

# Economic, Social, and Political Trends

## \* The Technological Revolution

### Computers for Everyone

Ford Motor Company today made an announcement that indicates just how much technology is changing the workplace—and the lives of workers around the world.

The company revealed a plan to provide every one of its 350 000 employees worldwide (17 000 in Canada) with a home computer package and unlimited Internet access. In return, Ford would deduct \$5 a month from each employee's paycheque. Many analysts hail the move as a "win-win" situation for Ford and its workers. The deal could benefit the company by:

- increasing the technological knowledge of its entire workforce. Assembly line and plant workers would benefit equally with office workers and managers.
- improving customer service. As employees become more computer literate, they would better understand why customers like to shop and make inquiries on-line.
- improving communications between management and workers. Memos could be sent to all employees by e-mail, a much faster method than delivering them by hand. This would also cut the company's paper costs.
- increasing Ford's profile as a leader in electronic commerce. Ford already markets some of its products through its Auto-xchange.com

site. By bringing its whole workforce on-line, opportunities in e-commerce can only increase.

What benefits do analysts see for employees? Besides the obvious benefit of getting state-of-the-art computer equipment at low cost, employees:

- would increase their technological knowledge and skills. This would give them more marketable skills, which in the long run could increase their salaries.
- would have easy access to Ford's electronic services.
- could take advantage of bulk discounts that Ford negotiated with different suppliers.





- could use the computer and fax machine to work at home on a regular or semi-regular basis.
- would have better access to their union executive and to fellow workers around the world.

For these reasons, union officials seem as enthusiastic about the deal as Ford management. Are there any negative aspects? Some analysts worry that Ford could use the computers to monitor employees' habits at home. They also point out that having the equipment in the

house might blur the borders between work and home life. The move could mean that Ford workers are "on call" 24 hours a day, seven days a week.

Any way you look at it, the announcement is a striking example of how the workplace is changing. The telecommunications revolution means that Canadians are re-thinking the way they work—and that means also rethinking the way they live and deal with people around the world.

1. If either of your parents worked for the Ford Motor Company, what advice would you give them about taking the offer of a home computer from the company? Why?
2. From the company's point of view, what is the most important reason for making the offer? Why?
3. How could this deal benefit both office and plant workers?

## The Changing Workplace

By the beginning of the year 2000, it was obvious that computers and telecommunications equipment were revolutionizing the Canadian workplace. The effects were being felt in almost every aspect of working life, including basic building design.

Most older buildings were not designed with the automated workplace in mind. For one thing, computers use a lot of power. When several of them are placed in the same room, they also generate a lot of heat. To avoid **sick building syndrome**, or an unhealthy workplace, many buildings had to be renovated. Electrical systems were upgraded to avoid power surges and outages. Ventilation systems had to be improved to keep temperature levels even,

to make sure there was enough oxygen, and to combat pollutants in recycled air.

Experts in **ergonomics**, the science of workplace design, also began to make workspaces more flexible. In the past, many workplaces had either private walled offices or open rooms where employees sat at rows of desks. Modern workplaces tend to have rooms divided into cubicles with portable walls.

This arrangement reflects the way many businesses are organized today. They do not divide their workforce into traditional departments. Instead, they put together teams to work on specific projects. Each time a new project begins, a new team is formed. Since cubicles can be easily taken apart and then put together in different ways, the workplace can be reorganized to meet the demands of each new team.



*Workplaces today have been redesigned to accommodate computers and telecommunications equipment.*



Factories, shops, distribution centres, and other workplaces have also undergone major changes. Car repair shops now include computers that can diagnose problems. Warehouses are organized through sophisticated inventory and computer tracking programs. Cash registers in stores and other businesses use electronic scanners and automatically record all purchases into the computer system. There are few workplaces today without a computer.

Just as the workplace is changing, so are peoples' jobs. The following are just a few of the major trends affecting Canadian workers today. We live in what many people are calling the "Information Age." The technological changes are having an impact not only on the workplace, but on the Canadian economy and society as a whole. Just think for a moment about how this new technology has changed your life at school and at home over your lifetime.

### Telecommuting

**Telecommuting** means working at a distance from the workplace or working at home. Through computers, telephones, modems, and fax machines, telecommuters can keep in close touch with their company office. They can transfer the work they do at home to the office electronically.

What are the advantages for workers? One advantage is flexible working hours.

Telecommuting can work both for freelancers and for salaried workers who want to divide their work time between home and office. Telecommuters can also avoid the time and stress of travelling to work in heavy traffic or on public transit. At the beginning of the century, it was bicycles that allowed people to live farther from their place of work. Then automobiles and electric trams led to the spread of suburbs around cities. Today, many telecommuters are selling their city homes and moving to the country.

What are the disadvantages? Many workers say that the new technology actually means a heavier rather than a lighter workload. They feel they are bombarded by faxes, e-mail messages, and mounds of other information they must sift through. Some also comment on how pervasive the new technology is—in other words, there is no getting away from it. Cell phones and computers mean that workers can be reached even on vacation. Lines between work life, home life, and leisure time have become blurred.

### The Job Shift

Technological change is creating a demand for new types of workers. Canadian economic consultant Nuala Beck has pointed out a new demand for what she calls knowledge workers.

**Knowledge workers** are people who have been trained to provide certain information services. Since their skills are mental, these workers are highly mobile and adaptable to change. In other words, they can apply their skills to many different jobs, in different industries, and in different locations. Unlike miners, forestry workers, or factory workers, they are not tied to a particular location or job. They include not only workers in high-tech industries such as computer programming and telecommunications, but also profession-



als such as teachers, doctors, accountants, and lawyers. Corporate executives and senior managers also qualify as knowledge workers.

Beck believes Canada's economy will grow early in the twenty-first century. Canada currently has one of the highest percentage of knowledge workers in the world, twice as high as Japan. The most successful economies in the twenty-first century, Beck predicts, will be those with the greatest number of knowledge workers.

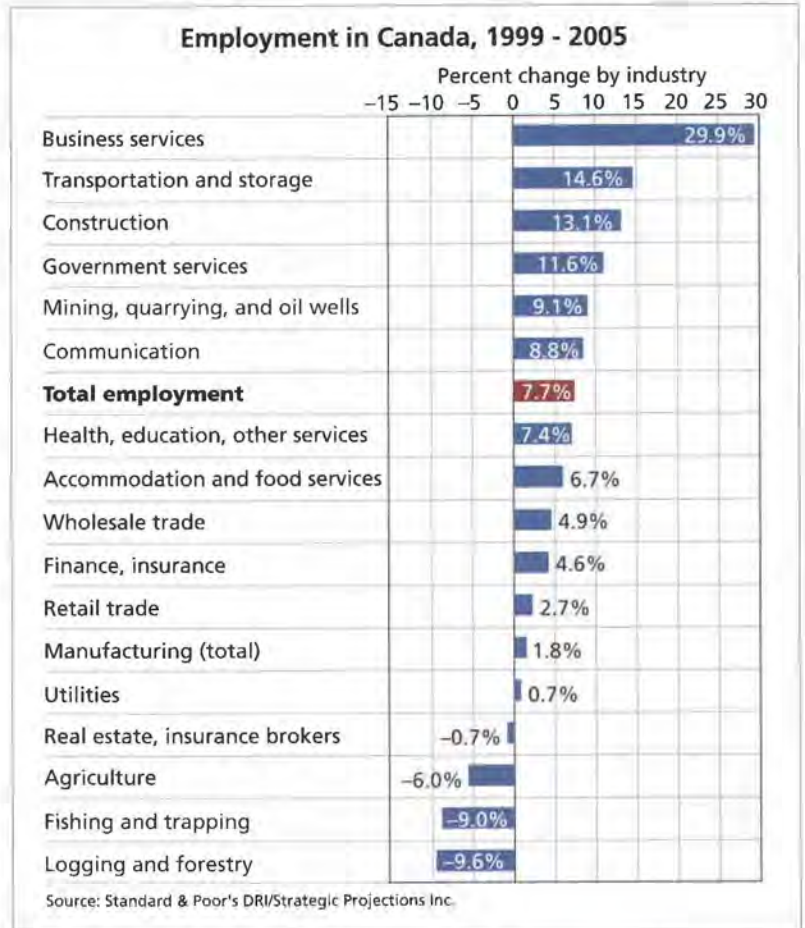
The Information Age is creating a shift in Canada's workforce. Between 1999 and 2005, the percentage of workers employed in "business services" will show the largest increase. On the other hand, the growth rate for workers in traditional resource industries such as agriculture, fishing and trapping, and forestry will be negative.

### Self-Employed Workers

According to Statistics Canada, more and more Canadians are working for themselves. From 1976 to 1998, the number of self-employed workers doubled to 2.5 million. This was partly because of mass layoffs in sectors such as forestry, the civil service, and banking. It was also because many knowledge workers were gaining the technological skill and communications equipment to strike out on their own. Small businesses like antique dealers are becoming more aggressive about marketing their products on the Internet. This means many of them no longer have to pay rent for shop or office space.

### Job Switching

In the early part of the twentieth century, it was common for workers to stay with the same employer for their whole career. Today, many more workers switch jobs often. They take new jobs as they are offered higher salaries or better opportunities. In fact, many people will switch not



just their job but their whole career path two or three times during their working life. Knowledge workers are especially mobile. By taking time off for education, they can apply their skills to a whole new career path in a relatively short time.

### Greater Stress

The pace of technological change has brought with it increased stress levels for many workers. Since 1965, experts have measured the rate of technological change by a formula called **Moore's Law**. This law states that the amount of circuitry that can be placed on a silicon chip doubles every 18 months. In other words, every year and a half computers are twice as powerful as they were before. At this

*Which industries will experience the greatest growth in the first five years of the twenty-first century? Which will show negative growth? Why?*



rate, the average worker has difficulty keeping up with all the changes in the workplace. To try and stay current, people work longer hours and take more courses in their time off. With no chance for rest and relaxation, they burn out.

The threat of losing jobs to machines has also increased workplace stress. Bank tellers are an example. They are being almost completely eclipsed by automatic teller machines or ATMs. Some jobs have been “de-skilled” by the new technology. Cashiers, for example, no longer need to calculate correct change or even punch in prices of items. Electronic scanners automatically enter prices and make all calculations. Some employers feel justified in paying cashiers lower wages as a result.

In some cases, the new technology makes it easier for employers to monitor how quickly and efficiently their employees are working. This puts added pressure on many workers. Some analysts have referred to “the electronic sweatshop.” Every keystroke a keyboarder makes every working day can be recorded and monitored, for example.

## Economic Trends

What do all these technological and workplace changes mean for Canada? For one thing, the vast distances in the country are less of a problem for doing business. A worker in St. John’s, Newfoundland, can send an order to a company in Vancouver by e-mail and it arrives almost instantaneously. The order can be delivered the next day by an overnight courier service. A business no longer has to locate close to its customers, who are usually in a city. Instead it can set up near its suppliers, which are often in rural areas. This way, a business makes higher profits. It pays less in rent for rural than urban office or shop

space, and its transportation costs are lower.

Similarly, workers in knowledge-based industries have traditionally lived in cities or in the surrounding suburbs. In 1996, *Maclean’s* identified a growing trend in North America. Many of these workers were selling their homes and moving to the country. If this trend continues, the demand for middle-income housing and business real estate will drop in many cities.

Technological advances have also helped to open borders between countries. This is especially true of the border between Canada and the United States. By the beginning of the twenty-first century, there were two major effects on the Canadian economy—the “brain drain” and the drive for a common currency.

### The Brain Drain

In the 1990s, large numbers of highly skilled and trained Canadians were leaving the country to take better-paid jobs in the US. Canadian journalists and policy makers called this trend the **brain drain**. *Time* magazine (11 May 1998) reported that in 1989, about 2600 Canadians were issued temporary work visas to the US. By 1998, that number had skyrocketed to more than 32 600. A high percentage of these Canadians were in the computer software field. Others included:

- *Doctors*—By 1998, more than 10 000 Canadian doctors were practising in the US. This represented a 20 per cent increase from 1985. As well, from 1994 to 1996, 17 000 Canadian nurses moved to the States. In March 1999, the Canadian Medical Association warned that the shortage of doctors in rural areas was in danger of reaching crisis levels unless the government took action immediately.
- *University professors*—By the end of the 1998 academic year, the electrical engi-



neering department at McGill University had a 20 per cent vacancy rate, the result of professors leaving to take positions at US universities and research centres. Other Canadian universities reported similar problems in keeping their senior teaching staff.

- **Lawyers**—By the end of the 1990s, first-year lawyers who would be making \$45 500 a year in Toronto could command \$100 000 salaries in New York City.

In all of these cases, the US salaries worked out to be even greater because income taxes in the US are much lower than in Canada. The people who moved were not worried about losing the social benefits their taxes paid for in Canada. They were able to negotiate medical insurance as part of their benefits package, and they made good enough salaries to send their children to private schools.

This trend raised a number of questions. What effect would the loss of so many talented people have on Canada's economic competitiveness? Would Canada's health care system be threatened by the loss of so many doctors and nurses? How long can any country continue to lose its most talented engineers, doctors, and lawyers without suffering permanent damage?

A number of solutions were suggested. These included improving salaries and incentive packages for the workers. Another was to set up more aggressive recruiting programs for graduating students. An innovative idea was for companies to pay off the student loans of new employees if they agreed to stay in Canada for at least three to five years. The Reform party used the brain drain as an argument for lower personal income tax rates.

Some groups pressed the federal government to increase funding for high-tech and medical research projects. In Canada, the Medical Research Council had a 1998

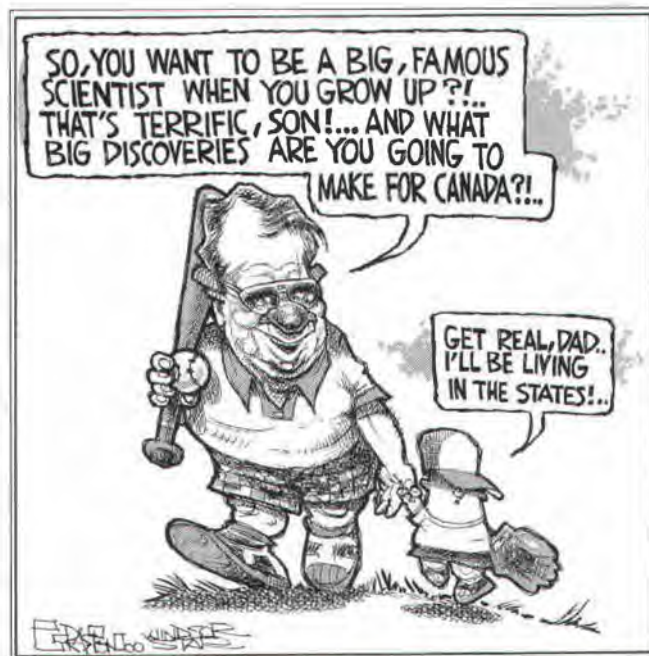
### The Brain Drain

(emigration of skilled Canadians to the US as a percentage of Canada's graduates)



Source: The Conference Board of Canada

budget of \$166 million. The budget for the equivalent body in the US, the National Institutes of Health, was \$9.5 billion. At a time when the Canadian government planned further cuts in research funds, the US government meant to double the budget for the Institutes of Health over a five-year period.



Source: Mike Gustafson, The Windsor Star.



Ultimately, though, the technological advances that helped create the problem might also offer the solution. In 1999, *Time* interviewed the Canadian inventor of the Java computer language, James Gosling. Gosling predicted that the Internet will eventually make it unnecessary for Canadians in high-tech industries to move to the US. A computer programmer who lives in rural northern Ontario could start a new firm, advertise, and take orders for it over the Internet. Gosling believed that the Internet would contribute to a more widespread workforce, one that was less concentrated in the cities. Other government reports have suggested that the number of highly qualified immigrants coming to Canada is making up for the recent brain drain.

### A Common Currency

You may not have thought of it, but you carry around one of our most common and powerful national symbols in your wallet. Money is a symbol of the country in which we live. Take a five-dollar bill out of your wallet and really look at it. What do you see? On the front is a portrait of one of Canada's prime ministers, Wilfrid Laurier. On the back is the picture of a bird, the kingfisher, that can be found in Canada from Prince Edward Island to British Columbia. The words on the bill are printed in English and French, signifying that Canada is a bilingual country. The national coat of arms and a picture of the federal Parliament buildings are also on the bill.

Each of these pictures is a symbol of Canada, but so is the bill itself. Imagine a tourist coming to North America for the first time, say a young woman from Japan. She travels through the United States, then crosses the border at Niagara Falls and enters Canada. The geography is pretty much the same on either side of the border, but she notices immediately the money has changed. This difference says to her, "You

have entered another country, one with its own laws, history, and way of doing things."

She looks at a five-dollar bill just like the one you are holding in your hand, and sees the words, "Bank of Canada/Banque du Canada." These words make it plain that Canada, as a sovereign nation, has its own central bank and directs its own monetary policy. Our tourist begins to understand that there are basic and important differences between the country she has just left and the one she has entered.

In the 1990s, economists and policy makers debated whether Canada should scrap the Canadian dollar and have a common currency with the United States. Canada currently has what economists call a **floating exchange rate** with the US. This means that the value of the Canadian dollar rises or falls in relation to the US dollar based on the strength of each country's economy.

What does this mean? Much of Canada's economy is based on resource products such as lumber, minerals, and grains. If the price of these products falls on world markets, then the Canadian dollar also falls in value in relation to the US dollar. Over the course of many months, it may drop from 75 cents US to 70 cents.

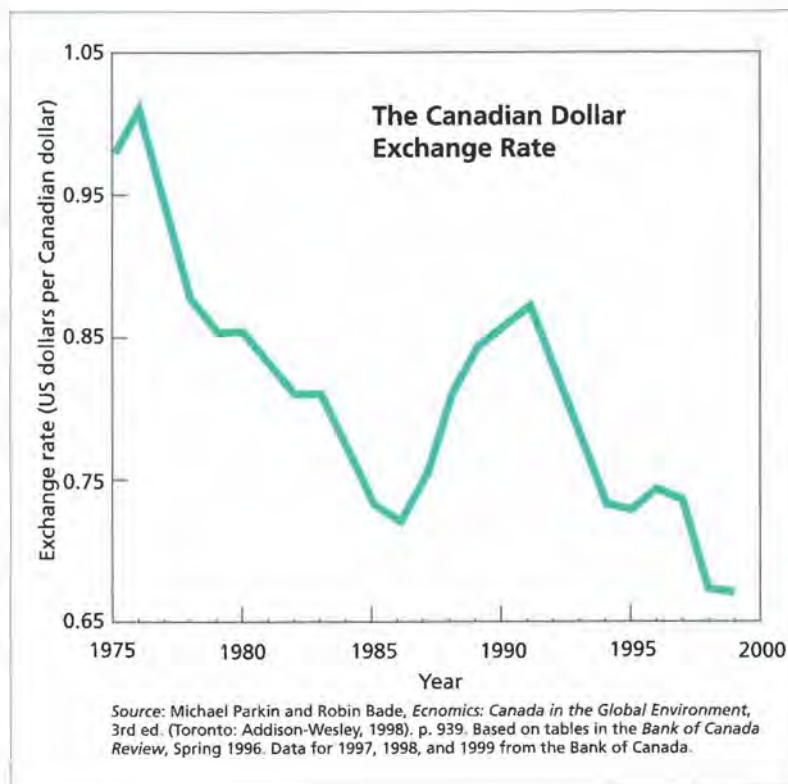
During the 1960s and 1970s, the Canadian and US currencies were relatively stable. But in the 1980s and 1990s, the Canadian dollar went for a roller coaster ride. The "loonie" went up and down in relation to the US "greenback," but the general trend was downward. Over the summer of 1998, the dollar hit an all-time low of 63 cents US. The Bank of Canada was forced to spend a billion dollars to defend the dollar against currency speculators who were driving its value downward. Economists called the situation a **currency crisis**. Some said it would be best to abandon the Canadian dollar altogether and have a common currency with the US.



Not everyone agreed, but by 1999 opinion polls were showing some surprising results. A *Maclean's*/CBC poll showed Canadians were almost equally divided on whether a common currency would benefit Canada. Of those polled, 44 per cent said it would. Forty-two per cent said Canada would “lose out.” Eight per cent could not decide. In an Angus Reid poll reported by *The Globe and Mail*, 77 per cent said they expected a common currency would be a reality within 20 years. Why did something that seemed unthinkable not too long before suddenly appear inevitable?

Advocates said that a common currency would benefit Canada because:

- the dollar would be stable, not rising and falling in value. This would benefit people travelling between Canada and the US, whether for business or pleasure. A retired couple in North Bay would not have to worry about cancelling a Florida vacation because of fluctuations in the exchange rate.
- trade between the two countries would be simpler and cheaper. This would be an advantage because in North America, the natural trade flows are north-south rather than east-west. Ontario exports very few products to other provinces in Canada; about 90 per cent of its exports go to the US. Queen's University economics professor Thomas Courchene estimated Canada could save \$5 billion a year in currency conversion costs by using a common currency. The move would also make doing business on the Internet easier.
- productivity in Canada would rise. Companies that do business with the US would no longer have to worry about a falling dollar cutting into their profits. They could concentrate instead on raising their output.
- more money would stay in the country. Fewer investors would try to shelter



their money by investing it in Asia or Europe.

- a common currency worked for Europe. Eleven countries in the European Union agreed to give up their national currencies for the “euro,” beginning in 1999. This has made travelling and doing business in Europe a much simpler affair.

Canadian nationalists and federal government officials denied that a common currency would solve the country's economic problems. They resisted the move because:

- Canada could lose control over its own economy. At present, the Bank of Canada has some control over the economy by adjusting interest rates and the money supply. Under a united currency, Canada's monetary policy would probably be set by the Federal Reserve Board in Washington.

**The exchange rate for the Canadian dollar is measured in US dollars. Describe the pattern shown in this graph.**



## FLASHBACK

In the 1970s, many Canadian nationalists were concerned about the extent of American ownership in the Canadian economy. After the Committee for an Independent Canada (CIC) lobbied the government, measures were taken that reduced American ownership from approximately 36 per cent to 26 per cent.

In a 1999 *Maclean's* article, Canadian nationalist and CIC founding member Peter Newman charged that "the Americanization of our economy has entered a disturbing new reality." Whereas Americans had bought about \$8 billion worth of Canadian companies in 1997, in 1999 that figure more than tripled, to \$25.6 billion. Warned Newman: "We now control a smaller portion of our productive wealth than the citizens of any other industrialized country on earth."

- Canada would lose a valuable "safety valve" during tough economic times. Currently, when prices for Canadian exports fall, the value of the Canadian dollar also falls. Since fewer dollars are needed to buy the goods, they are more competitive in the US market. This means Canadian exports continue to sell. But with a united currency, the value of the dollar would remain high. The only way manufacturers could adjust would be to cut back on production and lay off employees.
- Canada registered large increases in trade with the US over the 1980s and 1990s, even with a floating exchange rate. Why change a system that seems to be working?
- the comparison with the European Union is not valid. Germany has the most powerful economy in Europe, but still produces only about 30 per cent of total economic output there. In North America, the US accounts for 80 per cent of economic output and would therefore demand more control over a unified currency. Also, in Europe the currency confusion was much greater, with 15 countries issuing different currencies.
- there is no guarantee the US would agree to such a move. Alan Greenspan, chairman of the Federal Reserve Board,

noted that the US is under no obligation to help other countries solve their economic problems.

Clearly, the debate will continue. The result may depend on the way the global economy develops. If Canada and the US register steady economic growth and stay competitive with other regions of the world, there will be no pressure to change things by uniting their currencies. That could change, though, if both countries fall into a lengthy recession.



### Labour Issues

As Canada entered the twenty-first century, organized labour had to deal with two trends threatening the jobs of Canadian workers. The first was technological advances, and the second was global competition. Computers and telecommunications equipment meant that machines were doing some jobs faster and more cheaply than human workers could. At the same time, stiff competition forced many companies to save money by laying off some of their workers.

In the 1990s, the Canadian banking industry was a good example of both these trends. By 1996, analysts were predicting that 35 000 banking jobs would be lost over the next 10 years. With the widespread use of automatic teller machines



(ATMs), banks needed fewer human tellers. Computerized accounting and record-keeping programs meant that the banks also needed fewer clerks.

A storm of controversy erupted in 1998 when the Royal Bank proposed a merger with the Bank of Montreal. A few months later, the CIBC announced it wanted to merge with the Toronto Dominion Bank. Critics charged that the banks were only worried about corporate profits. They said the mergers would mean closed branches, especially in rural areas, and job losses for tens of thousands of employees.

The bank presidents denied these charges. They said they had to respond to competition in the global marketplace and technological advances. They pointed to the US. There, between 1987 and 1997, the number of banks had decreased by one-third, largely due to mergers. There had been a similar trend in Europe, and in 1996, Japan's two largest banks merged to form an economic powerhouse, the Bank of Tokyo-Mitsubishi. If Canadian banks were to compete against these international giants, they too would have to merge forces their presidents argued.

Bank presidents also pointed to another example. Wells Fargo in the US and the Dutch bank ING had both used sophisticated telephone banking to get into the Canadian market. Because these banks offered all their services over the telephone and through the Internet, they did not have to open branch offices in Canada. They were able to lure customers away from Canadian banks by offering business loans at better rates. Canadian banks could only afford better technologies and more competitive rates if they were bigger, their presidents said.

In the end, federal Finance Minister Paul Martin rejected the bank mergers, partly because of concern over major job losses. When in 2000, Martin approved a

smaller merger between Toronto Dominion and Canada Trust, bank officials admitted the move would result in the loss of almost 5000 jobs over three years.

Labour unions worried that this trend towards mergers and job losses would be felt in other areas of the economy as well. In 1999, the Canadian Labour Congress (CLC) and the Canadian Union of Public Employees (CUPE) joined in a massive protest against a meeting of the World Trade Organization (WTO) in Seattle. The WTO was meeting for its Millennium Round of trade negotiations. Labour organizations protested the meeting because they said the WTO:

- wanted to privatize public services such as hospitals and schools. Taking hospitals out of government control and giving them to private corporations would mean job losses and user fees, according to union officials.
- would deny countries control over human rights and the environment. In the past, the WTO had taken action against the European Union when it wanted to ban imports of hormone-treated beef, and against the US when it wanted to keep out pollution-causing additives to gasoline. The WTO did not want to allow these trade restrictions. Critics said these cases were proof that the WTO put financial concerns before the health and rights of a nation's citizens.



*Protestors at the World Trade Organization meeting in 1999, an event that became known as the "Battle in Seattle." What were some of the issues people were protesting about?*



## **Regional Discontent**

After the federal election of 1997, Canada resembled a patchwork quilt of five distinct regions represented by five different political parties. The Progressive Conservatives took most seats in the Maritimes, while the Bloc Québécois swept Quebec. The Liberals owed their majority in Parliament to winning 101 of 103 seats in Ontario, but they failed to dominate in any other province. The Prairie Provinces of Manitoba and Saskatchewan were the stronghold of the NDP, and to a lesser extent the Reform party. In Alberta and BC, Reform dominated every other party. In this election, the Reform party replaced the Bloc Québécois as the official opposition.

The election made many people wonder whether Canada was becoming more regionalized than ever before. If so, what were the reasons? Did the election results pose a threat to national unity? What solutions could be offered to deal

with this problem? The last chapter (Chapter 18) looked at the causes of Quebec's discontent and the reasons why voters there embraced the BQ.

In the Atlantic region, people were also angry at the federal government. The region had suffered some serious economic blows in recent years, especially with the collapse of the fishery. That crisis had led to 30 000 job layoffs. In 1995, unemployment in Atlantic Canada reached a staggering 15 per cent, 4 per cent higher than the national average. Because the economy in the Maritimes was largely resource-based, there were few secondary manufacturing jobs to fall back on. People in Atlantic Canada were also upset at the Liberal cutbacks in provincial transfer payments to the provinces, especially those that affected health care and job creation programs.

In the West, many voters still felt sidelined by Ottawa. They believed the government was too preoccupied with issues such as bilingualism and Quebec separatism to spare any time for western concerns. The birth of the Reform party can be traced to this general feeling of **western alienation** and to one specific incident in particular.

A group of Manitoba businesses had put together a bid for a multi-billion-dollar contract to build Canada's CF-18 fighter jets. In 1987, the federal government awarded the contract to a Quebec group instead, even though the Manitoba bid was less expensive. In the eyes of many experts, the Manitoba bid was also superior from a technical point of view. This incident happened only two years after the Supreme Court of Canada had ruled that all of Manitoba's laws were illegal because they had not been translated into French.

Adversarial feelings were inflamed in the province and spread across the West. A group called the Western Reform Asso-

*First leader of the Reform party, Preston Manning. The party became the official opposition after the 1997 election. Why is Reform considered a regional party?*







## SPOTLIGHT ON...

### Ujjal Dosanjh

In February 2000, Ujjal Dosanjh was elected leader of the New Democratic Party in British Columbia and became premier of the province. He is Canada's first Indo-Canadian premier.

Dosanjh was born in a small village in India. At 17, he set out alone from India. After a stay in Britain, he arrived in British Columbia in 1968. He worked in a sawmill by day and studied political science at night until he suffered a serious injury in a workplace accident. After his injury, unable to work in the mill, he became a full-time university student. He earned degrees in political science and law, and practised as a lawyer in British Columbia.

After finishing law school, Dosanjh heard disturbing stories about the mistreatment of farm workers. He decided to take action. Disguising himself as a berry picker, he observed the verbal abuse and poor working conditions firsthand. Together with friends, he became a labour activist helping farm workers with wage claims and other job-related issues.

Ujjal Dosanjh was first elected as Member of the Legislative Assembly for British Columbia in 1991. He was appointed government services minister and later, attorney general, responsible for multiculturalism, human rights, and immigration. As attorney general, he took bold steps against crime and injustice. He brought in tough enforcement measures to promote children's rights, to



fight racism and hate crimes, and to reduce violence against women and children. He also launched new ways to resolve civil and family disputes through mediation. Other measures provided new protection for consumers, including homebuyers.

In politics, he earned a reputation for integrity and steady-handed administration. Glen Clark, the previous premier, resigned under allegations of corruption. Dosanjh stated: "Let me say to the voters of British Columbia, I want you to

know that I have listened to you and I have learned from you about our government's shortcomings." Many British Columbians welcomed Ujjal Dosanjh's rise to leader and premier. Newspaper reports recalled that the Asian community had not received voting rights in Canada until 1947. Many believed Dosanjh's elevation to the premiership signalled a new chapter in Canada's multicultural history.

1. Dosanjh is quoted as saying, "I am proud to be part of the only government in Canada that has not reduced its financial commitment to education. My father was a teacher and I learned at an early age that access to education is the great social equalizer." How is education a social equalizer?
2. Why is Dosanjh's rise to premier of British Columbia significant?



ciation took out ads in every major western newspaper with a headline that announced: "The West Wants In!" A meeting was organized for May 1987 in Vancouver, where delegates first drew up the political platform for the Reform party of Canada.

During the 1990s, other events fanned the flames of western alienation. In 1992, the federal government announced it intended to replace human lighthouse keepers along the BC coast with automated lights and foghorns. The government thought it could save \$6.8 million a year by this plan. In a province where an estimated one-third of the population uses the water regularly for business or pleasure, the proposal caused concern for marine safety.

But the lighthouses did not employ nearly as many people as the fishing industry. In 1997, the "salmon wars" with fishers from the US left people in the BC salmon industry feeling they had been sold out by the federal government for the sake of good relations with the US. Both of these issues became symbols of what British Columbians thought was the federal government's indifference to their province.

At the height of the furor, BC Senator Pat Carney said that people in BC had to "rethink what we want from Confederation because the current arrangement is not meeting our needs and the fish war proves that." When a reporter asked Senator Carney if "rethinking" meant considering separation from Canada, she refused to rule out that option.

Commentators in Ontario and eastern Canada were outraged by Carney's remarks. But people in BC supported her by a margin of seven to one. This was only one of many indications that, at the turn of the millennium, regional issues were leading some Canadians to rethink their attachment to Confederation.

## The National Debt/ National Surplus

For many years, Ottawa spent more than it took in. This wasn't always the case. The federal budget was balanced from the 1930s to the 1960s. In the 1970s, new social programs such as unemployment insurance, pensions indexed to inflation, health care, regional development, housing, and foreign aid were introduced. Most Canadians supported these programs. Instead of paying for them by raising taxes, the government ran deficits to pay for the programs. A **deficit** is the amount by which spending exceeds income each year.

As government spending grew, deficits rose and the federal debt ballooned. The **debt** is the accumulation of annual deficits into the total amount owed. The Canadian Chamber of Commerce estimated that in the early 1990s, the federal debt was rising by \$76 million a day! When the provinces' debts were added to what Ottawa owed, the total government debt in Canada reached \$661 billion in March 1994. Under the Mulroney government, one out of every three tax dollars went to paying interest on the federal debt. This amount was larger than federal spending on health care, pensions, social assistance, and family allowances combined.

Prime Minister Mulroney argued that, due to the size of the debt, Canada could no longer afford to pay well-off Canadians pensions or child allowance payments. The government started to tax back social assistance benefits. In 1992, family allowance benefits were replaced with a supplement for low-income families. Many Canadians were unhappy with funding cuts to families, pensioners, and unemployed workers, especially in a time of high unemployment.

The Liberals, under Prime Minister Chrétien, came to power in 1993 with a



promise to reduce the federal deficit. Finance Minister Paul Martin's plan was to count on moderate economic growth to reduce the deficit gradually. Martin hoped that economic growth would create jobs, particularly in small businesses. New jobs would mean that more people were paying taxes, and there would be increased revenue for the government. At the same time, the Liberals promised to protect Canada's social programs. Health care and a welfare system that ensure a minimum standard of living for all Canadians were seen as part of Canadians' birthright.

What happened in practice, however, was not that gentle. A 3 per cent general tax increase was brought in to fight the deficit, and a 5 per cent tax increase was levied on better-off citizens. Martin also introduced spending cuts. Over five years, \$7 billion was slashed from the Department of National Defence, and 16 500 military and civilian jobs disappeared as bases closed. Unemployment insurance spending was reduced and benefits were lowered. A number of tax loopholes were plugged. The federal government also downloaded costs to other levels of government by sharply reducing transfer payments to provincial governments.

Many Canadians believed that in order to reach a balanced budget, the government's spending cuts went too far and too deep. In health care, for example, funding slashes pushed the system into crisis. In 1999 public opinion polls, Canadians identified "health, education, and social services" as their number one concern. This issue replaced "unemployment and the economy" which had dominated public attention year after year since 1990.

Despite criticisms of their policy, by 1998 the Liberals had performed a historic feat. They introduced the first balanced budget in 29 years. In five years, from a \$42 billion deficit in 1993, the deficit had been

reduced to zero. The federal budget actually recorded a surplus of \$3.5 billion. Most of the money was used to pay down the national debt. The massive \$583 billion national debt decreased by \$3 billion, its first downward turn in 29 years.

Finance Minister Martin said the government would continue to use most of the budget surplus to pay down the national debt. Some new money was poured into education in 1998. A portion of the 1999 surplus was used to give the health care system a cash transfusion.

In 2000, Martin introduced a budget that included tax cuts, increased funds for the child tax benefit, and more money for university research, the military, roads, and other infrastructure projects. Many Canadians still felt, however, that not enough had been done to deal with the crisis in the health care system. Homelessness and poverty were still major problems.

All of these problems needed to be addressed. What was required, critics said, was a comprehensive program of repair.



*In the 1990s, people with disabilities could enjoy a variety of independent activities. But many Canadians became concerned that cuts to social services could jeopardize some basic values of Canadian society.*





## Developing Skills: Sampling Public Opinion

An opinion survey is an excellent way to discover what people think about an issue. Governments often use polls to decide when to call an election or how to proceed on a sensitive issue such as capital punishment.

Polls are not completely reliable. They indicate only what people feel at the exact time they are asked the questions. Sometimes people give answers that do not reflect what they really think. The pollster must always consider a margin for error. If the poll sample is large enough, however, the poll will be fairly accurate. Official polls are usually accurate within four percentage points either way.

How could you prepare an effective opinion survey?

### Step 1

Decide what information you wish to collect. Suppose you want to discover what Canadians feel about the chances of Quebec separating from the rest of Canada, for example.

### Step 2

Decide on your target audience and how large a group you want to survey. Consider this step carefully. In some cases, you might target specific groups or communities. For example, if you wanted to gauge the popularity of your student council, you would restrict your sample to students and teachers in your school. For the Quebec separation issue, you will want a broader but still manageable sample, perhaps including friends and family.

### Step 3

Prepare your questions. Make sure:

- they will give you the information you are searching for
- the wording is clear, simple, and precise
- they are worded so that they do not offend or discriminate against anyone (based on race, religion, or gender)
- they do not “tip” the answer in one direction.

### Step 4

Most opinion surveys use closed questions since they are the simplest to analyze. A closed question gives the survey participants the answers and asks them to choose one. For example:

Do you think Quebec will separate from the rest of Canada?

Yes  No  No Opinion

If only presented with the options “yes” or “no,” participants might choose one of them even though they do not have an opinion. The third option (don’t know, don’t care, or no opinion) will make your survey more accurate. If the vast majority of respondents express “no opinion,” you will know that the question is a not an issue.

### Step 5

Test your survey to make sure there are no problems. Ask several friends to answer the questions. Are the test questions too complicated? Is the survey too long?

### Step 6

Prepare your final draft. Pay attention to its overall appearance. It should be typed neatly and be well spaced on the page. Directions should be clear.

### Step 7

Conduct your opinion survey and tabulate your results. Transfer the information from all answer sheets onto a single tally sheet. Double-check your results. Accuracy is important.

### Step 8

Prepare a summary report that clearly presents your survey results. Your report should state the purpose of the survey, identify your target audience, and note the size of your sample. Include a copy of the questionnaire with the results. Consider using graphs or tables to show the results and try preparing them on computer. Also, state your conclusion and comment on the value of the survey.



## Apply Your Knowledge

1. Conduct a poll on a recent issue, such as Quebec separation, a common Canadian-US currency, or an environmental issue.

2. Each year, *Maclean's* magazine publishes a poll indicating what Canadians feel is the most important issue facing the country. Results since 1985 are shown in the graph below.

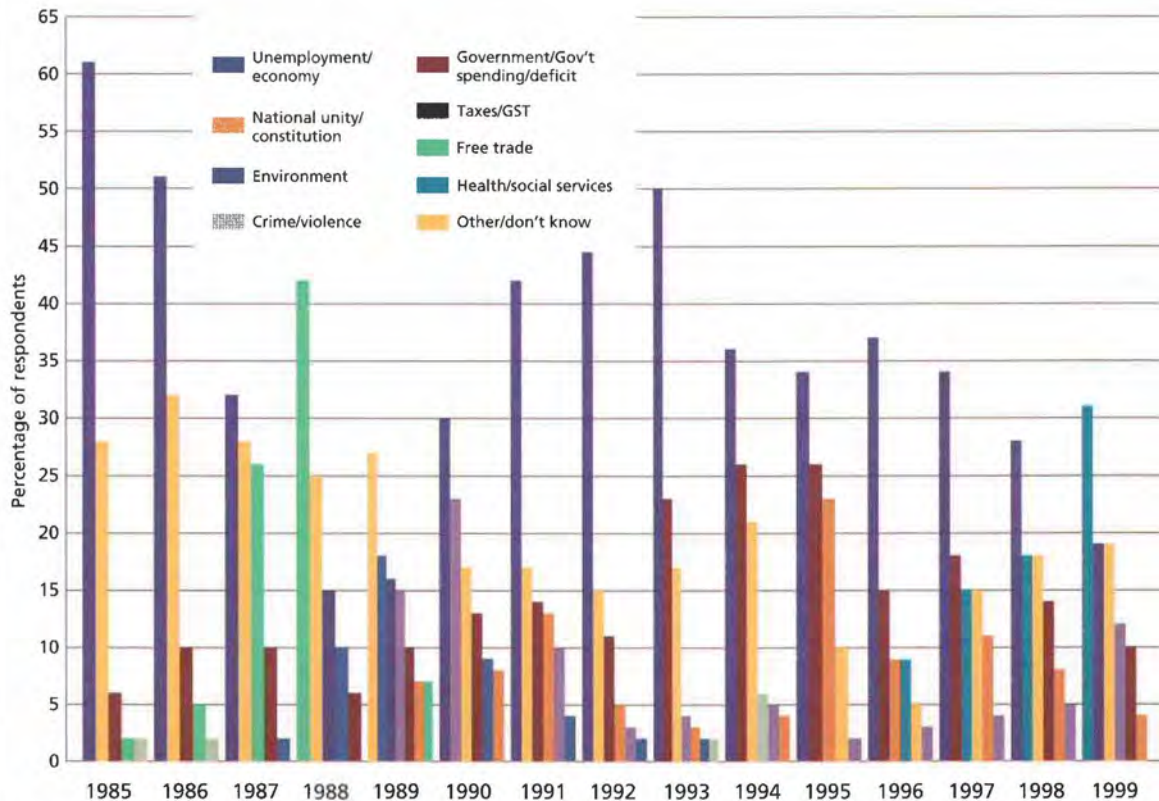
a) Which issue has been rated as most important most often? Suggest why.

b) Track the issue of national unity between 1993 and 1996. Suggest why national unity became more important in 1995.

c) Track the issue of government spending/deficit from 1994 to 1999. What happened to this issue? Suggest why. What issue took its place in peoples' minds? Why?

d) Update this poll by conducting your own sampling of public opinion. Present your results in a similar bar graph. You may wish to suggest other issues to add to the *Maclean's* list.

### Tracking the Most Important Issue





*Federal Finance Minister Paul Martin with high school students in 1999. The students gave Martin suggestions for what to do with the federal surplus.*



Finance Minister Martin was challenged to set out a plan for putting more money back into Canadian society. Medicare, education, and social assistance for the poorest in society would be the place to start. This would restore public confidence in government by giving Canadians greater value for the taxes they pay. As one newspaper editor reminded readers, “Despite the public austerity of recent years, Canada is still a rich nation, one that can afford a sense of public purpose. To sacrifice that, would be to lose something far more valuable than cash.”

## **Aboriginal Rights and Land Claims**

The 1990s was an important decade for Aboriginal nations. The decade began with the standoff at Oka and ended with the birth of an Inuit homeland, the new territory of Nunavut. Along the way, there were landmark treaty signings, a Royal Commission Report, and a Statement of Reconciliation from the federal government.

### **The Standoff at Oka**

“We are prepared to fight ... and, if necessary, to die ... in defence of our land.” With these words in the summer of 1990, a small band of Mohawks announced they had had enough. The town council of

Oka, Quebec, wished to expand the golf course. The land they wanted was the ancestral burial grounds considered sacred to the Mohawk people. The courts had rejected the Mohawks’ claim to the land. The Mohawks decided not to stand by and allow the land to be taken. They erected a barricade across the road and a 78-day armed standoff began.

On 10 July 1990, about a hundred Quebec provincial police attempted to break through the barricade, which was guarded mostly by women and children. Mohawk men, armed with rifles, were off to the side in the woods. Police wore gas masks and carried assault rifles. Overhead a police helicopter hovered, attempting to spot the Mohawks in the brush. A few minutes before 9:00 a.m., an armed conflict broke out. Hundreds of rounds were fired, bullets coming from both sides. A 31-year-old police officer was hit and later died.

The Oka standoff brought the concerns of Aboriginal peoples to the forefront of national and international attention. Across Canada and internationally, news reports focussed on the events unfolding at Oka. Thirty kilometres to the southeast, the Mohawks of the Kahnawake Reserve were outraged at the police raid on the people at Oka.

In support, the Kahnawake blocked all roads into the reserve. These roads included two major highways as well as the southern tip of the Mercier bridge. The bridge was a vital link between the island of Montreal and several heavily populated suburbs on the south shore of the St. Lawrence River. The Kahnawake Mohawks warned: “We’ll bring down the bridge if there is another police assault at Oka.”

More than a hundred chiefs gathered from across Canada at Kahnawake to discuss solidarity with the Mohawks. They warned the federal government that they would not stand by and watch the



Mohawks be assaulted. One chief said his people would bring down the power lines into Edmonton if the police moved against the Mohawks. Others suggested they would block more highways or rail lines. The chiefs called on the international community to condemn Canada for its handling of the crisis. They asked the United Nations to investigate the Mohawks' complaints that their civil and human rights were being violated.



*A Mohawk and a Canadian soldier stand face-to-face during the confrontation at Oka in 1990.*

### Contemporary Milestones for Aboriginal Nations

**1982** Aboriginal and treaty rights are enshrined in the constitution through the Charter of Rights and Freedoms.

Assembly of First Nations is established, representing status and treaty First Nations in Canada. Its goal is to develop strategies for economic development, housing, health, education, land claims, treaty rights, and self-government.

**1983** Métis National Council is founded to represent Métis of Manitoba, Saskatchewan, and Alberta who see themselves as distinct from non-status and Métis people in other parts of the country because of their traditional historic roots in the region.

**1984** An amendment to the Charter of Rights and Freedoms confirms Aboriginal peoples' rights through land claims agreements past or future, and guarantees all rights equally to men and women. Any changes to Aboriginal rights in the Charter must be discussed at a First Ministers Conference with representatives of Aboriginal peoples.

**1985** Indian Act is changed so that women who lost their status by marrying a non-Aboriginal man regain their status; bands have the right to determine their own membership.

**1987** Elijah Harper blocks the Meech Lake Accord because it does not recognize Aboriginal nations as distinct societies and did not include Aboriginal nations in the constitutional talks.

**1993** National Aboriginal Awards are established.

A United Nations group drafts a Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples.

**1994** Aboriginal bands in Manitoba sign a self-government agreement which includes dismantling the Department of Indian Affairs in the province and transferring power and funds to the bands.

**1995** United Nations proclaims 1995 to 2004 the International Decade of the World's Indigenous Peoples and urges governments around the world to address the concerns of indigenous populations.

**1996** June 21 officially becomes National Aboriginal Day in Canada.

**1997** Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples' report is released.

A landmark Supreme Court ruling states that Aboriginal communities have rights to unoccupied traditional lands and traditional oral evidence may be used in determining land ownership.

**1998** Canadian government issues Statement of Reconciliation to Aboriginal peoples.

Nisga'a Treaty is signed.

**1999** Nunavut officially becomes a new territory of Canada.



Meanwhile, no progress was made toward a negotiated settlement. Early in August 1990, Prime Minister Mulroney announced that the Canadian armed forces would be sent to Oka and Kahnawake. They would replace the Quebec police. The decision to send in the army came at the request of Quebec Premier Bourassa.

Approximately 4400 soldiers were moved into Oka and Kahnawake. The troops were backed by armoured personnel carriers and heavy weapons. Military officials said the mission was to remove the barricades peacefully. After tense negotiations, the barricades came down on the Mercier bridge. During the following weeks, negotiations continued. Finally, on 26 September, the 11-week standoff ended.

Most of the Mohawks considered that they had been successful in achieving their goal. The sacred burial grounds had been saved from the developers. As important, the issue of Aboriginal rights had been put before the world through the media. But Aboriginal peoples in Canada warned that there would be more Okas unless Canada respected their land claims and other rights. In 1997, the federal government purchased the disputed land from the town of Oka and returned it to the Mohawk community.

### Ipperwash

Another confrontation over land rights took place in Ontario in 1995. In that year,

members of the Kettle and Stoney Point Band occupied the Canadian Forces base at Ipperwash near Sarnia, Ontario. The base had been built on land taken from a reserve in 1942. Twelve families had been moved off the land and their homes had been destroyed. In 1972, Jean Chrétien was Indian Affairs Minister. He said the band had a “legitimate grievance” and recommended returning the land to the band. Department of Defence officials noted the land had been used extensively for weapons testing and said a clean-up could cost up to \$30 million. The government took no further action.

After protestors occupied the base in 1995, armed forces personnel withdrew. Two months later, the band members also moved into nearby Ipperwash Provincial Park. The park contained an ancient burial ground. The protestors were unarmed and they had waited until after Labour Day, the traditional end of the summer camping season, to occupy the park.

In the past, the policy of the Ontario Provincial Police (OPP) had been to avoid force in confrontations with protestors. At Ipperwash, however, Cecil George, an unarmed Aboriginal counsellor, was beaten unconscious by the police. Dudley George, also unarmed, was shot dead. A cousin of George, Nick Cattrel, was shot in the back. In a criminal trial two years later, a judge convicted an OPP officer of manslaughter in George’s death and gave him a suspended sentence.

Despite demands from Dudley George’s family and members of the press, the Ontario government did not call an inquiry into his death. The George family filed a lawsuit against Ontario. They alleged that government officials had ordered the police to clear the protestors out of the park by whatever means necessary, and so bore some responsibility for George’s death. The suit was filed in June

*Aboriginal protestors behind a barricade near the entrance to Ipperwash Provincial Park. Why did the federal government believe the Kettle and Stoney Point Band had a “legitimate grievance”?*





1999, but by February 2000 had still not gone to trial.

In 1998, the federal government signed an agreement in principle returning the land occupied by the military base to the band. The agreement also gave the band \$26 million for damages suffered.

### The Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples

Largely in response to the Oka crisis, the federal government established a **Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples (RCAP)** in 1990. The commission had two main purposes:

- to outline practical solutions for Aboriginal self-government
- to recommend compensation packages for past abuses.

The RCAP's report took six years to compile and contained more than 400 recommendations. These included spending more than \$30 billion over 15 years in compensation packages and self-government initiatives.

Self-government means that Aboriginal peoples would have control over matters such as their own education, resource development, social services, justice system, and health care. Some Aboriginal peoples have already gained a degree of self-government. The RCAP report made a number of other recommendations, some controversial. These included setting up a House of First Peoples as an Aboriginal parliament equal to the federal and provincial governments, granting Aboriginal peoples dual citizenship (with Canada and with one First Nation), and funding self-government initiatives by taxing Aboriginal peoples along with contributions from other Canadian governments. None of these recommendations had been implemented by 2000, but Aboriginal peoples continue to take steps toward achieving self-government throughout Canada.

### The Statement of Reconciliation 1998

In 1998, the federal government issued a **Statement of Reconciliation** to Aboriginal peoples. In its most basic sense, the statement was an apology. It expressed the government's sorrow for policies dating back to before Confederation. These included policies that tried to stamp out Aboriginal cultural practices such as the Potlatch and the Sun Dance. The government also apologized for taking Aboriginal children from their families and confining them in residential schools.

Indian Affairs Minister Jane Stewart delivered the Statement of Reconciliation at a ceremony that began with traditional drumming and dancing. First she read the statement, then handed it in a scroll to Aboriginal leaders representing five different organizations. The statement read in part: "The Government of Canada recognizes that policies that sought to assimilate Aboriginal people, women and men, are not the way to build a strong country." Stewart also pledged a total of \$600 million for various self-help programs, including a \$250-million healing fund for people who had suffered mental and physical abuse while at residential schools.

Phil Fontaine, Grand Chief of the Assembly of First Nations, welcomed the Statement and the pledge of financial assistance. "For the first time in history," he



*Holding a ceremonial eagle feather, Indian Affairs Minister Jane Stewart shakes hands with Aboriginal leader Phil Fontaine. Stewart had just finished reading a Statement of Reconciliation from the Canadian government to Aboriginal peoples.*





## IMPACT ON SOCIETY

### THE CREATION OF NUNAVUT

At the stroke of midnight on 1 April 1999, the map of Canada was redrawn. As a massive fireworks display lit up the sky over Iqaluit, the new territory of **Nunavut** came into being. Nunavut means “our land” in Inuktitut, the language of the Inuit. The new territory was carved from the eastern half of the Northwest Territories and extends for more than 2 million km<sup>2</sup>. It is four times the size of France.

In contrast to its vast extent, Nunavut has a relatively small population. Even though it is two times bigger than Ontario, its population of 25 000 is 2.5 per cent the size of Ontario’s population. But the significance of Nunavut goes beyond the size of its population. The creation of the new territory gives the Inuit of the eastern Arctic, who make up more than 85 per cent of Nunavut’s population, a self-governing homeland.

Inuit in the Northwest Territories had been lobbying for a land claims settlement and self-government since the early 1970s. It was then that oil, gas, and mineral companies from the South began exploring in the area. Two organizations, the Inuit Tapirisat of Canada and the Tungavik Federation of Nunavik, led the campaign. In May 1992, 52 per cent of voters in the Northwest Territories accepted an agreement reached with the Canadian government to split the Northwest Territories in two.

Nunavut makes up a fifth of Canada’s land area and has been called the largest peaceful land settlement in history. The Inuit received title to 350 000 km<sup>2</sup> and \$1.15 billion over 14 years. In return, they renounced their claim to another 1.6 million km<sup>2</sup> of land. They have hunting, trapping, and fishing rights over all of Nunavut. They also receive a share of federal royalties from resource development in the ter-



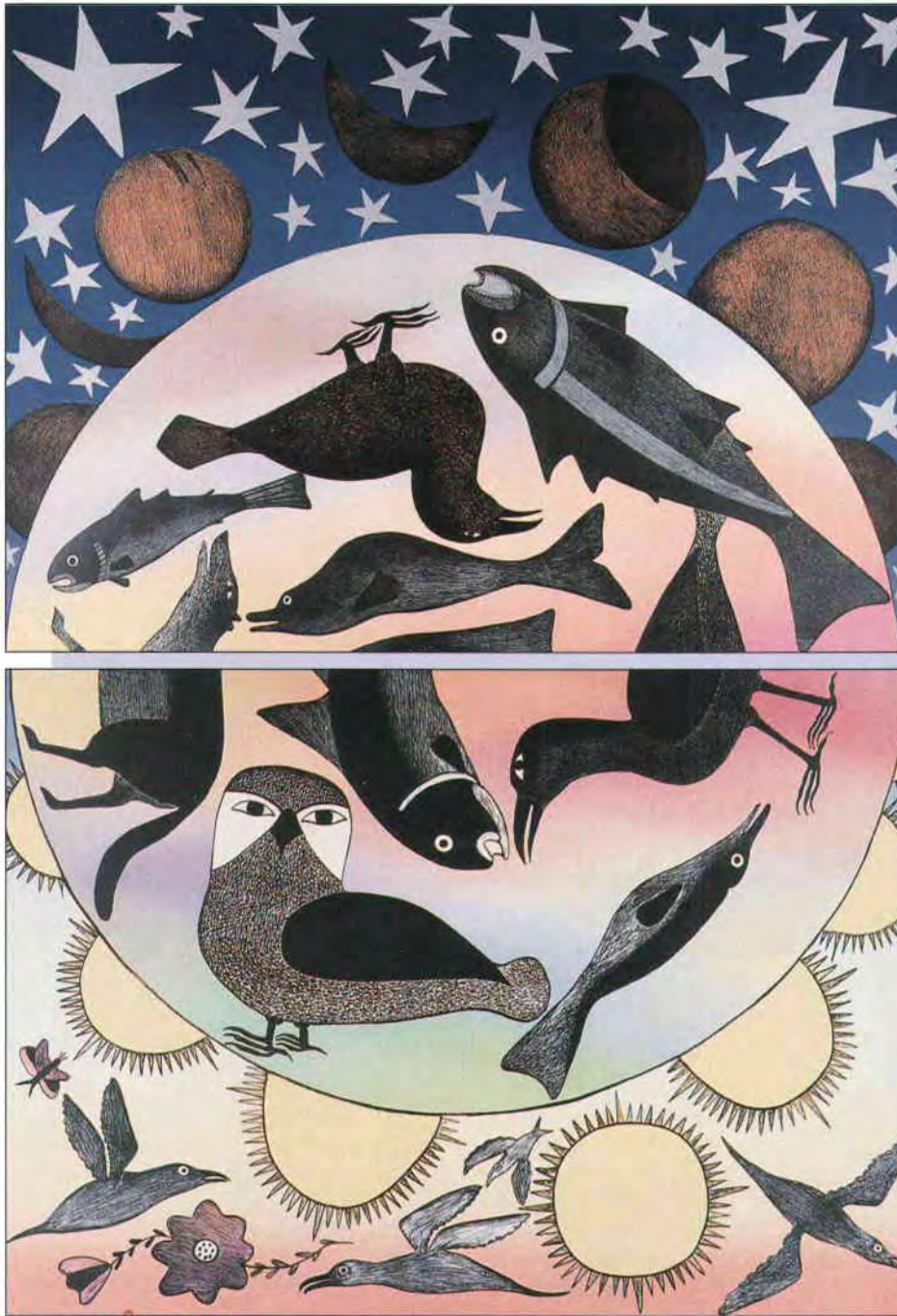
ritory. Nunavut has its own democratically elected Legislative Assembly.

At the ceremony marking the creation of Nunavut, government leader Paul Okalik called for a moment of silence to remember those who have “committed suicide, those lost on the land pursuing a traditional lifestyle, and those who have fallen victim to abuse.” No one denies the government has some major problems to solve. The territory has an unemployment rate of 22 per cent, more than twice the national average.

Still, there is a feeling of optimism in the new territory, a feeling that even the most serious problems can be overcome with cooperation and patience. As Paul Okalik remarked, “We the people of Nunavut have regained control of our own destiny.”

1. Why is the creation of Nunavut an important settlement for the Inuit?
2. Do you think similar land settlements can be made in other areas of Canada? What challenges might there be? Explain.





**Silavut, Nunavut**  
*(Our Environment,  
 Our Land)* by Inuit  
 artist Kenojuak  
 Ashevak created to  
 commemorate the  
 inauguration of  
 Nunavut.

1. How does this artwork illustrate the Inuit view of the land?
2. This work is a diptych—a pair of thematically linked prints. Why do you think the artist chose to present this piece as a diptych? What is the unifying theme?



said, “this government has accepted that Canada cannot achieve its full potential” without the cooperation of the Aboriginal peoples.

### The Nisga’a Treaty

On 4 August 1998, representatives of the Nisga’a nation and the federal and British Columbia governments signed a historic agreement. The **Nisga’a Treaty** was the first land claims settlement made west of the Rockies since 1871. Not only did it grant the Nisga’a a large area of land and a financial settlement, it also established a new model of Aboriginal self-government. Specifically, the treaty granted the Nisga’a:

- 2019 km<sup>2</sup> of land in the Nass River valley in northwestern BC
- \$253 million over 15 years
- the right to local self-government and control over natural resources in the treaty area
- the right to own property in their own villages for the first time since 1871
- an increased share of the coastal salmon fishery.

The treaty gave the 2500 Nisga’a living in the newly created area the right to local self-government. This means they have control over education and other public services in their communities. The Canadian Criminal Code and the Charter of Rights and Freedoms apply in Nisga’a territory. All the laws of Canada and BC also still apply to the Nisga’a, except in those cases where there is a conflict with the treaty. Then the treaty applies.

## Political Activism: War Crimes

Canada played an important part in defeating Nazi Germany in World War II. But after the war, a number of Nazis and former Nazis immigrated to Canada. Dur-

ing the Cold War, the government placed more emphasis on keeping communists rather than Nazis out of the country. Former Nazis, including members of Hitler’s SS, entered Canada. Some hid their past. In many cases, no attention was paid to their wartime activities.

Jewish organizations and other groups persistently alleged that war criminals were living in Canada. Forty years after the end of World War II, in response to these charges, the government set up a commission of inquiry on war criminals. It was headed by Jules Deschenes, chief justice of the Quebec Superior Court.

As a result of the Deschenes Inquiry, changes were made to the Criminal Code of Canada. Courts were granted the powers to try war crimes and crimes against humanity. A **war crime** is an act committed during an international armed conflict (e.g., World War II) that violates the international laws of war. **Crimes against humanity** include murder, extermination, enslavement, deportation, persecution, or any other inhumane act committed against a civilian population or any identifiable group.

Changes were also made in 1987 to the Citizenship and Immigration Act. These changes were meant to prevent others suspected of war crimes or crimes against humanity from remaining in Canada or gaining Canadian citizenship.

After 1987, four men suspected of war crimes were charged under the Criminal Code, but no convictions were secured. There were no further prosecutions because witnesses were unavailable or because the accused were too sick or old to stand trial. Two men were stripped of their Canadian citizenship and deported. Two others agreed to leave the country voluntarily. Another alleged war criminal, in Canada as a visitor, was deported to Australia in 1997.





## SPOTLIGHT ON...

### Mendel Good

All that is left of Mendel Good's family is a picture frame containing nine black-and-white photographs. His family all perished in Nazi concentration camps.

Mendel Good was a Polish Jewish boy of 14 when he was taken to Plaszow concentration camp. During the war, he was moved six times but he survived. In 1945, he was liberated from a camp in Austria by American soldiers. Canadians liberated his future wife from Bergen-Belsen concentration camp.

Good spent three years after the war looking for relatives, but he was the only survivor. When he realized his relatives were all dead, he decided to move to Canada to start a new life. "Canada gave me a chance at a life," he says.

On Remembrance Day, Mendel Good can be found speaking to students about freedom and lib-



erty, the concentration camps, and the war. He believes that, "In reality, no one can appreciate freedom and liberty more than a Holocaust survivor." He tells them, "We have to learn about the past if we want to have a better future."

Once while participating in a phone-in show on CBC radio, Mendel Good was heckled. A caller claimed that the Holocaust was an elaborate hoax and went on to cite statistics to try and prove his point. Mendel Good's response was only one sentence. He said to the caller, "I wish you were right, because then my children would have someone to call grandmother and grandfather."

1. How might Mendel Good respond to the fact that suspected war criminals are in Canada? Why?

In 1995, 10 years after the Deschenes Inquiry, the issue was still controversial. Rallies were held across Canada. The message of the rallies was clear: suspected Nazi war criminals living in Canada should no longer be given a safe haven. The protest followed the disclosure that there were hundreds of suspected Nazis living in Canada. At that time, the Justice Department's war crimes unit had an inventory of 1571 suspected World War II war criminals, 890 of them involving files that had been closed.

Jewish organizations and others continued to bring forward new names of alleged war criminals for investigation. In

1998, the federal government set out \$50 million in funding to strengthen the war crimes unit. With added staff, new investigations were begun. The government pledged to follow through on its commitment to end Canada's status as a haven for war criminals.

The Justice Department currently follows a policy of denaturalization (loss of citizenship) and deportation for suspected Nazi war criminals who hid their past when they entered Canada. It is believed that this is the best solution, since their age makes it impractical to start these cases again. However, there is no guarantee that they will face prosecution in



other countries once they are deported.

In October 1997, it was reported that there were also more than 300 suspected modern-day war criminals living in Canada. These individuals have been accused of participating in atrocities in Rwanda, Ethiopia, Yugoslavia, and other countries. Some of these suspected war criminals have been deported and the government has pledged to seek out and expel others. Experts urged immigration officials to do a better job of screening out war criminals before they were allowed into Canada.

## **Women in** **Canadian Society**

In the year 2000, women held two very influential positions in the Canadian government. Adrienne Clarkson was governor general of Canada, and Beverley McLachlin was chief justice of the Supreme Court. Clarkson was the second woman to be named governor general. Jeanne Sauvé had been appointed to that post in 1984. McLachlin, however, was the first woman to be named chief justice. In fact, it was only in 1982 that Bertha Wilson made history as the first woman appointed to the Supreme Court.

Canada achieved another milestone with its first woman prime minister, when Kim Campbell was named to replace Brian Mulroney after his resignation in 1993. Astronaut Roberta Bondar became Canada's first woman in space in 1992.

The achievements of these four women generated a lot of publicity because their positions were so high profile. But what gains had women made in other areas?

The results of the 1997 federal election, in which women won 21 per cent of the seats in the House of Commons, indicated they still had a long way to go to achieve equality in politics. Still, this

showed progress over the election of 1993, when women held only 18 per cent of the seats in the House.

In the workplace, a similar trend was evident. Research reports done in the late 1990s by a consulting firm called the Catalyst Foundation indicated that:

- in 1998, women made up 45 per cent of the Canadian labour force, up from 33 per cent in 1977
- in 1997, women made up 43 per cent of all managers and administrators in Canadian firms, up from 29 per cent in 1982
- in a survey of *Financial Post* 500 firms, generally regarded as the top companies in Canada, Catalyst found that only 6 per cent of the seats on corporate boards were held by women
- of these top 500 companies, only 13 companies, or 2 per cent of the total, had a woman as their chief executive.

These figures indicate that a problem known as the **glass ceiling** still exists for women in the Canadian workplace. More women are entering the job market and more are being promoted to middle management positions. Very few, however, are taking that last step into the top management of large firms. It is as if an invisible barrier or "glass ceiling" prevents them from going any higher.

In 1999, Canadian women won a major victory in the area of pay equity. The Federal Court of Canada ordered the government to comply with a Human Rights Tribunal's 1998 judgement. This judgement awarded salary adjustments to about 200 000 federal civil servants, the majority of whom were women. In most cases, the adjustments amounted to a little less than \$2000 for every year of government service. The total cost of the settlements could be anywhere from \$3.5 billion to \$5 billion, the largest such settlement in Canadian history.



The Human Rights Tribunal responsible for this landmark decision was ruling on a complaint first filed with the Canadian Human Rights Commission in 1984. At that time, a group of federal clerks and other employees complained that salaries of civil servants working at jobs traditionally held by women were not in line with those for similar jobs traditionally held by men. This, they said, violated Canada's

Human Rights Law, which stated that women and men should receive "equal pay for work of equal value."

Twenty years after the law was originally passed, the Human Rights Tribunal and the Federal Court agreed. After the Federal Court's ruling, the Chrétien government said it would begin negotiations with its employees' largest union, the Public Service Alliance of Canada, for a final settlement.



## SPOTLIGHT ON...

### Three Prominent Women

#### Beverley McLachlin

Canada's first female Chief Justice was sworn into office on 17 January 2000. Dressed in her court robes, Beverley McLachlin addressed dignitaries, family, and friends. She spoke of the value Canadians place on fairness as the primary reason for her appointment. Canada is a country, she said, where a person could rise from a family without money or connections to become the country's top judge.

Beverley McLachlin described a childhood of financial struggle on an Alberta farm near Pincher Creek. She went to law school at the University of Alberta and practised law in Vancouver at a time when there were few women judges. "But," she said, "there was an increasing awareness that fairness required equal opportunities for women and that the law must work to ensure this." She was appointed as a judge in British Columbia and rose to be the chief justice of the BC Supreme Court in 1988.

Prime Minister Mulroney appointed Beverley McLachlin one of the nine judges on the Supreme



Court of Canada in 1989. During her time on the bench, she earned a reputation as a thoughtful judge not afraid of supporting controversial rulings. In 1999, she gained the position of chief justice.

Her appointment came at a time when the Supreme Court was finding itself increasingly enmeshed in controversy. Some complained that the court was tampering in areas that should be left to elected legislators. For example, some Albertans

protested the court's decision to write protection of gays and lesbians into the province's human rights code. On the East Coast, fishers protested a court ruling that allowed Aboriginal bands unrestricted fishing rights.

Chief Justice McLachlin pledged to run a court that would debate and discuss issues widely before making judgements. She promised that the court would remember that its decisions "do not stand in abstraction from society." "Judges' decisions," she said, "affect real people in real life. They have consequences."



### Susan Aglukark

Susan Aglukark is the first Inuit performer to sign with a major recording label. Her debut album for EMI won her two Juno Awards and sold more than 300 000 copies in Canada. She was the winner of the first Aboriginal Achievement Award in the Arts and Entertainment field in 1994.



Susan Aglukark's life has been full of challenges. Raised in various Inuit communities where her father was a pastor, she became personally aware of the problems young people in the North face. She lost many friends and relatives to suicide, drugs, and alcoholism. These events left a lasting impression. Susan has worked as a National Spokesperson for the Aboriginal Division of the National Alcohol and Drug Prevention Program. While her songs revive and celebrate traditional rituals and values, they also often touch on the social realities of life in the North, including youth suicide and racial prejudice.

CBC radio recorded Aglukark's first album, which made her an overnight success in the Arctic. This brought her to the attention of Much Music officials, who recognized her extraordinary talent. Her first album on a major label, *This Child*, was recorded in both English and Inuktitut. The recording melds Inuit chants and a number of instruments including traditional drums, electronic synthesizers, and a string quartet.

*Unsung Heroes*, 1998, is a mix of pop music and sounds that reflect Aglukark's roots. The songs are about her people. "Never Be the Same" tells about Inuit patients, suffering from tuberculosis, who were taken from their communities by plane to urban hospitals to die far away from home. "E-186" is about a 1930s government policy that assigned numbered dog tags to the Inuit people.

The song features the repeated refrain "Naasautaa" meaning in Inuktitut "Your Number Is." "Turn of the Century" celebrates the formation of the new territory of Nunavut.

Susan Aglukark has moved to Toronto, but often returns to the North to visit and perform. She says, "I will never forget my people, or my roots. But the best way to honour them is to make the best music I can."

### Beverly Mascoll

In August 1998, Beverly Mascoll was named to the Order of Canada. At the ceremony, she received the honour alongside former Prime Minister Brian Mulroney, hockey player Maurice (Rocket) Richard, and musician Bryan Adams. The Order of Canada recognized Mascoll as an outstanding entrepreneur and leader in the Black community.



Born and raised in Nova Scotia, Beverly Mascoll moved to Toronto in 1955. In 1970, with only \$700, she started her own cosmetics supply company after recognizing there was a need in the Canadian marketplace. At first, she sold her products from the trunk of her car. Today, she runs a multi-million dollar company.

Over the years, Beverly Mascoll has shared her success, volunteering both time and money. She established a foundation in her name to provide scholarships for promising young people to help them "reach their full potential." She has also supported Camp Jumoke. This facility is for children living with sickle cell anemia, an inherited disease that often strikes people of Afro-Caribbean descent. The disease affects the red blood cells, and symptoms include agonizing episodes triggered by cold temperatures. People with the illness can also suffer strokes and infections leading



to lung problems. The Mascoll Foundation has raised thousands of dollars for this project.

Beverly Mascoll is a recognized leader in the Black community and Canadian society. She is a member of the Ontario Black History Society, served as a trustee for the Harry Jerome Scholarship, and was co-chair of Toronto's fund raising campaign for the James Robinson Johnston Chair in Black Canadian Studies at Dalhousie University in Nova Scotia. She has been a director at the Ontario Science Centre and a member of the Board of Governors of the University of Guelph. When she was in her 50s, she enrolled in Women's Studies at York University. "

Besides the Order of Canada, Beverly Mascoll has received other honours and recognition for her contributions to the community. These

include the YWCA Women of Distinction Award for Entrepreneurship and the Canadian Council of Christians and Jews Human Relations Award.

1. In what ways do the achievements of these women indicate a step toward equality of opportunity for women and for all Canadians?
2. Do research for an Honour Roll of Canadian Women in the New Millennium. These would be women who have made significant contributions to Canadian society and they would come from many different fields and occupations (arts, science, politics, media, business, social work, etc.). Decide on criteria for your Honour Roll and then prepare profiles of your selections. Display them in your classroom or create a special magazine feature on these women.



## Activities

### Understand Facts and Concepts

1. Add these new terms to your *Factfile*.

sick building syndrome  
ergonomics  
telecommuting  
knowledge workers  
Moore's Law  
brain drain  
floating exchange rate  
currency crisis  
western alienation

deficit  
debt  
Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples  
Statement of Reconciliation  
Nunavut  
Nisga'a Treaty  
war crime  
crime against humanity  
glass ceiling

2. Using a web diagram, outline the ways telecommunications technology is changing the workplace.
3. What were the reasons for the increase in the national debt after 1970?
4. Why did the Atlantic and western provinces feel alienated by the federal government in the 1980s and 1990s? Outline their concerns in a chart.



5. Describe one major advance in Aboriginal self-government in the 1990s.
6. a) Why was the Deschenes Inquiry set up?  
b) What changes were made as a result of the inquiry?

### Think and Communicate

7. a) Compare work in the industrial era to work in the post-industrial era or “Information Age.” Use a comparison organizer in your answer. Start with a chart like the one below, but add other criteria. Interview people in a variety of different jobs to help you complete the section of the chart on the Information Age.

Criteria	Work in the Industrial Era	Work in the Information Age
Physical workplace (building design and layout, etc.)		
Mobility of workers		
Types of job skills		

- b) Summarize advantages and disadvantages of the changes.
8. Outline the main strategies the federal Liberal government used to reduce the deficit. In groups, discuss the advantages and disadvantages of each strategy. Then rank Paul Martin’s strategies from most to least successful.
9. a) “Over the past decade, Ottawa has littered the path to a deficit-free Canada with spending cuts that have damaged the foundations on which this nation rests.” Present three arguments to support this statement and three arguments against it.  
b) What is your view? Why?
10. a) Discuss how war criminals got into Canada.  
b) Why did successive governments not take any action on the issue?  
c) As a result of the Deschenes Inquiry, what actions have been taken? What still needs to be done? Why?  
d) Why is this an issue for all Canadians?
11. In your own words, define the meaning of the term “glass ceiling.” Does the glass ceiling hamper Canadian women in achieving political or economic goals? Defend your position.
12. Role play, in groups, the following situations for your class. Decide on and assign appropriate roles. Do some background research to prepare for your roles. Also, decide on the issues that will be presented beforehand. After the role play, answer questions and lead a class discussion on your topic.



- a) a group of students talking about whether or not to look for jobs in the United States
- b) a group of Canadian bankers, business people, nationalists, government officials, and citizens thrashing out the issue of sharing a common currency with the United States
- c) labour union officials and workers discussing the threat caused by technological advances and global competition
- d) a group of Canadians from the West and the Atlantic region expressing why they feel alienated from Central Canada and Ottawa

### Apply Your Knowledge

13. Follow stories in the press about feelings of alienation in the West, Quebec, or the Atlantic region. Clip articles related to the issue over a period of time. From the articles, decide on the legitimacy of the concerns. Also, talk in person or over the Internet to people from those regions of Canada about how they feel toward the government in Ottawa. Report to the class on what you find.
14. Investigate a current Aboriginal land claim. Present your findings to the class using maps and other visual aids. Lead a discussion about how this particular claim should be honoured.
15. Plan a field trip to the Holocaust Education and Memorial Centre located in Toronto, 4600 Bathurst Street (telephone 416 635-2883, ext. 153). Visitors view audio-visual presentations that portray the experiences of European Jewish people before, during, and after World War II. School groups may arrange to hear the personal testimony of a Holocaust survivor.  
Or, take a virtual tour at <http://www.bonder.com/march.html>. This site records the "March of the Living," a visit to Poland by Canadian Jewish teens to view the concentration camps.

### Get to the Source

16. The following quotations express two visions Aboriginal peoples have of their present and future.

*The vision for the future is of a dual world—one in which both traditional ways and modern are followed, one in which people are equally skilled in the worlds of business and government and of survival on the land . . . .*

*. . . . It is a vision of a world in which First Nations people are owners as well as employees, managers as well as users, governors as well as citizens.*

—Kingfisher Lake First Nation, Wunnumin Lake First Nations, Shibogama Interim Planning Board, *Continuity and Change*, 1997.



*On an airplane, my Powerbook is singing to me in Lakota, while the words to the song appear onscreen in both Lakota and English.*

*In the Canadian Rockies, Indians carrying portable computers trudge through a herd of elk and into the Banff Centre for the Arts where the “Drumbeats to Drumbytes” think-tank confronts the reality of on-line life as it affects Native artists ...*

*Across Canada, thousands of First Nations children network their observations and life experiences into mainstream education, as the Cradleboard Teaching Project—Kids From Kanata partnership provides both Native content and connectivity to schools as far away as Hawaii and Baffin Island.*

—Buffy Sainte-Marie, quoted from “CyberSkins: Live and Interactive,” 1997.

- a) Describe in your own words how these Aboriginal people see their present and future as a blend of old and new.
- b) How can modern telecommunications technology contribute to the goals of Aboriginal peoples?



## \* Land Mine Terror

A young Cambodian boy, Khern Man So, told his story to a United Nations conference in 1996.

*I was blown up in Cambodia in January. I was going to school with two friends when they picked up a land mine and were killed. We didn't know it was a land mine. I was 14 years old and now have only one leg. Why did they just make it easier to make new mines?*

Another young American man recounted his terrifying experience.

*I was only four years old when Syrian soldiers, retreating during the 1967 Arab-Israeli War, laid land mines in the Golan Heights. A mine waited silently in the ground for 17 years before it exploded under my right foot while I was hiking in an unmarked minefield. I wasn't a soldier. I was a student taking a break to explore the Middle East. There were no fences and*



*A young Cambodian boy, victim of a land mine.*

*no signs to keep me out. I was lucky. I had friends with me, and a farmer nearby heard the blast. All the talk about fencing and marking the minefields is a distraction from the real problem: how to stop the proliferation of land mines.*

The production of land mines across the globe has reached the crisis stage. More than 110 million **anti-personnel land mines**, or APMs, are currently deployed. Most are found



in the developing world. Five hundred victims are killed or injured each week. Most are innocent civilians; 90 per cent of them are children. Thousands more are terrorized by

the presence of AP mines. Refugees are afraid to return to their homes and farms fearing that land mine traps have been set for them.

1. Who are the main victims of land mines?
2. What do you think can be done to stop the production and deployment of land mines around the world?

## **The Fight to Ban Land Mines**

In 1996, 156 countries at the United Nations General Assembly agreed to work for a treaty that would ban AP land mines. Canada was a leader in this international effort. In October 1996, at a conference in Ottawa, Canadian Foreign Affairs Minister Lloyd Axworthy issued a challenge to other nations in the world community. He asked them to work with Canada in preparing the ban treaty. He invited all willing governments to return to Canada in December 1997 to sign it. This was the beginning of

what was called the **Ottawa Process**. Canada and its partners had to bring together governments of other countries, non-governmental organizations, and international organizations such as the United Nations and the International Red Cross.

Canadian officials knew it was important to take bold action at home if they expected to provide international leadership. Canada had already agreed to stop the production, export, and operational use of land mines. Now Canada began to destroy its stockpile of land mines, except for a small number to be used in training for de-mining programs.

By December 1997, more than 122 countries had signed the land mine treaty. By 2000, however, a large number of governments had not yet ratified or confirmed the treaty, including the United States and several Middle Eastern nations. Without the participation of the US, there is some doubt about the long-term effectiveness of the treaty.

Canada's support of the treaty is mainly through CIDA and humanitarian organizations. Removing mines and providing assistance to their victims are important goals. Canada has provided technical expertise and funding for mine clearance operations in such countries as Angola, Cambodia, Laos, Afghanistan, and Bosnia-Herzegovina. In Afghanistan, Canada

*Princess Diana was one of the prominent individuals who joined the campaign against land mines. This photograph shows her in 1997 holding a land mine in central Angola.*





made a unique contribution. Canada was the only country to send women mine specialists to work with refugees. Teams of three women and nine men educated the local people in mine awareness. The Canadian women taught local women and trained them to instruct other women. Since women and children are often the victims of land mines, this contribution was especially appreciated by the Afghani people.

Canada has also provided medical care for victims. Grants have been made to the International Red Cross, so that Canadian prostheticists can train local health care staff to make and fit artificial limbs. Other money has been channelled through organizations such as the Council of Canadians with Disabilities. These groups help victims of land mines learn the skills of independent living.

Canada played a leading role in getting the international community to ban anti-personnel mines. It was an incredible accomplishment in less than 14 months. Axworthy's initiative showed that there are new opportunities for middle powers like Canada now that the Cold War has ended. Canada has an important role to play in influencing international affairs.

## **Globalization**

As we have seen, it was a Canadian, Marshall McLuhan, who first coined the phrase "global village." He used the term to describe a world where people who are separated by vast distances could communicate through high-tech communications devices. Computers, the Internet, telephones, television, and radio have made the "global village" a reality. Today, we often refer to this concept as globalization, the idea that the world is becoming one large community with interconnected needs and services. Not

### **Anti-Personnel Land Mines (APMs): Vital Statistics**

- More people have died from APMs than nuclear weapons and poison gas.
- There have been an estimated 1 million casualties since 1975.
- There are 250 000 land mine amputees worldwide.
- APMs cost \$3-\$30 to buy and \$300-\$1000 to remove.
- APMs can remain active for up to 100 years.

Source: Canadian International Development Agency.

only are Canadians linked through technology with people from different countries on a daily basis, but our well-being often depends on these connections.

### **Economic Links**

Canada is already part of the global economy. We depend on trade with other countries for our economic prosperity. We have joined a number of international economic organizations (see chart on page 500) and have established free trade agreements that reduce barriers between countries. These include the Free Trade Agreement with the United States and the North American Free Trade Agreement with the US and Mexico. We will look at these agreements in more detail later in this chapter. Canadians also invest money in global markets and we accept foreign investment into the country.

On the positive side, Canada benefits from economic globalization because increased trade and investment provide many Canadians with a better standard of living. A greater variety of goods and services is available in Canada as a result of globalization. On the negative side, large international corporations are becoming so powerful that governments could lose control over their own affairs. In the case of Canada, the overwhelming economic power of the United States makes it more and more difficult for us to maintain our own identity.



## Canada's Links to the Global Community

**United Nations.** This is the most important international organization for fostering peace and cooperation. It has 185 member nations.

**NATO.** The North Atlantic Treaty Organization was originally established as a defence pact to counter the threat of the former Communist bloc during the Cold War. Today, it places greater emphasis on political cooperation, promoting democracy, and international security including involvement in peacekeeping operations around the world. It also includes some former members of the Communist bloc (Hungary, Poland, and the Czech Republic joined in 1997).

**The Commonwealth.** Canada belongs to this organization along with Britain and other former British colonies. It promotes economic and social development, and has pressured some of its members to become more democratic.

**La Francophonie.** This association of 47 countries where French is spoken promotes economic and social development among its members.

**NORAD.** The North American Air Defence links Canada militarily to the United States. It was originally set up to defend North American airspace against attack from the former Soviet Union. The name was changed in 1981 to North American Aerospace Defence Command (NAADC). Today, NORAD protects the sovereignty of Canadian airspace, assists in detecting illegal drug trafficking by aircraft, and participates in space research.

**APEC.** The Asia-Pacific Economic Co-operation has 21 members and is Canada's link to the industrialized countries of the Pacific Rim. The organization's goal is to promote trade and investment among its members.

**G-8.** The Group of Eight includes Canada, the United States, Britain, France, Italy, Germany, Japan, and Russia—generally considered the major industrialized nations. These countries meet to discuss economic issues and resolve any potential conflicts.

**NAFTA.** The North American Free Trade Agreement links Canada, the United States, and Mexico in a North American free trading bloc.

**OECD.** The Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development is made up of 29 countries with advanced economies. It exists to promote world trade and to help solve economic problems.

**OAS.** Thirty-five countries in North and South America meet in the Organization of American States. They work to resolve political and economic problems in the region. Canada did not become a full member until 1990 because of concerns over the lack of democracy in some South American countries.

**WTO.** The World Trade Organization includes 132 nations that have agreed to lower trade barriers and encourage international trade.

### Foreign Policy Links

We also establish global links through our foreign policy. Canada belongs to a number of international organizations not only for economic purposes. Canada used these connections to help develop the treaty banning land mines. It is through these organizations that Canada participates in peacekeeping and peacemaking operations around the world, provides foreign aid and humanitarian relief, and works for human rights.



### Peacekeeping

Canada has played a major role in international peacekeeping operations since Prime Minister Pearson received the Nobel Peace Prize for his role in creating a UN peacekeeping force in 1957. Although it has cost millions of dollars over the years, most Canadians accept the role of Canada as a peacekeeper. Peacekeeping is one of the important ways Canada contributes to international stability.



Peacekeepers are soldiers who intercede between warring groups. They are sent in by an organization such as the United Nations after a truce or ceasefire has been worked out. They act as a buffer between the two sides and try to keep the groups from shooting at each other until a peaceful settlement can be worked out. Peacekeepers must be neutral. If they seem to favour one side over the other, they will not be trusted.

Usually, peacekeeping forces are made up of soldiers from more than one country, operating under the United Nations. They are not expected to resolve a dispute. They monitor the ceasefire and buy time for the diplomats to finalize a solution.

Canada has participated in more UN peacekeeping missions than any other country in the world. The blue helmet of the peacekeeper has become an important Canadian symbol. Some of the peacekeeping operations in which Canada has been involved during the 1980s and 1990s include monitoring the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan (1988-90); supervising the ceasefire and withdrawal of troops after the Iran-Iraq War (1988-91); overseeing the granting of independence to Namibia and monitoring its first democratic election (1989-90); and supervising the demobilization of anti-government forces in Nicaragua (1989-92).

The following are a few other key operations in which Canadian troops participated. Missions included not only peacekeeping, but disaster relief, medical aid, food distribution, support for engineering and construction projects, explosive disposal and mine awareness training, transport and communications operations, policing to protect civilians, evacuation programs, and search and rescue aid.

- *Somalia.* In 1992, Canadian troops arrived in Somalia as part of a UN mis-

sion. Their goal was to stop a violent civil war that had raged on for two years. Thousands of Somalis had been killed and hundreds of thousands faced famine and starvation. Without being invited, the international community decided to take action in what was called Operation Restore Hope. Although the peacekeepers were unable to disarm the warring groups, they provided famine relief and other humanitarian aid. The last UN forces left Somalia in 1995.

- *Former Yugoslavia.* More than 16 000 Canadian troops have served in the former Yugoslavia. Fighting broke out in 1991 after Slovenia and Croatia declared independence. Canada joined a NATO force to monitor a ceasefire and to protect civilians. In 1992, additional Canadian troops joined a UN force in Croatia, which expanded into Bosnia-Herzegovina later that year. A Canadian, Major General Lewis MacKenzie, was the first commander of the UN Yugoslavia Protection Force. In 1999, about 1300 Canadian peacekeepers were stationed in Kosovo to help maintain peace after the NATO air strikes ended.



*In 1992, Operation Restore Hope set up food distribution sites to help relieve the famine in Somalia. Here, workers unload bags of sorghum, a cereal grain.*





*Canadian troops provide aid in Central America after Hurricane Mitch in 1998. The storm destroyed more than 70 per cent of the crops in Honduras and left 2.5 million people in Central America homeless.*



### Netsurfer

You can trace Canada's peacekeeping history since World War II by visiting this web site:

[http://www.dnd.ca/menu/legacy/index\\_e.htm](http://www.dnd.ca/menu/legacy/index_e.htm)

- *Rwanda.* From 1993-96, UN peacekeepers were sent on a mission to protect displaced persons and refugees in Rwanda, which was struck by civil war. Canadians participated by distributing relief supplies and carrying out field ambulance flights to offer medical aid. A cholera epidemic had broken out in the country and aid was desperately needed.
- *Haiti.* Canada led a UN mission in Haiti in 1996-97. The goal was to assist the government to maintain security and restore the economy. Canada also loaned 100 Royal Canadian Mounted Police to Haiti to train a national civilian police force.

In the early 1990s, however, a number of incidents cast a shadow over Canadian peacekeepers. The Canadian Airborne regiment was dismantled after videos released to the media showed questionable initiation practices and evidence of racism among members. A few soldiers serving in Somalia were tried for their involvement in the killing of a Somali citizen. Two of them were convicted and sentenced to prison, one for five years, the other for three months.

The incident tarnished Canada's reputation as a benevolent peacekeeper. Some people feel these are isolated incidents that should not reflect on the remarkable record of Canadian peacekeepers. Others feel strong measures should be taken to counter racism in the military and to ensure Canada continues to play a responsible peacekeeping role.

## Peacemaking

Peacemaking differs from peacekeeping. **Peacemaking** usually involves Canadian troops directly in armed combat. It is designed to bring the warring sides to the peace table by the use of force. The UN played a peacemaking role in the **Gulf War** in 1991. NATO took similar action in Kosovo in 1999. Canadians were involved in both operations.

### The Gulf War

In August 1990, Saddam Hussein, the leader of Iraq, invaded his oil-rich neighbour, Kuwait. The UN responded to this act of aggression by imposing economic sanctions on Iraq. When Saddam Hussein refused to withdraw from Kuwait, the United Nations authorized the use of force to get Iraq out.

A combined multinational force, led by the United States, attacked the Iraqi army for six weeks. The Iraqis were forced to withdraw from Kuwait with the reported loss of more than 120 000 soldiers. About 200 of the multinational troops were also killed. Eventually, a ceasefire was arranged in 1991. The United Nations required Hussein to destroy stockpiles of chemical and biological weapons and the facilities that manufactured them.

Canada's main contribution to the Gulf War was in patrolling the shipping lanes in the Persian Gulf. This ensured that Iraq did not receive military supplies by



sea. Canadian fighter jets took a more offensive role attacking ground targets. Approximately 4500 Canadians served in the conflict. This was the first time that Canadian troops had participated in a war since the Korean War 46 years before.

### The War in Kosovo

In 1999, the Canadian government decided to support the NATO bombing of Kosovo, a province of Yugoslavia. This action was intended to stop the ethnic cleansing ordered by Yugoslav President Slobodan Milosevic. **Ethnic cleansing** is the mass expulsion or extermination of people from a particular ethnic group within a certain area. Serbs under Milosevic had killed thousands of Albanian Kosovars and uprooted almost a million more from their homes, driving them into neighbouring countries.

The NATO bombing campaign lasted for 11 weeks. External Affairs Minister Axworthy justified Canada's participation in the NATO mission as an action to "right the wrongs that have taken place so tragically in that area in the last year or two." Canada had never before attacked a sovereign country that had not previously attacked Canada or one of its allies. Canada also accepted thousands of refugees from Kosovo.

### Foreign Aid

Canada has a long history of providing aid to foreign nations, particularly developing countries. In the 1980s and 1990s, the Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA) continued to provide aid to foreign nations in need. In the winter of 1999/2000, CIDA contributed just over \$160 000 to buy warm snowsuits, hats, and mittens for the children of war-torn Kosovo. Food, blankets, and tarpaulins to repair their homes were also sent to help people get through the winter. More funds have



*In 1991, a Kuwaiti oil field worker kneels for midday prayers near a burning oil field outside Kuwait City. As they were forced to withdraw, the Iraqi army set fire to Kuwait's oil fields.*

been pledged for humanitarian relief and economic assistance.

At the end of the 1980s, the shape of global politics changed dramatically. The Cold War was over. Communist governments in Eastern Europe collapsed. The Soviet Union broke apart into 15 new nations. In 1989 the Berlin Wall, the symbol of a divided Europe, came down. The threat of global nuclear war seemed to fade. Prime Minister Mulroney's government felt that it was important to provide Canadian aid to former Soviet bloc countries. He believed that the area was critical to the future stability and prosperity of both developed and developing countries. CIDA shifted almost \$100 million in aid to the former communist nations of Eastern Europe.

Some critics of the government condemned this change of direction. To them, it seemed that the government was transferring assistance to nations with export potential, rather than helping developing world nations. Critics said that promoting



trade and industry was a sound policy, but it should not be considered foreign aid.

## Human Rights

Canada has a reputation around the world as a country that promotes human rights. The protection of human rights was first documented by the United Nations in 1948 through the Universal Declaration. Yet in many countries since then people have been jailed and tortured, or have simply vanished for their political beliefs. Others have been persecuted for the colour of their skin, ethnic origin, language, or religion.

**Amnesty International** is an organization that works to expose violations of human rights anywhere in the world. Members monitor abuses of human rights and expose cases of torture and inhumane practices. In this way, Amnesty International tries to pressure authorities in offending countries to change their practices. The organization also asks other governments to refuse to trade with offending countries. Thousands of political prisoners have been released as a result of pressure from monitoring groups. Others have received more humane treatment in prison when the world spotlight was focused on their repressive governments.

The growing awareness of human rights violations led to the demand that foreign aid should be linked to a country's human rights record. In 1990, Canada was one of the first nations to take up this idea. Canada announced its intention to grant no economic aid to countries that did not recognize the human rights of its population. That same year, Canada reduced its aid to Sri Lanka because of that country's treatment of its Tamil citizens. In 1991, new aid projects in Indonesia were suspended to protest massacres in East Timor.

On the other hand, Canada continues to have normal relations with some countries that violate human rights. In 1989, Canada protested the massacre of political demonstrators in Tiananmen Square in China and cancelled its aid programs. Some Canadians believed that stopping all trade and foreign aid was the way to end human rights abuses in China. Other Canadians wanted to continue to invest in China's booming economy. They argued that we should continue to trade, but work through diplomatic channels to improve China's record on human rights. By 1991, Canada's relations with China had returned to normal. There was, however, no evidence that China's human rights record had improved.

## Children's Rights

In 1989, the United Nations passed a convention on Children's Rights. Most nations signed the convention. But on the 10th anniversary of the signing, Amnesty International reported that many governments were failing in their commitments to protect children from human rights abuses. The report noted that:

- Children as young as 14 have been sexually assaulted in Turkey in police custody.
- Children under the age of 18 have received the death penalty in Iran, Nigeria, Pakistan, Yemen, and the United States.
- Children are forced to work in sweatshops in many countries for pennies a day.
- Over 300 000 children under 18 are fighting in conflicts in Afghanistan, Angola, Colombia, Rwanda, Sri Lanka, and Uganda.

The report concluded with this reminder of why governments must fulfill their commitments under the convention. "Children's rights are the building blocks for securing human rights for future generations."





## Developing Skills: Analyzing a Current Issue

Canada enjoys a reputation around the world as a country that promotes and protects human rights. However, many of the countries we trade with have very different forms of government. Some of these governments severely restrict the individual freedoms of their people. In China, for example, some political protestors have been imprisoned, sent into exile, or executed.

In 1998-99, China was Canada's fourth largest source of imports and sixth largest buyer of exports. This economic relationship has grown even more important since Hong Kong, another important trading partner, was returned to China. Canada is faced with a dilemma: how to enjoy a profitable trade relationship with China and still encourage the Chinese government to end human rights abuses.

What do you think Canada should do? Should we close our eyes to human rights abuses in China and continue to enjoy the benefits of trade with that country? Should we cut all trade ties and foreign aid to China until the human rights abuses there end? Should we continue to trade with China, but work through diplomatic channels to encourage improvement of its record on human rights? Let's analyze the issue. Here are the steps to follow.

### Step 1

State the issue in the form of a focus question: What should Canada do about the human rights abuses in China?

### Step 2

Identify the possible choices or alternatives and write them across the top of an organizer. In this case they are clear: continue to trade with China; cut all trade and foreign aid to China; or, trade but encourage improvements in human rights.

### Step 3

Develop a list of criteria to evaluate the alternatives. This is an important step. Ask yourself on what points the China issue should be judged (e.g., cost, feasibility, advantages, etc.). Brainstorm some possible criteria and then choose the most important. Sample criteria have been set out for you in the organizer on the next page, but you may wish to change or add to this list. The criteria are listed down the side of the organizer.

### Step 4

Locate as much information as possible in order to evaluate the alternatives effectively. Read what people with differing opinions have written, or, if possible, invite politicians, business people, or other speakers to present their views on the issue to the class. Based on the information you collect, fill in the organizer using point form. Consider the positive and negative sides of each alternative using the criteria.

### Step 5

Synthesize and draw conclusions. Individually or in groups, review all the points under the various alternatives. Which column in the organizer has the strongest points? Make a decision.

### Step 6

Communicate your conclusion either orally or in writing. Explain to a group of students, parents, or a local service club why you feel the way you do.

## Practise It!

Put this new skill to work by completing the organizer that has been started for you. Apply the skill to other issues such as gun control, recognizing Aboriginal treaty rights, or environmental protection.



Issue: What should Canada do about human rights abuses in China?			
Alternatives Criteria	Ignore human rights in China and continue to trade	Cut all trade and foreign aid to China	Trade but encourage China to improve its human rights record
Who benefits in Canada?			
Who benefits in China?			
Who suffers in Canada?			
Who suffers in China?			
Cost?			
Advantages/disadvantages for Canada?			
Advantages/disadvantages for China?			
Will this plan improve human rights in China?			

### Human Rights and War Crimes

Canada has played an important role in the United Nations' effort to bring war criminals involved in recent conflicts to justice. In 1993, the United Nations set up a **war crimes tribunal**. The UN intended to try to bring to justice those who had been responsible for genocide and massacre in the former Yugoslavia. **Genocide** is the mass extermination of a particular race or nation. The UN tribunal for Yugoslavia was based in The Hague, Netherlands.

The following year, another tribunal was established for Rwanda. In that Central African nation, there had been serious violations of human rights. It was estimated that between 500 000 and 1 million Tutsi and Hutu people had been slaughtered in 1994.

These tribunals were the first international courts set up for the prosecution of war criminals since the Nuremberg Trials at the end of World War II. Most of the

world welcomed the fact that this was a new chapter in the history of international humanitarian law. In 1996, Louise Arbour of Canada was appointed chief prosecutor for the war crimes tribunal.

During the next three years, the tribunal staff doggedly pursued war criminals. They visited gravesites, interviewed survivors, gathered forensic evidence, and documented their findings. Finally, the chief prosecutor issued indictments for the arrest of Yugoslav president Slobodan Milosevic and other political and military leaders. They were charged with crimes against humanity, including murder. By the time Louise Arbour left the tribunal in 1999 to return to Canada, 67 had been indicted and 35 were still free. Although some of those charged were still free, Arbour told news reporters: "I believe that every person indicted by this tribunal will eventually be tried."

Louise Arbour won high praise internationally and at home in Canada for her



work on the war crimes tribunal. She stood up to Yugoslav authorities and turned the tribunal into a very effective court for international justice. In late 1999, Louise Arbour was invited to return home and become one of the nine justices on the Supreme Court of Canada.

## Canada and the United States

During the 1970s, measures limiting foreign investment in Canada raised the ire of some Americans. American businesses and investors strongly objected to the Foreign Investment Review Agency (FIRA) and the National Energy Program (NEP). Canada's trade with communist countries such as China also stirred American opposition. By the 1980s, relations between Canada and the United States were strained.

In the federal election of 1984, the Conservative leader Brian Mulroney campaigned on the promise of better relations with the United States, especially economic relations. Canada's economy was in a severe recession. Mulroney insisted that FIRA and NEP discouraged foreign investors. He believed that with more foreign investment, the economy would revive. When he won the election, Mulroney moved quickly to carry out his promise. The NEP was dismantled and FIRA was replaced with Investment Canada. An era of better relations with the United States had begun.

### Arctic Sovereignty Dispute, 1985

No sooner were the Conservatives elected than a problem arose between Canada and the US. During the summer of 1985, a US Coast Guard icebreaker, the *Polar Sea*, sailed through the Northwest Passage from Greenland to the Beaufort Sea and Alaska. Its mission was unspecified research for the US Navy.



*Louise Arbour, chief prosecutor of the UN's war crimes tribunal from 1996-99, tours the site of a mass grave in Bosnia.*

This voyage raised the issue of Arctic sovereignty once again. The first such incident between Canada and the US had occurred after the voyage of the *Manhattan* in 1969. Canada claimed the Northwest Passage as internal waters. Any nation wishing to sail through this passage needed to have Canadian permission. The Americans viewed the passage as an international waterway. At first, the Mulroney government took no action against the American ship.

The government was surprised by the outcry from opposition parties and the Canadian public. Many Canadians saw the *Polar Sea* incident as a clear challenge to our sovereignty over Arctic waters. After some hesitation, the government warned the Americans that failing to recognize the Arctic as Canadian territory would be



*Prime Minister Mulroney and Mila Mulroney join President Reagan and Nancy Reagan in singing "When Irish Eyes are Smiling" at the so-called Shamrock Summit talks in 1985.*



“an unfriendly act.” The Conservatives promised Canadians that Canada would build the world’s most powerful icebreaker, buy nuclear submarines for Arctic patrol duty, and draw new boundary maps to clearly define Canada’s sovereignty in the area. Neither the icebreaker nor the submarines were ever built.

At a 1987 summit meeting between President Reagan and Prime Minister Mulroney, the Americans promised to get permission in the future every time one of their ships or aircraft wanted to cross the Arctic. The Americans would also support Canada’s ownership of the Northwest Passage.

### The Free Trade Agreement (FTA)

In 1985 Mulroney proposed free trade with the United States, the most momentous step of the decade in Canadian-American relations. Free trade became one of the most controversial issues of the 1980s. Groups who favoured the deal included

most of Canada’s large and small businesses, the Conservative party, the Canadian Chamber of Commerce, most of the provincial premiers, the Royal Commission on Economic Union and Development Prospects for Canada, and the Canadian Consumers Association. The forces against free trade consisted of nationalists, the Liberal party, the New Democratic Party, pensioners, unions, churches, women’s groups, and many citizens. Arguments on both sides are outlined in the chart on the next page.

January 1988 was the deadline for the **Free Trade Agreement**. Minutes before the midnight deadline, it was announced that an agreement-in-principle had been reached. Some of the main points were:

- *Elimination of tariffs.* The two countries would eliminate tariffs on goods and services starting 1 January 1989 and have open access to each other’s markets.
- *Dispute settlement mechanism.* A five-member panel, with at least two members from each country, would discuss trade problems that arose between Canada and the United States.
- *Investment.* Restrictions on American investment in Canada would be reduced, but Canada kept the right to screen and approve takeovers in cultural industries such as publishing and the media.
- *Energy.* Canada could not restrict the sales of energy resources to the United States except during shortages, and then must provide the Americans with a proportional amount of what is available.
- *Agriculture.* All tariffs on agricultural products and processed foods would be eliminated over a 10-year period.

When the continental trade deal was announced, the debate in Canada heated up. Provincial leaders in Quebec, Saskatchewan, British Columbia, and

*A demonstration against the Free Trade Agreement. What do the signs and placards suggest about the reasons for the opposition to free trade?*





Alberta were quick to give their support. The agreement opened the door for Quebec to make huge sales in hydroelectric power to the northeastern states. Western producers of oil, gas, timber, hogs, and cattle welcomed the opportunity to sell their products freely on the American market.

Provincial premiers in Manitoba, Ontario, and Prince Edward Island worried that the deal would encourage even greater foreign ownership of Canadian resources. Among the potential losers in Ontario were the grape and winemakers, the music recording industry, food-processing plants, and the auto parts industry—all of which faced tough competition from US industries. Prime Minister Mulroney promised public hearings and open debate in Canada on the proposal.

In many ways the debate was similar to the one over reciprocity in 1911, though the politicians had changed sides. In 1911, the Liberals supported free trade and the Conservatives opposed it. However, the arguments for and against were virtually

the same. In both eras, people who believed in free trade saw it as the key to Canadian economic prosperity. Opponents warned that free trade could lead to an American takeover. In 1911, opponents advised that Canada should have “no truck or trade with the Yankees.” In 1987, Liberal leader John Turner warned that the country was being “sold down the river.” Ed Broadbent, leader of the New Democratic Party, claimed that he “feared for the future of this nation” if the deal passed.

Laurier’s campaign for free trade early in the century was hurt when important Americans fed the fear that some Canadians had of the deal. American politicians in 1911 talked about the day when the American flag would fly over all of North America, including Canada. In the 1987 debate, US trade representative Clayton Yeutter told the Congress that the United States was giving up very little and would gain a lot. Also, President Reagan predicted an economic boom for the United States as a result of the deal. Critics of free

### Arguments For Free Trade

Trade is vital to the growth of the Canadian economy. The United States is our best customer and we should take advantage of increased trade opportunities.

We need to overcome US protectionism. (The USA was considering trade barriers to protect its own industries, which could have been devastating for Canada.)

Free trade would increase productivity because Canadians would have access to a larger market. It would create new jobs.

Consumers would benefit from more choice and lower prices.

Free trade works elsewhere, for example, in the European Union.

Free trade would encourage foreign investment in new businesses.

### Arguments Against Free Trade

Free trade only benefits “big business.”

Canadian businesses will have to close down because they cannot compete with larger American companies.

Jobs would be lost as companies close or move to the United States.

Free trade threatens Canada’s social programs, such as Medicare.

It threatens Canadian culture.

It threatens Canadian political sovereignty.

Americans would no longer need to invest in Canada if they had open access to our markets.



## FAST FORWARD

### The Free Trade Area of the Americas

The year 2005 has been designated by all heads of governments in the western hemisphere as the formal target date for an agreement called the Free Trade Area of the Americas (FTAA). This vast trading zone would encompass the entire western hemisphere. The terms are still under intensive negotiation. If it comes to pass, the huge new common market will embrace some 765 million people. Just as the FTA and NAFTA brought dramatic changes to Canada, the arrival of the FTAA will launch the country into a new chapter in its history.

trade in Canada seized on these comments as proof that free trade would be dangerous for Canadian economic and political independence.

However, there were also important differences in the reciprocity debate of 1911 and the free trade debate in the 1980s. When Canadians rejected reciprocity with the United States in 1911, they knew they could count on the British Empire for trade. By 1988, things had changed. Canada now had almost three times as much trade with the United States as with the rest of the world. Some experts warned that not having a deal might be even worse. They believed that if either Parliament or the United States Congress rejected the deal, a trade war would follow. With protectionism being so strong in America, the US would probably erect higher and higher trade barriers, causing Canada to retaliate.

Free trade was the most important issue in the hard-fought federal election of 1988. When the Conservatives won a majority of the seats in Parliament, the Free Trade Agreement (FTA) became law on 1 January 1989.

### North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA)

Not long after the Free Trade Agreement was signed, Mexico expressed interest in joining the association. On 1 January 1994, Canada entered the **North American Free Trade Agreement** with the United States and Mexico.

Canada's trade with Mexico was only \$3 billion annually compared with \$180 billion with the United States. However, the Canadian government feared that if it remained on the sidelines, it could lose trade with the United States, our best customer. NAFTA created a market, which linked approximately 390 million North Americans into a single trading region stretching from the Yukon to the Yucatan. By the agreement, Canada, Mexico, and the United States provided open access to each other's markets for most goods.

Those Canadians who opposed NAFTA felt it was a further step toward the complete domination of Canada by the United States. Would Canada, they asked, be able to protect its own steel, textile, and automobile industries in the face of much

*Prime Minister Chrétien with Cuban leader Fidel Castro in Havana in 1998. The Canadian government has also tried to maintain good trade relations with Cuba, defying a US economic blockade of the country since 1961.*





cheaper production costs in Mexico or the United States? Could Canadians maintain a unique culture, while forging closer economic ties with much larger nations?

Those who favoured NAFTA said it would make North America more competitive with Asian and European trading blocs. Globalization has led many other regions of the world to form free trade zones. Canadians must be prepared to compete in the new global marketplace. It could also be a step toward a future North and South American free trade area. Shortly after becoming Prime Minister in 1994, Jean Chrétien and a delegation of Canadian business people travelled to Latin America. Their goal was to foster stronger trade and investment links. Chrétien indicated at that time that he supported the eventual expansion of NAFTA to include Latin American nations.

### Pacific Salmon Dispute

In the 1990s, Canada and the United States became embroiled in a dispute known as the "**salmon wars**." In 1985, the two countries had signed the Pacific Salmon Treaty. The purpose of the treaty was to regulate the salmon catch of fishers in British Columbia, Washington State, and Alaska. The issue was a tricky one because salmon migrate during their life cycle. Although many spawn in the Fraser and other British Columbian rivers, they also spend considerable time in American waters.

In the 1990s, in spite of the treaty, the two sides were unable to agree on how many fish should be caught. Salmon stocks were steadily decreasing. Experts believed that this was due to over-fishing and pollution of the salmon habitat. Logging, landfills, and industrial and agricultural pollution had all seriously damaged the spawning grounds.

With no quotas in place, fleets from both countries were taking as many fish



*About 200 Canadian fishing boats blocked the passage of the US ferry Malaspina in Prince Rupert Harbour, July 1997. Were the BC fishers justified? Why or why not?*

as they could catch. The situation reached a crisis in 1997. Talks had stalled. There was no agreement on how much sockeye salmon bound for the Fraser River the Americans would be allowed to catch, or how much coho salmon which spawns in US waters the Canadians would be allowed to fish. British Columbia fishers blamed American fishers for catching too many British Columbia salmon. Salmon fishers from British Columbia protested by blocking an American ferry in Prince Rupert Harbour.

The "salmon wars" ignited a political battle. The premier of British Columbia threatened to cancel the lease on the US naval base on Vancouver Island. The US Congress urged President Clinton to send the US navy to protect the Alaska ferries. The Canadian government feared that the Americans might retaliate with a full-scale trade war. Many British Columbia citizens felt that the federal government was more interested in appeasing the Americans than in fighting for the rights of Canadian fishers.

Canadian officials were sent to Washington to solve the standoff. But the only progress they made was to appoint two negotiators to try to restart the treaty talks. As long as the disagreement continued, there was danger that salmon stocks could be completely wiped out. The dispute also





## IMPACT ON SOCIETY

### IS CANADIAN CULTURE ON THE BARGAINING TABLE?

Canada is fighting a trade battle to protect its magazine industry. For decades, Ottawa followed a policy of taxing split-run American magazines. Split-run meant that a non-Canadian magazine such as *Time* published a Canadian edition for the Canadian market. This edition included some Canadian content along with a lot of recycled American material. For example, a Canadian edition of *Time* might have a lead article on Lucien Bouchard, but that article would not appear in the American edition. *Time* also sold all advertising space for the split-run edition to Canadian businesses.

The government felt it had a duty to protect the Canadian magazine industry. Canadian publishers warned that split-runs were draining away local advertising dollars and hurting Canadian magazines financially. Advertising dollars in Canada were limited. In an attempt to save what little Canadian advertising dollars there were for Canadian magazines, Ottawa imposed an 80 per cent tax on advertising in split-runs.

For years, American publishers complained about this policy. *Sports Illustrated* brought the protests to a head. *Sports Illustrated* had started a Canadian edition in 1993, but hired few Canadians as editors or sports writers. They used exactly the same American content in the Canadian edition. Stories were transferred electronically from the US and printed in Canada. The only difference was that the split-run edition had Canadian advertisements. *Sports Illustrated* was able to sell the magazine at a cheaper price than most other Canadian magazines because it made large profits from the huge American market. No Canadian magazine could compete. Since Canadian magazines were in danger of going out of business, the government slapped a tax on the Canadian edition of *Sports Illustrated*.

The publishers of *Sports Illustrated* took their complaint to NAFTA. They argued that the Canadian government was treating them unfairly. They protested Canada's special taxes and tariffs aimed at blocking magazines that have separate ads in their Canadian editions. The NAFTA tribunal ruled against the magazine. The tribunal declared that, under the terms of NAFTA, the Canadian government had the right to take these steps to protect Canadian culture.

*Sports Illustrated* then appealed to the World Trade Organization in 1997. This time, the WTO upheld the US magazine's protest against Canada's special taxes and tariffs on their Canadian editions. The WTO ruled that Canada's policy on split-run magazines violated global trade rules.

To try to get around the WTO ruling, Heritage Minister Sheila Copps introduced Bill C-55 in Parliament. Bill C-55 bans Canadian advertising in foreign magazines that include only minimal Canadian content, but sell Canadian advertising at cheaper rates than Canadian-only publications. Canada has called the ban a "cultural" matter.

Immediately, the American government warned that it would retaliate if Bill C-55 passed into law. The US threatened to introduce sanctions against Canadian steel, textiles, and other goods. Sheila Copps insisted that Canada must stand up to foreign bullying and protect its culture. Others in government, however, felt that the US threat had to be taken seriously. They sought to negotiate a way out of a trade confrontation.

After Bill C-55 became law, negotiators from the two countries met to hammer out a compromise. In the end, the Canadian government agreed to allow up to 18 per cent Canadian advertising in magazines such as *Sports Illustrated* and *Readers' Digest* over a



three-year period. After three years, if an American-based magazine wanted more than 18 per cent Canadian advertising, it would have to contain a

majority of Canadian editorial content. The Canadian government also agreed to provide some subsidies or financial support to Canadian magazines.

1. a) Do you think that American magazines threaten Canadian culture? Why or why not?  
b) How important is it that a magazine have editorial content created specifically for Canadian readers? Should Canada stand up to the United States on this issue? Explain.
2. Do you think that Canadian culture needs to be defended by legislation? Justify your position.

threatened the livelihoods of 6000 British Columbia salmon fishers and thousands more in the processing industry and sports fishery.

## Global Trade

Each year since becoming Prime Minister, Jean Chrétien has led a tour to encourage more trade in a specific area of the world. These excursions are known as the **Team Canada missions**. Provincial premiers, business leaders, university presidents, and young entrepreneurs are invited to join the trips. Usually, there is representation from all regions of Canada. Each mission emphasizes 8-10 business focus sectors that are thought to be of most interest to the countries visited. For each trip, Team Canada charters a jet to foreign cities where meetings are arranged with local business and political leaders.

Everywhere they have gone, Team Canada members have put the spotlight on Canadian commercial, political, educational, and cultural links with the countries visited. Supporters believe that the Team Canada missions are an important part of Canada's international business development effort. By increasing inter-

national trade, the missions create jobs and promote economic growth in Canada. Exports are vital to the Canadian economy. One in three jobs in Canada is tied to exports. Every \$1 billion in exports creates or sustains about 11 000 jobs in Canada. The following are highlights of some recent Team Canada missions.

### 1999 – Japan

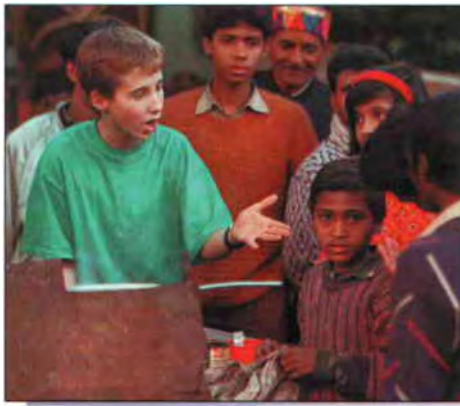
Participants were chosen from all provinces and territories. A total of 269 business delegates were part of the team, including 50 women, 29 young entrepreneurs, and four representatives from Aboriginal nations. The emphasis was on information and communications technology and education. Deals totalling \$409 million dollars were signed.

### 1998 – Mexico, Brazil, Argentina, and Chile

The team included 527 business people. Companies from all 10 provinces signed contracts and 306 deals were completed. This was the highest number of deals ever signed on a Team Canada mission. Their value was \$1.78 billion. One contract was for \$300 million with the Canadian Wheat Board.



*Canadian teenager, Craig Kielburger, made a public plea not to let business overshadow Canada's concern for human rights. The photo shows Kielburger discussing child labour with Munna, a 10-year-old food vendor in India.*



### 1997 – Korea, the Philippines, and Thailand

Nine provincial premiers and 502 business people joined the Prime Minister on this 12-day trip. The mission resulted in \$2.13 billion worth of contracts for Canadian companies.

### 1996 – India, Pakistan, Indonesia, and Malaysia

In this year 300 business people visited south Asia and came home with \$8.72 billion in deals. It was in India that Team Canada met 13-year-old Canadian teenager, Craig Kielburger. Craig had founded an organization called **Free the Children** in 1995. It is dedicated to stopping the exploitation of children around the world. Craig visited India and saw for himself the conditions faced by some young children who are forced to work in factories for pennies a day. Craig Kielburger persuaded the Canadian government to set aside some foreign aid funds to help exploited children. In India, Kielburger reminded business leaders that they have a responsibility to make sure the contracts they sign do not involve the use of child labour.

### 1995 – China

The first Team Canada mission involved 188 business people who worked out trade

deals valued at \$8.6 billion. The largest contract was for the sale of two CANDU nuclear reactors worth \$3.5 billion. China continues to be a profitable market for Canadian companies. At a special ceremony in Toronto in 1999, the Canada-China Business Council signed 12 deals with Chinese firms worth \$2.3 billion.

### Links to the European Union (EU)

In addition to the close trade relationship with the United States and Mexico, Canada has other important global economic links. The European Union is a huge potential market for Canadian goods and a source of foreign investment for Canada.

The European Union is an association of 15 European countries, including Britain. These countries have joined together to form a vast economic, multi-country trading market. Poland, Hungary, the Czech Republic, Slovenia, Estonia, and Cyprus have also applied for membership. But the EU is more than a trading partnership. It also includes political institutions, such as the European Parliament, that work for closer political cooperation among the countries of Europe. Within the EU, citizens of member countries travel freely across borders without visas and are not charged duties or taxes on goods. By 1 July 2002, a common currency called the “euro” will replace the various local currencies.

The European Union is Canada's second largest trading partner after the USA. In 1996, Canada imported \$22.7 billion worth of goods from the EU and exported \$14.8 billion. The EU is also the second largest source of foreign investment in Canada. However, there are some dangers, as well as advantages, to Canada's links to the European Union. If Canada has a problem with one member country, the dispute can spill over to all members of the EU.



#### Netsurfer

Find out more about Craig Kielburger and Free the Children at [www.freethechildren.org/](http://www.freethechildren.org/).





*Former Fisheries Minister Brian Tobin shows where the Spanish vessel Estai was seized in 1995 for using illegal nets. The incident led to a major dispute with the European Union.*

The dispute with Spain over fishing in Newfoundland waters is a case in point. In 1992, the Canadian government announced a ban on all northern cod fishing. Fish stocks were severely depleted, and scientists feared they might never recover. Vessels with high-technology drag nets had been operating on the Grand Banks since 1977. Canada claimed that fishing by EU countries, especially Spain, was threatening the complete collapse of the fishery.

In 1995, Minister of Fisheries at the time, Brian Tobin, ordered Canadian patrol boats to fire shots across the bow of a Spanish fishing trawler, the *Estai*. The Spanish boat was seized and charged with overfishing and using illegal nets. Spanish officials were furious and took their complaints to the European Union. The issue was not resolved until an agreement was reached with the EU on acceptable quotas. But at the time of the incident, Canada was trying to negotiate a wide-ranging trade deal with the EU. Spain was able to

use its influence inside the EU to delay the Canadian-EU agreement for almost two years. The case was a warning of how a medium-sized country like Canada is at a disadvantage when dealing with a large bloc of countries.

### Links to Asia Pacific

Canada also has strong trade ties with Japan, Hong Kong, China, and the countries of the Pacific Rim. Since 1989, Canada has been a member of the **Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC)**. APEC was founded to encourage trade among its members and to improve their economies. It covers a much wider geographic area than the European Union, including Asian countries of both the western and eastern Pacific. Although the member countries have very different cultures and systems of government, they recognize the advantages of working together interdependently.

Canada's trade with APEC countries boomed during the 1980s and 1990s. The



### Netsurfer

You can read more about the European Union in eleven different languages at <http://www.europa.eu.int>.





## SPOTLIGHT ON...

### David See-Chai Lam

David See-Chai Lam emigrated from Hong Kong to Canada in 1967. He settled in Vancouver and got a job selling real estate. He began developing properties in Vancouver and became one of the city's leading land developers.

In 1989, Chinese soldiers killed pro-democracy demonstrators in Tiananmen Square. Hong Kong residents became more and more uneasy as Britain prepared to return the colony to the People's Republic of China in 1997. Thousands of residents prepared to leave the colony. David Lam encouraged many of them to come to Canada. He assured them that "Canada isn't a racist society. It is a wonderfully varied, multi-ethnic, very caring and compassionate society."

Between 1987 and 1996, more than 290 000 immigrants arrived in Canada from Hong Kong. Many were business people interested in new investment opportunities. David Lam was responsible for encouraging a large number of Hong Kong investors to settle in Vancouver. Their investment dollars had a strong positive impact on the Canadian economy, especially in British Columbia and Ontario.



When David Lam retired, he established a foundation as a means of contributing to his community. Millions of dollars have been distributed by the foundation to causes such as the David Lam Management Research Library at the University of British Columbia; the David Lam

Centre for International Communication at Simon Fraser University; hospitals; and the Asian-Pacific Centre, which Lam helped to found. He encouraged other Hong Kong philanthropists who immigrated to Canada to give as generously to their new country.

In 1988, David See-Chai Lam was made a member of the Order of Canada. That same year, he was appointed lieutenant governor of British Columbia, a post he held for seven years. Lam was the first person of Asian ancestry to hold the position of lieutenant governor in Canada.

- 
1. Find out what contributions other immigrants from Hong Kong or elsewhere in Asia are making to Canadian society.

Asia Pacific region contains about 60 per cent of the world's population. Canadian businesses recognized the opportunities of tapping into this vast market. Pacific Rim countries were interested in buying Canadian natural resources, such as lumber, minerals, and fish. They also bought telecommunications systems, power gen-

erators, and environmental technology. In return, Asian Pacific countries exported automobiles, televisions, CD players and other electronic equipment, and high-tech items such as computer chips to Canada. Canada has been running a trade deficit with APEC countries. In other words, we have been buying more than we have



been selling. Why? One reason is that production costs are much lower in countries such as China or Malaysia. Workers there earn a fraction of what Canadian workers earn making the same product. Another reason is that Japan has the highest number of robots working in factories than any other industrialized country. Robots do not earn salaries or benefits; therefore, Japan is able to produce some manufactured goods more cheaply and competitively than Canada can. Both these factors have cost Canadians jobs. In some cases, Canadian businesses have moved their factories to Asia to compete. Some have closed down altogether.



## Impact of the Internet

One aspect of globalization is the increasing influence of the **Internet**. The Internet, an international linking of computers, has changed the way human beings around the world communicate with each other. At the beginning of the twentieth century, messages were carried between countries by foot, horse, or boat. Then came the ocean-going ship, telegraph, airplane, radio, television, and satellite. With each invention, communication time speeded up.

Today, vast amounts of information travel from one corner of the globe to another instantaneously through the Internet. Use of the Internet, especially the World Wide Web, is growing by almost 100 per cent every year. By January 2002, it is forecast that 700 million users will be communicating through the Internet. We are all closer to each other than we have ever been in history.

The Internet presents a new and difficult challenge to those who want to protect Canadian culture. The “information highway” makes national borders mean-

### Canada's Trade with Asian Pacific Countries, 1999 (in millions of Canadian dollars)

Country	Imports (into Canada)	Exports (out of Canada)
Japan	1 032.3	671.6
China	616.6	143.9
Taiwan	344.5	105.1
Korea	270.1	124.4
Malaysia	143.4	27.4
Singapore	115.4	35.7
Thailand	107.9	23.6
Hong Kong	107.3	76.5
Australia	99.5	61.2
Indonesia	79.0	28.3
Philippines	67.2	13.4
New Zealand	24.3	11.5
Papua New Guinea	.067	.23
Brunei Darussalam	.045	.14

Source: Statistics Canada Report, 21 January 2000.

ingless to anyone with a computer and a modem. American web sites provide American content for surfing and downloading by Internet users around the world. The Internet has enhanced US cultural dominance. This is due in part to the fact that Americans were on-line before most of the rest of the world. It is also because the country wields such economic power.

Some cultural nationalists fear that the Internet is diluting Canadian culture in a sea of American electronic information.

**Which country is Canada's most important trading partner? Does Canada have a trade surplus or a trade deficit with Asia Pacific? Explain.**

### Internet Usage

Canada	4.53 million (Nov. 1997)
USA	55 million (June 1998)
World	102 million (Jan. 1998)



*The Internet has changed the way people communicate and use information around the world.*



Others point out that the Internet is not a one-way communication medium like TV or movies. Perhaps, they say, the interactive nature of communication on the Internet might present the opportunity to project Canadian culture rather than simply absorb American culture.

Other experts believe that the “information highway” will eventually create a

### A Timeline of Internet History

- 1969** Computer science professor Leonard Kleinrock’s computer at the University of Southern California “spoke” to another computer at Stanford University. The connection marked the beginning of the Internet and was the culmination of years of research by Kleinrock and others into sharing information over a web of connected computers.
- 1971** E-mail is invented to send messages across a distributed network.
- 1973** The microcomputer appears for the first time.  
An international Internet connection is established among the US, England, and Norway.
- 1975** Bill Gates gets into the computer business; IBM markets laser printers.
- 1977** Apple II, the first home computer, debuts.
- 1981** Computer “firsts” include the IBM PC, the mouse pointing device, and the laptop.
- 1983** The Internet is created as a network of connecting computers; the computer is named “Man of the Year” by *Time* magazine.
- 1984** Canadian William Gibson, a Vancouver science fiction writer, coins the phrase “cyberspace” to describe the new universe of electronic communications.
- 1985** 100 years to the day of the last spike being driven on the transcontinental railroad, the last Canadian university is connected to NetNorth Network in a one-year effort to have coast-to-coast connectivity.
- 1986** NSFNET (National Science Foundation Network) is created to provide high energy computing power for all, resulting in an explosion of links.
- 1988** Canada, Denmark, Finland, France, Iceland, Norway, and Sweden connect to FSNNET.
- 1989** Countries connecting to NSFNET include Australia, Germany, Italy, Israel, Japan, Mexico, Netherlands, New Zealand, Puerto Rico, and the United Kingdom.
- 1990** America Online is founded.
- 1991** The World Wide Web emerges as the most popular way to browse the network. Eleven more countries connect to NSFNET.
- 1992** The term “surfing the Internet” is coined. Thirteen more countries link to NSFNET.
- 1993** Netscape Communications is founded and creates Netscape browser. Seventeen more countries link to the Net.
- 1995** The Canadian government comes on-line.
- 1996** Hackers break into US Department of Justice, CIA, Air Force, and UK Labour party.
- 1999** First full-service bank, available only on the Net, opens for business.  
The Internet celebrates its 30th birthday.



global culture. They point out that by the early years of the twenty-first century, for the first time ever, there will be more non-English than English speakers on-line.

## Partnerships in Space

In 1988, international cooperation in space research entered a new era. In that year, Canada, the United States, Russia, Japan, Brazil, and 11 European countries joined in a new NASA program. Together they hoped to achieve what few countries had the expertise or finances to accomplish alone. Their goal was to construct an **International Space Station (ISS)**. It would be a successor to the Russian space station *Mir* and represented the most ambitious engineering project ever undertaken. The ISS will support a permanent international crew of seven astronauts and will serve as an observation platform of earth.

Construction began in November 1998 with the launch of a Russian module called *Zarya*. The following month, the American module *Unity* was linked to *Zarya*, creating a true orbiting space station 400 km above the earth. It will take approximately 45 NASA space shuttle missions to transport and assemble all the ISS components. The new orbiting space station is expected to be complete by 2004. Fully assembled, the station will cover an area as large as a football field (108 m long) and weigh 450 metric tonnes.

Canada's crucial contribution to the International Space Station is the **Mobile Service System (MSS)**. MSS will play a key role in the construction of the station and its continuing operation in space. MSS includes equipment and facilities located on the space station and on the ground. The on-station elements include a sophis-

### Canadian Space Industry's Contribution to Innovation and Growth

- \$1 billion in annual revenues
- 30 per cent of exports (the highest ratio in the world)
- Approximately 5000 jobs across Canada
- Over \$81 million allocated to research and development
- 60% of revenues attributed to the communications sector

Source: Canadian Space Agency, 1996.

ticated space "arm" and a mobile platform to support it. It has been called a new generation Canadarm.

The ground facilities for Canada's part of the project are located at Saint Hubert, Quebec. The facility will train Canadian astronauts who will eventually be part of the ISS crew and house experts who will monitor the health of the robotic arm.

### Satellite Technology

In the 1980s and 1990s, Canada also continued its world-renowned program of research and experiments in satellite technology. Canada's first Earth Observation Satellite, named *Radarsat-1*, was launched in 1995. It was designed and built in Canada by a team of 30 companies under the supervision of Spar Aerospace. As it hurtled around the globe every 110 minutes, it provided images of the earth's surface day and night and in any cloud condition.

In wartime, *Radarsat* could monitor troop movements from space. In peacetime, the satellite has been used to observe an enormous range of objects for government and business. It has monitored the movement of ice for ship navigation and told scientists what is going on with water flows so they can help predict flood conditions. It has provided coastal surveillance, observed fish stocks, and monitored the depletion of the world's





## The Technological Edge

### CANADIAN ASTRONAUTS

Canadian astronauts have flown on more NASA space shuttle missions than astronauts from any other country except the United States. Our astronauts have represented Canada in supporting several international space projects and have participated in groundbreaking research and experiments.

**Marc Garneau** was Canada's trailblazer astronaut, our first person in space. Garneau, an electrical engineer from Quebec City, flew aboard *Challenger* in October 1984. During eight days circling the earth, he carried out space science experiments. As a true Canadian hockey fan, he carried the first hockey puck into space in his baggage. Garneau flew on a second mission in May 1996 aboard *Endeavour*, and on a third mission in 1999.

**Roberta Bondar** was the first Canadian woman astronaut to travel in space. To honour that accomplishment, Bondar was granted the Order of Canada in 1992. She flew aboard the American space shuttle *Discovery*. As a medical doctor and neurobiologist, her role was conducting life science research on motion sickness, weightlessness, the way the human body adapts to space flights, and the amount of energy astronauts use in space.

**Steve Maclean**, a specialist in astrophysics and laser physics, was selected to conduct experiments in the American shuttle program. However, he was not chosen for a shuttle mission until 1992. After nine years of training and delays, Maclean lifted off in the shuttle *Columbia*. His experiments were in space vision, sensing, and materials physics.

**Chris Hadfield** was assigned to join the NASA shuttle *Atlantis* in 1995 to link up with the Russian space station *Mir*. His main duty was to manoeuvre the docking tunnel that would link *Atlantis* to the space station. That made Hadfield the first Canadian in space to operate the Canadarm, the made-in-Canada remote control manipulator. Hadfield was



Canadian astronaut Julie Payette on board the space shuttle *Discovery*.

assigned to space again in 1999, this time to work on the new space station.

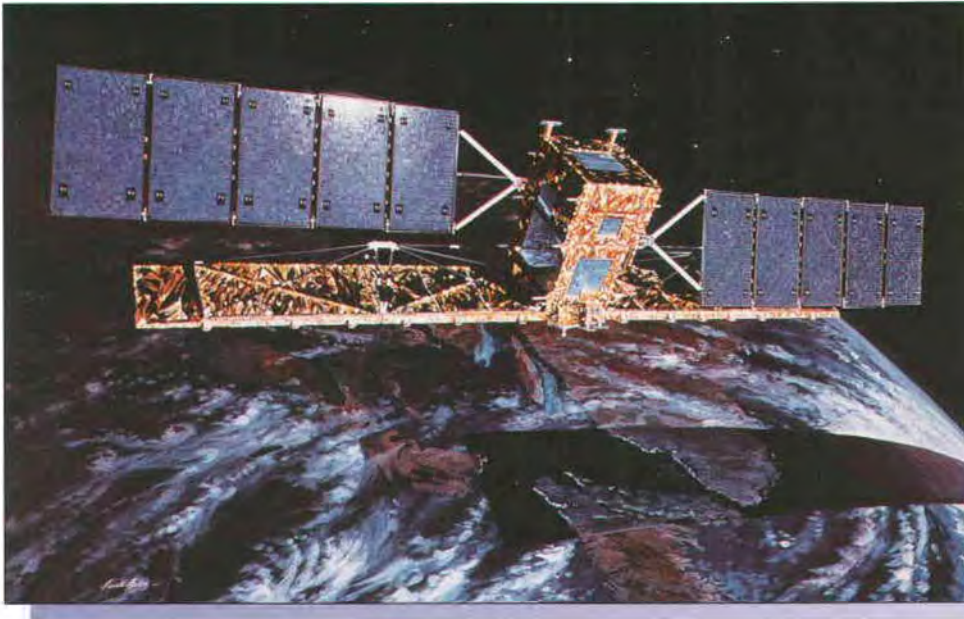
**Bob Thirsk and Dave Williams** carried out research on weightlessness in missions in 1996 and 1998. Thirsk, with six crewmates, spent 17 days aboard the shuttle *Columbia*. Their experiments investigated the changes in plants, animals, and humans under space flight conditions. Williams, a physician, also studied sleep and balance disorders, and motion sickness. His experiments may lead to treatments that will help future astronauts live and work for long periods in space.

**Bjarni Tryggvason** participated in his first flight aboard the space shuttle *Discovery* in 1997. He performed fluid physics experiments to examine sensitivity to spacecraft vibrations. This work was intended to develop a better understanding of the effect that vibrations might have on work that is to be performed on the ISS. Tryggvason has been trained for the International Space Station flight assignments.

**Julie Payette** went aloft in *Discovery* in May 1999. She was part of a 10-day logistics and resupply mission to the International Space Station. Julie Payette became the first Canadian to participate in an International Space Station assembly mission and to board the Station.

1. Find out more about the training Canadian astronauts will go through for missions on the International Space Station. Prepare a report for your class.





*The Radarsat satellite represented a major advance in satellite technology because it was able to take clear pictures of the earth under any weather conditions, including heavy cloud cover.*



### Netsurfer

The Canadian Astronaut web site will tell you about Canada's team of astronauts:

[http://www.space.gc.ca/iss/en/canastronauts/index\\_en.htm](http://www.space.gc.ca/iss/en/canastronauts/index_en.htm).

The web site at Marc Garneau Collegiate, Toronto, provides information about the Canadian astronaut program:

<http://www.spacenet.eybe.edu.on.ca>.

rainforests. One of *Radarsat's* greatest accomplishments was mapping the entire continent of Antarctica for the first time in history.

*Radarsat-2* is scheduled to be launched in 2001. Built in British Colum-

bia, it will be the most advanced Synthetic Aperture Radar (SAR) satellite in the world. It will provide the clearest pictures yet of the earth from space and will ensure the continuity of data from *Radarsat-1* for users worldwide.



## Activities

### Understand Facts and Concepts

1. Add these new terms to your *Facfile*.

anti-personnel land mines

Ottawa Process

peacemaking

Gulf War

ethnic cleansing

Amnesty International

war crimes tribunal

genocide

Free Trade Agreement (FTA)

North American Free Trade Agreement  
(NAFTA)

salmon wars

Team Canada missions

Free the Children

Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation  
(APEC)

Internet

International Space Station

Mobile Service System (MSS)



2. What role did Canada play in the international battle to ban land mines?
3. a) Explain the difference between peacekeeping and peacemaking.  
b) Describe an example of each involving Canada.
4. a) Provide an example of the role Canada has played in curbing human rights abuses.  
b) How successful was this effort? Explain.
5. Make a two-column organizer. In the left column, summarize in your own words the main arguments for free trade with the United States. Rank them in order of importance. In the right column, summarize the main arguments against free trade in order of importance.
6. a) What are the Team Canada missions?  
b) How effective are they? Defend your answer.
7. What has Canada contributed to, and gained from, space exploration?

### Think and Communicate

8. Discuss the following questions in small groups and report your conclusions to the class.
  - a) Do you think that Canada's foreign aid should be tied to a country's record on human rights? Explain.
  - b) Should foreign aid benefit Canada as well as the recipient country? Explain your reasoning.
9. a) Outline the changes in the role of Canada's armed forces since World War II. Present your findings in an illustrated timeline, photo essay, or bulletin board display.  
b) This chapter has focused on the role of Canada's armed forces abroad. Do research to find out more about the role of the forces at home. Include this information in your presentation.
10. Write a newspaper editorial explaining why NAFTA is or is not good for the Canadian economy.
11. Using a web diagram, show how people in other parts of Canada are affected by the salmon wars in British Columbia.
12. State your opinions. Which political figure in the 1990s did most to shape modern-day Canada? Which non-political person has made an important contribution to Canada in the same period? Justify your answers.



### Apply Your Knowledge

13. On a wall map of the world, place Canadian flags to indicate where Canadian peacekeepers have been stationed since the end of World War II. In groups, research one of the missions. Find out what the conflict was about and what role Canadians played in keeping the peace. Add a summary of this information around the borders of the map.
14. Do research to find out where Aboriginal peoples in British Columbia stand on the salmon dispute. Present your findings to the class.
15. Each year, the Nobel Prize for Peace is awarded to someone who has made an outstanding contribution to world peace. Find out more about some recent recipients of the award. Prepare a short report describing the international crisis in which the award winner was involved. Then explain what this individual did to contribute to a peaceful solution.
16. In 1997, the national polling firm Pollara carried out a wide-ranging poll on what it means to be a Canadian. In one question, Canadians were asked whether or not it would be possible to protect Canadian culture with the advent of new electronic technologies. The national results in 1997 were:

Impossible	48%
Possible	39%
Don't know	13%

Hold an informal opinion survey in your classroom or school, and ask the same question. How do the results compare to the Pollara poll? Analyze your survey results. What conclusions can you draw?



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## Text Sources

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