Canada in the Global Arena



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Recognizing China

Dateline: October 1970

Today, Canada has become one of the first Western nations in the world to recognize Communist China as the official representative of the Chinese people. Early next year we will exchange diplomats with the People's Republic of China. Canada has also promised to strongly support China's request to join the United Nations. Every year since 1950, the People's Republic of China has applied for membership to the United Nations. Every year, the United States has blocked the application. The US refuses to recognize a communist government as the official representative of the Chinese people. Presently, the United Nations recognizes the island nation of Taiwan as the Chinese representative. The United States has also been pressuring Canada and its other allies not to open diplomatic relations with Communist China.

The Trudeau government seems determined to take an independent role in foreign affairs. Many people feel that by recognizing the People's Republic of China, Canada is leading the Western world in a course of action that is long overdue. Canada is taking



Prime Minister Trudeau with Chinese leader Mao Zedong in 1973.

a strong stand and clearly showing its independence from the United States in foreign policy. Prime Minister Trudeau seems determined that Canada will play a distinctive role on the world stage.

Addendum: In 1971, the United Nations admitted the People's Republic of China and expelled Taiwan. In 1973, the United States officially recognized the People's Republic of China.

- 1. Why did the United States not want to recognize the People's Republic of China as the official representative of the Chinese people?
- a) Why was Canada's decision to recognize Communist China an important one?
 - b) How did this decision show a major new direction in Canada's relations with Asian nations?

New Directions in Foreign Policy

Not long after his election in 1968, Pierre Trudeau asked for a "thorough and comprehensive review" of Canada's international relations. He believed that Canada's foreign policy needed to take into account changing conditions in the rest of the world. In 1970, the Liberal government set out the main aims of its new foreign policy:

- to establish diplomatic relations with the People's Republic of China
- to increase Canada's contacts with other countries of the Pacific Rim
- to increase the amount of money Canada spent on foreign aid and development

Trudeau's visit to China in 1973 established diplomatic relations and new trade deals. How was this visit significant for Canadian-American relations?



 to make the international community more aware of Canada's status as a bilingual nation.

Trudeau and his cabinet believed there were three main benefits to this new policy. It would announce to the world that Canada directed its own international affairs and was not a blind follower of the United States. It would help Canada to establish new trading partners, which would benefit the Canadian economy. Trudeau also believed it would strengthen Canada's national unity by supporting both bilingualism and a prosperous economy. He wanted his foreign policy and domestic policy to work hand-in-hand.

Canada's recognition of the People's Republic of China was more than just a declaration of independence from the US in foreign policy. It also opened the door to trade deals with the most populous country in the world. The People's Republic of China then contained one-quarter of the world's people.

In 1973, Trudeau visited China and met with Chinese Premier Zhou Enlai. The two leaders signed several trade treaties, including a three-year deal that would allow Canada to ship \$1 billion worth of wheat to China. Trudeau also met with Mao Zedong, the former leader of the country and head of the Communist party. Mao Zedong still had considerable influence in China. Under Mao and the com-

munist government, China had established very little trade with Western countries.

After Trudeau's visit and the relations he developed with the Chinese leaders, Canada became the first Western country to have extensive trade dealings with China. Canada was also the first Western nation to sign a "family unification" treaty with China. This treaty allowed many more Chinese immigrants into Canada so that they could be reunited with family members already there. In the 1980s and 1990s, China became a major source of immigrants to Canada.

In 1978, a new Chinese leader Deng Xioaping announced an "open door" economic policy. China began actively looking for trade and investment deals with the West. It opened several "special economic zones" to encourage joint-venture projects with Western companies. Since Canada had established friendly relations with China, Canadian companies were courted to participate in these projects. China (along with the Soviet Union) became Canada's largest market for wheat exports. By the 1990s, China and Hong Kong formed Canada's third-largest export market overall, after the United States and Japan.

Canada and the Pacific

Trudeau had specific reasons for wanting to increase Canada's contacts with Pacific Rim countries. Japan, Korea, and Malaysia were developing strong economies. They would be important trading partners. Also, most of Canada's exports to Pacific Rim countries came from the four Western provinces. These exports were mainly lumber from British Columbia and wheat from the Prairie Provinces. Any increase in trade with the Pacific Rim would benefit these provinces, and perhaps ease tensions between them and Ottawa. Tensions

Immigrant Population by Place of Birth, 1970 to 1995

Country	1970	1975	1980	1985	1990	1995
China	3 397	6 235	8 965	5 166	13 971	20 935
Great Britain	23 688	29 454	16 445	3 998	6 701	4 555
United States	20 859	16 729	8 098	5 614	4.995	4 317

Source: Statistics Canada, Report on the Demographic Situation in Canada 1990: Current Demographic Analysis, Dec. 1991, Cat. No. 91-209E.

were especially high during the energy crisis, and Western provinces were expressing an increasing sense of alienation within Confederation. The federal government's policies seemed to favour economic development in Central Canada, not in the West.

Trudeau also believed that Canada should take advantage of its ringside seat on the Pacific. Most of Canada's non-US trade had traditionally been across the Atlantic Ocean with Britain and Europe. It was time for Canada to "face both ways at once," Trudeau said. His government concentrated on directing more trade across the Pacific Ocean.

Foreign Aid and Development

Since the 1950s, Canada had been providing aid to foreign nations, particularly developing countries. The Trudeau government wanted to increase the amount of aid Canada sent to countries in Africa, Asia, and South America. Trudeau spoke passionately about opening a "North-South dialogue" between the wealthy industrialized nations of Europe and North America, and less developed countries of the Southern Hemisphere.

In the 25 years
between 1970 and
1995, China overtook
both Great Britain
and the United States
as a source country
for immigrants to
Canada. Why did this
happen?



Netsurfer
Visit the web site of the
Canadian International
Development Agency (CIDA)
at: www.acdi-cida,gc.ca.

In the African country of Mali, CIDA sponsors a high school carpentry workshop through the Canadian Local Initiatives Fund.



Foreign Aid to Africa 1970-1997

	(millions of dollars)				
Year	1970	1980	1991	1996/7	
Total foreign aid	\$37.4	\$258.7	\$1 109.6	\$316	
Country receiving the largest amount	Tunisia	Egypt	Ethiopia	Egypt	
Amount received	\$7.2	\$27.8	\$70.4	\$161	

Foreign Aid to Asia 1970-1997

(millions of dollars)					
Year	1970	1980	1991	1996/7	
Total foreign aid	\$140.9	\$234.6	\$822.8	\$239.7	
Country receiving the largest amount	India	Pakistan	Bangladesh	Bangladesh	
Amount received	\$88,6	\$67.1	\$190.4	\$98	

Foreign Aid to Central and South America and the Caribbean 1970-1997

(millions of dollars)				
Year	1970	1980	1991	1996/7
Total Foreign Aid	not available	\$66.8	\$348.5	\$149.15
Country receiving the largest amount	Jamaica	Jamaica	Jamaica	Haiti
Amount received	\$2.7	\$7.8	\$42.1	\$52

Source: Canadian International Development Agency

In 1968, the government established the Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA) to coordinate all aid from government sources, religious organizations, and charities. One of CIDA's missions was to provide emergency aid and disaster relief to stricken areas of the world. In regions hit by natural disasters such as floods and earthquakes, CIDA members would distribute food and arrange for emergency shelters.

Funds were also provided for long-term development strategies. The goal was to help countries improve food production. public health, education, shelter, and energy resources. CIDA sponsored medical workers, farmers, teachers, technicians, and other advisors to help people in developing countries set up projects. The projects focused on sustainable development. In other words, they aimed to develop a country's resources while making sure that the resources were still available for future generations. Reforestation is an example of sustainable development. Under CIDA, Canada's aid to Africa, Asia, and Latin America expanded considerably.

In the same year that CIDA was formed, former Prime Minister Lester Pearson was named to head a United Nations commission on international development. In the commission's report, called Partners in Development, Pearson recommended that each of the industrial nations of the world set aside 0.70 per cent of its gross national product (GNP) for foreign aid. In other words, for every \$100 of goods and services a country produced in a year, it would save 70 cents to spend on foreign aid. Canada committed to this figure in 1970, but had a hard time matching it. By 1985, Canada was spending about 0.50 per cent of its GNP on foreign aid. This put us somewhere in the middle range of major industrial countries contributing to foreign aid.



Developing Skills: Making Predictions Based on Evidence

Historians are always trying to predict what might happen in the future, based on what happened in the past. They make hypotheses, or educated guesses, based on what they know (facts or evidence from their research). Being able to make wise predictions is an important life skill. We use this skill when we need to take an action, forecast an outcome, or design something new to fit a need.

Imagine a group of students has just done research on the introduction of the War Measures Act in 1970. The students discovered that the act gave the police the power to arrest people just on the suspicion of belonging to the FLQ. Their teacher asks them to predict what might happen as a result of the federal government's decision to invoke the War Measures Act. She encourages them to hypothesize about the outcomes based on the information they have. These are the key steps they follow.

Step 1 Brainstorm Possible Outcomes

The students brainstorm a list of possible outcomes based on what they know about the War Measures Act and the situation in Quebec and Canada in 1970.

Examples:

- Quebeckers will resent having the Canadian army "occupy" their province.
- Quebeckers may feel that Ottawa has declared war on Quebec.
- Prime Minister Trudeau will be admired in English Canada for his strong stand, but he will be despised in French Canada.
- Some people will say the federal government over-reacted to the situation.
- Quebeckers will fear that the army could be sent in again if Quebec tries to separate in the future.
- Many Canadians will be relieved that the army is protecting people and property.
- The separatist movement in Quebec will be crushed.
- The resentment in Quebec could lead to more violence or terrorism in the future.

- The separatist movement will gain more support because Quebeckers will resent this interference by the federal government.
- Canadians in all parts of the country will resent losing their civil rights.

Step 2 Consider Each Prediction

The students then consider each prediction using the categories: True, Maybe True, and Not True.

Prediction	True	Maybe True	Not True
The separatist movement in Quebec will be crushed.			1

Step 3 Research Each Prediction

Next, the students research each prediction to confirm their hypotheses. As they read more about what happened, they highlight any information that confirms or negates their predictions.

Step 4 Reflect

Finally, the students reflect on what they discovered, using these questions.

- Did we find answers to our questions?
- What questions are still unanswered?
- · How could we find answers to these questions?
- What happened that we did not predict?
- What new information did we learn?
- How accurate were our predictions?

Practise It!

In the last chapter, you wrote research essays on a number of topics. Form groups with students who researched the same topic. Together, make some predictions based on what you learned about your topic. Follow the steps outlined above. Write down your predictions and then do further research to confirm or negate your hypotheses. Periodically check back to reflect on the predictions you made.

Canada Post issued a
stamp in 1995 to
commemorate
La Francophonie's
25th anniversary.
What benefits does
Canada receive from
participating in
this international
organization?



Canadians have been divided on the subject of foreign aid. Some say that money should not be spent overseas when there are thousands of Canadians unemployed, homeless, living in poverty, or on welfare. Other Canadians believe that assisting developing countries gain self-sufficiency is a moral obligation of a wealthy nation like Canada. They also argue that there is an economic advantage. Canada develops its export markets by helping countries develop their economies.

La Francophonie

One of the Trudeau government's priorities was to make the world more aware of Canada's special nature as a bilingual country. In 1970, Canada joined an international organization called La Francophonie. La Francophonie is an association of the French-speaking countries of the world. Like the Commonwealth of Nations, it includes both developed and developing nations. Many of the member nations are former colonies of France. The goals of La Francophonie and the Commonwealth are similar. Members of La Francophonie are dedicated to helping each other through sustainable development projects. By 1998, La Francophonie had more than 40 member nations containing more than 120 million people.

While Canada is a member country of La Francophonie, the provinces of Quebec and New Brunswick are also recognized as "participating governments." This arrangement, in which a central government allows two of its provinces to participate as governments in their own right, is unique among the members of La Francophonie.

CIDA manages Canada's contributions to the developing countries of La Francophonie. Its six priority areas for this development are:

- · basic human needs
- the participation of women in the sustainable development of their societies
- infrastructure services (such as roads, bridges, and sewage systems)
- · human rights
- · democracy and good government
- · development of private business
- · protection of the environment.

At La Francophonie's 1987 summit meeting in Quebec, CIDA contributed \$17 million to development projects in countries of French-speaking Africa. At the same time, the Canadian government forgave \$25 million in loans it had made to African countries.

Changes in Defence Policy

Under Lester Pearson in the 1960s, Canada had unified its armed forces. Rather than a separate army, air force, and navy, there was one defence force under a centralized command. All troops wore the same kind of uniform. This arrangement was unique to Canada. None of our allies had a unified defence force.

Then in the 1970s, Prime Minister Trudeau made other changes in Canada's defence policy. He began to have second thoughts about Canada's role in the defence of Europe. The major nations of Europe had recovered from the effects of

World War II. At the same time, tensions in the Cold War had eased. The government was more concerned with Canada's troubled economy at home than with European defence.

Trudeau announced that Canada would withdraw 50 per cent of its ground troops from European bases. The defence budget for NATO would be frozen at \$1.8 billion until 1972, one of the lowest budgets of any NATO member. Canada's armed forces would concentrate on North American defence and the Arctic. Defence Minister Leo Cadieux announced the total strength of the armed forces would drop from 110 000 to 80 000 troops. Trudeau also declared that Canada's forces in NATO would no longer use nuclear weapons.

Leaders of Western European nations were furious over the NATO cutbacks. Trudeau realized that if he wanted to improve Canada's economic relations with these nations, he would have to re-establish our presence in NATO. The government did a total about-face and reconfirmed its NATO commitment. Defence budget spending increased between 1975 and 1977, and military equipment was updated. But Canada's contribution to NATO remains lower than many of our allies would like.

The Trudeau government also made changes to Canada's role in NORAD. In 1972, the two nuclear-armed Bomarc missile bases in Ontario and Quebec were dismantled. Some critics urged that Canada abandon NORAD altogether. This brought an outcry from the United States, Many Americans felt Canada was taking advantage of US defence while giving nothing in return. After 1975, the Canadian government reconfirmed its commitment to NORAD. But the government continued to rid Canada of nuclear arms. In 1984, Canada gave up its last nuclear weapons.



Canadian troops during a NATO training exercise in the 1970s.

Trudeau had another objective in mind with the armed forces. He believed that Canada's armed forces needed a greater representation of French-Canadian soldiers throughout the ranks, especially at the higher levels. Recruiting and promotion policies focused more on selecting qualified French Canadians. The Ministry of Defence also set up more intensive language training classes. Over the 1970s, the armed forces became more bilingual.

Promoting Peace

In the 1970s, Canada continued its commitment to peacekeeping throughout the world. Some of the missions Canadian peacekeepers participated in included the following.

 Canadian troops served in the Kashmir region of India and Pakistan in 1949 as part of a UN force. They continued their mission of monitoring peace until 1979, and were present during the 1971 revolt of East Pakistan against West Pakistani rule. This revolt resulted in the creation of an independent Bangladesh in 1974.

- In 1954, Canada had sent 133 peacekeeping observers to Indochina after the war between France and Viet Minh. The Canadian observers worked in Laos and Cambodia until 1969, and then in Vietnam until March 1973.
- The Yom Kippur War of 1973 brought Canadian peacekeeping forces to the Middle East. They were part of a United Nations Emergency Force helping to maintain peace between Egypt and Israel after the war. They supervised a buffer zone until 1979, when Egypt and Israel signed a peace treaty.

Other peace initiatives brought the Trudeau government into head-to-head conflict with the United States. Between 1954 and 1975, the Vietnam War was raging and the United States was heavily involved on the side of the South. But the war had dragged on for years at tremendous cost in lives and property in Vietnam. The Trudeau government angered many Americans

A model of Canada's
Alouette satellite
launched in 1962. It
was the beginning of
Canada's major
contribution to space
exploration and
research.



with a motion in Parliament in 1973 condemning the continuation of the war. Shortly afterward Canada agreed to participate in a control commission, which helped protect American soldiers withdrawing from the country. Just after they withdrew, South Vietnam fell to the North.

In 1976, Prime Minister Trudeau toured South America and visited the communist leader of Cuba, Fidel Castro. The United States strongly opposed this move. At a press conference in 1983, Trudeau condemned the US alliance with other "client states" in the region, such as Chile, El Salvador, and Guatemala. These states tolerated extreme human rights abuses.

In 1983, the Trudeau government became embroiled in an international incident that stirred up tensions from the Cold War. In August 1983, a Korean airliner entered Soviet airspace and was shot down by Soviet forces. The reaction of some Americans to this act was extreme and militant, and tension between the US and Soviet governments ran high. Since the US and the Soviet Union both had nuclear weapons, the prospect of a war was frightening. Trudeau's response was to propose a peace plan, which included banning nuclear and high-altitude weapons tests. Trudeau struggled to find support for his initiative, travelling to several Western capitals, Moscow, and Beijing. He failed, however, largely because the US government resented his independent stance.

Advances in Space Technology

In 1957, the Soviet Union launched the world's first satellite into space—Sputnik. A year later, the United States sent the Explorer 1 satellite into orbit. The space race was on. In 1962, Canada became only the third nation in the world to have



A The Technological Edge

CANADARM

Over the past 25 years, pictures of space missions flashed to earth have often included a long, white robotic arm. On the side of this space arm was a Canadian flag. This is Canadarm. Canadarm has become a symbol of pride for many Canadians. It is an example of Canada's prime achievement in space research and technology.

The story of Canadarm began in 1975. In that year, Canada agreed to participate in the United States' space shuttle program. The space shuttle is a very large spacecraft that is launched like a rocket, but returns to earth and lands much like an airplane. The National Research Council (NRC) in Ottawa supervised the project to develop a "remote manipulator system" or robotic arm. The Canadarm would allow astronauts in the shuttle to perform key tasks outside the spacecraft. Canadarm is able to lift satellites out of the shuttle's cargo hold and set them in orbit. It is also used to retrieve and repair satellites, and to do maintenance work on the shuttle itself. Canadarm was built by Spar Aerospace in Toronto.

Designing and building this huge robotic device took six years. Canadarm is actually designed like a gigantic human arm. It has joints at the "shoulder," where it is attached to the space shuttle. It also has joints at the "elbow" and "wrist." Three "fingers" of heavy wire allow the arm to grasp or snag the different objects it manipulates. Canadarm's "eyes" are video cameras attached to its elbow and wrist, and its "brain" is a computer inside the shuttle. Astronauts control the Canadarm from inside the shuttle at a control panel.

In 1981, Canadarm went on its first test ride aboard the space shuttle Columbia. It performed even better than NRC scientists had expected. After two more test runs, Canadarm was declared fully operational. By 1998, it had flown more than 50



The Canadarm, as first seen through the cabin window of the space shuttle Columbia in November 1981.

missions. Canada has sold four Canadarms to NASA. In the future, the Space Station Remote Manipulator System (SSRMS), a new generation Canadarm, will play an important role in helping to build the first International Space Station.

- 1. In 1999, Spar Aerospace sold its robotics division to an American company, Macdonald Douglas. This means that Canadarm is no longer manufactured in Canada. State your opinion of this sale. What effects do you think it will have?
- 2. Many people saw Canadarm as an important symbol of Canada. Do you agree? Do you think Canadarm will continue to be an important Canadian symbol? Support your answer.

a satellite in orbit. It was *Alouette 1*, launched on a NASA rocket. *Alouette* was a scientific satellite designed to conduct experiments on the earth's atmosphere. Over the next nine years, Canada and NASA (the United States' space agency) cooperated to launch three more Canadian satellites. The satellites were designed and built at a research facility in Ottawa, which later became part of the Canadian Space Agency.

In 1969, space scientist John Chapman was asked to chair a government study on Canada's space program. Chapman had played a major role in the success of the Alouette satellites. The study's report signalled a major change in Canada's space research program. Instead of concentrating on satellites that performed scientific experiments, scientists would explore the commercial possibilities of satellites, especially in the field of telecommunications. Telecommunications is the electronic transfer of information over long distances. Telephones, radio, and television broadcasting are all examples of telecommunications.

In 1969, the government formed **Telesat Canada**. Telesat's mission—to set up Canada's own satellite communications system—was a good example of the way Canada's geography can shape its national policies. Canada is a country with vast distances and a widely scattered population. It also has extremes of climate and widely different landforms, varying from mountains to prairies to arctic tundra. Land-based communications, such as telephone and microwave systems, cannot always reach Canada's remoter regions. If they can reach these areas, the costs are often very high.

A communications satellite, on the other hand, can service a vast area from a single location in space. A satellite is not what communications specialists call distance sensitive. Satellites are also ideal to help monitor and predict weather conditions—another advantage in Canada, where violent storms can do a great deal of damage to life and property.

By 1973, Canada had become the first country in the world to have its own satellite communications system. The system was based on the *Anik* series of communications satellites. The first *Anik* satellites were built in the US, but they used parts and research supplied by Canadian firms such as Northern Telecom and Spar Aerospace. Later *Anik* satellites were built entirely in Canada. All of these satellites carried channels for radio, television, and telephones.

Telesat also developed an experimental line of *Hermes* satellites in cooperation with NASA and the European Space Research Association. The *Hermes* satellite launched in 1976 was even more powerful than the *Anik* models. *Hermes* was the forerunner of direct-to-home satellite television broadcasting. These satellites also led to other new applications, such as search and rescue of ships and planes in distress and remote sensing technology. This technology allowed scientists to monitor Canada's natural resources and draw highly detailed and accurate topographical maps.

After *Hermes*, Canada's aerospace industry became deeply involved with research in robotics. The greatest achievement in this field was the Canadarm. Over the 1970s and early 1980s, Canada established its reputation as a world leader in space technology. By 1997, the Canadian space industry employed more than 5300 people and had annual revenues of more than \$1.25 billion.



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IMPACT ON SOCIETY

THE INUIT BROADCASTING CORPORATION

After Canada launched its first *Hermes* satellite into space in 1976, the federal government set up a number of experimental groups. Their task was to find out if *Hermes* satellites could be used in **interactive broadcasting**. In other words, could the satellites both send and receive different kinds of broadcasting signals—telephone and radio signals, for example?

One government group established the Inukshuk project in northern Quebec. (Inukshuk is an Inuit word for the stone figures used as landmarks to guide travellers in the North.) The lnukshuk project set up the first radio broadcasting system among Canada's Inuit. The project involved eight communities in northern Quebec. People called in questions and comments to the radio station in one of the communities. The station broadcast the calls to other residents. These people then phoned in their replies, which went out over the radio to the original caller. All the signals for the telephones and the radio system were relayed by satellite. Since the announcers were Inuit and spoke Inuktitut, the programs soon became very popular with local communities.

After the launch of the *Anik B* satellite in 1978, the government funded similar experiments for television broadcasting systems in northern Quebec and the Northwest Territories. The success of all these projects proved that satellite communications systems were ideal for Canada's North, where small communities are separated by great distances. Messages that once took days to travel between these communities by snowmobile or airplane now arrived almost instantly.



An announcer for the Inuit Broadcasting Corporation.

But Inukshuk was still only an experiment. The government had only provided enough funds for a certain amount of time. Inuit leaders began to press Ottawa to fund a permanent broadcasting system in the North.

In 1981, the government established the Inuit Broadcasting Corporation (IBC). The IBC broadcast its first television programs in 1982 on CBC North. From the beginning, the broadcasts included programs on health, education, and Inuit culture. With more than five hours of programs in Inuktitut every week, IBC has helped reinforce the sense of a shared and vital culture among the Inuit. Also, since in traditional Inuit society most important decisions are reached through consensus and after long discussion, the IBC has played an important role in political developments in the North. It helped develop awareness of issues surrounding self-government, and it helped relay Inuit concerns to Ottawa. The IBC was an important part of the negotiations that led to the new territory of Nunavut.

- 1. How did interactive broadcasting benefit northern Inuit communities?
- Do further research on the Hermes experimental satellites. Present a short report including diagrams or models if possible.

The Rise and Fall of Nuclear Energy

Canada has also been at the forefront of developments in nuclear power. In 1945 at Chalk River, Ontario, the world's second nuclear reactor went into operation. It was a cooperative project started during World War II between Canada, the US, and Great Britain to produce plutonium for nuclear weapons. After the war, the Chalk River reactor became part of a research facility focusing on peaceful uses of nuclear power. In the 1950s, Canada first began to use nuclear reactors to generate electricity.

In a nuclear power plant, atomic fission (or splitting of the atom) produces intense heat. This heat is used to turn water into steam. Pressure from the steam turns a turbine that drives a generator, and this produces electricity. Canada has a special advantage in developing nuclear power—it mines more high-grade uranium than any other country in the world. Uranium is the radioactive mineral used in nuclear fission.

Why was there this focus on nuclear power? As a northern nation, Canada has long, cold winters with short days. Canadians need more electrical power for heat and light than people in many other countries need. Vast distances between major cities also mean that Canadians use a great deal of fuel for transportation. Canada's economy is based to a large extent on extracting and processing its natural resources. This too consumes great amounts of energy. As Canada's economy grew and developed after World War II, the government was determined to develop new sources of energy.

In 1952, the Canadian government created a Crown corporation called Atomic Energy Canada Ltd. (AECL). Scientists at AECL worked closely with Ontario Hydro to design and build a reliable reactor. In 1967, they produced the first CANDU reactor. Many experts believed it was the finest reactor ever designed. CANDU stood for "Canada Deuterium Uranium." This name meant that the reactor used natural uranium as its fuel, and heavy water (containing deuterium, a heavy hydrogen molecule) as the coolant that kept the reactor from overheating. CANDU's greatest advantage over other reactors was that it could be refueled while still operating. No power generation was lost due to reactor "down time." The first CANDU reactor began operating in Ontario in 1967.

CANDU reactors were built not only for Canada. They were also sold to other countries, especially developing countries that desperately needed a cheap, clean, and reliable source of electrical power. Canada has sold one CANDU reactor each to Pakistan, Argentina, and Romania; two to India; and four to South Korea.

In the 1970s, the oil crisis sparked even more interest in nuclear power. A large number of nuclear power plants were built in the 1970s, most of them in Ontario. When it was cheap, oil was the logical choice to fuel electrical generators. But as prices skyrocketed, governments searched desperately for a less expensive energy source. Nuclear power seemed like an ideal candidate. Once the plants were built, they were relatively inexpensive to keep up. One nuclear fuel "bundle" weighing 22 kg could supply as much energy as 2000 barrels of oil. A typical CANDU reactor contained hundreds of these fuel bundles.

The largest nuclear facility in the world opened at Pickering, Ontario, in 1972. By 1980, reactors were supplying 38 per cent of Ontario's electrical needs. At the height of its use in Ontario, nuclear power supplied about 60 per cent of the province's electricity. Across Canada, approximately

17 per cent of the country's electricity came from nuclear generating stations.

But using nuclear energy to produce electricity has always been extremely controversial. Anti-nuclear activists argue that:

- atomic fission is dangerous. Human error or structural flaws in a plant can cause a meltdown of the reactor's core. The resulting explosion could kill thousands of people. It could also contaminate air and water supplies, killing thousands more people over the following years.
- there is no safe way to dispose of spent fuel bundles, which remain radioactive for hundreds of years. Fuel bundles are stored for a time in huge tanks of water that act as a coolant for the heat generated by the radioactivity. Once the radioactivity has dissipated somewhat, the bundles are often shipped for underground storage. Even transporting spent fuel from one site to another presents a threat to public safety.
- nuclear power plants discharge radioactive water into surrounding bodies of water and also contaminate ground water supplies. There have been documented cases where radioactive water escaped into the drinking-water supplies of surrounding communities.
- unscrupulous governments might use the uranium and heavy water in a CANDU reactor to manufacture nuclear weapons. Although no such use has ever been proven, India did explode its first nuclear device in 1974, some time after obtaining two CANDU reactors. The Canadian government immediately cut off exports of nuclear technology to India, a ban that is still in effect today.

On the other hand, people who support nuclear power say that:

 every form of electrical generation leads to some sort of pollution. Nuclear



power plants do not contribute to global warming because they do not send greenhouse gases into the atmosphere as coal- and oil-fired plants do. Nuclear advocates estimate that CANDU reactors in Canada have prevented more than 830 million tonnes of greenhouse gases and 80 million tonnes of coal ash from entering the earth's atmosphere.

- nuclear power is cheaper than power from coal and oil sources. In 1994, Ontario Hydro estimated that nuclear power was 35 per cent cheaper than power generated from oil or coal.
- since atomic fission produces much more energy with fewer resources, nuclear power plants use up less of the earth's natural resources.

Throughout most of the 1970s, people seemed about evenly divided over the pros and cons of nuclear power stations. But an event in 1979 shocked the world and sent many people into the antinuclear camp. On 28 March 1979, an accident occurred at the Three Mile Island nuclear plant in the United States. The plant was located on the Susquehanna River in Pennsylvania. A reactor overheated and started leaking radioactive water.

Authorities feared for a time that there might be a core meltdown and an explo-

The nuclear power plant at Pickering, Ontario, opened in 1972. Why has nuclear power sparked debate in Canada?

FAST FORWARD

In 1997, a report by independent investigators rated safety and maintenance procedures at Ontario Hydro's 19 nuclear reactors as only "minimally acceptable." The report forced the president of Ontario Hydro to resign and led to the shutting down of seven reactors. Because it would cost billions of dollars to bring the closed plants up to acceptable operating standards, analysts doubt they will ever be re-opened. In an outraged editorial, the Ottawa Citizen compared Ontario Hydro's management to the bungling cartoon character Homer Simpson. One environmental activist said the shutting down of the seven plants marked "the beginning of the end for nuclear power in Canada."

sion. In the end, enough coolant water was pumped back into the reactor to avoid an explosion, but in the meantime thousands of people in nearby communities were evacuated. The world held its breath while technicians struggled to contain the damage. For the first time, people became aware of the serious threat a melt-down in a nuclear power plant could pose. Three Mile Island put an end to the building boom in nuclear power plants.

The Coming of Computers

The first working computers were developed during World War II, originally by the German army and then by the military in Great Britain and the United States. These early computers were actually calculating machines used to decipher secret codes.

After the war, the US military continued research into applying computer technology to communications systems. During the 1960s, scientists searched for a way of linking computers across the country with telecommunications systems. The military hoped to build a communications system that could withstand a nuclear attack. If one part of the system was knocked out by a bomb, the other parts should be able to bypass it and continue communicating. This research eventually led to the system we know today as the Internet.

The earliest computers were large and cumbersome machines. Writers David Godfrey and Douglas Parkhill described them in the book *Gutenberg Two:*

Early computers cost millions of dollars, consumed many kilowatts of power, required large rooms with special cooling equipment to house them, and were notoriously unreliable. Hardly the sort of beast one would invite into one's home.

In 1973, the first **microcomputer** appeared. It was made possible by the invention of the microchip—a tiny wafer of semiconducting material used to make integrated circuits. The computer revolution was underway, but it was not until the late 1980s that microcomputers became widespread and began to appear in shops and businesses across the country.

Canadian Applications

During the 1960s and 1970s, most of the computer hardware used in Canada was developed in the US. Canada's contributions to computer technology were mainly in the development of software, or operating programs, especially in the field of computer animation.

In 1974, the National Film Board of Canada produced the first computer-animated film in the world to use character animation. *Hunger/La Faim* was nominated

for an Academy Award and won the prestigious *Prix du jury* at the Cannes Film Festival in France. In making *Hunger/La Faim*, NFB animators used a process developed at the National Research Council's software engineering laboratory. This process allowed the animators to combine hand-drawn images with computerized geometric shapes. After the success of *Hunger/La Faim*, research groups on computer graphics were set up at several Canadian universities. Eventually, most Canadian universities began to offer programs in computer graphics.

Canadian graduates of these programs have gone on to work in the fields of software design and computer animation. Software designers at the Canadian company Corel designed the CorelDraw program that is used around the world. Canadian animator Bill Reaves was one of the principal animators for the Hollywood film *Toy Story*.

During the 1970s, Canada's Department of Communications developed the

Telidon system. This was a combination of television, computer, and telephone systems. It allowed subscribers to find information in centralized databanks, Telidon never became as widely accepted as the federal government hoped it would, but there were some successful applications. One was called Grassroots, which allowed farmers in Manitoba to exchange information on weather, new seed varieties, fertilizing techniques, and other agricultural matters. The Telidon system never caught on with the general public, however. Once personal computers became more common in the 1980s and 1990s, people were able to gain wider access to information through the Internet than through Telidon.

There were other astounding technological developments during the 1970s. Hand-held calculators came into widespread use. The early 1980s saw the introduction of automatic teller machines in Canada. All of these advances signalled that the Information Age was here.



Canadian animator Bill Reaves was one of the driving forces behind the successful Hollywood film Toy Story.

Activities

Understand Facts and Concepts

telecommunications

1. Add these new terms to your Factfile.

Pacific Rim
Canadian International Development
Agency (CIDA)
sustainable development
La Francophonie
Alouette 1

Telesat Canada interactive broadcasting Inukshuk project Canadarm CANDU reactor microcomputer Telidon system

- 2. What were some of the economic results of Canada's friendly relations with China?
- 3. What did Prime Minister Trudeau mean when he called for a "North-South dialogue"?
- 4. a) Why did the federal government attempt to reduce Canada's involvement in NATO and NORAD?
 - b) Why did this policy change?
- 5. Explain in your own words why satellite communications systems are particularly suitable for use in Canada's North.
- 6. What is the main advantage of the CANDU over other types of nuclear reactors?

Think and Communicate

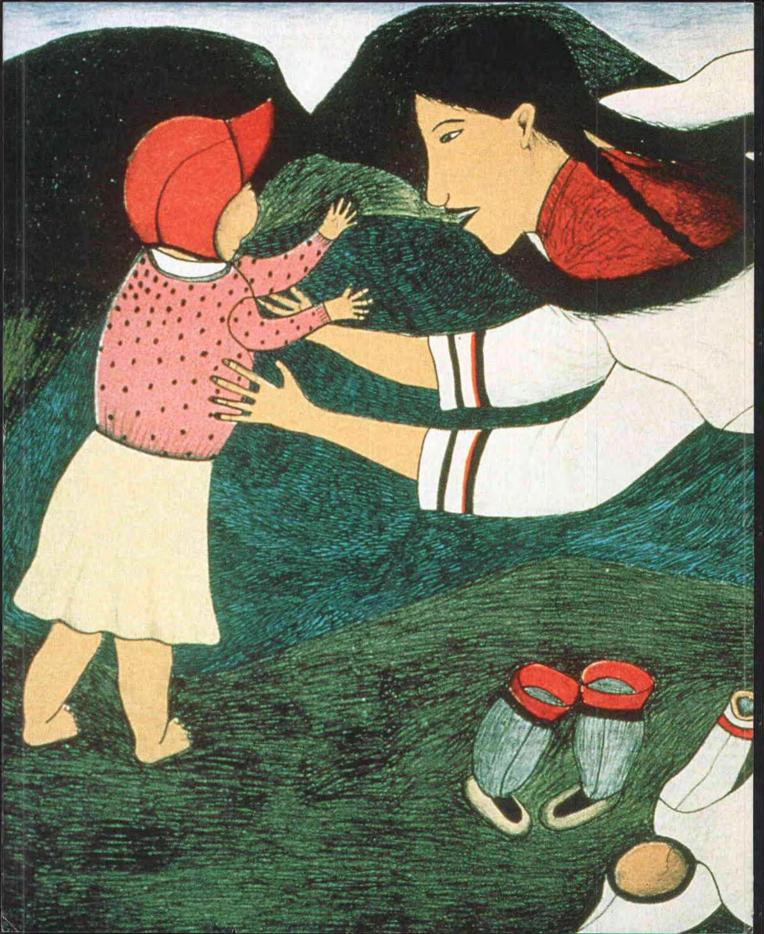
- a) Create a mind map outlining the major initiatives in the Trudeau government's foreign policy.
 - b) Trudeau's domestic policy during the 1970s was to improve the economy and to better the relations between English and French Canada. In what ways did his foreign policy support these goals? Indicate these connections on your mind map.
 - c) In what ways did Trudeau attempt to assert Canada's independence from the United States in foreign policy? Devise a way to show this information on your mind map.
- 8. Debate one of the following statements:
 - a) "Foreign aid should benefit Canada as well as the country receiving the aid."
 - b) "Nuclear power plants in Canada should be shut down."
- Using this textbook and other sources, create a timeline outlining Canada's involvement in developing space technology, especially in the field of satellite communications. Illustrate your timeline.
- Using a map of Canada, indicate the characteristics that make Canada a country especially well suited to satellite telecommunications, rather than land-based communications systems.

- 11. Investigate an aspect of computer technology during the 1970s. Consider the following topics.
 - a) Design and uses of the earliest computers.
 - b) Computer animation—what is it and how is it done?
 - c) The microcomputer—when was it invented and how did it revolutionize the use of computers?

Write a research report on a topic of your choice.

Apply Your Knowledge

- 12. a) Visit the web site of the Canadian Space Agency (www.space.gc.ca). Explore the different windows of information and take notes on what you discover. Then design a field trip through the site for your classmates. Outline the trip step-by-step. Focus on windows you think your classmates will find most interesting. Include 10 questions for students to answer as they go through the trip.
 - b) Follow up by designing an evaluation sheet to ask your classmates what they thought of your field trip.
- 13. Visit the web site of the Canadian International Development Agency (www.acdicida.gc.ca). Investigate the youth internship program. Design a brochure on the program that answers a number of key questions. Examples could include: What is the Youth Internship Program? What are its goals?, etc.
- 14. Scan a computer news database for recent articles on nuclear power in Canada. Locate five articles and read them carefully. Write a short summary of the articles and include an analysis giving your viewpoint on the issues.





TOWARD THE NEW MILLENNIUM

1983-2000

his unit is different from every other in one very important way. The final two decades of the twentieth century cover the period when you were born and began participating in the history of Canada. Events in this unit have touched you directly and have affected your idea of what it means to be Canadian.

If you had to draw up a list of important events in your lifetime, what would it include? For many people, the night of 30 October 1995 would be at the top of the list. On that historic night, Quebec came within a hair's breadth of separating from the rest of Canada.

Another date at the top of many lists would be 1 April 1999. On that date, Nunavut officially became a new territory of Canada. It is the first province or territory in Canada whose government is controlled by Aboriginal peoples.

There are many other highlights you could list—developments in the women's movement, in Canada's world role, in Canada'n-American relations, in technology, in Canada's growing ethnocultural diversity, and in culture. There is also one unique challenge you face that no generation before you has faced in quite the same way—globalization. This unit focuses on some of the major changes this trend has brought to the lives of Canadians.

- 1. The artwork is a print called My Daughter's First Steps by Inuit artist Napatchie Pootoogook from Cape Dorset. Which pieces of clothing are traditional? Which are modern? What does this tell you about how life is changing for Inuit in the North?
- Locate Cape Dorset on a map. What territory is it in? What do you know about this territory?
- 3. What image of the future does this artwork present?





