INTRODUCTION

At the end of the Second World War, as Canadian soldiers returned home from overseas, Canada entered a period of economic prosperity. Production shifted from addressing the needs of the wartime economy, to supplying a booming nation with new and affordable consumer goods. Later in this period of consumer confidence came the era of protest. Influenced by the civil rights movement in the United States, Canadians began to demand improved rights for Black Canadians, Aboriginal peoples, and women. Additionally, there were many cultural changes that took place - so much so that this period of time became known as the "swinging sixties." On the other hand, amidst this period of renewed confidence and optimism, there was also the overarching presence of a new threat. The United States and the Soviet Union were embroiled in a "war" that did not involve combat - rather it was fought using propaganda, espionage, and politics. This was called the Cold War. We will see how the fears and suspicions of the Cold War influenced world politics. We will also see how the relationship between Canada and the United States evolved during this period. Finally, Canada's role in the world underwent some changes as well. Many Canadians began to see a role for Canada as a middle power. As a middle power Canada was free to chart an independent course, but was not as powerful as the United States, the Soviet Union, Britain or France.

THE UNITED NATIONS

The Second World War proved only too clearly that the League of Nations had failed in its objective - to keep the peace. The League had no military power of its own, and its most influential members were not committed to the concept of collective security. As the Second World War came to a close, countries again began to seek the development of a new world organization of nations that would have more strength than the last. In April 1945, 50 countries led by Britain, the Soviet Union, and the United States, including Canada, met in San Francisco to create the United Nations (UN). The same ideals of peace and social and economic progress remained the basic goals of this new world organization. Specifically, the United Nations had four goals: keeping world peace and preventing new wars; encouraging cooperation among nations; defending human rights and helping to promote equality; and improving the standard of living for all nations.

i) Structure:

a. The General Assembly All UN member states are represented in the General Assembly. Each state has one vote, and a two-thirds majority is sufficient for a decision on important issues. The Assembly was empowered to discuss and make recommendations on any matter likely to affect world peace. Other important functions have been to become a forum for discussion, to supervise special agencies, and to control the budget.

b. The Security Council The UN Security Council is responsible for maintaining world peace, and it has the power to force the members of the UN to carry out its decisions. After the War, the Security Council consisted of the five victors of the war as permanent members, and ten other countries serving two-year terms. The five permanent members - China, France, the United Kingdom, the Soviet Union, and the United States - were also given veto power (which means that they could choose to block any decision). In 1948, Canada gained its own seat on the UN Security Council, and since has often served in
this non-permanent capacity.

c. The Secretariat The chief administrative officer of the UN is the Secretary General. The secretariat is made up of thousands of clerks, interpreters, translators and technical experts.

d. The International Court of Justice The International Court of Justice is located in The Hague (in the Netherlands) and is also known as the World Court. The court makes rulings on disputes submitted by members, when the members have agreed to abide by its rulings. It also gives legal advice to the Assembly and the Security Council.

ii) Humanitarian Agencies of the UN:

a. The UN oversees several specialized agencies including UNICEF, the World Health Organization (WHO), and the International Labour Organization (ILO). These agencies continue to provide assistance and aid around the world. It is within these agencies that some of the most important work of the United Nations has taken place. It is also within these organizations that the United Nations has achieved its greatest levels of cooperation.

iii) Canada’s Contribution to the UN:

a. Canada played a key role in the drafting of the UN Charter. John Humphrey, a Canadian, is often given credit for drafting the Charter of the United Nations. Later, Lester B. Pearson played a key role in solving some of the problems faced by the UN. In fact, Lester Pearson even received the Nobel Peace Prize for his efforts to resolve the Suez Crisis—a process in which he helped to invent the very concept of peacekeeping. Canada has consistently been an active supporter of the United Nations, and has played an important role in both the General Assembly and on the Security Council. Canada has also been particularly active as part of UN peacekeeping efforts.

THE COLD WAR

With the end of hostilities after the Second World War, a bipolar world emerged. After the war there no longer existed a group of five or six great powers. There were two new superpowers: the United States and the Soviet Union. Continental Europe was in ruins, Germany no longer existed, Italy was crushed, and Britain was now in obvious and serious decline. This new power structure formed the basis of the Cold War. The Cold War was an ideological struggle (of ideas) between the United States and the Soviet Union. It was different from other wars in that it was fought using propaganda, espionage, and economic and political pressures. While an amazing arms race ensued, the two superpowers did not face each other in combat. This is why it is called the Cold War. Essentially, it was a fight for power and influence on a global scale. The Cold War was characterized by the everpresent fear of a nuclear war, as both sides raced to build nuclear weapons. As a result of the Cold War, the world became divided into two hostile camps. The two "opponents" were the United States and the Soviet Union. There are two essential concepts in understanding the Cold War: containment and the domino theory. The American strategy during the Cold War was to "contain" communism, by preventing it from spreading to other countries. In order to do so, the Americans tried to win non-aligned countries over to their "camp," while the Soviets attempted to do the same. The other concept, which fuelled the idea of containment, was the domino theory; Americans feared that once one country was pulled into the Communist camp, then all surrounding countries would be soon to follow.
I) Beginning of the Cold War

a. Ideological Differences Fear and suspicion arose between the West and the Soviet Union over basic ideological differences such as the authoritarian state versus the democratic state, and communist economics versus free enterprise or capitalism. Western capitalist nations feared the part of communist ideology that was aimed at world revolution. On the other hand, the Soviet Union feared encirclement by capitalist countries, which would always pose the threat of counter-revolution within the Soviet Union.

b. International Concerns and Suspicions (i) The Domino Theory The United States was very concerned with the way that Stalin was able to quickly establish Soviet-style communist regimes in six countries after the Second World War (Bulgaria, Hungary, Romania, Poland, Czechoslovakia, and Yugoslavia). As these countries fell one by one to communism, the Americans developed the domino theory metaphor. As dominoes quickly cause the next to fall, so the Americans believed European countries would fall one by one to the Soviets. (ii) Satellite States The creation of Satellite States was a new concept in the Cold War. The six countries controlled by the Soviet Union were called satellite states because they were absolutely controlled by the Soviet Union. In 1946, responding to the creation of these satellite states, Winston Churchill declared that an Iron Curtain had fallen across Europe, dividing communist and non-communist states. (Hi) Containment In 1947 the United States declared the Truman Doctrine, which was the policy to support free peoples around the world who were resisting subjugation (in particular, people living in countries threatened by communism). This was the first step in developing the American policy of containment. The policy of containment was the policy of containing or halting the spread of communism, by providing economic aid and military support to people threatened by communism. Later in 1947, the United States further developed the policy of containment when they passed the Marshall Plan. The Marshall Plan offered billions of dollars in aid to worn-torn European economies to help them resist the advance of communism. All of these policies were developed in response to the Red Scare.

c. Canadian Concerns and Suspicions in the early Cold War (i) The Gouzenko Affair In 1945, a young clerk with the Soviet Embassy in Ottawa, Igor Gouzenko, asked Canada for political asylum (protection from the Soviet Union) in return for giving the Canadian government documents that proved that the Soviet Union was operating two spy rings in Canada. After handing over the proof of these spy rings, Gouzenko was threatened by the Soviet Union, and so he and his family were given Canadian police protection for the rest of their lives. The Gouzenko Affair marked the beginning of the Cold War in Canada. It had now hit home that there was potentially a communist threat in Canada. (ii) The Red Scare In response to the fear of communism that was further heightened as a result of the Gouzenko Affair, the RCMP carried out illegal and secret inquiries regarding potential communists in Canada. Potential immigrants were denied entry to Canada, and known communists were deported. This massive fear of communism became known as the Red Scare.
The Division of Germany At the end of the Second World War, the Allies had agreed to split Germany into four occupation zones: Britain, France, the United States, and the Soviet Union each occupied a distinct zone. Britain, France and the United States agreed to join their sectors together to form West Germany. For his part, Stalin created the German Democratic Republic, which came to be known as East Germany. b) The Berlin Blockade and Airlift, June 1948 (i) The Division of Berlin As a result of post-war agreements, the German city of Berlin was divided into four zones, just as Germany itself had been divided into four. What made this situation unusual was that Berlin was situated well within the Russian sector of Germany. The western nations were permitted access to West Berlin through East Germany, on specified highways, railways and air corridors. (ii) The Berlin Blockade The Berlin Blockade Crisis resulted when the western powers decided to introduce a new currency into West Germany, which the Soviet Union refused to accept in Berlin. The Soviet Union counteracted the currency reform by blockading the transportation corridors, which allowed the West to send supplies to West Berlin (within the Soviet sector). This was an act of direct confrontation on Stalin's part. The Allies considered abandoning Berlin, but the domino theory caused them to think otherwise. (Hi) The Berlin Airlift Instead, the West countered with a massive airlift supplying the western -sectors of Berlin for fifteen months with all necessary supplies. This was an impressive accomplishment as West Berlin was a city of some 2.5 million citizens, and everything they needed was imported by aircraft. During these busy months one plane landed every two minutes in Berlin. As the fifteen-month period was drawing to a close, the Soviets realized that the blockade was simply not working. The end of the dispute resulted in two separate governments for Berlin. As a result of this crisis, the western Allies decided to form NATO.

THE NORTH ATLANTIC TREATY ORGANIZATION AND THE WARSAW PACT
a) The North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) The event which most prompted the Americans to make a peacetime military commitment to Europe was the Berlin Blockade. To the Allies this was sure evidence that a stronger and permanent military presence was necessary to prevent Soviet expansion in Europe. The North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) was formed in 1949, and was designed almost solely for mutual defence. Each member state contributed to NATO's defence force. The members agreed that an attack on one member would be considered an attack on them all.

b) The Warsaw Pact The Warsaw Pact was developed in response to NATO in 1955, as a defensive alliance of the Soviet Union and its satellite states.

THE ARMS RACE
The main feature of the Cold War was the nuclear arms race between the Western bloc (the United States and its allies) and the Eastern bloc (the Soviet Union and its allies). The two alliances were "racing" to develop more atomic bombs, and to improve nuclear technology. After 1957, with the launch of the first satellite by the Soviets, a major feature of the arms race became known as the space race. In this element of the Cold War each superpower developed ever more sophisticated missiles to deliver nuclear weapons. Throughout the Cold War, the two alliances tried to maintain a balance of power so that each would have approximately the same level of nuclear armaments. By maintaining nuclear parity (equality) it helped to prevent the two alliances from going to war. Nuclear parity made it seem less likely that one country would attack the other, as it knew that it would be attacked in return-this became known as MAD (Mutually Assured Destruction). If nuclear weapons were deployed, entire areas of the country would be completely annihilated. Therefore, the concept of MAD kept both sides from going to war. However, MAD only existed when both sides had access to the same weapons so that one didn't have an advantage over the other. It is for this reason that the United States and the Soviet Union "raced" to keep up with each other.
THE KOREAN WAR

1950-53 During the Second World War, Korea was held by Japan. After the Japanese surrender in 1945, Korea was divided. The North soon became communist, and the South, democratic. In 1950, over 100,000 North Korean troops, supported by Soviet-built tanks and aircraft, invaded South Korea. When the North Korean troops refused to withdraw, the United States demanded that the United Nations come to the defence of South Korea. A UN force made up from 32 countries, led by American forces, was sent to fight in Korea. Over 26,500 Canadians served in the UN action in Korea. In total, 1,000 Canadians were wounded, and 400 were killed. By the time the war was over in July 1953, although both sides agreed to an armistice, Korea remained divided between the North and South. The war in Korea was significant for Canada because it showed that Canada supported the United Nations and was willing to fight to support those goals. The Korean War was especially important because it demonstrated to the world that members of the United Nations, unlike the League of Nations, were willing to take action when required.

THE SUEZ CRISIS

1956 In 1956, Egyptian President Nasser seized the Suez Canal (a vital trade route) from Britain and France, who in response, joined with Israel to attack Egypt. The Soviet Union sided with Egypt and demanded that they withdraw. Lester Pearson, acting as Canada’s Minister of External Affairs, went to the United Nations and suggested creating a United Nations Emergency Force (UNEF) that would keep the combatants apart while a settlement to the Suez Crisis was worked out. As a result, battle forces were withdrawn and replaced with UN peacekeeping forces. Lester Pearson won the Nobel Peace Prize for his efforts in 1957.

CUBAN MISSILE CRISIS

1962 As part of the Cold War, both the United States and the Soviet Union stockpiled their nuclear weapons in various countries around the world. In 1962, the United States spotted Soviet missiles in Cuba through aerial surveillance. Warning of a Soviet nuclear attack on the United States had now been reduced from half an hour down to a few minutes. The United States set up a naval blockade around Cuba, thereby defying Soviet ships to continue bringing in missiles to Cuba. The crisis intensified as Soviet ships steamed toward Cuba-these ships were undoubtedly protected by Soviet submarines. Everyone was concerned that this crisis could lead to a nuclear war. However, as a result of the blockade, the Soviet ships turned back-but the crisis wasn't over. American President Kennedy and Soviet leader Khrushchev wrote letters to each other in which the Soviets promised to remove the missiles if the Americans would issue a promise not to invade Cuba. Nuclear war was averted.

THE ASSASSINATION OF PRESIDENT KENNEDY

On November 22"e! 1963, President John F. Kennedy of the United States was being driven down a street in Dallas, Texas. Kennedy smiled and waved to the crowd when everyone heard a deafening crack. People turned to find the President sprawled inside his car, with a bullet in his head. The assassination of President Kennedy stunned the world. Coverage of the assassination was shown incessantly on television sets across North America. It was said that even in Canada everyone could remember exactly what they were doing at the moment when they heard about the assassination. Two days later, the shooter, Lee Harvey Oswald, was shot dead in the Dallas police station by a nightclub owner. In the years to follow, a series of assassinations of American public figures
ocurred: Kennedy's younger brother Robert was shot in a Los Angeles hotel in 1968, and the Reverend Martin Luther King Jr., a black civil rights leader, was shot the same year. 9. THE VIETNAM WAR

1954-1975 The Indochina War between France, the colonial power, and the Vietminh, the Communist guerrillas in Vietnam, lasted from 1946 until the defeat of the French forces in 1954. In 1954, Vietnam was divided between the North, held by the Communist government led by Ho Chi Minh, and the South, which was anti-Communist and partially democratic. The war between North Vietnam and South Vietnam began almost immediately. South Vietnam was allied with the United States and soon the fighting escalated to include Communist countries that supported the North, and non-Communist countries that supported the South. By 1963, there were 15,000 Americans in South Vietnam because the United States was determined to stop the Communists. After the South Vietnamese leader was assassinated, a series of new leaders followed. The United States supported each new leader, and sent more troops every year. The Americans were trying to "contain" communism in Southeast Asia because they believed in the domino theory; if South Vietnam fell to the Communists then other nearby countries would soon follow. American involvement in Vietnam was called a Client War—a war in which the Americans fought on behalf of the South Vietnamese client. While neither the Chinese nor the Soviets sent troops to Vietnam, they did support the communists in Vietnam with massive shipments of supplies. In this way, the two sides avoided a direct military confrontation. Americans at home witnessed the inability of the American troops to win the ground war in Vietnam, in addition to the widespread suffering among Vietnamese civilians. TV images of the conflict appeared daily on American television. By 1969, there were 543,000 American troops in Vietnam. Due to the inability of the American forces to win this war and the growing number of casualties, the American people began to turn against the war. Anti-war protests were held throughout the United States. Some people did anything they could to avoid the draft—including making a move to Canada. Thousands of young Americans evaded the military draft and came to Canada. These people were called draft dodgers. During the last four years of the Vietnam war, the United States reduced its combat troops on the ground and turned the war into an air war. They hoped to bomb North Vietnam into submission. During this phase of the war the Americans dropped a greater tonnage of bombs on North Vietnam than the total of all the bombs used by all sides during the Second World War. Finally, in 1973 a cease-fire was reached, and in 1975, the last of the Americans left Vietnam as the Viet Cong took over Saigon. All of Vietnam quickly came under the control of the communists from the North.

CYPRUS

1964-1993 In 1964, a civil war broke out on the Mediterranean island of Cyprus, between the Greek majority and the Turkish minority. While Canadian troops were initially sent in 1964, the last of the troops were not withdrawn until 1993. Since 1993, the Cypriots have lived in relative harmony. For Canada the operation was expensive—Canada spent almost $600 million to maintain its forces in Cyprus, and 30 Canadian soldiers lost their lives.

THE RECOGNITION OF COMMUNIST CHINA

In 1949, the communists, led by Mao Zedong, took over the government of China. However, the United Nations, pushed by the United States, refused to recognize the communist government,
thereby allowing the former government (now in Taiwan), to hold one of five permanent seats on the United Nations Security Council. This issue was a source of much tension between the competing superpowers. While some countries (including Canada) recognized the communist government as the official government of China, others, such as the United States, refused to do so. Finally, by 1971, under world pressure, the Americans finally allowed Red China (the communist government) to replace Taiwan on the Security Council. This paved the way for China to become a dominant force in international relations.

THE MIDDLE EAST IN THE 1970s

At first, the ongoing conflicts in the Middle East between Israel and the Arab states seemed to change very little in the 1970s. In 1973, another brutal war took place. This war was known as the Yom Kippur war. After a few years, Anwar Sadat, the leader of Egypt, initiated peace talks with the Israelis. As a result, the Camp David Accords were signed in 1979. In this agreement, the Egyptians agreed to recognize Israel's right to exist, and in turn, the Israelis agreed to negotiate the occupied territories. For a time there was great hope that the Palestinian refugees would finally gain a homeland. By the late 1990s, it seemed as though an agreement was finally at hand. However, the present Intifada (Palestinian uprising), which started in 2001, ended any hope for a resolution to the Arab-Israeli conflict. In the 1950s, Canada had brokered a deal whereby peacekeeping troops were sent to the region. Since then, Canada has often attempted to bring a voice of reason to the ongoing conflict in the region, but with very little effect.

CANADA AFTER THE SECOND WORLD WAR

As Canadian soldiers returned from the battlefields of Europe, they faced a much different situation than did those who returned from the First World War. Unlike the period following the First World War, due to the strong Canadian economy, the government was able to provide financial services to Canadian veterans returning from the Second World War. Veterans (people who served actively in the army, navy or air force) were provided with information, counselling, and financial aid to help them to adjust to life back in Canada. For example, veterans of the war could purchase homes with a very low interest rate in a program sponsored by the government. In 1948, Canada was able to give $2 billion to Western Europe through the Marshall Plan. The Marshall Plan was a plan devised by the United States to send food, equipment and raw materials to Europe to help with the process of rebuilding. After the war, Canada experienced dramatic growth in both its mining and oil industries. In 1947, Imperial Oil discovered the Leduc oil field near Edmonton. This was the first major oil field developed in Alberta. Before this discovery, the economy of Alberta had been about grain and cattle. Because of the "oil patch" the Alberta provincial economy became the strongest in -Canada over the next five decades. However, Canadian Prime Minister Louis St. Laurent faced the problem of getting the oil and gas from Alberta to potential users in Eastern Canada. C.D. Howe, Canada's Minister of Energy at the time, argued that the natural gas pipeline should follow an all-Canadian route. While this option was preferred, it would be very expensive, and would require the government to offer a great deal of financial aid to the builders of this line. During the debate in the House of Commons the Liberal government invoked closure four times within 22 days. (Note: Closure is when the government uses its majority to end debate on a bill. It is considered very anti-democratic and against the rules of parliamentary government.) Arguments flared in the House of Commons, but the bill was passed to go ahead with the pipeline. Although the trans-Canada pipeline provided many jobs for Canadians, they remained angry over the manner in which the pipeline debate was managed by the governing Liberals. In 1957, St. Laurent's government was defeated in the election, ending 22 years of Liberal rule. 4. During the post-war period, Canada experienced a major construction boom
as houses, schools and factories were built across the country. Canada was also involved in developing new technologies. The CANDU nuclear reactor was created by Atomic Energy of Canada Limited in 1952. The CANDU reactor was intended to be used for the safe and efficient production of electricity. These reactors were exported around the world. Additionally, in 1962, NASA launched Canada's first satellite, the Alouette I. Canada was the first country to use satellites for communications within its own territory, and the third nation to have a satellite in space. 5. Canada experienced unprecedented urbanization after the war. At the turn of the century, about two thirds of the population lived in rural areas. By the 1970s, about two thirds lived in towns or cities this is called urbanization. However, many people who worked in the cities still wanted to take advantage of a quieter lifestyle, so large housing developments sprung up on the outskirts of major cities. These developments were called suburbs and collectively these developments are called Suburbia. Commuting by car from houses in the suburbs to work in the cities became very popular. As a result, the new and used car market exploded. Cars became bigger, faster and more expensive; everyone wanted to have one or even two! This dependence upon cars also provided a huge boost to the petroleum industry.

SOCIAL CHANGES: BABY BOOMERS As soldiers returned home from Europe and reunited with their families, many couples decided that it was finally the right time to have children. They no longer faced the uncertainty of service overseas, and they were financially stable as a result of the booming economy. This was called the Baby Boom. Canada's population soared from 12 million in 1946, to 18 million in 1961.

CHANGING IMMIGRATION POLICY

Displaced Persons After the war, thousands of European displaced persons (people forced from their homelands due to the war or due to Soviet expansion after the war) arrived in Canada. c) Immigration Act of 1952 In 1948, Prime Minister Louis St. Laurent set up the Department of Citizenship and Immigration. The subsequent Immigration Act of 1952 gave extensive powers to the Minister of Immigration. At this time, it was decided that the practice of barring immigrants from entering Canada based on their ethnic origin would continue. c) Demand for Immigrants However, by the 1950s, demand for immigrant labour was so high, that Canada’s doors swung wide open to accept new immigrants.

SOCIAL WELFARE IN CANADA AND OVERSEAS

a) Social Security The Unemployment Insurance Act was passed in 1940, and family allowances or "baby bonuses" were introduced in 1945. It became evident that the Canadian government had begun to accept social security as a government responsibility. These measures were a direct result of the Great Depression. b) The Colombo Plan In the 1950s, the Canadian government implemented a foreign aid initiative called the Colombo Plan, which built factories and infrastructure in Pakistan, India and Sri Lanka (Commonwealth countries). c) La Francophonie Canada also joined La Francophonie, through which it gave development aid to West Africa. La Francophonie was developed near the turn of the century to act as a link between French colonies, facilitating social and cultural exchanges and trade. As the former colonies of France and Belgium began to declare their independence, France and Belgium developed bilateral aid programs to help these new French-speaking countries to establish their political, economic and social structures. Other French-speaking countries such as Canada and Switzerland soon followed suit, setting up major bilateral aid programs after the Second World War. In 1970, over 20 French-speaking countries met in Niger, at the urging of three African heads of state. They signed a treaty creating a multilateral organization called the
Agence de coopération culturelle et technique (ACCT)—the agency for cultural and technical cooperation. This was the first major organization developed by La Francophonie, in which states and governments could co-ordinate their actions. ACCT remains the most important organization of La Francophonie in terms of its mandate and operating budget. Canada is a founding member of ACCT, and a Canadian was the agency’s first Secretary-General (the highest permanent position within the organization). This "Francophone universe," which represents almost 600 million people, is quite diverse, and includes countries in Europe, Africa, the Americas, Asia and the Pacific.

ENTERTAINMENT

After the austerity of the war, Canadians went on buying sprees and purchased consumer goods like televisions. By the 1960s, watching TV became a favourite family pastime. The Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC) bought popular American programs like "The Ed Sullivan Show." Canadian shows also became popular, such as "Hockey Night in Canada." In 1972, millions of Canadians watched one of the most famous events in Canadian sports history—Paul Henderson scored the winning goal for Team Canada in a best of eight series against the Soviet Union. Canadian hockey supremacy was reaffirmed, and Canadian nationalism and pride was strengthened. Teenagers were particularly influenced by television as "The Ed Sullivan Show" brought rock 'n' roll into their living rooms. Elvis Presley was wildly popular, and by the 1960s, the "British invasion" had become the new trend with groups such as the Beatles, the Animals, and the Rolling Stones. The music of the 1960s celebrated alternate lifestyles, and challenged the establishment.

THE ERA OF PROTEST

By the 1960s, the baby boomers had become teenagers. A teen culture developed which didn't trust anyone "over 30," and was looking to change outdated traditions. Young Canadians promoted a counterculture against the "Establishment" (people who controlled the government, large business and institutions in general). