were entitled to hold positions of power and authority in the city. This cultural shift was a crucial part of the emergence of liberal governance in Canada, and the streets of British North America's largest city were an important laboratory for changing practices of authority. While responsible government empowered many elites who had once been pushed to the margins of public life, this process was also marked by exclusion, most notably of women and migrant labourers.

Recent work on the politics of rational deliberation has raised important questions about mid-nineteenth-century Canadian politics. For most Canadians, however, politics was experienced through the rough popular politics of the urban street. By looking closely at the debates prompted by outbreaks of public violence, my paper will provide new insights into the evolution of Canada's political culture in the years leading up to Confederation.

Session / Séance 2-C: Religion, Political Culture, and Governance / La religion, la culture politique et la gouvernance
Room / Salle S126 Schulich Building / Pavillon Schulich

Facilitator / Responsable de la séance: William Westfall, York University

Ashleigh Androsoff, University of Toronto - "The Days of Fooling Around with the Unlawful Doukhobors Are Over": Solving British Columbia's 'Doukhobor Problem' in the 1950s and 1960s

Canadian immigration authorities welcomed the Doukhobors in 1899, expecting that they would integrate, if not assimilate, into a "Canadian" way-of-life within a generation or two. Having suffered extensively in Russia for their religious convictions, however, the Doukhobors immigrated to Canada to preserve their ethno-religious identity as Doukhobors and had no intention of assimilating. This mutual misunderstanding produced a serious "Doukhobor problem," which became especially urgent when Freedomite Doukhobors used nudity, arson, and explosives to protest assimilation pressure. Since the majority of these demonstrations took place in the southern interior of British Columbia, where most Sons of Freedom resided, it was incumbent on British Columbian legal and political authorities to handle the situation.

As the Sons of Freedom escalated their protest activity in the middle of the twentieth century, public pressure to "do something" to solve the "Doukhobor problem" mounted, and British Columbian authorities (especially Social Credit Premier W. A. C. Bennett and Attorney-General Robert Bonner) scrambled to identify workable solutions. The Socreds' plan emphasized the rights and responsibilities of good citizenship: to law-abiding Doukhobors, the government extended improved civil rights; to law-breaking Doukhobors, the government imposed increased sanctions. While Bennett emphasized the government's intention to differentiate between "law-abiding" and "law-breaking" Doukhobors in the name of fairness, Bonner petitioned the federal government for the right to suspend Freedomites' civil rights through the application of a curfew and forced relocation.

An examination of the Socreds' proposals concerning the "Doukhobor problem" reveals much about evolving notions of Canadian "citizenship," ethnic (or "racial") tension in the aftermath of the Second World War, and the lengths British Columbians were prepared to go to in order to ensure a basic level of conformity to social "norms" in the middle of the twentieth century.

Denis McKim, University of Toronto - God & Government: Exploring the Religious Roots of Canadian Political Culture

Recent years have witnessed a veritable renaissance in the writing of Canadian political history. Thoughtful works, many of which pertain to the pre-Confederation era, have been produced on topics ranging from the role of ideas in shaping British North America's political development, to the evolving role of the state, to the part played by "ordinary" citizens in animating various political campaigns. Scant attention, however, has been paid in recent years to early Canadian political culture's religious dimension. This lack of emphasis seems odd, given the fact that several of the most contentious issues within pre-Confederation politics—the debate over which denominations' clergy would be permitted to solemnize marriages, the Clergy Reserves controversy, the struggle over sectarian schools—were expressly religious disputes, while many of the individuals involved in determining the character of early Canadian political culture—John Strachan, Egerton Ryerson, George Brown—were deeply religious people. My paper seeks to address this historiographical gap by shedding light on the centrality of religious phenomena to the development of Canadian political culture. Focusing on the colonies of Upper and Lower Canada, the paper will concern itself with a polarizing debate that occurred between the early 1820s and the mid-1850s over whether or not the state should actively assist religious institutions in their attempts to promote heightened moral standards among the Canadian citizenry. This debate, which revolved around the Clergy Reserves endowment and the status of King's College, Toronto, brought into focus the existence in nineteenth-century Canada of profound politico-religious divisions. Proponents of state-aided Christianity, many of whom were Tories, clashed with critics of close church-state ties, many of whom were Reformers. My paper aims to examine the conceptual underpinnings of this conflict, and to illuminate the vital part played by religious issues and actors in influencing Canada's political development.

Julia Rady-Shaw, University of Toronto - Scripture and Citizenship: Church Advocacy in Ontario, 1945-1950

Between 1945 and 1950 government and public stakeholders as well as religious leaders came together to investigate the state of the education system in Ontario. The Royal Commission on Education in Ontario was a lengthy process. It included many town hall meetings, the extensive collection of public briefs on education, and interviews with invested community members, all of which culminated in the 1950 Hope Report.

Like other issues in the post- Second World War period, debates about education were charged with the rhetoric of democracy, freedom, and citizenship. If policy makers could agree on nothing else, they agreed that in education the province had the best opportunity to fashion good and conscientious citizens for the decades to come. The Protestant Churches shared the same mentality, and were some of the most outspoken groups. They advocated primarily for more religious teaching in the schools, but also were concerned with issues such as separate schools, funding for education, attendance requirements, and pedagogy.

My paper examines the place of religion in Ontario's schools by addressing two major themes. First, I look at the activism of the Protestant Churches in shaping the education agenda in the post-war period. Schools were an important arena where the Churches could actively influence society outside of the pulpit. Second, I address the implications of such religious activism for our understanding of the post-war State. Meant to re-engage my colleagues in the debate about the place of religion in everyday life, my paper does not assume that society was, by the time in question, secularized. By examining the Hope Report, the public briefs, denominational correspondence, and response papers to the Commission, I trace how religious values were embedded in the language of public policy, and how these values were fundamental to the changing conceptions of citizenship after 1945.

Session / Séance 2-D: The Welfare State: Medicare and Unemployment Insurance / L'État providence: l'Assurance-santé et l'assurance-chômage
Room / Salle S128 Schulich Building / Pavillon Schulich

Facilitator / Responsable de la séance: Jennifer Stephen, York University

Gregory P. Marchildon, University of Regina and Nicole O'Byrne, University of New Brunswick - The Last One Aboard: New Brunswick and the Implementation of Medicare

Introduced as a federal-provincial cost-sharing program in the 1960s, Medicare marked a significant milestone in the history of Canadian federalism. As part of the Program of Equal Opportunity, the government of Louis Robichaud was one of the first Canadian provinces to agree in principle to the adoption of universal healthcare. However, somewhat surprisingly, New Brunswick was the last province to implement Medicare. Although many of the federal-provincial negotiations occurred under the auspices of the Robichaud's Program of Equal Opportunity, it was Richard Hatfield's government that was responsible for Medicare's implementation in New Brunswick. In this paper, we examine the history of the federal-provincial negotiations surrounding Medicare in order to shed light on the scope of Robichaud's Program of Equal

Opportunity and re-evaluate the role of the Hatfield government in the history of public policy in New New Brunswick.

Heather MacDougall, University of Waterloo - Politics, Pundits and the Public: Contesting Medicare, 1984-2011

From the passage of the Canada Health Act in 1984 to the present, Medicare has been a source of conflict among the federal/provincial/territorial governments, provinces/territories and their medical associations, and neoconservative pundits and think tanks and the public. By analyzing the rhetoric of the Mulroney, Chrétien, Martin and Harper governments, provinces such as British Columbia, Alberta, Ontario and Québec, the Canadian Medical Association and its provincial branches, the national media, think tanks such as the Fraser and the Caledon Institutes, and organizations such as the Friends of Medicare and the Canadian Health Coalition, this paper will demonstrate how a 'sacred trust' and national icon which many Canadians regard as central to their conception of citizenship is being challenged. Initially the critique centred on rising costs and used British and American examples of market-based medical services to illustrate alternative approaches. Canadians, in general, objected to privatization. To defeat the deficit, the Chrétien government cut transfer payments which compelled provinces to limit spending. But the public was restive and, as both the Kirby and Romanow Reports indicated in 2002, wanted to see significant reinvestment in Medicare. But neoconservatives wanted the system overhauled to meet patient's needs, to control pharmaceutical costs, and to deal with chronic diseases and new health issues. Legal cases challenging provincial health programs increased in spite of the Health Care Accords signed in 2003 and 2004. The impending end of the 2004 Accord has prompted renewed demands from the Canadian Medical Association for a "transformation" of Canadian medicare, a call from health reporter André Picard for an "adult conversation" about Medicare's future, and a series of public forums sponsored by Maclean's to discuss the topic. Examining the history of the issue and explaining the rhetoric used by both sides will shed light on this important public policy debate.

Mark Gulla, McMaster University - The Unemployment Insurance Commission and the Expansion of the Right to Benefit, 1940-1971

This paper explores the nation-building project in which the Unemployment Insurance Commission (UIC) engaged in since its creation in 1940 and into the decades leading to the overhaul of the original Unemployment Insurance Act in 1971. In 1940, the federal government passed the Unemployment Insurance Act and in the following year, the Unemployment Insurance Commission began distributing unemployment insurance benefits. Unemployment insurance however covered only half of Canada's working population when it was originally introduced. Indeed, unlike other social security programs passed during this period, Canada's unemployment program only achieved universality in 1971.

This paper will probe the reasons behind the originally limited coverage of Canada's UI program and why universality was only achieved in the 1970s. It examines the administrative history of the program and the state actors and agencies involved in developing and expanding the program such as the various juridical levels of the UIC, and the Unemployment Insurance Advisory Committee (UIAC). However, instead of focusing solely on the state and the development of the program, this paper examines the labour movement and ordinary Canadians and how, in their interactions with the UIC, situated and described themselves within the program as not only beneficiaries but

as citizens entitled to benefit. In doing so, this paper explores just how influential organized labour and citizens actually were in the development of the program.

Utilizing a range of state records such as governmental memoranda, correspondences, case file and appeal records as well as ordinary Canadians' letters and petitions, this paper will highlight the ongoing process of identity formation which regulated, reaffirmed and reconstituted definitions of not only the ideal worker but the ideal citizen. This process was situated around the Commission and Canadians' often contesting ideas of entitlement and employability which continually altered the nature and scope of the UI program.

11:00 - 11:15 / 11 h 00 - 11 h 15 - Nutrition Break / Pause-santé

11:15 - 12:45 / 11 h 15 - 12 h 45

Session / Séance 3-A: Gender and Political Activism in Twentieth-Century Canada / Le genre et l'activisme politique au Canada au vingtième siècle
Room / Salle W132 Schulich Building / Pavillon Schulich

Facilitator / Responsable de la séance: Penny Bryden, University of Victoria

Lara Campbell, Simon Fraser University - "Be a Man, Stand By Your Family": Fathers, Citizens, and Unemployment in the 1930s

The 1930s was a crucial period in the welfare state re-articulation and expansion, transforming the extent and scope of federal responsibility for social welfare and unemployment. While many historians have focused on the impact of legislative change, formal political organizations, or state actors in creating welfare policy, this transformation of state responsibility for social welfare should be understood as the result of interaction between citizens and state actors, and rooted in popular conceptions of a contractual or reciprocal relationship between citizen and nation state.

This paper will examine unemployed men's activism in the Great Depression, focusing on how they engaged in an explicitly political process to improve their material welfare. In the thirties, masculine norms rooted in the importance of breadwinning and a concomitant entitlement to work intersected with a deeply felt sense of family respectability and domestic responsibility. Through public and collective protest, unemployed men engaged with and subverted cultural notions of shame and unemployment in order to make social and economic claims on the state.

Looking closely at the role of collective, organized unemployed men's protest in anti-eviction activism, unemployed unions and relief work strikes demonstrates how men were motivated to political action by such 'domestic' and familial concerns such as adequate food, comfortable and safe housing, and children's clothing and schoolbooks. Thus, demands for state-supported economic and social security were framed through the language of responsible and loving fatherhood as well as the discourse of breadwinning and economics, ultimately shaping the gender contours of the postwar liberal welfare state.

Matthew Hayday, University of Guelph - The Mothers Mobilize: The Political Battles of French Immersion Advocates

As the federal government began implementing its various policies designed to promote the learning and use of English and French after the adoption of the *Official Languages Act, 1969*, a variety of interest groups began to mobilize. Some sought to block or slow down the implementation of these policies, while others sought to capitalize on the opportunities stemming from them. For advocates of expanded language learning, the *Official Languages Act*, and particularly the Official Languages in Education Program seemed like a perfect opportunity to lobby for changes to provincial education programs.

The early years of the OL programs happened to coincide with the early development of French immersion pedagogy. Many English-speaking parents were extremely optimistic at the promise showed by French immersion pilot programs in the Toronto and Calgary French Schools, and in the Protestant School Boards of Montreal and the South Shore. They hoped that federal funding intended for teaching minority and second official languages would be used to rapidly develop and expand these enhanced learning opportunities for their children. However, in many provincial jurisdictions and school boards these parents ran into opposition to expanding these programs from skeptics of bilingualism, from teachers' unions fearful of what these programs would mean for their job security, and from school boards leery of the costs of these programs.

The campaign to overcome this opposition provides an interesting case study of social movement activism in Canada. This largely middle-class social movement was not directly advocating for its own interests, but rather for those of its children, which led it to craft a discourse oriented around both the interests of children and those of the country more broadly (in a period of great constitutional turmoil). Moreover, the French immersion movement is particularly interesting from a gender perspective, since almost all of its leadership, and the vast majority of its members were mothers. This both shaped the resources and strategies employed by the movement, but also led many of their interlocutors to underestimate the groups' preparedness. This paper will trace the strategies and successes of the movement from the early years of ad-hoc groups in local school boards through to the development of a national network called Canadian Parents for French, an influential group which still exists today.

Anthony Hampton, University of Guelph - The Implications of Ad Hoc Activism: The Feminist Citizens' Response to the Meech Lake Accord and its Historiographic Importance

This paper examines an important episode in Canadian constitutional history through the lens of a grassroots organization formed to challenge its ratification and the lessons that history offers for integrating the political into Canadian history. A number of feminist groups were at the forefront in challenging the Meech Lake Accord and the process behind it – despite their governments' wishes. Although not explicitly a feminist organization, the New Brunswick Ad Hoc Committee on the Constitution was one of these groups. Drawing on their experience from earlier feminist causes, such as organizing around the inclusion of sex equality rights in the Charter of Rights and Freedoms, these women used tools and organizational models that emerged from a long

history of second wave feminist political action and consciousness-raising. The story of this group's opposition to Meech is incomplete, however, without two additional elements: the machinations of the first ministers and top officials within the Canadian political elite and the fluid relationship between that elite and citizen activists who challenged the constitutional consensus. As such, the Ad Hoc Committee's history demonstrates the connection between feminist grassroots activism and high politics in Canadian history.

Marie Hammond Callaghan, Mount Allison University - "Women of the world are not our enemies…": Cold Warrior Surveillance of the Voice of Women's Campaign for World Peace, 1960-1965

This paper will examine the cold war state surveillance of the Voice of Women (VOW) Canada, an organization founded in 1960 with a mass movement of 6,000 women - largely middle-class housewives - seeking to avert a nuclear war. Laying claim to 'global motherhood,' VOW reached out to women in the Soviet Union and Eastern Bloc nations early on by exchanging visits, organizing and attending international conferences, as well as campaigning for the International Year of Co-operation at the United Nations. As the 1960s unfolded, VOW also increasingly sought to influence government decisions on national security and foreign policy, for example urging an end to Canadian participation in NATO and NORAD.

Archival records reveal that the Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP), as well as officials within External Affairs and the Department of National Defense, routinely viewed VOW's activities as either communist- influenced or dangerously naïve and vulnerable to communist infiltration. Security officials seemed especially concerned with the Communist Party of Canada's evident interest in the VOW, as well as what they perceived as a shift to the left on the VOW executive between 1962 and 1963. Drawing upon RCMP documents of the early 1960s, this paper explores how security officials investigated the VOW and the extent to which they viewed VOW as potentially subversive. This paper also highlights how VOW's re-envisioning of peace and security contested deeply embedded gender and political orders at this time.

Session / Séance 3-B: Business and the State/ L'État et le monde des affaires
Room / Salle S126 Schulich Building / Pavillon Schulich

Facilitator / Responsable de la séance: Dimitry Anastakis, Trent University

Robin S. Gendron, Nippissing University - The State and INCO: examining the relationship between the State and Canadian companies' foreign interests in the 1960s and 1970s

From the late 1950s through the 1970s, Canadians and their government(s) engaged in a vigorous debate about the role of foreign-owned or controlled companies in Canadian society and their relationship to the Canadian state. This debate contributed to such manifestations of economic nationalism as Walter Gordon's first budget as Minister of Finance in 1963 or the creation of the Foreign Investment Review Agency in 1973. There was, however, no such discussion in this period about the relationship between the Canadian government and the foreign operations of Canadian or Canadian-based companies. Seemingly, given Canada's status as a net importer of capital, the need for the state to respond to the political, economic, and other challenges of foreign investment applied only to Canada's domestic sphere rather than externally as well.

This paper will examine the Canadian government's relationship with the Canadian multinational mining company INCO (the International Nickel Company of Canada Ltd) in the 1960s and 1970s, particularly with regard to the latter's investments in New Caledonia, Guatemala, and Indonesia, in order to explore the Canadian state's interests in foreign investments by Canadian companies. Preliminary investigations indicate that the Canadian government had very little involvement with INCO's investments in nickel mining in New Caledonia, Guatemala, and Indonesia in this period. This paper will discuss why this was the case and what it meant about the Canadian government's attitude towards foreign investments by Canadian companies, the 'citizenship' status of Canadian companies abroad, and the importance of Canadian business interests in the foreign policy considerations of the Canadian state.

John Hillhouse, McMaster University - The Role of the Federal Government in Canada's Life Insurance Industry

As is evidenced by the recent financial crisis, the importance of the life insurance industry to the financial markets and the interconnectivity of the industry throughout the world became readily apparent. Canadian life insurance companies were affected by this crisis but the fact that they still remained strong was a testament to the regulatory environment in which they operate.

This paper will examine the role that the federal government played in legislating and supervising the Canadian life insurance industry. In particular, it will look at the 1950s and 1960s when Canadian economic nationalism was heavily debated and successive governments looked to protect the life insurance industry from hostile foreign takeovers. This paper will draw upon hearings of the 1957 Royal Commission on Canada's Economic Prospects and the 1962 Royal Commission on Banking and Finance as well as other government correspondence.

While insurance companies may have questioned or have been concerned about the role of government in their industry, they all recognized that the government had a role in ensuring that insurance companies didn't fail as the failure of one company would harm the confidence that the public had in the entire industry. Yet the government was cognizant that if the regulations were onerous enough such that they interfered with a company's ability to fully develop its business, the role of the insurance industry in Canada's economy would be hampered. Thus the relationship between the government and the industry was one of cooperation and the policies relating to the supervision of the industry were framed accordingly. Importantly, it was this combination of legislation and business freedom that led to the extraordinary growth of the industry in Canada and allowed Canadian companies to become world leaders in the industry.

Session / Séance 3-C: Canada and the World / Le Canada et la communauté internationale

Room / Salle S128 Schulich Building / Pavillon Schulich

Facilitator / Responsable de la séance: Will Stos, York University

Colin McCullough, York University - Lester Pearson, John Diefenbaker and the Rhetoric of Peacekeeping, 1956-1967

Canadian attachment to peacekeeping has grown since its original implementation as an ad hoc policy to an international crisis in the Middle East. Over the past fifty years, peacekeeping has become one of the hallmarks of a Canadian national identity. A wide variety of actors have helped create linkages between peacekeeping and what it means to be Canadian including the Canadian state. My paper will examine the language and imagery of Canadian peacekeeping in the speeches that Lester Pearson and John Diefenbaker delivered from 1956 to 1967. These speeches shed light on how peacekeeping underwent a metamorphosis from an issue which divided Liberals and Conservatives in 1956, to one which found bipartisan enthusiasm after 1960.

Pearson, as the man who proposed the creation of the first United Nations peacekeeping force in 1956 and was Prime Minister from 1963 to 1967, was and is the political figure most associated with peacekeeping in Canada. John Diefenbaker, Prime Minister of Canada from 1957-1963, also took credit for the idea of peacekeeping, and was the head of the Conservative Party when it embraced peacekeeping as a foreign policy concept.

These two figures spoke often about foreign policy issues in speeches to diverse audiences across the country. The presence of peacekeeping in their political rhetoric from 1956-1967 helped Canadians identify with the actions of Canadian peacekeepers in the Middle East, the Congo and Cyprus. This rhetoric also invoked images of what Canada's right role in the world should be, as well as the narrative of Canada becoming a mature and independent nation. Examining these speeches furthers understanding of the adoption of peacekeeping as a part of Canada's foreign policy as well as its national self-identity.

Kathryn McPherson, York University - Crossing Professional, Provincial and National Borders: Alice Sher, the ICN and the transnational migration of nurses, 1945-1968

Recent scholarship in social and political history has revealed the complicated strategies ordinary people used to negotiate political borders. This paper explores the efforts of European nurses to navigate the boundaries of professional licensing, local employment standards, and nation-states (some newly formed) in the years after World War II. Between 1945 and 1968, European trained nurses who had moved to Canada struggled to have their professional credentials recognized. Many had lost their certificates of education or registration, some were unsuccessful in convincing European authorities to forward documentation, while still others had trained at European institutions that were closed or destroyed during and after the war. For their part, Canada's provincial nursing authorities – facing a post-war nursing shortage and wanting to make use of immigrant professionals -- needed some evidence that foreign-trained nurses possessed qualifications equivalent to the local standard of a three-year hospital-based degree.

Facing this transnational crisis of credentialing, nurses turned to the International Council of Nurses (ICN) Assistant Executive Secretary, Alice Sher. The Latvian-born Sher had worked during and after the war in relief and displaced persons camps run by UNRRA and the IRO. There, she had set up Red Cross courses and helped adjudicate the qualifications of camp nurses, midwives and felshers. In 1949, Sher was hired by the ICN where she soon started fielding informal requests from migrant nurses about how they could reconstitute their professional credentials. For the next two decades, nurses from around the world turned to Sher for help, sending personal testimonies and copies

of available documents to her office in Geneva. These documents now constitute a rich archival collection held at the University of Pennsylvania Bates Centre for the History of Nursing. Based on the records in that collection relating to nurses who moved to Canada between 1945 and 1968, this paper explores the complicated political and professional boundaries that defined the working lives of European nurses who were displaced by war and reconstruction. The paper analyses how ordinary nurses managed conflicting professional and political boundaries and assesses the role of international agencies – in this case the ICN – in helping ordinary nurses manage those conflicts.

Gayle Thrift, St. Mary's University - "The Russians Are Coming": Cold War Détente and the United Church of Canada

In anticipation of the first summit meeting to be held between Soviet and Western leaders in a decade, a warming trend occurred in Canada-Soviet relations during the spring and summer of 1955. In response to Soviet overtures for improved relations, the Canadian government granted most favoured nation status to the Russians in a trade agreement. An invitation from Soviet Foreign Minister V. M. Molotov, prompted Lester Pearson, Canadian External Affairs minister, to pay an official visit to the Soviet Union in October. While Soviet leaders had issued invitations to several prominent world leaders to visit their country including Nehru and Adenauer, Pearson was the first NATO foreign minister to travel there. While many Canadians were sceptical of the Soviets' commitment to peace and were guardedly optimistic at best, there were an increased number of visitors' exchanges including farm experts, trade officials, wood-working specialists, and clergymen.

In April, the United Church of Canada, the largest mainstream national Protestant denomination in the country with a membership of well over two million members, issued an invitation for a delegation of Russian Orthodox Church clergy to visit Canada. United Church leaders decided that if traditional efforts at diplomacy only led to more political deadlock, they were prepared to forego the usual diplomatic avenues to peace and broach efforts for détente more directly with the Russian Orthodox Church. Subsequently, a United Church delegation would visit the Soviet Union to improve mutual understanding and observe the state of religion under atheistic communism. Senior church officials negotiated with the Department of External Affairs and the Russian embassy in Ottawa in order to facilitate the exchange. The British Council of Churches had hosted a Russian church delegation visit to Scotland and England in a precedent setting decision in 1954. Officials of the United Church were also aware that American churches were planning a similar visit early in 1956. Their efforts ensured that they gained the distinction of being the first North American Communion to host a Soviet delegation and attempt to establish a dialogue for peace.

12:45 - 14:00 / 12 h 45 - 14 h 00 - Lunch / Déjeuner

14:00 - 16:00 / 14 h 00 - 16h 00

Session / Séance 4-A: Federalism, Politics, and the Harper Government / Le fédéralisme, la politique et le gouvernement Harper
Room / Salle W132 Schulich Building / Pavillon Schulich

Facilitator / Responsable de la séance: Paul Axelrod, York University

Michael Behiels, University of Ottawa, The Western Canadian & Christian Nationalist Origins of Stephen Harper's Conception of Canadian Federalism, 1987-2006

Robert Talbot, University of Ottawa, Implementing Classical and Asymmetrical Federalism by Stealth: Stephen Harper in Office, 2006-2011

These papers, presented by Michael Behiels and Robert Talbot, address several central questions.

1- What was Stephen Harper's role in the development of the Reform Party's conception of federalism, 1987-2003?

2- How and why did Harper, under the guidance of Preston Manning, redefine the nature of Canada's federal system.

3- In what ways was Harper's conception of federalism different from the federal system that had been put into place following World War II?

4- Since becoming Prime Minister in 2006, to what extent has Harper been able to put into place his conception of Canadian federalism and federal/provincial relations?

5- Has Harper's implementation of his conception of Canadian federalism changed the role of the central government, and, if so, what are the consequences for the Canadians & federal/provincial relations?

Ian Roberge, Glendon College, York University, Competing Visions of Federalism, Still: Canada, Québec and National Economic Policy

Open federalism, as pegged and broadly defined by the Harper government, suggests that the federal government should be responsible for national economic policy and that provinces should have more leeway pertaining social and cultural policies. The assumption is that the federal government is best positioned to promote and defend Canadian competitiveness in the global economy. Provinces, in turn, exercise clear jurisdictional authority over policy issues such as health and education.

Open federalism has never been embraced or even accepted by provinces. It is in practise rather blurry. Provincial governments continue to defend their economic interest, irrespective of the national interest. Provinces also require federal funds to sustain costly social programs. Québec, though it is far from standing alone, resists still federal intrusion in matters that it deems of provincial autonomy.

How are policy issues of national significance now addressed in Canada? The paper argues that there remain fundamental disagreements across and between governments on how to address countrywide policy issues based on competing visions of federal

processes. The contention is not simply that the federal government and provinces disagree on policy; they disagree on the mechanism by which national solutions, if and when they are needed, are to be found. The central government favours a top-down approach, consistent with its vision of open federalism and resembling competitive regulatory federalism. In such a model, harmonization, based on the best possible policy, is required to ease current arrangements' negative externalities. Many provinces, especially Québec, prefer a bottom-up approach, referred to at times as reflexive harmonization. In this model, the need for harmonization is not pre-assumed and the final policy is not pre-determined – it is to be negotiated among actors. Admittedly, these competing visions are not necessarily new; they often lead, though, to conflicting and unpredictable policy decisions and outcomes.

The argument above is supported using various economic policy examples. Special consideration is given to the recent debate on the creation of a national securities commission.

Session / Séance 4-B: Neo Institutionalism and the Canadian Civil Service / Le néo-institutionalisme et la fonction publique canadienne
Room / Salle S124 Schulich Building / Pavillon Schulich

Facilitator / Responsable de la séance: Matthew Hayday, University of Guelph

David Banoub, Carleton University - Impassioned Appeals: Emotion, Patronage, and State Formation, 1856-1896

The bureaucratic Canadian state underwent profound transformations from the mid- to late-nineteenth century. Among these changes was how individuals sought political appointments. While the 1881-1882 Civil Service Commission championed a number of reforms to appointment procedures, patronage continued to be an important part of Canadian politics. Indeed, aspiring civil servants and party workers (and sometimes others on their behalf) wrote letters to politicians asking for appointments and favors. The existence of thousands of these letters in various federal and provincial archives attest to the enduring role of patronage in this era of reform, but they also provide insight into the ways in which would-be civil servants fashioned themselves as both deserving applicants and good citizens.

As part of my doctoral thesis on these letters and the political culture of patronage from which they came, this paper focuses on a surprising and revealing theme that appears in letters from Atlantic Canada, Quebec, and Ontario. Despite reformers' heavy emphasis on a need for "rationality" in the federal civil service, letters demonstrated a variety of expressions of emotion. Personal circumstances, power relations, and political networks were all, at times, explained using emotional terms. This paper focuses on these expressions of emotions and aims to place them in their cultural and political context.

Whether expressing anxiety over social standing or gratitude to a politician, these letters contributed to political rhetoric that drew from professional, personal, and partisan concerns. Letters asking for appointments were representations of the applicants' lives. They were also attempts to demonstrate the qualities that would make a good civil servant and a loyal party member. In attempting to communicate such qualities, these impassioned appeals contributed to processes of bourgeois state formation. Even as

professional/rational ideas became the espoused norm, emotional language and personal connections continued to be a crucial part of Canadian political rhetoric

P. E. Bryden, University of Victoria - Intimacy and the Administrative Body: The Federal Civil Service in the Pearson Era

Certain historical concepts have clearly had more resonance in some fields that others: “mapping the intimate” has become a frequent activity among gender and women’s historians, as well as with post-colonial theorists, who have persuasively argued that sexual and familial relations have extended and delineated imperial power in areas where policies and law have failed. The work is interesting, provocative and, for the most part, seems to have been ignored by political historians. This paper proposes to take the idea of intimacy as expressed by such scholars as Ann Laura Stoler abroad and Adele Perry here in Canada, and apply it to an understanding of the federal civil service in the 1960s. This is a unique period in that it bridges the era of the “Ottawa Men” that J.L. Granatstein has described so well, and the more recent disenchantment and disengagement of the bureaucracy that has been the subject of much of the recent work of Donald Savoie.

Using ideas of intimacy – not in its sexualized form but rather in the broader definition employed by many scholars that understands intimacy as friendship and affection – this paper will shed light on the inner workings of the Finance Department in a period of enormous activity as well as transition from one form of bureaucratic state to another. As part of a larger study that takes a collective biographical approach to our understanding of the civil service between 1955 and 1985, this paper will also employ ideas of the body and the body politic to give shape to a bureaucratic environment in which individuals are usually faceless and anonymous. Thus, using theoretical models generally more popular outside political history than inside, this study will illustrate some of the new directions in which political history is moving. By examining the role of that bureaucratic culture played in legislative development, it will also suggest new ways of understanding public policy.

Robert A.J. McDonald, University of British Columbia - “Strike and you'll be fired”: The Civil Service and Political Culture in Postwar British Columbia, 1940s-1970s

This paper emerges from a larger project that explores aspects of the political culture of British Columbia in the century after BC entered Confederation. The book will develop the idea that modernity is complex and changing, and that BC's political culture can be understood through an examination of the tensions generated as nineteenth century political ideals, rooted in liberalism and Victorian-era radicalism, were challenged by the influences of high modernity, including new liberalism and bureaucratic expansion. In this paper I will look at how such tensions found expression in conflict between the provincial government of British Columbia and its civil service as the Social Credit government of WAC Bennett, in power from 1952-72, confronted a new political environment marked by white collar unionization and a rapidly expanding bureaucracy. Below the surface of the demand by civil servants for collective bargaining rights is the intriguing story of the leading role that psychiatric nurses---iconic representatives of new social scientific knowledge---played in radicalizing the province's white collar bureaucracy and challenging the premier's paternalistic assumptions about government.

Session / Séance 4-C: Individuals, Narrative, and Politics / Les individus, les récits historiques et la politique
Room / Salle S126 Schulich Building / Pavillon Schulich

Facilitator / Responsable de la séance: Colin Coates, York University

Stephanie Bangarth, University of Western Ontario - The New Internationalist: F. Andrew Brewin and the Placing of Canada in the World, 1960-1979

Andrew Brewin (NDP) was a passionate critic of Canada's foreign policy from the 1960s to the late 1970s, and was among the first to bring Canadian attention to the problems of war and famine in Biafra (present-day eastern Nigeria). His concern for human rights continued throughout his career, and he campaigned in the House of Commons, along with other parliamentarians such as David MacDonald (Cons.) and Louis Duclos (Lib.) to develop a foreign policy to deal with difficult situations in Pakistan and Venezuela and Chile. Brewin was an early and keen advocate of foreign aid to the Third World and participated in non-partisan governmental efforts to investigate the oppression of refugees in South America and Vietnam. He was a founding member of the Group of 78, a Canadian NGO formed in 1970 that seeks to promote global priorities for peace and disarmament, equitable and sustainable development, and a strong and revitalized United Nations system.

Andrew Brewin was internationalist in his outlook, often citing the work of non-Canadians or examples from other countries in order to bolster his claims for the need for change in Canada. As many political movements have international links, and since Andrew Brewin himself had a very transnational views and experiences, this study will bring an important perspective to the study of Canadian political and diplomatic history. In the aftermath of World War II, many countries had to adapt to the new internationalist world order, Canada included. Individuals such as Andrew Brewin were effective in pushing the country to take a larger, a more principled, and a more prestigious role in world affairs. As Keck and Sikkinck (1998) have noted, contemporary dynamics of social change do occur across international boundaries through the transborder alliances forged by individuals and by non-governmental organizations, among others. Brewin, along with others inside and outside government circles, believed in the role of international bodies as vehicles of change and observation, and thereby worked to entrench multilateralism as a feature of Canadian foreign relations. This conference paper proposal seeks to explore the role of this important Canadian politician in the articulation of Canada's place in the world.

Valerie Lapointe Gagnon, Université Laval - La consécration de l'expertise et la Commission royale d'enquête sur le bilinguisme et le biculturalisme, 1963-1971

Qualifiée de « super université du Canada » ou encore de « meilleur séminaire permanent sur la recherche en sciences humaines », la Commission royale d'enquête sur le bilinguisme et le biculturalisme, initiée en 1963 sous le gouvernement de Lester B. Pearson, fit appel à une batterie d'experts-conseils pour poser le diagnostic le plus juste possible pour résoudre l'impasse canado-québécoise. Au total, c'est plus de 120 rapports de recherche qui furent transmis à la commission pour documenter les commissaires et jeter la lumière sur les questions complexes que posent les notions de bilinguisme et de biculturalisme.

Laurendeau-Dunton signe ainsi, en quelque sorte, la consécration de la figure de l'intellectuel-expert, apparue quelques années plus tôt. En effet, l'État va appeler les intellectuels afin qu'ils mettent leur savoir au profit de la résolution d'un problème donné. Qui sont ces experts ? Dans quel contexte politique et social s'inscrivent-ils ? Et quels furent leur rôle et leur influence dans le cadre des travaux de la commission ? Voilà les questions auxquelles nous tenterons de répondre en brossant un portrait global des experts appelés à s'investir au sein des travaux, notamment en retraçant quelques statistiques sur leur parcours et la discipline à laquelle ils sont rattachés, ainsi qu'en mettant en lumière la réception de leurs travaux, qui peut être comprise à l'aide des documents de la commission ainsi que des différents volumes du rapport.

Jack Little, Simon Fraser University - A Liberal Patrician in Victorian Canada: Sir Henri-Gustave Joly de Lotbinière

My goal in writing my forthcoming biographical study of Sir Henri-Gustave Joly de Lotbinière was not so much to record his accomplishments, significant though they were, as to interpret what his life and career reveal about Quebec and Canadian society, economy, politics, and culture during the Victorian era. In addition to investigating Joly's public role as long-term leader of the provincial Liberals and short-term Premier, bicultural promoter of national unity, leading spokesman for the forest conservation movement, reform-oriented member of the Laurier government in Ottawa, and influential lieutenant-governor of British Columbia, my biography examines his family life as well as his role as seigneur and lumber merchant. Focussing on a single individual allowed me to trace the common thread that connects these disparate themes - beginning with the relationship between the private and the public. I paid particular attention to how Joly reconciled the conflicting forces that he was subjected to personally, and that strained society as a whole, for he embodied the cultural duality of Canada as well as the tension between traditional elite values and modern urbanizing society. He was not only a French-speaking Protestant, but a Canadian who had grown up in Paris, a social conservative who was also a political Liberal. From a psychological perspective, it seems clear that Joly's somewhat unstable social and cultural identity goes a long way to explaining his search for security in the management of the family seigneurie (in a post-seigneurial era) as well as his protective impulse as manifested in his attachment to family and dedication to provincial rights, national unity, efficient honest government, and the conservation of natural resources for future generations. These were liberal values, even progressive ones for his era, but they also reflected Joly's patrician sense of noblesse oblige, and it was his gentlemanly deportment and skills in diplomacy that made him such a respected figure in a young country still in the early stages of forging a cohesive and distinctive national identity.

Session / Séance 4-D: Sub-provincial nationalism, regionalism and identity in Canadian politics / Le nationalisme provincial, le régionalisme et l'identité dans la politique canadienne
Room / Salle S128 Schulich Building / Pavillon Schulich

Facilitator / Responsable de la séance: Carolyn Podruchny, York University

Julien Massicotte, UMCE - Le Parti acadien (1972-1982) ou le projet d'une Acadie prospective

Il y a près de 40 ans, une nouvelle formation politique voyait le jour au Nouveau-Brunswick : le Parti acadien. Formé de militants néonationalistes et syndicalistes surtout

concentrés dans la péninsule acadienne, le Parti acadien, fondé en 1972, maintiendra son existence pendant une décennie complète, avant de disparaître en 1982. Il aura participé à trois élections provinciales, sans jamais faire élire de député (Ouellette, 1978 et 1992; Godin, 1983; Gauvin et Jalbert, 1986). Certes, l'intérêt pour le Parti acadien peut sembler marginal. En effet, pourquoi l'étude d'un parti politique mélangeant des idées gauchistes et néonationalistes, somme toute marginales, a-t-elle un quelconque intérêt aujourd'hui?

Nous offrons la réponse suivante. Le Parti acadien représente sans doute la réalité historique dans laquelle s'est le mieux incarné ce que le géographe Adrien Bérubé (1987) nommait « l'Acadie prospective » : une idée ou une interprétation de l'Acadie, définie territorialement et étatiquement, tournée dans son entièreté vers les possibilités et les potentialités politiques de son avenir. Une Acadie prospective donc, politique, encore avantagé qu'avait pu l'être les acteurs politiques acadiens au centre de ce que l'on a nommé a posteriori « les années Robichaud » afin de caractériser l'action politique acadienne des années 1960 (Stanley, 1984; Actes du colloque, 2001, Cormier, 2004, Young, 1985; Bélliveau et Boily, 2005). Le présent projet de communication s'intéressera donc à montrer comment le Parti acadien a, durant son évolution et son existence, incarné une vision cohérente et structurée de « l'Acadie prospective », une vision jamais atteinte alors ni égalée depuis.

Michael Poplansky, York University - Becoming a Majority? The Parti acadien and "the ethnic vote" 1972-1978

This essay is part of a larger project comparing Quebec and Acadian neo-nationalist political parties' attitudes towards cultural pluralism. The paper's main objective is to explain why the Parti acadien (PA) failed to consider the possibility of integrating non-francophones into a common Acadian nation from its inception in 1972 until its high-water mark in 1978. (The PA embarked on a steep decline in following the 1978 New-Brunswick provincial election, ultimately disintegrating by 1986). This is all the more surprising since nearly 40% of the Acadian province that the PA sought to form, would have been made up of non-francophones.

Using various sources, including records of party conventions, campaign material and oral interviews, this paper will seek to account for the PA's lack of interest in integrating non-francophones living on "Acadian" territory. Various factors will be considered, including the PA's early flirtation with socialism, and its initial uncertainty about the merits of creating a separate Acadian province. Ultimately, the paper will conclude that PA members had "a minority mentality" which, in contrast to their Quebecois counterparts, did not allow them to think of Acadians as forming a nation that could realistically appeal to the Other (whether he be Anglophone, immigrant or Aboriginal) to become part of it.

Will Stos, York University - "Our Own Party": Partisan Expressions of Sub-Provincial Regional Identities (1968-1988)

As Canada celebrated its centennial in 1967 basking in the glow of what has been called 'the new nationalism,' cracks, fissures and cleavages were forming beneath the surface of the body politic. Quebec's Quiet Revolution had roused its own nationalist sentiment and eventually produced the separatist Parti Quebecois. The cultural Acadian Awakening of the 1950s and 1960s would serve as a foundation for the political

phenomenon known as the Parti Acadien in the 1970s. While the Parti Quebecois and the Parti Acadian were serving as partisan expressions of nationalist or neo-nationalist stirrings in Quebec and New Brunswick, three new provincial parties emerged to serve a similar function in other parts of the country.

The New Labrador Party (1968-1975), the Northern Ontario Heritage Party (1976-1981) and the Cape Breton Labor Party (1982-1988) had varying political goals, philosophies and organizations; however, they all provided symbolic political representation of distinct regional identities. This paper explores the ways in which supporters of these parties found or reaffirmed their regional identities through such political entities. Although they lacked a common ethnic background that both the Quebecois and Acadians could call upon to anchor their own identity politics projects, some proponents of these parties saw used their “own” political parties as important means through which to express this facet of their identity.

Della Roussin, UBC - A Political Press: Editorial Influence on British Columbia Voters, 1952-1963

The Socreds had already been in power for six years when an exasperated W.A.C. Bennett launched a bitter attack on the urban newspapers. They were a “political press” charged Bennett declaring that they misrepresented the Socreds. The premier took aim at the metropolitan media during this exchange but his government was treated little better in the rural press. Newspaper editorials from every region of the province regularly attacked the Socreds’ policies and personalities. Bennett was characterized as a powerhungry dictator while his ministers were rendered incompetent, corrupt or both. During the 1963 election the negative press levelled at the Socreds had increased in both quantity and quality but it was countered with a reciprocal increase in voter support for the party at the polls. The Vancouver Province, incensed that the Socreds had been returned to office for the fifth straight time asked readers to send letters explaining how this assault on democracy could have occurred. Why had voters returned this contemptible bunch to office despite their well documented failures and the dire warnings of newspaper editorialists?

There is substantial evidence to support the broad influence of media and its agenda setting function, but ultimately fails to link exposure to editorial opinion to voter behaviour. However, the agenda-setting function of media provides a useful framework around which to construct my analysis of the apparent incongruence between public perception and voter action. My research will situate voter behaviour and the dynamics of political dissent within the communications paradigm that informed public opinion. The rhetorical weapons brandished by both politicians and the press served to reduce debate to simple polemics; progress or politics, promises or results. Despite its relentless criticism of the Social Credit government the provincial press faithfully if unwittingly delivered Bennett’s message to the voting public who chose progress and results.

16:00 - 16:15 / 16 h 00 - 16 h 15 - Nutrition Break / Pause-santé

16:15 - 17:30 / 16 h 15 - 17 h 30

Session / Séance 5-A: Governance, Municipalities, and Transportation / La gouvernance, les municipalités et les moyens de transport
Room / Salle W132 Schulich Building / Pavillon Schulich

Facilitator / Responsable de la séance: Sean Kheraj, York University

Harold Bérubé, Université de Sherbrooke - Creatures of the provinces? Suburban governance on the Island of Montreal, 1880-1939

This paper aims to explore one of the blind spots of traditional political history and one of the venues that Canadian political historians should consider exploring in the future: local government and municipal governance. Alexis de Tocqueville thought of local government as the "school of democracy" and many contemporary thinkers still believe that municipalities "embody one of the major principles of a free and democratic society, the right of local self-government" (Magnusson, 2005). This being said, Canadian municipalities have been traditionally described as "creatures of the provinces". Although they predate Confederation, it is undeniable that they lack the political autonomy of the provincial and federal governments. What's more, Engin Isin has clearly demonstrated that, in Canada, local government was conceived much more as a tool of social control than as one of self-government.

All of this is true in theory. In practice, in the absence of active provincial and federal states, and in the presence of ambitious local political actors, at different times and at different places, municipal government has managed to become a significant tool of self-government. To illustrate this, I will use the example of some of Montreal's elite suburbs. From the end of the 19th century to the beginning of World War Two, those suburbs gave themselves fairly active local governments and developed a distinct political culture. Whereas a majority of suburban municipalities engineered their own annexation to the city of Montreal early in the 20th century, those localities fiercely defended their political autonomy well beyond 1939. Thus, I propose to examine different aspects of their political culture and some of the policies that they created and implemented in the first few decades of their history. At a time when the influence of the nation-state seems to be declining, it is imperative to re-examine the role that local government can play when it's in the hands of imaginative and active local actors.

Jay Young, York University - The State of Mobility: Toronto's Subway and the Politics of Everyday Life

My proposed paper examines the Toronto subway system from the 1950s to the 1970s as a site with which we can bridge the divisions between political history and socio-cultural history. The paper focuses on three aspects of the subway's past in order to illustrate how the production and consumption of personal mobility involved material and symbolic actions by the state, and resistance to the state from groups who felt such actions overlooked their needs and rights. First, I uncover the performative nature of the Yonge Street subway's 1954 opening ceremonies, in which political elites – the "great men" of older political histories – sought to inculcate civic pride through practices that complimented the resolve of ordinary citizens, the efforts of labourers, and the visions of technical experts. Next, I look at debates over the use of state power to expropriate residential property along subway rights-of-way as a means to build public infrastructure

and support private urban redevelopment. Lastly, I discuss the limited success of disabled advocacy groups who used the language of rights during the 1970s to urge modifications of subway space that would allow physically disabled individuals access to a technology increasing built and operated from general taxes.

For at least two decades, a loud debate has occurred over the place of political history within the Canadian historical discipline. This paper argues that the state is a key actor in the historical development of Toronto's subway, an infrastructure used by thousands of ordinary people to fulfill their social needs. It also emphasizes the necessity of considering not only higher levels of government within Canada's federal structure but also the local arms of state, since the growth of the Toronto transit system is part of a longer historical trajectory in which municipal governments have regulated and provided services that have transformed the everyday lives of urban dwellers.

Session / Séance 5-B: State and Energy Policy / L'État et les politiques énergitiques
Room / Salle S124 Schulich Building / Pavillon Schulich

Facilitator / Responsable de la séance: Ed Montigny, ARCH Disability Law Center, Toronto

Steve Penfold, University of Toronto - Duff's Oil: Gasoline and the Political Culture of Energy in British Columbia, 1934-40

Between 1934 and 1940, Duff Pattullo, the reformist premier of British Columbia, became embroiled in a long dispute with four multinational oil companies about gasoline prices in the province. As a creature of institutional politics, the dispute ran from an extended Royal Commission in 1935-6 through the establishment of a regulatory board in 1937 to a series of judicial battles that climaxed in the spring of 1940.

But the issue touched another level of politics as well. Throughout the extended political, administrative, and judicial battles, British Columbians debated the meaning of gasoline – and energy more broadly – in the emerging modern economy and society of the province. The climax of the story came in 1940: after the Canadian Supreme Court ruled that the province had the power to regulate prices, the oil companies suspended sales, a week-long "Gas Out" (a journalistic play on "blackout") that brought British Columbians face to face with their growing dependence on American petroleum.

"Duff's Oil" will probe the intersection of the institutional and popular politics of gasoline in the province, combining energy history, "traditional" political history and the "new" political history. The paper will tackle three main questions:

First, what "energy narratives" (to use David Nye's phrase) shaped the politics of gasoline in the province? How did British Columbians understand and describe energy abundance, shortage, and significance?

Second, how did an emerging "moral economy of gasoline" (tied to contested meanings of "need" and "fairness") shape the politics of energy?

Finally, how did "gasoline's public sphere" channel these energy narratives and ideas? In what institutions and media did the public debate occur? How did these institutions and media, particularly their largely masculine character, shape the political vocabularies deployed in the dispute?

In probing these three questions, I hope to offer some broader thoughts on connections between energy history and political history and to comment on the false dichotomy between the “traditional” and “new” political history.

Stéphane Savard, Université Concordia et CIRST, Continuités dans les orientations énergétiques au Québec: L’influence de la raison d’État, 1944-2005

Touchant à l’ensemble des citoyens qui en ont grandement besoin pour se nourrir, se loger et se déplacer, l’énergie est au cœur des préoccupations des responsables politiques québécois. En fait, l’élaboration des politiques énergétiques et les choix qui en découlent suscitent de nombreux débats politiques et citoyens où se dessinent des conflits de représentations symboliques et identitaires du Québec. Ces représentations sont autant de formes d’expression de la culture politique contemporaine que des moyens de justifier telle ou telle orientation prise en matière énergétique.

Derrière ces politiques énergétiques et les représentations qui y sont rattachées, se cachent des choix étatiques qui entrent en continuité ou en rupture avec les valeurs et orientations prises par les gouvernements antérieurs. La présente communication se propose donc de se pencher sur l’influence de la « raison d’État », depuis la fin de la Deuxième Guerre mondiale, dans la prise de décision des responsables gouvernementaux en matière de choix énergétiques et de représentations qui s’y rattachent. Puisque les enjeux énergétiques sont variés, l’analyse se concentre sur les enjeux touchant l’électricité et Hydro-Québec, assurément ceux qui ont le plus façonné la culture politique québécoise.

La communication sera divisée en trois parties. Dans la première, une brève analyse des éléments de continuité et de rupture en matière de politiques énergétiques touchant l’électricité (1944 à aujourd’hui) sera abordée. L’analyse montrera la place importante qu’occupent les éléments de continuité. La deuxième partie présentera la notion de « raison d’État » qui influence certainement la prise de décision de plusieurs responsables gouvernementaux, particulièrement celle des premiers ministres. Enfin, la troisième partie offrira des pistes de réflexions pour comprendre les raisons pour lesquelles la « raison d’État » occupe une place si importante au sein des enjeux énergétiques québécois.

Session / Séance 5-C: Regulation and Law / Loi et réglementation
Room / Salle S126 Schulich Building / Pavillon Schulich

Facilitator / Responsable de la séance: Kate McPherson, York University

Blake Brown, Saint Mary’s University - “We are gradually getting like Chicago”: Gun Control in Interwar Canada

This paper examines the fierce debates over gun control in interwar Canada, a topic which has garnered little academic attention.

Pre-Great War concerns with the ownership and use of guns by members of allegedly suspicious ethnic groups grew with the onset of war in 1914. During and immediately after the war, Ottawa sought to limit gun ownership and use by those deemed untrustworthy. First aimed at ‘aliens’, then more broadly at all Canadian firearm

owners, these measures were among the most draconian gun control measures ever instituted in Canada, and, while soon repealed, demonstrated the extent to which ethnic distrust and fear of political dissension drove gun regulation in the period. The debates over the legislation also cast light on the attitudes towards equality and 'British justice' in Canada. Among the strongest argument used against regulation was the assertion that the provisions discriminated between classes of Canadians.

In the 1930s, the Canadian state again flexed its muscles in attempting to gain better control over handguns, the widespread availability of which had vexed legislators since the 1870s. As concerns with public safety mounted in the Depression decade, Ottawa created more centralized record-keeping procedures administered by the Royal Canadian Mounted Police and placed new limitations on the use of revolvers and pistols. The centerpiece of this effort to control handguns was the creation of a handgun registry, which, unlike the long gun registry created in the 1990s, proved uncontroversial.

Joseph Tohill, York University and Ryerson University - "The Consumer Goes to War:" Price Control and Consumer Citizens in Canada and the United States during World War II

This paper examines the attempts of consumer activists in Canada and the United States during the Second World War to reshape the political economy in such a way as to give ordinary citizens—in their function as consumers—a greater say in the economic decision-making that affected their lives. Consumer activists envisioned a more humane economic system that would uplift those with the most meager pocketbooks, give a voice to the voiceless, democratize economic decision-making, and thus make the economy itself more democratic. The twin keys to realizing this vision were, first, the representation of consumers in policy-making and, second, the creation of a mass, grassroots movement of citizen consumers.

The anti-inflationary programs of the American Office of Price Administration and the Canadian Wartime Prices and Trade Board imposed on citizens as consumers a host of new obligations—to buy wisely, to pay no more than ceiling prices, to obey rationing regulations. The flipside was the state's promise that consumers' pocketbooks would be protected by policies providing (to use the common parlance of wartime) "a fair share at a fair price."

Consumer activists in both countries seized the opportunity presented by the state's imposition of these new obligations to aggressively promote consumers' rights and representation and wrest from other economic interests—and an often reluctant state—a greater share of economic and political power for consumers. They aimed to make the vast consuming public not just the beneficiaries, but active participants in the state's protection and promotion of the consumer interest. Far from ignoring 'ordinary people' as political history is often accused of doing, this paper highlights the intersection of popular politics and elite policy-making. Consumer activists and experts within these agencies connected grassroots consumers to national policy-makers in order to facilitate, in effect, policy-making from the bottom up.

18:00 - 22:00 / 18 h 00 - 22 h 00
Reception and Dinner / Réception et diner
Executive Dining Room Schulich Building / Pavillon Schulich

Book Launch

Edgar-Andre Montigny (ed.), *The Real Dope: Social, Legal, and Historical Perspectives on the Regulation of Drugs in Canada* (Toronto, University of Toronto Press: 2011)

Visions – The Canadian History Modules Project

Chris Pennington, **Module 32** Traitors or Patriots? The Continentalism and Nationalism in the Free Trade Elections of 1891 and 1911 (Toronto, Nelson Education Limited: 2011)

Matthew Hayday, **Module 33** Reconciling the Two Solitudes? The Debate over Official Languages, 1963-1995 (Toronto, Nelson Education Limited: 2011)

Matthew Hayday, **Module 34** Queering Canada: Gay and Lesbian Political and Social Activism, 1969-1982 (Toronto, Nelson Education Limited: 2011)

Saturday, 15 October 2011 / Samedi, le 15 octobre 2011

9:30 - 11:00 / 9 h 30 - 11 h 00

Session / Séance: 6-A: The politics of paying for the common good (1) / La politique de payer pour le bien commun
Room / Salle W132 Schulich Building / Pavillon Schulich

Facilitator / Responsable de la séance: H. Viv Nelles, McMaster University

Jeffrey L. McNairn, Queen's University - Roads to Modernity: Trust and Financing the Public Good in Upper Canada

Roads – not responsible government, clergy reserves, or the administration of justice – were the most debated political subject in Upper Canada. Arguments that they were vital to "improvement" were out-numbered only by complaints that existing ones were abysmal. On one view, disputes about how to finance the construction and maintenance of roads appear petty and local, but they were ultimately about how the public good was to be defined, how private interests were to be harnessed to it, and how material contributions to the public good related to political citizenship. Who should pay, in what form, and how much? What constitutes a 'fair' and 'efficient' distribution of the burden? How should extractions be spent? Who decides? This paper assesses how different methods of financing a common good expressed competing visions of the sort of state and civil society Upper Canada was or should become.

By the 1820s, the system of statute labour whereby property owners annually contributed a number of days' labour (along with tools and animals) to roadwork in their township was widely denigrated. Proposals to replace local extractions of labour with a colony-wide tax in money were debated in the 1820s and 1830s. The colony also experimented with a number of ways to supplement statute labour: specific projects were undertaken by local authorities; road societies -- voluntary associations to maintain particular roadways -- were formed; the assembly appropriated provincial revenue to local projects; and private corporations sought public charters to build and maintain roads in return for a monopoly and the right to collect user fees.

Analyzing the debates and experience of these policy options, this paper brings central and local officials, legislators, colonial newspapers, and farmers into a common political history. It is a history that reveals fault lines on the central questions of the justice and efficiency of different tax regimes, divisions that would recur in Canadian taxation history. The paper also argues that in addition to competing material interests and moral values, political trust was central to how different tax regimes were evaluated; the increasing sense that the Upper Canadian state was insufficiently democratic undermined its fiscal and enforcement capacity, ensuring the persistence of the 'feudal' practice of statute labour and necessitating experiments with other models of financing the public good.

Elsbeth Heaman, McGill University - Revisiting the Single Tax

The single tax is mostly dismissed by historians as a crankish failure. Allan Mills captures that view nicely when he describes the tax as excellent for building political education and political relationships, but nonetheless puzzling as an object of so much singular attachment. Incomprehension if not open regret colours most historical writing on the subject. But by focusing on local political projects, rather than the idealized one advanced by Henry George and his zealous single-tax followers, I suggest that the single tax looks more strategic than is generally recognized. Following American historiography, I argue that a major new "taxpayer" ideology of the 1870s cemented alliances between different social elites and helped them to beat back expensive statist projects and working-class access to the state. In the 1870s and 1880s, taxpayers and legislators generally defeated working class arguments that labour should count as property and, thus, as grounds for enfranchisement. But in the 1890s and 1900s, Georgist arguments for exempting labour from taxation bridged the ideological distance between "taxpayers" and "workers" and encouraged collaborative political platforms. It co-opted the taxpayer ideology and, in a new way, put it at the service of labour, at least in theory.

In practice, as scholars like Peter Baskerville have shown, the single tax movement tended to serve speculators better than other social groups, and the bust that followed the Laurier boom discredited the single tax movement. Nonetheless, I will argue that the land tax theories based in Georgism did have a significant impact in troubling a key Victorian tax norm, namely, that taxation should always benefit the person taxed, whether directly (in the form of sewage or pavement taxes) or indirectly as benefits to the whole community. Confiscatory taxes – taxes designed as much for purposes of eviction as revenue, and legitimated by a Georgist logic – were some of the earliest taxes passed in the western provinces, and they helped to lay the foundations for a redistributive model of taxation.

S.M. Tillotson, Dalhousie University - Tax Politics and Public Opinion in the Age of Easy Money, 1947-1966

Tax economists have argued that the effective pressures for tax reform in the 1960s came, not from the general public, but from a small coterie of tax experts, and it is indeed easy to see how little weight public opinion might have had in choosing among possible solutions to tax policies' increasingly complex technical problems. But even in the years of "easy money," when governments found it possible to maintain a buoyant public revenue while reducing personal income tax rates, tax policy never became merely a depoliticized realm of expertise. Popular opinion on taxation continued to engage a lively host of moral questions. To understand the political role of taxation questions in the 1950s and 1960s, and their implications for trust (or lack thereof) in the emerging welfare state, we cannot ignore this wider array of issues.

It might seem that, reasonably, the mass of voting Canadians had come, by the mid 1960s, to accept that the personal income tax was the necessary price of social citizenship. And that was indeed one element of popular opinion on taxation. But also percolating through the period were other currents of tax ideology, and not just the one espoused by the tax-averse Randian rich and their allies. Also important, and more mainstream, were the views of middling or poor people who experienced tax debt as a kind of debt that shoved them from modest survival into hardship. In this paper, I draw on the correspondence of politicians of the period and on the submissions to the Royal Commission on Taxation, 1962-66, to describe the various meanings of taxation in the "retail" politics of the post-war 1940s, 1950s, and early 1960s. I argue that the many small tax problems of ordinary taxpayers, and not just the expertise of economists and tax professionals, provided part of the impetus to tax reform, helped shape the political rhetoric by which taxation was explained and justified, influenced the specific mechanisms of tax assessment and collection, and left their mark on the tax policies that were adopted in the 1970s. And I suggest that the legacy of this period was felt in the 1990s, when taxpayer resentment among low-income, working-class, and middle-class Canadians fuelled the political success of anti-statist parties such as Ontario's Harris Conservatives and the Manning/Harper Reformers.

Session / Séance 6-B: Food, Nutrition and the State in the twentieth century / L'alimentation, la nutrition et l'État au vingtième siècle
Room / Salle S124 Schulich Building / Pavillon Schulich

Facilitator / Responsable de la séance: Amélie Bourbeau, Université Laurentienne

Caroline Durand, Trent University - « La cuisine est le laboratoire de la santé familiale » : l'expertise nutritionnelle au Québec, 1900-1939

Dès la fin du XIXe siècle, la nutrition étudie les relations entre pauvreté, régime alimentaire carencé et maladie. Pourtant, le soulagement de la faim et de la malnutrition demeure longtemps entre les mains d'organismes de charité privée, et ce n'est que dans les années 1940 que certaines interventions gouvernementales s'y attaquent directement. Cette communication analysera l'influence jouée par l'expertise nutritionnelle dans quelques politiques de santé publique provinciales et municipales au Québec, dans la première moitié du XXe siècle. Je montrerai comment les conceptions du corps et du rôle des femmes dans leur entretien modèlent les discours sur la nutrition et la cuisine, et de quelle manière les experts décrivent l'alimentation comme une

question individuelle et familiale dont l'amélioration dépend du travail domestique féminin. Je résumerai les propos tenus lors de certaines campagnes de sensibilisation de santé publique, comme les expositions montréalaises contre la tuberculose et la mortalité infantile, l'enseignement de l'hygiène et l'inspection médicale des écoliers montréalais dans les années 1920 et 1930. À cette époque, l'État, par la voix des médecins et des enseignantes en économie domestique, impute aux mères la responsabilité de la santé des hommes et des enfants, envisageant l'action des femmes dans un rôle conventionnel. En outre, en proposant des solutions domestiques et individualistes à la difficulté éprouvée par certains groupes sociaux à se nourrir adéquatement, les experts contribuent à justifier les politiques non interventionnistes et à limiter l'aide apportée, comme dans le cas de la distribution de lait dans les écoles. Je montrerai enfin que les conceptions dominantes de l'État et des médecins furent contestées par certaines nutritionnistes et infirmières montréalaises ainsi que par l'économiste Leonard Charles Marsh dans les années 1930, sans pour autant manifester une volonté de repenser les rôles genrés concernant l'alimentation.

Ian Mosby, York University - Reconstructing Malnutrition: Nutrition Experts and the Making of the Welfare State, 1939-1949

This paper will explore the ways in which the science of nutrition transformed – and was itself transformed – by wartime and early post-war debates over social security and reconstruction. By the late 1930s, new methods of measuring the nature and extent of malnutrition among large populations had produced dramatic changes in the perception of nutrition as a public health priority and, as a result, brought renewed legitimacy to nutrition professionals more generally. Particularly following the publication of a series of dietary surveys conducted in Halifax, Quebec City, Toronto and Edmonton between 1939 and 1941, malnutrition began to emerge as, not simply a problem of individuals failing to maintain a healthy diet, but as a national crisis threatening to disrupt the country's war effort. The federal government, therefore, responded by creating a Nutrition Services division within the Department of Pensions and National Health and by launching Canada's first national nutrition education program.

As it quickly became clear, however, just as warnings of a national malnutrition crisis could be used to justify the expansion of nutrition programs on a national level, they also offered a powerful critique of the existing social and economic order. Nutrition professionals themselves were divided on the question of the political uses of nutrition and its increasing prominence in political debates only further highlighted these existing professional divisions. As will be argued in this paper, however, nutrition would ultimately prove to be a less reliable ally to supporters of an expanded postwar welfare state than it appeared during the early years of the war. Not only would the increasingly prominent use of nutrition as both a scientific and moral rationale for major social and economic reforms like Family Allowances bring to the surface internal divisions among the country's leading nutrition experts, but it would also contribute to the breakdown in the tenuous scientific consensus the had produced warnings of a wartime malnutrition crisis in the first place. By the end of the war, these changes would bring into question not only nutrition's usefulness as a tool for producing scientifically grounded public policy but also the very meaning and measurability of such basic concepts as 'health' and 'malnutrition'.
Sub-provincial nationalism, regionalism and identity in Canadian politics.

Session / Séance 6-C: Canadian Nationalism in the 1960s / Le nationalisme canadien dans les années 1960
Room / Salle S126 Schulich Building / Pavillon Schulich

Facilitator / Responsable de la séance: Marcel Martel, York University

John Smart, Algonquin College - When Nationalism was in Bloom: Ottawa and IBM in the 1960s

Those interested in historical examples of science and its use in the development and implementation of public policies may wish to review the case of the Canadian federal government's attempts in the 1960s to make the IBM corporation pursue a Made-in-Canada policy with regard to the computers it was selling north of the 49th parallel. In the nationalist heyday of the 1960s the federal government wanted a domestic high technology sector as part of a fledgling national industrial policy. The Pearson and Trudeau governments wanted IBM to make computers in Canada and were prepared to pay IBM to do so. IBM refused to go along. As a second best strategy, Ottawa decided to subsidize the Northern Electric Company, a subsidiary of Bell Canada, to build a new factory in Ottawa to produce semi-processors (microchips) for the computer industry. A number of Canadian-based innovative developments followed. Northern Electric and its research arm, Bell-Northern Research, came to employ thousands of engineers, many of them immigrants, in Ottawa and, for twenty years, these two companies were world leaders in the application of computer technology in the telephone and communication fields. In the 1990's Nortel became an early leader in Internet technology. IBM never regretted its refusal of Ottawa's money and IBM's archival records show a company determined not to give in to nationalist demands in the countries where it did business. For its part, the Canadian federal government remained proud of its role in the creation of what became Silicon Valley North. Neither IBM nor Nortel reached the new millennium as the same companies they had been forty years earlier but their paths illustrate the differing effects of corporate strategy and government policy on the exploitation of highly profitable scientific advances.

Marc-André Gagnon, University of Guelph, « Adieu le mouton, salut les Québécois! » : Le gouvernement Lévesque et les célébrations de la fête nationale du Québec (1976-1984)

L'élection du Parti québécois, en novembre 1976, marque un tournant sur la scène politique canadienne. Cherchant à susciter l'adhésion des Québécois à une définition civique du corps politique, le gouvernement Lévesque promulgue un décret en mai 1977, stipulant que « le 24 juin, jour de la fête de la Saint-Jean-Baptiste soit désormais également connu sous le nom de fête nationale du Québec ». Il décide également de prendre une place active et centrale dans l'élaboration des fêtes par la mise sur pied de la Corporation de la fête nationale du Québec et du Programme d'assistance financière aux manifestations locales. Reposant jadis sur les initiatives communautaires, principalement celles des Sociétés Saint-Jean-Baptiste, les célébrations du 24 juin se politisent à l'ombre du conflit Canada-Québec.

Cette communication expose comment le gouvernement péquiste cherche à ériger une nouvelle tradition autour de ces célébrations. La construction de la nation politique, essentielle pour le projet porté par le Parti québécois, repose sur le capacité de la population québécoise à se constituer en corps politique. L'identité de cette nation reposerait sur les assises territoriales et évacuerait de la mémoire le passé canadien-français. Basée sur les débats de l'Assemblée nationale entre 1976 et 1984, cette présentation démontrera toutefois que les assises mémorielles du Canada français résistent à ce changement; cette célébration s'inscrivant toujours à travers une francophonie nord- américaine.

Le spectre des fêtes nationales au Canada commence à peine à intéresser l'historien. Cette communication misera non seulement sur l'étude de ces célébrations comme lieu de mémoire, mais comme objet éminemment politique.

11:00 - 11:15 / 11 h 00 - 11 h 15 - Nutrition Break / Pause-santé

11:15 - 12:45 / 11 h 15 - 12 h 45

Session / Séance 7-A: Round Table / Table ronde RCMP: What we know, what we don't know and what we would like to know/ La GRC: ce que nous savons, ce que nous ne savons pas et ce que nous aimerions savoir
Room / Salle W132 Schulich Building / Pavillon Schulich

Facilitator / Responsable de la séance: Craig Heron, York University

Participants / Participants et participantes:
Steve Hewitt, American and Canadian Studies, University of Birmingham
Gary Kinsman, department of sociology, Laurentian University
Christabelle Sethna, Institute of Women's Studies, University of Ottawa

This round table brings together specialists of national security and surveillance activities issues. Known for their work on the RCMP, these specialists will first discuss the emerging research in this field. They will then identify some of the challenges for those interested in researching
RCMP activities.

Cette séance réunit des spécialistes des questions de sécurité nationale et des activités de surveillance. Connus pour leurs travaux sur la GRC, ces spécialistes feront d'abord le point sur l'état de la recherche dans ce domaine. Ils identifieront également les défis pour ceux et celles qui s'intéressent aux activités de la GRC et les nouvelles pistes de recherche.

Session / Séance 7-B: Economic Policy / La politique économique
Room / Salle S124 Schulich Building / Pavillon Schulich

Facilitator / Responsable de la séance: Bill Wicken, York University

Pierrick Labbé, Université d'Ottawa, L'Aide mutuelle: La profession de foi du gouvernement canadien envers la libéralisation des marchés après la Deuxième Guerre mondiale

Après son acceptation par le Parlement canadien en mai 1943, le gouvernement fédéral lança l'Aide mutuelle, un programme pour financer les achats des pays alliés. Au total, des marchandises pour une valeur de plus de 1,8 milliard de dollars furent distribuées à titre de contribution canadienne à l'effort de guerre. Ce programme constituait la principale initiative financière du Canada jusqu'à la fin des hostilités.

Cette communication présentera les résultats d'une analyse de la diplomatie entourant la mise sur pied et la gestion de l'Aide mutuelle. L'examen des sources gouvernementales et des documents produits par ses principaux gestionnaires permettent d'exposer le caractère idéologique du projet. L'analyse démontre qu'au-delà de son pragmatisme, le programme portait sur la scène internationale les objectifs canadiens de reconstruction.

La présentation contextualisera sa fondation à la résurgence du fonctionnalisme, c'est-à-dire à la quête pour une plus grande représentation canadienne au sein des mécanismes de gestion de l'effort de guerre. C'est dans cette optique que le Canada choisit de créer une structure pour distribuer ses produits de manière plus autonome de la Grande-Bretagne et des États-Unis. L'initiative visait l'obtention d'une plus grande reconnaissance internationale pour mieux relancer son commerce à la fin des hostilités. De plus, l'obligation des pays bénéficiaires à signer des protocoles comportant des clauses inspirées du prêt-bail américain démontre que la contribution canadienne n'était pas complètement altruiste et s'insérait dans un projet nord-américain de restructuration de l'économie mondiale. Si les décideurs ne posaient pas tous un regard idéaliste sur l'Aide mutuelle, ils s'entendaient sur la nécessité d'exiger un engagement des Alliés envers une ouverture des marchés à la fin des hostilités. La présentation s'attardera également aux négociations avec les représentants étrangers réfractaires à la signature du protocole, pour finalement en conclure que le Canada avait transformé sa production de guerre en un outil de promotion idéologique afin de mieux préparer son retour à une économie de paix.

Don Nerbas, McGill University - " . . . a very delicate experiment in the public relations of large-scale enterprise": Gilbert E. Jackson and the Canadian Council for Economic Studies

The legitimacy and political power of Canadian big business was significantly damaged during the Great Depression of the 1930s and the Second World War. The efforts of business leaders, such as Sir Edward Beatty and C. George McCullagh, to assert political leadership during this tumultuous period proved ineffective, and many business leaders expressed deep concern about the state's growing role in social and economic life. In 1943 a small group of corporate executives from Montreal and Toronto established an organization, the Canadian Committee on Industrial Reconstruction, to influence the federal government's postwar reconstruction plans. For this task, they recruited Gilbert E. Jackson (1889-1959), an economist with strong connections to the

business community who had worked at the University of Toronto, the Bank of Nova Scotia, and the Bank of England before establishing his own consulting firm. A strident supporter of laissez-faire ideals, Jackson was hired to produce studies and present arguments to the government and the wider public on a variety of economic issues. After the war, he remained a central fixture in the Canadian Council for Economic Studies, a successor organization to the Canadian Committee on Industrial Reconstruction established to carry on the work of its predecessor "without substantial change in its original purpose." This purpose was the defence of private enterprise and free-market philosophy, and, in Gilbert Jackson, the corporate executives who represented the Council found an effective ally. Council member and Stelco president Ross McMaster explained in 1946: "[Jackson's] unbiased opinion, his wide reputation and his ability as an interesting speaker and other qualifications have provided the means of reaching the news columns of the press to an extent not attainable except through an independent spokesman." Gilbert Jackson's role as a business activist during the 1940s and 1950s throws new light upon the shifting political strategies of Canadian business leaders – as they recruited "experts" to publicly voice their perspectives – and offers an important case study of the business elite's relationship with the academic community. A little known chapter in Canadian political history, Gilbert Jackson's business-sponsored efforts to restore public faith in capitalism during the 1940s and 1950s suggests that, as Kim Phillips-Fein has shown in the American context, the business community's ideological battle against the welfare state began in the first half of the twentieth century; Jackson and his moneyed patrons were, in many ways, neoliberals avant la lettre.

Tracy Neumann, Wayne State University - Neoliberalization in Canada, 1968-1984

Through a focus on the interplay of state actors at different levels of the federal system, this paper examines the emergence of neoliberal urban, industrial, and economic development policies in Canada (with special attention to Ontario). Brian Mulroney came to power in 1984 promising "national reconciliation" through accommodation of Quebec; an end to federal intrusions into provincial jurisdictions and a renewed commitment to decentralization; a reduced role for the state in the Canadian economy through fiscal restraint, spending cuts and reducing public services; and limited privatization and deregulation. Scholars typically date the shift away from state-centered, interventionist Keynesianism economic policies toward anti-state, pro-free market, deregulationist, neoliberal policies to Mulroney's tenure as prime minister. While the general contours of Mulroney's policy prescriptions reflected the influence of Margaret Thatcher and Ronald Reagan's economic liberalization in England and the US, I argue that to legitimize his neoliberal agenda, Mulroney co-opted policies and institutional arrangements already in place at the federal, provincial, and local levels. More specifically, I demonstrate that neoliberal ideology supplied a coherent framework through which to unite existing policies and institutional arrangements ostensibly formulated to reduce tensions within the federal system under Pierre Trudeau. The Trudeau administration initially sought to centralize power in the national state and, under pressure from provincial governments, shifted course in the mid-1970s to again decentralize urban, industrial, and economic development policy. Thus, I suggest that the neoliberal agenda in Canada took shape in the context of a renegotiation of the responsibilities of the federal, state/provincial, and local governments between 1968 and 1984.

Session / Séance 7-C: The politics of paying for the common good (2) /La politique de payer pour le bien commun (2)
Room / Salle S126 Schulich Building / Pavillon Schulich

Facilitator / Responsable de la séance: Raymond B. Blake, University of Regina

Cate Prichard, York University - "If we participate at all, we might send a junior": Finance and Revenue Canada react to the Secretary of State Department's "Comprehensive Federal Government Policy on Voluntary Action," 1982

In 1982, the Secretary of State Department (SSD) circulated a draft discussion paper entitled "Towards a Comprehensive Federal Government Policy on Voluntary Action," to several federal government departments, as well as to members of the voluntary sector. The discussion paper articulated a particular understanding of the relationship between the Government of Canada and its citizens, and the role of the voluntary sector (generally defined as the community of registered charities operating in Canada) in mediating that relationship. In the paper, the SSD proposed extensive administrative changes to the relationship between the Government of Canada and "the voluntary sector." Among them were (1) measures redefining "charitable activities," (2) allowing registered charities to engage in political activities, and (3) changing the process by which administrative decisions to register or deregister charitable organizations were made. More than anything else in the discussion paper, these proposals presented the possibility of a fundamental change in the way the voluntary sector and its relationship to the federal government was conceptualized and administered by the government itself.

However, the SSD's paper was not welcomed by the two government departments responsible for forming and enforcing these three areas of charitable tax policy – the Department of Finance and Revenue Canada. They argued that the new policies had been accepted verbatim from policy representations made to the Secretary of State Department by a voluntary lobby group called the National Voluntary Organizations. Finance and Revenue were less willing than the SSD to accept these proposals uncritically. In addition to disagreeing about the proper relationship between the federal government and the voluntary sector, the three departments also disagreed about which experts and which type of expertise should inform charitable tax policy – legal expertise, empirical financial analysis, administrative know-how, or social welfare experience. Ultimately, this discussion and its policy outcomes were conditioned by the institutional structures of the federal government departments involved in the conversation.

My paper will explore the alternative approaches to charitable tax policy and regulation presented in the SSD's discussion paper, the context in which they were proposed, and the inter-personal and inter-departmental dynamics that affected the course of the discussion and its policy outcomes. In so doing I will contribute to a growing body of scholarship concerning the development of the 'mixed social economy' in the delivery of social services. My paper will speak to the constant process of negotiation and accommodation that has characterized the relationship between the Canadian federal government and voluntary sector.

Todd Stubbs, Lakehead University, Orillia - A "Stake in the Country": Wage-Earning Men and the Income Franchise Debate in Ontario, 1866-1874

During the late 1860s and early 1870s, Ontario's property-based franchise became a target of criticism for its failure to address the needs of changing urban centres and their expanding clerical and industrial workforces. This discrepancy informed arguments advanced by waged workers, union leaders, and their journalistic and political allies who demanded an adjustment to the property qualification so that it included taxable income. Advocates of the so-called income franchise argued that a revamped qualification uncoupled from real property would allow working men, particularly bachelors and lodgers with good incomes, the opportunity to take part in the electoral process, thereby redressing an evident social injustice.

In this paper, I examine how wage-earning men and their representatives in Ontario adopted a class and gendered language of competence and merit, steeped in a British discourse of liberal improvement, in their efforts to influence franchise policy. I begin with the partisan debate that prompted demands for changes to the franchise to accommodate working men who paid income tax and isolate a masculinist rhetoric of intelligence and citizenship that emerged during these contests. I then examine the efforts of wage workers and their representatives to utilize various public fora to advance their claims as intelligent and respectable men worthy of the vote. The main groups under examination are the Income Franchise Association, a mixed-class organization with close ties to the Liberal Party, and representatives of the trade union movement including the Toronto-based trade union journal, the Ontario Workman. The paper argues that, while political parties and prominent organizations such as Canada First have been associated with changes in franchise policy during this period, urban wage earners in Canada were a crucial force in the transmission and wider dissemination of a discourse of citizenship that informed subsequent adjustments to the electoral franchise

12:45 - 14:00 / 12 h 45 - 14 h 00 - Lunch/Déjeuner

14:00 - 15:30 / 14 h 00 - 15h 30
8. Round Table / Table ronde Welfare State: l'état des lieux

Room / Salle W132 Schulich Building / Pavillon Schulich

Facilitator / Responsable de la séance: Shirley Tillotson, Dalhousie University

Participants/ Participantes:
Amélie Bourbeau, Université Laurentienne
Lara Campbell, Simon Fraser University
Dominique Marshall, Carleton University
Suzanne Morton, McGill University
Jennifer Stephen, York University

Studies on the development of the welfare state have experienced a significant increase in popularity in recent years. These studies have questioned the formation and development of the welfare state and insisted upon the role of social actors and their ability to influence the state.

This round table brings together scholars who have recently published on this topic. Through their work, these authors have demonstrated the dynamism of this field of study. It is highly appropriate to reflect on the state of research studies on the formation and development of the welfare state.

Les études sur le développement de l'État providence ont connu une popularité importante au cours des dernières années. Ces études remettent en cause la chronologie de la formation et du développement de l'État providence et insistent sur le rôle des acteurs sociaux et leur incapacité à influencer l'État.

Cette séance réunit des spécialistes qui ont publié sur ce thème. Par leurs travaux, ces auteures ont démontré le dynamisme de ce domaine d'étude. Il est fort approprié de réfléchir sur l'état de la recherche dans le domaine des études sur la formation et le développement de l'État providence.

JOIN THE POLITICAL HISTORY GROUP!

The Political History Group (PHG) aims to promote and support research in political history and the study of political history in Canada. It considers "Political history" in very broad terms, and encourages the study of politics, public policy, governance, the state, political economy, political sociology, civil society, elections, foreign policy, international relations, legal history and other facets of political life from diverse theoretical and empirical approaches. We are affiliated with the Canadian Historical Association, and our members include graduate students, professors and other scholars and public historians interested in political issues.

To join the group, and subscribe to our PHG-GHP listserv, please email Matthew Hayday at mhayday@uoguelph.ca and include a short biography for inclusion on our directory of members.

CANADIAN POLITICAL HISTORY PRIZES

The Canadian Historical Association's Political History Group is pleased to announce the 2012 Canadian Political History Book and Article Prize competitions.

Book Prize: The prize will be awarded in 2012 for an outstanding, well-written book judged to have made an original, significant, and meritorious contribution to the field of Canadian political history. Eligible books must have been published between 1 December 2010 and 30 November 2011. Authors are invited to submit copies of their books directly to each member of the prize committee or to contact their publishers and ask them to submit copies of their books on their behalf. The deadline for submissions is **31 December 2011.**

English-language Article Prize: The prize will be awarded in 2012 for an outstanding, well-written English-language article judged to have made an original, significant, and meritorious contribution to the field of Canadian political history. Eligible articles must have been published between 1 December 2010 and 30 November 2011 in a scholarly journal (print or online) or edited collection. Authors are invited to submit copies of their articles directly to each member of the prize committee or to contact their publishers and ask them to submit copies of their articles on their behalf. The deadline for submissions is **31 December 2011.**

The mailing addresses of this year's prize jury members may be found on the Political History Group website: <http://www.chashcacommittees-comitesa.ca/phg-ghp/>

Congratulations to our 2011 prize winners, Ivana Caccia, for her book *Managing the Canadian Mosaic in Wartime: Shaping Citizenship Policy, 1939-1945* (McGill-Queen's), and Bradley Miller, for his article "'A carnival of crime on our border': International Law, Imperial Power, and Extradition in Canada, 1865-1883," which appeared in the *Canadian Historical Review.*

JOIGNEZ-VOUS AU GROUPE D'HISTOIRE POLITIQUE!

Le Groupe d'histoire politique (GHP) vise à promouvoir et à appuyer la recherche en histoire politique et l'enseignement de l'histoire politique au Canada. La définition d'histoire politique retenue par le groupe se veut la plus large possible et recouvre l'étude de la politique, des politiques publiques, de la gouvernance, de l'État, de l'économie politique, de la sociologie politique, de la société civile, des élections, des affaires étrangères et des relations internationales, de l'histoire légale et de toutes autres facettes de la vie politique canadienne, et ce, en ayant recours à une variété d'approches théoriques et empiriques.

Le Groupe d'histoire politique est affilié à la Société historique du Canada. Nos membres sont des étudiants et étudiantes aux cycles supérieures, des professeurs et professeures, ainsi que ceux et celles qui travaillent dans le domaine de l'histoire à l'extérieur des milieux universitaires ou dans l'histoire publique et qui s'intéressent à des questions politiques.

Pour adhérer au groupe et vous abonner au groupe PHG-GHP, veuillez envoyer un courriel à Matthew Hayday à mhayday@uoguelph.ca. Veuillez y inclure une brève biographie pour notre répertoire des membres.

PRIX EN HISTOIRE POLITIQUE CANADIENNE

Le groupe d'histoire politique de la Société historique du Canada est heureux d'annoncer les concours du prix pour le meilleur livre et du meilleur article en histoire politique canadienne, rédigé en français, pour l'année 2012.

Livre : Le prix sera attribué à un livre en histoire politique canadienne bien écrit et jugé comme constituant une contribution originale, significative et méritoire dans ce domaine. Les travaux publiés par les chercheurs et les chercheuses dans le domaine de l'histoire politique canadienne entre le 1er décembre 2010 et le 30 novembre 2011 sont admissibles. Les auteurs sont particulièrement invités à soumettre leurs livres directement aux membres du comité de sélection ou à contacter leurs éditeurs et leur demander de soumettre leurs ouvrages. La date limite pour soumettre les travaux est **le 31 décembre 2011.**

Article rédigé en langue française : Le prix sera attribué à un article rédigé en langue française en histoire politique canadienne bien écrit et jugé comme constituant une contribution originale, significative et méritoire dans ce domaine. Les travaux publiés par les chercheurs et les chercheuses dans le domaine de l'histoire politique canadienne dans les revues savantes et les ouvrages collectifs, entre le 1er décembre 2009 et le 30 novembre 2011, sont admissibles. Les auteurs sont particulièrement invités à soumettre leurs articles directement aux membres du comité de sélection ou à contacter leurs éditeurs et les responsables des revues scientifiques et leur demander de soumettre leurs articles. La date limite pour soumettre les travaux est **le 31 décembre 2011.**

Les coordonnées des membres des comités de sélection se trouvent sur le site web du groupe d'histoire politique : <http://www.chashcacommittees-comitesa.ca/phg-ghp/>

FÉLICITATIONS À NOS GAGNANTS

En 2011, le groupe d'histoire politique a remis le prix pour le meilleur ouvrage en histoire politique canadienne à Ivana Caccia pour son livre *Managing the Canadian Mosaic in Wartime : Shaping Citizenship Policy, 1939-1945* (McGill-Queen's) et à Bradley Miller pour son article «'A carnival of crime on our border': International Law, Imperial Power, and Extradition in Canada, 1865-1883», publié dans la revue *Canadian Historical Review*.

THANK YOU / REMERCIEMENTS

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