Strands & Topics

Communities: Local, National, and Global

Canadian Identity

- Canada becomes one of the most ethnoculturally and racially diverse countries in the world
- · new territory of Nunavut is inaugurated in 1999
- · Canadian writers, singers, and filmmakers collect a multitude of international awards



External Forces Shaping Canada's Policies

- · political and economic crises in different parts of the world affect immigration patterns to Canada
- · globalization leads to Free Trade Agreement, North American Free Trade Agreement, and Canadian participation in other global organizations
- · conflicts arise with US over splitrun magazines and "salmon wars"



French-English Relations

- · Meech Lake and Charlottetown accords are defeated
- · Quebec's language law is revised after Supreme Court finds parts of it unconstitutional
- · 1995 Quebec referendum narrowly defeats separation
- · francophone communities outside Quebec assert their rights



War, Peace, and Security

- · Canada remains actively involved in peacekeeping and peacemaking missions around the world
- · Canada participates in the Gulf War in 1990
- · Louise Arbour serves as chief prosecutor for the UN Tribunal on War Crimes

Change and Continuity



Population Patterns

· majority of immigrants to Canada come from Asia, the Caribbean, Latin America, and Africa



Impact of Science and Technology

- · advances in computers and other communications technology change the Canadian workplace
- · Canada participates in the space program and in the building of the International Space Station
- the Internet has a major impact on business and everyday life



Canada's International Status and Foreign Policy

- · Canada leads the world-wide movement to ban land mines
- · Canada continues its active involvement in human rights

Citizenship and Heritage



Social and Political Movements

- · conflicts at Oka and Ipperwash bring international attention to the rights of Aboriginal nations
- · major land claims and self-government settlements are made with Aboriginal nations
- · women achieve a higher profile in politics and business, but still deal with the "glass ceiling"
- · labour issues centre around job losses due to technological changes and global competition



Contributions of Individuals

· Adrienne Clarkson, Louise Arbour, and Beverley McLachlin gain prominent leadership positions

- · David See-Chai Lam becomes the first Asian Canadian to be appointed a lieutenant governor
- Craig Kielburger leads a crusade for children's rights
- · writers and artists such as Michael Ondaatje, Susan Aglukark, and Deborah Cox gain international recognition
- · Brian Mulroney, Kim Campbell, Jean Chrétien, Lucien Bouchard, Paul Okalik, and Phil Fontaine are among key political leaders

Social, Economic, and **Political Structures**



The Economy

- Free Trade Agreement and NAFTA are signed
- · possibility of a common currency between Canada and the United States is raised



The Changing Role of Government

- · rise of Reform party and Bloc Ouébécois
- Liberals register the first balanced budget in almost 30 years
- · Inuit gain a form of self-government in new territory of Nunavut
- · government takes action against US split-run magazines

Methods of Historical Inquiry



Skill Development

- · keeping up with the news
- · sampling public opinion
- · analyzing a current issue

Activities

· pp. 462-465, 493-496, 521-523

Expectations

At the end of this unit, you will be able to:

- describe the crises in relations between Quebec and the rest of Canada
- · assess the achievements of francophone communities outside Ouebec
- account for immigration patterns over the 1980s and 1990s and compare them to past patterns
- analyze the effects of technological advances on the Canadian workplace
- · evaluate the trends in Canadian-American relations
- appreciate the achievements of Aboriginal nations in the political, legal, and artistic spheres
- · assess the advances in the women's movement
- · analyze the importance of globalization to Canada's economy and culture
- · evaluate Canada's role in international peacekeeping, peacemaking, and advocating human rights
- · appreciate the contributions of various ethnocultural and racial groups and individuals
- · evaluate the role of government in domestic and international affairs
- apply analytical skills to reading a newspaper
- · analyze public opinion polls
- evaluate a current issue



A Nation of Diversity and Change

Mountie Image Sold to Disney

In June 1995, newspapers across the country announced the surprising news. The Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP) had sold the Mountie image to the Disney Corporation. The five-year licensing deal gave the American company the exclusive right to reproduce the Mountie image on items such as toys, T-shirts, coffee mugs, dolls, and watches.



What does this cartoon suggest about the sale of the Mountie image?

Why had Canada's national police force chosen an American company to market its image? Would the Mountie image now be associated with cartoon characters such as Mickey Mouse, Donald Duck, and Goofy? Wouldn't this marketing deal between Disney and the RCMP cheapen the image of the Mounties? Many Canadians feared that the deal might make one of Canada's national symbols an object of ridicule.

Speakers for the Mounties replied quickly. They pointed out that the RCMP had considered several Canadian companies, but in

the end "Disney seemed the most competent." They said the Mounties were tired of the inaccurate ways they were portrayed by souvenir and toy companies. Only a large, multinational corporation such as Disney could guarantee that the Mountie image would be reproduced accurately. The RCMP also stated that it would take the approximately \$5 million in

licensing fees it received every year and invest the money in Block Parent and drug prevention programs. Spin-off deals would create more jobs for Canadians and pump more money into the economy.

These arguments did not convince everyone. Canadian Senator David Tkachuk replied he could not believe it was impossible for a Canadian firm to handle the job. "We market coins from the Canadian mint, we market stamps throughout the world," he said. "We have a fairly dignified way of marketing these products." Other critics pointed out that Disney did not seem to have a strong commitment to Canada. The company's Canadian branch employed only 45 people. Disney representatives could not explain exactly how the new deal would create more jobs in Canada.

In the end, the real issue seemed to be Disney's track record as a successful global marketer. "Disney markets throughout the world," said one Mountie speaker. "And we hope that the Mounted Police image will also market across the whole world." From the RCMP's point of view, it did not matter whether Disney was Canadian or American. What mattered was that people in China, India, Russia, and the rest of the world recognized Disney and Disney characters. All over the world, **globalization** of the economy was breaking down national borders. Was it also creating a common culture?

- 1. Should we be Canadians first and citizens of the world second? Or should it be the other way around?
- 2. Globalization refers to the idea that the world is becoming one large community with interconnected needs and services. How is the globalization of the economy affecting the way Canadians view themselves?

Addendum: In 1999, the RCMP announced it would not extend its contract with the Disney Corporation.



Over the last 20 years of the twentieth century, both external and internal forces were changing Canada's identity. The global economy is an example of an external or outside force. Inside the country, French-English relations, federal-provincial relations, and immigration were other factors creating changes in Canada's identity.

When the constitution was brought home from Britain in 1982, Quebec was the only province that refused to sign. This created a problem that governments spent the rest of the century trying to fix. By the mid-1980s, new leaders had come into the political arena to tackle the issue.

In 1984, Pierre Trudeau decided to resign as Prime Minister and return to private life in Montreal. At the Liberal party convention, delegates elected John Turner as leader. The Conservative party had also changed its leader. Joe Clark had been replaced in a bitterly contested leadership convention by Brian Mulroney, a bilingual Quebecker from Baie-Comeau. When an election was called in 1984, the stage was set for Canadians to choose between two new leaders.

With 95 seats, Quebec held the key to an election victory for the Conservatives.

With a native-born Quebecker as its leader, it looked as if the Conservative party might stand a chance of winning in Quebec. On election day, the Conservatives won an overwhelming majority with 211 seats, the largest electoral victory in Canadian history. The Liberals, led by Turner, won only 40 seats. The New Democratic Party, led by Ed Broadbent, won 30 seats.

The following year in Quebec, René Lévesque resigned as leader of the Parti Québécois. In the December 1985 Quebec election, new PQ leader Pierre-Marc Johnson was defeated by Robert Bourassa and the Liberals. With new leaders in Canada and Quebec, the issue of Quebec's place in Confederation seemed open for discussion once again.

Meech Lake Accord, 1987

When he came to power in 1984, Brian Mulroney vowed to end the bitterness

Elijah Harper holds an eagle feather for spiritual strength as he blocks passage of the Meech Lake Accord in the Manitoba Legislature, Why did Aboriginal nations oppose the accord?



between Quebec and the rest of Canada over the constitution. He gathered the premiers to a meeting at Meech Lake, Quebec, in 1987. At this meeting, Mulroney and the premiers hammered out a new constitutional agreement that became known as the **Meech Lake Accord**.

The major changes proposed by the accord were:

- Quebec was to be recognized as a "distinct society" within Canada
- provinces would be allowed to opt out of any new federal programs and still receive money from Ottawa for their own matching programs
- provinces would be given a say in the appointment of Supreme Court justices and senators; three of the nine Supreme Court judges would be from Quebec
- future changes to federal institutions, such as the Senate or the Supreme Court, or the creation of new provinces would require agreement by Ottawa and all 10 provinces
- Quebec would control its own immigration policy.

The federal government and each province had to approve the Meech Lake Accord within three years, by 23 June 1990, or the agreement was dead.

When the details of the Meech Lake Accord were made public, former prime minister Trudeau broke his political silence to denounce the agreement. Trudeau argued that the proposal gave far too much power to the provinces, particularly Quebec. He warned that it would result in a powerless federal government. Many Canadians agreed. Women's groups had also not been consulted about the provisions in the accord. The National Action Committee on the Status of Women (NAC) was concerned that the revisions might overrule the equality rights they had gained in the Charter of Rights and Freedoms.

The provinces of Manitoba, New Brunswick, and Newfoundland and Labrador had elected new governments after 1987. Their premiers had not been at the Meech Lake talks, and they wanted further changes made to the accord. As time was running out, Manitoba and Newfoundland and Labrador had still not ratified the agreement.

The accord had ignored the rights of Aboriginal nations, and they too were determined that it would not pass without including them. Manitoba was one of the provinces that had not yet ratified the agreement. At the last moment, Elijah Harper, an Aboriginal member of the Manitoba Legislature, prevented the legislature from debating and voting on the issue. His objection was that the accord did not provide special status for Aboriginal nations as it did for Quebec. On 23 June 1990, time ran out for the Meech Lake Accord.

The Charlottetown Accord, 1992

Many Quebeckers interpreted the defeat of the Meech Lake Accord as a rejection of Quebec by the rest of Canada. Quebec polls in 1991 showed that two-thirds of Quebeckers now favoured independence. Premier Bourassa decided to put forward Quebec's proposals for constitutional change. If the rest of Canada did not accept Quebec's proposals, or come up with acceptable counter-proposals, a referendum on independence would be held in October 1992.

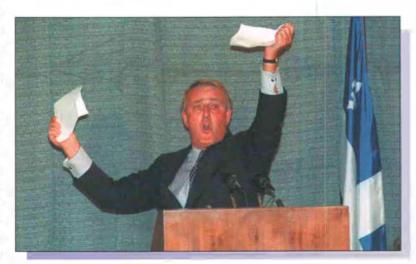
Prime Minister Mulroney believed that the federal government and the provinces had to come up with a proposal acceptable to Quebec. This time the government would open the debate to the public. Many people felt they had not been consulted about changes to their constitution during the Meech Lake discussions. A Citizen's Forum on Canada's

Future was formed. It organized hearings throughout the country to listen to the suggestions and complaints of thousands of Canadians. Mulroney appointed former Prime Minister Joe Clark to head a committee on constitutional reform.

It was not an easy task. Clark had to turn around anti-Quebec feelings among many English-speaking Canadians in the rest of the country. At the same time, he had to offer Quebec a deal more appealing than independence. Said Clark, "There is nothing automatic about this country. Canada was not here at the beginning of the last century. There is no logic that says it must be here at the beginning of the next. We have to work to keep it. We always have."

After months of intense work, the premiers of all the provinces except Quebec, Aboriginal leaders, and the prime minister met at Charlottetown. The site was symbolic because the Fathers of Confederation had met there in 1864. This time another group of politicians agreed to the **Charlottetown Accord** on 28 August 1992. It included proposals for:

 Quebec. Quebec would be recognized as a distinct society with its own language, culture, and civil law tradition. Prime Minister
Mulroney ripping a
sheet of paper
during a speech in
Sherbrooke, Quebec.
He was suggesting
that a "No" vote in the
Charlottetown Accord
referendum would
tear apart Quebec
society.



Language Law in Quebec

In its original form, Bill 101 allowed for French only on outdoor commercial signs in Quebec. On this sign, English words have been erased to conform to the language law.



In 1977, Quebec had passed Bill 101, the "Charter of the French Language." Since that time, there have been a number of challenges to the bill and it has been revised several times. Quebec's Charter of the French Language has stirred debate for more than 20 years, and it looks as if it will continue to do so for years to come. The following timeline outlines some of the highlights in the history of this controversial law.

- 1974 The province of Quebec recognizes French as its only official language.
- 1977 Quebec passes Bill 101, also known as the "Charter of the French Language." The bill makes education in the French language compulsory for all immigrants, including those from other provinces in Canada. It also makes the use of a language other than French on public commercial (store and business) signs illegal.
- 1982 Quebec Association of Protestant School Boards sues the Quebec government on the grounds that Bill 101 violates the Charter of Rights and Freedoms. The Charter guarantees that children can be educated either in English or French wherever numbers warrant.
- 1984 Supreme Court of Canada declares unconstitutional the section of Bill 101 that limits English-language instruction in Quebec schools. As a result, children who have been taught in English elementary schools elsewhere in Canada can receive English-language instruction in Quebec.
- 1988 Supreme Court of Canada declares unconstitutional the section of Bill 101 that says outdoor commercial signs have to be in French only. Quebec nationalists are outraged by what they see as the court's interference in Quebec's internal affairs.

Bourassa's Liberals pass Bill 178. This new bill allows bilingual signs inside stores, but still bans the use of any language other than French on outdoor signs. To do this legally, Bourassa has to invoke the "notwithstanding clause" in the Charter of Rights and Freedoms. This clause allows provinces to override a Supreme Court ruling based on certain sections in the Charter.

Many English-speaking Canadians are upset by Bourassa's use of the notwithstanding clause. The later defeat of the Meech Lake Accord in 1990 is blamed partly on Bourassa's action.

Gordon McIntyre, a funeral parlour operator in Huntington, Quebec, files a complaint on Bill 178 with the UN Human Rights Committee.

- The UN condemns Bill 178, stating that it violates accepted global standards of freedom of expression.

 The UN finding also says that the right to protect the French language is not threatened by non-French signs.

 Quebec suffers international embarrassment as a result of the UN ruling.
 - Quebec passes Bill 86, which allows outdoor business signs to be in French and another language, as long as the French lettering is twice as large.
- 1999 Quebec Superior Court rules that the section of Bill 86 that says French must be "markedly predominant" on outdoor commercial signs is unconstitutional. The court states the Quebec government has failed to prove that the predominance of French on commercial signs is still necessary to preserve the language.

Quebec immediately files an appeal of the ruling. Until the appeal is heard and decided, the provision remains in force.

- Senate reform. The Senate would be elected, not appointed.
- Division of federal and provincial powers. The provinces would be given power over such areas as tourism, housing, culture, and forestry.
- Social and economic issues. There were commitments to preserve such programs as universal health care and workers' rights.
- Minorities. English-speaking communities in Quebec and French-speaking communities in the rest of Canada would be protected.
- Aboriginal rights. The right to self-government for Aboriginal nations was accepted and recognized as one of the three orders of government along with Ottawa and the provinces.

Mulroney announced that all of Canada would have a chance to vote on the accord in a national referendum. All three major political parties supported the Charlottetown Accord. Opposition came from a new western political party called the Reform party, the National Action Committee on the Status of Women, the Parti Québécois, and former prime minister Trudeau. In the weeks before the referendum, there was growing opposition in the country to the accord. Almost every section came under attack. Many people felt that the proposal gave too much to Quebec and too little to other regions of Canada.

On 26 October 1992, Canadians voted in a national referendum on the Charlottetown proposal. Across the nation, 54.4 per cent of voters said "No" and 44.6 per cent said "Yes."

The collapse of the Charlottetown Accord was a blow not just to Quebec, but to Aboriginal nations as well. For years they had been negotiating with the government over the right to govern themselves. The proposal for Aboriginal self-government in the Charlottetown Accord had been a step

forward. Since the collapse of the accord, Aboriginal nations have continued to work for self-government.

Political Changes

Shortly after the collapse of the Charlotte-town Accord, Brian Mulroney resigned as leader of the federal Conservative party. He was succeeded by Kim Campbell, the first female prime minister in Canada's history. Four months after taking office, Kim Campbell called a federal election. When the votes were counted in June 1993, the Conservative party lost 148 seats—dropping from more than 150 seats in the House of Commons to just two. It was a stunning defeat. The Liberal party, with 177 seats, won a large majority government.

The new prime minister was Jean Chrétien, a bilingual Quebecker. After the election, Chrétien stated that the time had come to leave constitutional quarrels on the back burner. Many Canadians seemed to agree with him. In a Maclean's/Decima poll, two-thirds said that unemployment and the weak economy were the two most important problems facing the nation.

But the question of Quebec's future in Canada would not go away. Neither would the tensions between Quebec, the federal government, and the rest of Canada. In the 1993 election, two new regional parties had come to the forefront—the Bloc Québécois and the Reform party.

New Political Parties

Before the 1993 election, nine members of the **Bloc Québécois** were already sitting in the House of Commons. The Bloc Québécois was formed in 1991 after the failure of the Meech Lake Accord. Lucien Bouchard, then a federal Conservative MP and cabinet minister, was bitterly disillusioned by Meech Lake's failure. He became convinced that negotiating with

On ArtsTalk



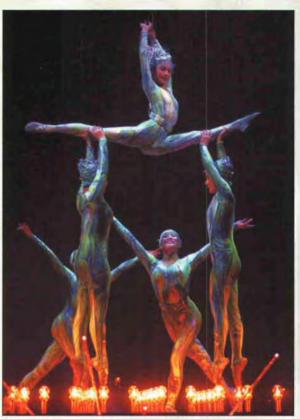
Cirque du Soleil

Over the twentieth century, Québécois writers, artists, musicians, and performers have gained increasing recognition both in Canada and internationally. They have sparked interest in Québécois culture, and many have been recognized as innovators in their fields. Quebec singer Céline Dion has won several Juno and Grammy awards, both for her francophone albums and her hit songs in English. She is recognized around the world as an outstanding vocalist.

Another amazing success story is that of Cirque du Soleil, a circus troupe founded in 1983 by a group of street performers from Montreal. The troupe was originally called *Club des Talons Hauts*, or High Heels Club, because most of the members were stilt walkers. Fire-eaters and jugglers also joined the troupe, which then included 12 performers.

The troupe's first organized venture was a street festival. Their goal was not just to entertain passersby and make money. They also wanted to provide a way for street performers to come together and exchange tips on techniques and routines. The first festival was so successful that the performers began to dream of finding an indoor home. They wanted a place where they could practise without distractions and perform to a seated audience. By this time, the troupe had already begun to grow. Soon 65 performers and technicians went under the "big top" in Montreal, and Cirque du Soleil was born.

The Cirque advertised itself as a "circus without animals." It won attention for its vividly
coloured costumes and the skill of its jugglers,
acrobats, clowns, and aerialists. Shows by the
Cirque du Soleil combined circus with theatre
arts—in other words, performances by the individual artists were always presented as part of a
story. Since the stories were acted as mime, without spoken dialogue, people of all ages and from



Chinese acrobats dance on light bulbs in Cirque du Soleil's 1999 show Dralion.

many different countries could understand them immediately.

The Cirque began to tour, first in Canada and then the United States. Rave reviews in major newspapers led to sold-out shows. Next came a successful European tour, and suddenly the Cirque was an international phenomenon. To meet the worldwide demand for its shows, the Cirque had to form several troupes of performers. It also scripted different shows that could be presented simultaneously at a number of sites.

By 1999, only 15 years after its first performance, the Cirque du Soleil had become a multinational corporation. Its headquarters in Montreal employs 500 full-time staff. Regional headquarters

into power. The new premier was Jacques Parizeau, a fiery leader and committed separatist. Parizeau vowed to hold another referendum on Quebec independence within a year. The date for the referendum was set for 30 October 1995. The referendum question asked whether Quebec should become "sovereign" after first making a formal offer to the government of Canada for "a new economic and political partnership." A "Yes" vote would support separatism; a "No" vote would say that Quebec should remain part of Canada.

Support for independence was high at the time of Parizeau's election. But over the summer of 1995, it began to weaken. By the time the referendum campaign was officially launched in October, the "No" side led in the opinion polls by about 10 percentage points. Parizeau found it difficult to explain exactly what impact independence would have on Quebec economically. In interviews with the press, he made remarks that alienated some voters.

On Thanksgiving weekend, the Parti Québécois recruited Lucien Bouchard to spearhead the final drive to voting day. Bouchard was immensely popular in Quebec. In his speeches, he urged Quebeckers to take pride in their language and culture. He warned that the rest of Canada would never agree to grant Quebec its distinct status in law. Separatist rallies began to attract huge crowds.

As the referendum date approached, "No" supporters were dismayed to find that the separatists had regained ground. Polls indicated the vote would be too close to predict. Rallies were organized across the country to show support for Canadian unity. On 27 October, three days before the vote was held, more than 100 000 Canadians travelled to Montreal for a massive unity rally at the Place du Canada.

On voting day, the tension and suspense could be felt not just in Quebec, but across the country. In its coverage of the referendum, the CBC ran a bar graph that showed support see-sawing between the "Yes" and "No" sides all night long. Finally, the result was posted. The "No" side had won by the thinnest of margins, with 50.6 per cent of the vote. The "Yes" side had taken 49.4 per cent of the vote.

Later Developments

The day after the referendum, Jacques Parizeau resigned as Quebec premier and leader of the Parti Québécois. In a televised speech the night before, he had blamed the "Yes" side's defeat on "money and the ethnic vote." Many Canadians, including many of Parizeau's supporters, were disturbed by this discriminatory statement. After debating whether he should stay in federal politics or take over the PQ in Quebec, Lucien Bouchard became leader of the PQ and premier of Quebec in 1996. Gilles Duceppe later took over leadership of the Bloc Québécois.

The referendum had pointed to a basic split in Quebec society. About 60 per cent of French-speaking voters had voted

"No" supporters flocked to Montreal from every corner of Canada for a unity rally the weekend before the 1995 Ouebec referendum.



are also located in Singapore, Amsterdam, and Las Vegas. In 1999, the Cirque staged seven different shows on four continents. In the US, it has permanent performance sites at Disney World, Las Vegas, and Biloxi, Mississippi. The production of show soundtracks, videos, and souvenirs has added to the Cirque's success. In 1999, it released its first commercial film, *Alegria*.

From the beginning, the Cirque has also been involved in social programs, especially sponsoring workshops for street kids. It cooperates with non-governmental organizations such as Jeunesse du Monde and Oxfam-Canada in a program called Cirque du Monde. Through this program, Cirque performers and technicians teach troubled young people circus arts. The Cirque also donates about one per cent of its annual receipts to social outreach programs.

- Many Québécois artists have won acclaim in Europe and the United States, yet they sometimes receive less recognition in Canada. Why? Do you think this situation is changing? Explain.
- 2. Can you name other prominent Québécois artists and performers? Find out more about them. Create a collage with descriptive captions.

the rest of Canada over Quebec's status was a waste of time. Quebeckers, he decided, had no choice but to work by themselves for complete independence from Canada. Eight other Quebec MPs joined Bouchard in forming the new party. The Bloc Québécois had one major aim: the sovereignty of Quebec as a separate nation.

In the 1993 election, the Bloc captured 54 seats and became the official opposition. It was the first time a party dedicated to Quebec sovereignty had such a large representation in the House of Commons. The Bloc was determined to make Quebec's demands heard across the country. But another regional party had also gained a large number of seats. The **Reform party** won 52 seats in the 1993 election, just two fewer than the Bloc.

Reform party support came almost entirely from the western provinces, especially Alberta and British Columbia. The party had been formed in 1987 in Winnipeg to represent concerns of western voters. It called for less federal interference in provincial affairs, and it strongly opposed granting any special status to Quebec.

Reform leader Preston Manning stated, "People are saying yes to a fair language policy, but no to forced bilingualism."

The Reform party also called for an elected Senate and for major cuts to social welfare and cultural support programs. It had backed Brian Mulroney's push for free trade with the United States in 1989, but had played an important role in opposing both the Meech Lake and Charlottetown accords.

The Quebec Referendum of 1995

The rejection of the Charlottetown Accord left many French Canadians feeling that the rest of Canada was indifferent to their wishes—and perhaps even hostile to French-Canadian culture. On the other hand, some English-speaking Canadians felt that Quebec was demanding too many special rights. The strength of the Bloc Québécois within Quebec, and the strength of the Reform party in the West, suggested that public opinion across Canada was deeply divided.

In the 1994 Quebec provincial election, the Parti Québécois stormed back "Yes." More than 90 per cent of Englishspeakers and people with first languages other than English or French had voted "No." Would this difference of opinion continue to threaten Canadian unity and the stability of Quebec society?

Many Canadians were alarmed at how close Quebec had come to separating from Canada. Afterward, there was a feeling that Jean Chrétien's Liberal government had failed to show leadership in the weeks leading up to the referendum. This feeling was especially strong among the premiers of the nine provinces outside Quebec. In September 1997, these nine premiers met in Calgary They tried to find a way of convincing the people of Quebec to reject separatism and remain part of Canada. The result was the **Calgary Declaration**, a summary of principles on Canadian unity.

The premiers stated that Quebec, because of its language, culture, and tradition of civil law, had a "unique character." But they also insisted that all provinces had "equality of status." They stopped short of granting Quebec "distinct status" within the Canadian Confederation.

Although he was invited, Lucien Bouchard refused to attend the Calgary meeting. He angrily rejected the Calgary Declaration as meaningless. The only way of recognizing Quebec's "uniqueness," he said, would be through separation.

Bouchard said he had every intention of calling for another sovereignty referendum, but only "under winning conditions." Jean Chrétien argued that Quebec could never separate from Canada on a **unilateral** basis. That is, Quebec could not decide to separate on its own. It had to negotiate separation with the federal government and the other provinces. The Chrétien government petitioned the Supreme Court of Canada for a judgement. On 20 August 1998, the Supreme Court ruled that:



- Quebec did not have the right to separate unilaterally from Canada
- to achieve independence, Quebec would have to negotiate first with the federal government, the nine other provinces, the Aboriginal nations living in Quebec, and other minorities living there
- negotiations could begin only after a referendum in which a "clear majority" voted "Yes" to a "clear question."

Both sides hailed the decision. Prime Minister Chrétien said the court had made it clear that separation was a much more complicated process than the PQ had led its supporters to believe. "This means the time for playing games is over," he said. "The court has confirmed just how difficult it would be to break up one of the most successful countries in the world."

Premier Bouchard, on the other hand, claimed the Supreme Court had simply reinforced Quebec's position on separatism. "The next time men and women will be able to vote 'Yes' without worrying about a smooth transition to sovereignty," he said. Leaders of Aboriginal nations also expressed satisfaction with the decision. Phil Fontaine, chief of the Assembly of First Nations, said, "It is clear that the secession [separation] of Quebec cannot be effected without the consent of our people."

Who came out the "winner" in the Supreme Court decision? It was not really clear. But after the dust had settled, Jacques Parizeau reacted angrily to his party's narrow defeat in the 1995 Quebec referendum. Parizeau resigned as premier and head of the Parti Québécois the next day. What symbol can you see in this photo?



Developing Skills: Keeping Up With the News

Most Canadians keep up with the news by watching it on television. Today, many Canadians are also tapping into news on the Internet. With modern telecommunications, breaking news stories can be flashed on the screen as they are happening. We find out about news events from almost anywhere in the world almost instantaneously. Live coverage of events on television and the Internet makes viewers feel they are there as the events are unfolding. But news reports on television often place a strict time limitation on each story. The journalist has only about 60 seconds to get the main idea across to viewers. Usually, that is not enough time to examine the issue in depth. Television news is essentially a front-page headline service.

To be informed, you have to get the whole story behind the headlines. For this you need a complete account of the news from a well-edited, well-written newspaper or newsmagazine. Regular reading of a newspaper will keep you more informed about current international, national, and local events.

There are a few things you should know about the layout of a newspaper. The size of the headline will tell you how important the story is. For example, when a major earthquake hit Turkey in 1999, newspapers ran headlines in very large, bold type. The less important the story, the smaller is the headline.

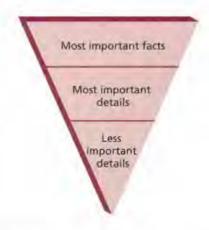
The main story of the day is usually the one with the largest headline. Newspaper editors also attract your attention by placing the lead story above the fold in the paper. This way, when you walk by a newspaper box or stand, you see the top story.

A well-written news story provides the reader with four basic ingredients: information, background, analysis, and interpretation.

Information

First, you need basic facts. A news story should report the facts plus give you a balanced, unbiased view. It should present all sides of an issue, not just one side.

Reporters write a story in a particular way. They use what is called the inverted pyramid style. They start with the most important information first to grab the reader's attention. The most important details come next, followed by the less important details. Knowing how a news story is written will help you evaluate the facts the next time you read a newspaper.



Background

A well-reported story tells the reader who, what, where, when, and how. The best news stories will also tell you why something happened, and the why is often the key ingredient. Skillful reporters explain their background information. Their explanation should help you to understand the story and evaluate it for yourself.

Analysis

Leading newspapers also offer analysis of the news. Analysis goes beyond the reporting of the facts. Newspapers hire columnists, usually experts in a particular field, to explain and offer insights into various current events.

Interpretation

In a reliable newspaper, interpretation is usually found not in the news story itself, but on the edi-

torial page. Interpretation goes beyond the news and analysis. It tells you not just what has happened or will probably happen, but what should happen. Editorials offer personal opinions. They express a viewpoint that is designed to stir your thinking about an issue. Do you agree or disagree? What facts are used to support the opinion? Read about the issue, wrestle with different approaches, and come to your own conclusion about the impact of the issue.

Practise It!

1. Choose an important television news story. Then examine how the same story is reported in a

national newspaper. Continue to follow the story closely on TV and in print. Write a short paragraph or use an organizer to compare the treatment of the story on television and in the newspaper. If you can, follow the same story on an Internet news service and include Internet coverage in your comparison.

2. As a class project, create your own four-page newspaper. Decide on the current events or issues to be covered. Then assign tasks to individuals. Include an editor, reporters, photographers, columnists, cartoonists, and a designer/ layout artist. Work together to plan and publish your newspaper.

constitutional experts pointed out one disturbing fact. This was the first time a Western, democratic country had formally confirmed the right of a province (or other part of a nation) to separate. It had also outlined a way for the province to achieve separation. As Canada entered the new millennium, it was clear the unity debate would continue for some time.

Francophone Communities Outside Quebec

René Lévesque was once asked about the one million French-speaking Canadians who live outside Quebec. He referred to them as "dead ducks." Why did Lévesque use such a negative description? To many people, these seemed to be vibrant francophone communities. Lévesque believed these communities were threatened by two insurmountable forces: assimilation and repressive language policies.

Assimilation is what happens when one cultural community is absorbed by another. Lévesque thought the dominant English-speaking culture in other provinces would slowly but surely swallow

up the francophone communities. Each generation, more francophone children would pick up English at school, through television, and at the movies. By the time they became adults, they would no longer think of French as their first language. Some of them would marry English-speakers, and their children would grow up not knowing French at all.

Some experts in linguistics, the study of languages, agreed with Lévesque. They pointed to studies that said assimilation rates for French Canadians outside Quebec were as high as 75 per cent.

Lévesque thought provincial language policies made the trend toward assimilation even worse. Canadian history was filled with examples where the anglophone majority had denied francophone communities their language rights. Francophones were denied the right to educate their children in their own language. They also often did not have access to court and government services in French, and to laws written in French.

Lévesque believed there was no hope for French-Canadian culture outside of Quebec. Even within Quebec, laws had to protect the French language. Today there is still debate over the survival of fran-



Netsurfer

To learn more about francophone communities across Canada, visit the Government of Canada site called the Francophonie Connection at http://www.francophonie.gc.ca.

cophone communities outside Quebec. Not everyone agrees with René Lévesque's pessimistic forecast. On the one hand, there is no doubt that the legal rights of francophone communities were abused in the past. On the other hand, many of these injustices are being addressed. The three largest French-speaking communities outside Quebec are in Manitoba, Ontario, and New Brunswick.

Francophones in Manitoba

In 1985, the Supreme Court of Canada handed down a remarkable decision. It declared that all the laws passed by the province of Manitoba were illegal. The problem, from the Court's point of view, was very simple: none of the laws had been translated into French. The Court referred back to the Manitoba Act of 1870 that had brought the province into Confederation. The act had made two guarantees to the province's French-speaking community:

 there would be a system of French-language public schools funded by the province both French and English would be used in the courts and the provincial legislature, and all laws and records would be written in both languages.

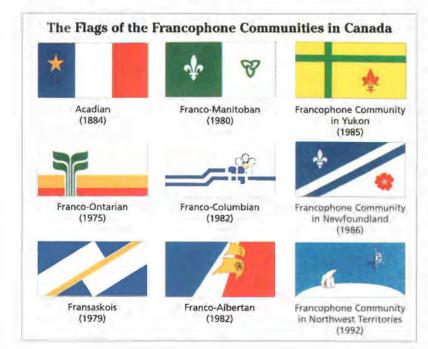
What had gone wrong in the meantime?

In 1870, the number of French- and English-speakers in Manitoba was about even. The francophones were mainly Métis, people of French and Aboriginal heritage. The anglophones were mainly descendants of the Scottish settlers brought by Lord Selkirk in the early 1800s. By 1890, the number of English-speakers in the province had increased considerably. Many more settlers from Ontario had moved into the province.

The majority of representatives in the Manitoba legislature were English-speaking Protestants. In 1890, the legislature passed the Official Language Act. It created an English-only public school system and made English the only language of the government and the courts.

In 1916, Manitoba passed another act, this time completely abolishing all bilingual teaching in the province. It was not until 1970 that the government again allowed French-language teaching in public schools. In 1979, the Supreme Court of Canada declared the Official Language Act unconstitutional, and all the province's laws illegal. Members of the provincial government were stunned. They asked the Supreme Court to clarify its ruling. In 1985, the Court stated again that all provincial laws were unconstitutional because they had not been translated into French. In the interests of public order, the Court said the present laws could remain in effect until the province had them translated. The Court gave the province five years to do this.

In 1993, another Supreme Court ruling declared that the French-speaking community in Manitoba had a constitutional right to schools in their own lan-



guage. In 1994, the province of Manitoba created a French-language school division. By this time, Franco-Manitobans had in effect been denied their constitutional rights for more than 100 years.

Francophones in Ontario

Ontario has the largest community of French Canadians outside Ouebec. There are about 542 000 French Canadians in Ontario, and they live in every part of the province. Northern Ontario has a number of communities with large Frenchspeaking populations including Hearst, Kapuskasing, and Sturgeon Falls, Many Quebeckers moved to northern Ontario in the early part of the century. They came to farm and to work in the forestry and mining industries. There are also pockets of francophones in southwestern Ontario, and many others live in Toronto. These include francophone immigrants from Vietnam, Somalia, and Haiti.

In 1912, the province of Ontario had passed Regulation 17. This law stated that there would be teaching in French in only the first two years of elementary school. The law brought a storm of protest from francophones, and it was difficult to enforce. By 1927, the government agreed that each school could make its own decision on French-language education.

But it was not until 1968 that Frenchspeaking students were guaranteed the right by law to education in their own language in both primary and secondary schools. Ottawa and Toronto set up French-language school boards in 1988. Ten years later, there were hundreds of French-language primary and secondary schools, and 12 French school boards in Ontario. The province also had four French-language community colleges.

Other laws, such as the French Language Services Act in 1986, gave Franco-Ontarians the right to provincial government services in French. These services included being able to apply for driver's licences, and birth and marriage certificates in French. French services were provided in 23 areas of the province where the population of francophones was highest. In provincial courts, both French and English are official languages in Ontario.

But the issue of language rights still sparked controversy. In January 1990, the city of Sault Ste. Marie passed a resolution saying that English was its only official language. This started something of a minitrend among Ontario cities. By August that year, about 50 other cities had passed similar resolutions. Quebec nationalists pointed to Sault Ste. Marie as an example of why official bilingualism would never work, and why francophone communities outside Quebec were threatened. In 1994, an Ontario provincial court ruled that the city of Sault Ste. Marie had overstepped its authority. It did not have the official power to pass an English-only resolution.

Francophones in New Brunswick

When Canadian nationalists are asked for an example of where official bilingualism is a success, they point to New Brunswick. New Brunswick is the only officially bilingual province in Canada. It is seen as a model of "integration without assimilation." In other words, francophones live and work with their anglophone neighbours without losing their language or traditions.

The 250 000 francophones make up about 33 per cent of the province's population. Their numbers mean they have more political power here than in any other province of Canada except Quebec. Experts have estimated that French-Canadian assimilation rates in New Brunswick are stable at about 8 per cent.

Acadian dancers at the Canadian Heritage Festival in Prince Edward Island. Research the Acadian presence in PEI.



But French-English relations in the Maritimes have not always been so harmonious. Most of the francophones in New Brunswick are **Acadians**. The Acadians originally settled in the region in the early 1600s but were expelled by the

British in 1755. Thousands were sent to other British colonies in North America or fled to French colonies. The British did not allow them back until 1763. Most of those who returned settled along the northern peninsula of New Brunswick, where they established themselves as successful farmers and fishers. By 1900 they had become a distinct and vibrant community with their own set of symbols: a flag, an anthem, and a holiday.

The francophone community in New Brunswick has also fought for education and language rights over its long history. In 1871, the province had passed the Common Schools Act. This act established a system of English-only public schools.

Francophone Festivals

Wherever French Canadians have settled, they have established their own holidays and festivals. Many of these festivals celebrate the early history of the French communities with folk music and dancing. Others focus on other cultural activities and the arts. These are just a few of the francophone festivals held each year across the country.

Alberta—Carnaval de Saint-Isidore is an annual celebration held in an entirely francophone village in the northern part of the province every February.

Manitoba—Le Festival du Voyageur is western Canada's largest winter festival and is held in February in St.-Boniface, the francophone section of Winnipeg. The festival includes concerts, dances, dog sled races, and other activities, all organized around the theme of the early fur traders in the region.

Ontario—The city of Sudbury holds several francophone festivals, including a film festival called *CineFest* in September and *Les Boréales*, a summer music festival. Each June the *Franco-Ontarian Festival* is held in Ottawa with performances by francophone stars and artists.

New Brunswick—*Le Festival Acadien de Caraquet*, a mix of traditional and modern cultural activities, is organized around August 15th, the Acadian national holiday. The largest francophone festival outside Quebec is held every year in Edmunston at the end of July. It is called *La Foire Brayonne*, a four-day celebration of the history and culture of the Brayons, the nickname for the first French settlers of the Madawaska region of New Brunswick. About 140 000 visitors every year see local and nationally known folk, rock, and jazz bands, classical music groups, and theatre troupes.

Nova Scotia—An Acadian Heritage Festival is held every May in Halifax-Dartmouth. In July the community of Grand-Pré, known as the cradle of Acadia, holds its Acadian Days.

Newfoundland and Labrador—*Une journée dans l'passé* (A Day in the Past) is a folklore festival held in July at La Grand'Terre with French, Acadian, and Celtic music and dance. Every May 30 is Francophonie Day in the province.

After strong protest from the francophone community, the act was eventually changed to allow for religious and Frenchlanguage teaching after regular school hours. In 1960, the province's first francophone premier, Louis J. Robichaud, introduced a number of changes in language and education policies.

Robichaud's reforms and separatist activity by the **Parti-Acadien** prompted the province to pass the Official Languages Act in 1969. This act made New Brunswick the only officially bilingual province in the country, with both French and English school systems. Both school systems extended from kindergarten through Grade 12. The Université de Moncton also provided post-secondary education for more than 7000 francophone students.

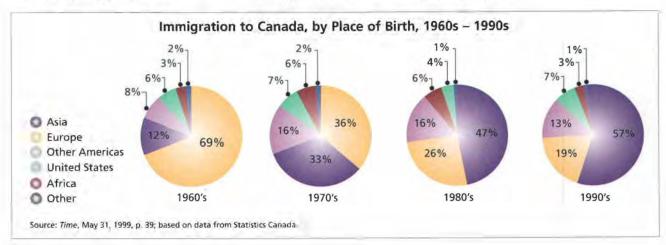
In 1979, New Brunswick passed a law declaring both French and English language groups in the province equal. Today, all provincial government services are available throughout the province in English and French. All laws and official records are written in both languages. In 1993, the Canadian Parliament officially enshrined New Brunswick's bilingual status in the Canadian constitution. This means that no future provincial government can change that status.



After the changes to the Immigration Act in 1978, a new wave of immigrants came to Canada in the 1980s and 1990s. The majority were no longer from Britain, Europe, and the United States. They came from countries such as Jamaica, Vietnam, India, Pakistan, China, Hong Kong, and South Korea. Over the course of the century—and especially over the last 30 years—immigration changed the make-up of Canadian society. By the 1990s, Canada had become one of the most ethnoculturally and racially diverse countries in the world.

Immigration in the 1980s

Many times over the twentieth century, immigration has sparked controversy in Canada. The surge in new immigrants from Asia, Africa, and Latin America in the 1980s was no exception. While many Canadians recognized the important contribution new immigrants made to Canadian society, racial tensions also increased across the country in the 1980s. In Toronto, Montreal, and Vancouver, many Asian and Black Canadians faced job discrimination and racial prejudice. In one reported incident, a Montreal taxi company fired 24 Haitians on the grounds that customers did not want to



The Immigration Debate	
Counterarguments	
Immigration has proven to be of net economic benefit to Canada. Reports, including a 1991 Economic Council of Canada study, have shown that immigration creates jobs because it increases the population, thereby increasing the need for products and services. Experts say Canada's economic future depends on immigration to replace retiring workers.	
Studies have shown that high immigration does not create more unemployment. Between 65 and 70 per cent of both immigrants and Canadian-born people aged 15 and older were employed in the workforce according to a 1991 Economic Council of Canada study.	
A 1991 study showed that immigrants were less likely to be on welfare than Canadian-born adults.	
English and French language programs are available for immigrants and many of them work hard to learn either language.	
Much of Metro Toronto's recent population growth has been a result of immigration. The immigrants have brought their skills, talents, and hard work to the economy. Without immigration many of Canada's best scientists, nurses, and other skilled and unskilled workers would not be here. Nor would some of the most successful Canadian entrepreneurs, such as Thomas Bata, James Ting, and Frank Stronach.	
Immigrants are under-represented in the Canadian prison population according to the report "Canada's Changing Immigrant Population 1994," published by Statistics Canada. Revisions to the Immigration Act made in 1993 aim to turn away any individuals actively involved in organized crime and terrorism.	

be driven by a Black driver. On radio talk shows, callers expressed negative attitudes toward "non-white" immigrants.

A study done by the government found a disturbing level of racism in Canada. It found that the most common reason for racist attitudes was the fear that British and French Canadians were being overwhelmed by immigrants from other cultures. In the Laurier era, 95 per cent of Canadians had been of British or French heritage. By the mid-1980s, the figure was down to just over 68 per cent. No one ethnocultural group made up more than 5 per cent of the population.

Disturbed by reports of racism, the government set up a race relations unit. Its aim was to discover the causes of racial

FAST FORWARD

In 1999, *Time* magazine estimated that the percentage of visible minorities in Canada's population would rise from 12 per cent in 1996, to 16 per cent in 2005, and to 20 per cent in 2016. These estimates were based on data from Statistics Canada. This is partly because birth rates in Canada will continue to decline. By 2020, experts think Canada's natural growth rate—population increase through new births—will reach zero. The only way Canada will continue to grow will be by accepting more immigrants, and more of these immigrants will be of visible minorities.

tension and to find ways to reduce it. Schools were encouraged to set up programs to deal with racist attitudes and behaviours. The courts provided more protection to victims of racial discrimination. The government gave assistance to immigrant women who, as a group, were often isolated at home with few opportunities to participate in Canadian life. The government also continued to fund writing about Canada's various ethnocultural and racial groups, their experiences, and their cultural activities.

Why were some Canadians still concerned about high levels of immigration? Some of the concerns and counterarguments are outlined in the chart on page 454.

Immigration in the 1990s

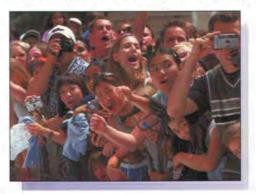
In the 1990s, Canada's immigration policy remained one of the most open in the world. We accepted more immigrants in proportion to our population than any other nation. A total of 252 042 people were admitted in 1993, one of the highest totals since World War I. By 1998, the number of immigrants had fallen to 174 000, but the government was considering a plan to increase that number to 300 000 a year.

The majority of new immigrants are settling in Canada's larger cities. About 70 000 immigrants a year, for example, settle in Toronto. In the year 2000, about

54 per cent of Toronto's population was made up of people from visible minorities, up from 30 per cent in 1991, and only 3 per cent in 1961. In Toronto, "minorities" have become the majority.

Today, the government of Canada, employers, labour unions, and the majority of Canadian citizens recognize that immigration is important for Canada's future for a number of reasons.

- From 1980 to 1998, Canada's birth rate declined by 25 per cent. Canada will probably reach a zero natural growth rate by 2020. Without substantial immigration, Canada's population could start to shrink.
- At the same time that birth rates are declining, the Canadian population is also getting older. In 2011, the oldest baby boomers will reach retirement age. By 2041, about 23 per cent of Canada's population will be 65 or older. (In 1981, only 10 per cent of the population was 65 or older; in 1921, only





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To find out more about
Canada's policies on
immigrants and refugees, visit
these web sites: Citizenship
and Immigration Canada at
http://cicnet.ci.gc.ca and the
Immigration and Refugee
Board of Canada at
http://www.cisr.gc.ca.

A group of young people in Toronto. By 1999, Toronto had become one of the most ethnoculturally and racially diverse cities in the world.

5 per cent.) Without immigrants to replace these retiring workers, Canada's economy will stagnate. There will also not be enough workers to support the large number of retirees.

 In 1999, Manitoba, Saskatchewan, and parts of Ontario were feeling the effects of severe labour shortages. New Brunswick signed an agreement with the federal government to accept 200 immigrants a year to help fill labour needs in that province. Canada needs skilled workers. Without substantial numbers of immigrants, Canada's economy will no longer be able to compete in the global marketplace.

In the late 1990s, immigration officials accepted more immigrants from the Independent than the Family class. Independent class immigrants include entrepreneurs and highly skilled workers. In 1994-1995, applicants in the Family class made up 51 per cent of the total. Those in the Independent class made up 43 per cent. By 2000, applications in the Family class had fallen to 44 per cent, and those in the Independent class had risen to 53 per cent.

The Refugee Crisis

The Immigration Act of 1978 had clearly indicated Canada's commitment to accepting refugees. In most years, refugees make up about 10 per cent of all immigrants to Canada. In years when there is an international crisis of some sort, that proportion can rise to as high as 25 per cent. This is what happened in the late 1970s when the Vietnamese boat people arrived.

The process of admitting refugees, however, has not been without its problems. It is sometimes difficult for officials to tell legitimate refugees from those just claiming to be refugees to get quick admission to Canada. The government distinguishes between people who are flee-

ing political or religious persecution in their native land, and people trying to escape from poverty. These "economic refugees" are usually not admitted.

Refugees can enter Canada in one of two ways:

- they can apply to a Canadian or Quebec consular office abroad. If accepted, they are then brought to Canada.
- they can indicate at a port or other point of entry that they claim refugee status, or they can go to an immigration centre in Canada and claim refugee status.

When people claim refugee status within Canada, the government provides them with welfare, medical care, and legal aid until the claim is settled. Depending on the complexity of the case, the claims process can take anywhere from six months to several years. To support a refugee claimant for one year costs the government about \$56 000.

Over the 1980s, it became more and more common for people to try and "jump the queue." Instead of going through the usual immigration channels, some people claimed refugee status to get into Canada faster. Officials estimated that in the last six months of 1986, more than 10 000 people falsely claimed refugee status in Canada. Because of staff shortages and the time it took to clear these applications, the system got badly backlogged.

At the same time, more claimants were arriving on Canada's shores. In August 1986, about 150 Tamils from Sri Lanka were found drifting in lifeboats off the coast of Newfoundland. They did not have visas, but asked to be admitted to Canada as refugees. They were fleeing persecution and possible death in their own country. Sri Lanka had then been embroiled in a civil war for three years and thousands of people had died. In the following year, 174 East Indians, mostly Sikhs from the Punjab, came ashore in

Nova Scotia. They also claimed refugee status. Parliament was recalled from summer recess to pass emergency legislation aimed at halting the numbers of people seeking refugee status in Canada.

During the 1980s and 1990s, the Canadian government allowed several groups of special refugees to enter the country for humanitarian reasons. These included thousands of people fleeing civil war in Bosnia and Kosovo. But controversy arose when some critics noted that the government permitted thousands of white eastern Europeans into the country, but very few Black Rwandans who were fleeing a civil war in 1994.

Debate intensified again in 1999. From July to September, a number of ships filled with Chinese men, women, and children arrived off the British Columbia coast. Canadian officials allowed several hundred of the people to claim refugee status. But the move stirred a protest from both immigrant and non-immigrant communities in BC. Many former immigrants and refugees resented the fact that the new arrivals were being allowed to enter the country illegally, whereas they had had to



wait for years to enter through legal channels.

Again, there were public calls to tighten up procedures on refugee claims. The government cautioned against overreacting. Elinor Caplan, the Minister of Citizenship and Immigration, pointed out that the new arrivals made up less than one per cent of people applying for refugee status that year. The government would review the Immigration Act, she said, but the provision that granted every refugee claimant a hearing would not be changed.

A few of the 122 Chinese people taken off a ship near Vancouver Island in July 1999. Canadian authorities believed they may have paid "people smugglers" as much as \$47 000 to get them to Canada.

Revisions to the Immigration Act in the 1990s

- Only close relations, such as spouses and dependent children, were allowed into the country under the family classification.
- Stricter rules were designed to detect illegal immigrants or people with false travel documents.
- 3. The selection process was streamlined. More business immigrants and persons with money to invest were accepted. The government claimed the right to tell immigrants who were chosen because of their skills where they must live and for how long. Under the old rules, a physiotherapist who was accepted because his/her skills were needed in Newfoundland could settle in Toronto or Vancouver.
- 4. All immigrants were required to pay a \$975 tax when they applied for residence in Canada. The government stated that the tax was meant to offset the costs of language and skills training and other social services. After changes in 2000, refugees were no longer required to pay the tax.





SPOTLIGHT ON ...

Adrienne Clarkson

In 1999, Adrienne Clarkson was appointed governor general of Canada. She was familiar to many Canadians as an accomplished journalist, publisher, filmmaker, and civil servant. Prime Minister Jean Chrétien announced that her appointment "is a reflection of the diversity and inclusiveness of our society, and an indication of how our country has matured over the years."

Adrienne Clarkson was born in Hong Kong in 1939. Her family fled the country as war refugees when she was three

years old. Her parents, William and Ethel Poy, settled in Ottawa, where they lived in Lower Town among a mix of French- and English-Canadian families. Clarkson developed a passion for English literature and the French language, and became fluently bilingual.

After high school, Clarkson studied English literature at the University of Toronto and then studied for a time at the Sorbonne in Paris. Back in Canada, she began a long and varied career in broadcast journalism at the CBC. From 1987-1988, she was the president and publisher of the Canadian publishing house McClelland and Stewart. She was the first person to serve as agent-general for the Ontario government in Paris, and at the time of her appointment as governor general, she was head of the Canadian Museum of Civilization in Hull, Quebec.

During her time in the public eye, Clarkson has not avoided controversy. She is a strong opponent of free trade with the US, and has lobbied passionately for more generous funding for the



CBC. She and her husband, the writer John Ralston Saul, are known as strong Canadian nationalists.

Clarkson believes that the cultural and ethnic complexity of Canadian society is one of its great strengths. In her speech at her installation ceremony, she said, "To be complex does not mean to be fragmented. This is the paradox and the genius of our Canadian civilization."

As part of this speech, Clarkson also told a story about herself as a child.

Because my father had a job with the Department of Trade and Commerce and because we lived among French Canadians, I became fixated, from the age of five, with the idea of learning French. It had been explained to my parents that it was not possible for a Protestant to receive French-language education in Ottawa. In my lifetime, this has changed to such a radical degree that I don't even need to comment on it. But that early sense of something being impossible, which actually was nonsensical, put steel into me.

- 1. What qualifications does Clarkson bring to her position as governor general?
- 2. At the time of Clarkson's appointment, Bloc Québécois leader Gilles Duceppe said that the post of governor general "represents the vestiges of the past and has no sense today. . . . The role has essentially become an honorary one and the Bloc believes it should be abolished." Do you agree with this statement? Why or why not?

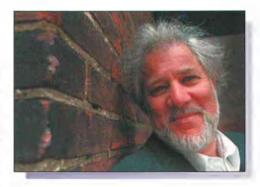
Canadian Culture in the 1990s

In the 1990s, Canadian artists continued to produce highly regarded works. The writer Carol Shields won a Pulitzer Prize for The Stone Diaries, and Michael Ondaatje was awarded a Booker Prize for The English Patient. Ouebec writers Anne Hébert and Marie-Claire Blais both won Governor General's Awards for their fiction. Shani Mootoo's first novel. Cereus Blooms at Night, was shortlisted for a Giller Prize in 1997. Director Atom Egoyan's film The Sweet Hereafter won a Special Grand Jury Prize at the Cannes Film Festival and took an Academy Award nomination for best picture of the year. Céline Dion, Shania Twain, and Sarah McLachlan collected multiple Juno and Grammy awards for their recordings.

Generation X

In 1991, Canadian writer Douglas Coupland published a novel that many people thought defined a generation. Critics called *Generation X* a novel about a "new lost generation." The book was compared to Ernest Hemingway's *The Sun Also Rises*. Hemingway's book focused on the generation that had fought in World War I. The book included a quotation from the American writer Gertrude Stein, who told Hemingway once, "You are all a lost generation." The "lost generation" became a tag to describe the young people disillusioned by the horrors of World War I.

Douglas Coupland's "new lost generation" was made up of people born at the end of the baby boom and later, between about 1960 and 1972. They came into their twenties during the 1980s, when the economy was beginning to slow down. Technological advances were also starting to shrink the world into a global village.



Canadlan writer
Michael Ondaatje won
the prestigious Booker
Prize for his novel
The English Patient
in 1992.

Coupland described these young people as "marginalized." He felt they had been pushed out to the margins or edges of society. The generation before them, the bulk of the baby boomers, had taken all the good jobs, the good houses, and the good cars. Even though they were well educated, "Gen Xers" had to work at what Coupland called "McJobs." These were low-paying jobs in the service sector that held little prestige or promise. "Xers" could not afford to buy houses, and the cars they drove were "held together by Popsicle sticks, chewing gum, and Scotch tape."

The three main characters in Coupland's book felt it was a waste of time to protest against their social and economic conditions. Instead, they withdrew from society. To amuse themselves, they told each other funny stories illustrating their cynical attitudes toward life.

Coupland's manuscript for Generation X was rejected by every Canadian publisher who saw it. After being picked up by a US publisher, it became an instant hit and sold well over 100 000 copies in its first year. Coupland denied he was trying to define a generation in his book. He said it was an attempt to understand his own life. Nevertheless, the term became popular. "Generation X" became a label for a whole section of the population that saw itself on the margins of society, pushed there by the consumer-oriented baby boomers.





SPOTLIGHT ON ...

Deborah Cox

Deborah Cox is the first Canadian rhythm and blues singer to gain international recognition. Her album, *One Wish*, sold over a million copies. The single "Nobody's Supposed to Be Here" from the album topped the R&B charts.

Deborah Cox had to go to the United States to achieve her success, but she feels she is paving new ground for Canadian artists. She worked for a time as a back-up singer for Céline Dion and Roch Voisine. When she tried to find a Canadian record label for her solo work, she met with a hail of rejection letters. Finally, an American label, Artista Records, signed her in 1995.



Debbie Cox in performance.

You've got to pave the way and you're the one who has to go through all the struggles to free everybody else who's coming up behind you....
Being the only Black Canadian female to have this kind of success I think has really made a lot of Black Canadian women feel very very proud. I understand the position that I'm in now. I am a role model and people are watching everything I do and I don't mind taking on that responsibility.

In 1999, Deborah Cox was the first Canadian to win a Soul Train Music Award for best R&B /Soul single by a female. She also won a Juno award for Best R&B/Soul recording.

Deborah Cox also broke new ground in another way. In 1999, she joined the Lilith Fair organized by Canadian artist Sarah McLachlan. The Fair was conceived as an allfemale travelling music show originally started in 1996. McLachlan was tired of hearing that women vocalists lacked the "drawing power" of male singers and bands. The Lilith Fair was a major success, but was criticized in its first vears as "a folk festival for white women." Cox was asked to join the Lilith Fair for the 1999 edition and accepted. She acknowledged the effort to recognize diversity and the talent of various ethnocultural and racial groups.

- How has Deborah Cox broken new ground for Canadian music artists?
- 2. Sometimes, Canadian content regulations can prevent singers like Deborah Cox from getting airplay on Canadian radio stations. Her single "Nobody's Supposed to Be Here" did not qualify for the Canadian content rules because two of what are known as the MAPL (music, artist, lyrics, and production) were not Canadian. Her Canadian distributor had her re-record the single in Toronto to try to get more airplay. Do you think Deborah Cox's single should have gotten more airplay? What are the advantages and disadvantages of the Canadian content rules?

Hockey at the End of the Century

Many changes occurred in Canada's national sport in the years following the 1972 Summit Series. The number of teams in the National Hockey League more than doubled, from 14 in 1972 to 30 in the year 2000. In the 1979-80 season, Wayne Gretzky began his professional career with the Edmonton Oilers. "Number 99" led his team to four Stanley Cup wins in six years. At the same time, he rewrote the record book with his individual scoring statistics. Many people consider him the greatest player of all time.

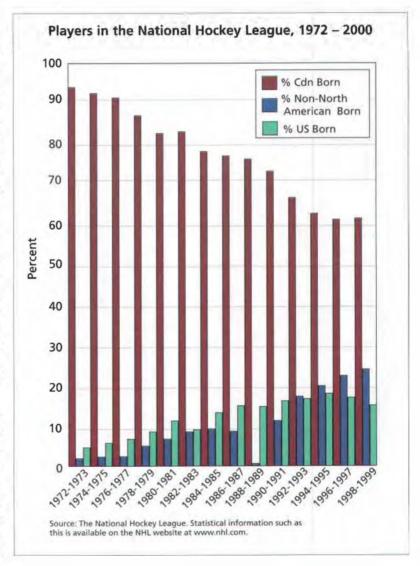
Women's hockey was also gaining recognition. Canadian women's teams placed first in world championships in 1987, 1990, 1992, 1994, and 1997. When women's hockey was made an Olympic sport in 1998, Canadians were glued to their television sets to watch the medal games. The Canadian women's team took a silver medal at the Nagano Olympics after a hard-fought loss to the United States in the final game.

There was another growing trend in professional hockey. In the 1972-1973 season, well over 90 per cent of NHL players had been Canadian-born. By the 1999-2000 season, Canadian representation in the NHL had dropped to less than 60 per cent. The number of non-North American players had climbed to almost 28 per cent of the total. Seven of the 30 NHL teams were captained by players from outside North America.

In Canada, we seem to take our hockey very seriously. After the 1972 Summit Series, "Canadian-style" hockey was criticized as mainly a "dump and chase" game. Players often dumped the puck into the opposite end and then fought for it along the boards. Soviet hockey players were seen as more skilled in puck control and skating. In fact, play in the NHL today has



Players sing O Canada after defeating the US team 4-3 in the gold medal game of the 1997 Women's World Hockey Championship.



become a mix of these two styles. Players have learned from each others' strengths.

When the Canadian men's hockey team failed to win a medal at the 1998 Nagano Olympics, many people again questioned the Canadian system and style of hockey. Successive failures to win gold medals in the World Junior Championships also brought waves of criticism.

The fact remains that Canada has more people playing hockey than any other country in the world today. Young people in Canada, both boys and girls, play, practise, and dream about this sport. There is no doubt that the game remains a prominent part of the Canadian identity in the new millennium.

Activities

Understand Facts and Concepts

1. Add these new terms to your Factfile.

globalization

Meech Lake Accord Charlottetown Accord

Bloc Québécois

Reform party Ouebec Referendum of 1995 Calgary Declaration

unilateral

Acadians

Parti-Acadien

Refugee crisis

Generation X

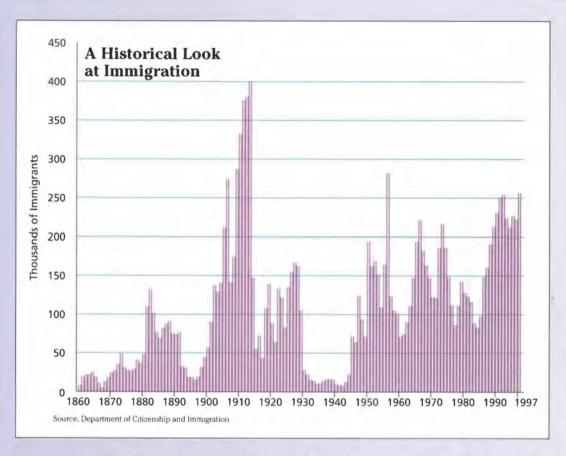
- 2. In an organizer, identify each of the following people or groups. Then summarize the role each played in the constitutional debates during the 1980s and 1990s.
 - a) Jacques Parizeau
 - b) Elijah Harper
 - c) the National Action Committee on the Status of Women
- d) Lucien Bouchard
- e) Jean Chrétien
 - f) Preston Manning
 - g) Brian Mulroney
- 3. Work with a partner. One person plays the role of a French-Canadian student. Explain to your anglophone partner, in your own words, what makes Quebec a "distinct society." Your partner explains whether or not he or she agrees and why.
- 4. Write headlines reporting the results of the 1995 Quebec Referendum for each of the following publications:
 - a) a Montreal English-language newspaper
 - b) The Regina Leader Post
 - c) Le Journal du Québec
- 5. a) Define the term "refugee."
 - b) Why did the arrival of Chinese refugees off the coast of British Columbia in 1999 cause controversy?
 - c) How does the Canadian government deal with the issue of illegal immigrants?

Think and Communicate

- 6. a) Which groups opposed the Meech Lake Accord? Why?
 - b) Were the concerns of these groups considered in the Charlottetown Accord? Explain.
 - c) Suggest reasons for the defeat of the Charlottetown Accord.
- 7. Summarize, in your own words, the Supreme Court's decision on whether or not Quebec could separate unilaterally from the rest of Canada. What was the significance of this ruling?
- Make a list of national and regional symbols that appear throughout this chapter.
 Choose one of these symbols and research its history and meaning. Explain to your classmates how it helps to develop peoples' sense of identity.
- 9. "This is a paid political announcement." In groups, create TV, radio, or Internet advertisements paid for by the Bloc Québécois or the Reform party. The ads should clearly explain what the political party stands for, or what the party's viewpoint is on a current issue. Limit your ads to 60 seconds and record them on video. Be creative.
- 10. a) In groups, discuss why some anglophone Canadians object to Quebec's language laws and the fact that Quebec's only official language is French. Now, find out how many Canadian provinces are officially bilingual. Does this information change your viewpoint? Explain.
 - b) Outline one example of the abuse of French language rights outside Quebec. If you were a francophone living in Quebec, describe how hearing about this would make you feel. Why?
- 11. Analyze the graph on the next page by answering these questions.
 - a) In which year was immigration to Canada highest? Explain why.
 - b) In which years was immigration lowest? Why?
 - c) Explain the rise in immigration in the late 1950s.
 - d) Describe the general trend in immigration since 1960.

Apply Your Knowledge

- 12. Arrange a panel discussion. Invite two or three francophone Canadians who live outside Quebec to be guest panelists. Prepare questions for the interview in order to find out:
 - a) whether they feel assimilated into English-Canadian society
 - b) how they keep alive their French-Canadian culture
 - c) what legal rights they have to services and education in their own language
 - d) any experiences of injustice they have encountered in the past
 - e) their predictions about the survival of French-Canadian culture outside Quebec.



- 13. a) In groups, discuss the degree of racism in Canadian society today. Support your views with specific examples, either from the news media or from your own experience. Brainstorm ways to combat racism in society.
 - b) Design posters to commemorate International Day for the Elimination of Racism (March 21). Arrange to display the posters in classrooms and hallways of your school.
- 14. Read a short story or poem by a writer from one of Canada's ethnocultural communities. Or, listen to the music and lyrics of a song by an artist from one of Canada's ethnocultural communities. Report to the class summarizing the theme of the piece, telling about the author or artist, and describing your impressions.
- 15. Brainstorm, in groups, the identifying characteristics of your own generation. You can call it "Generation Z!" What sets you and your contemporaries off from the baby boomers and Generation X? Make predictions about how your generation will affect the world in the future. Share your predictions with other groups and discuss any differences.

Get to the Source

Writer Denise Chong said this about what it means to her to be Canadian and what lessons
the past holds for us.

I ask myself what it means to be a Canadian. I was lucky enough to be born in Canada. So I look back at the price paid by those who made the choice that brought me such luck.

....The past holds some moral authority over us. Rather than forget it, we must acknowledge that we have one, and learn the lessons of it. We have to be vigilant [watchful] about looking past the stereotypes and seeing the contrasting truths. It means understanding that someone's grandfather didn't change the family name from French to English to forsake his heritage, but to make it easier to find a job. It means lifting the charge against the early Chinese of having no family values by seeing how the laws and history cleaved their families into two. It means going to the Legion and looking at a Sikh and seeing the veteran as well as the turban.

Source: Denise Chong, "Being Canadian," in *Canadian Speeches: Issues of the Day*, vol. 9, no. 2 (May 1995), 18.

- a) What does Denise Chong mean when she says we have to look beyond the stereotypes of the past? What examples does she give of these stereotypes?
- b) What does she suggest the past means to her as a Canadian born in Canada?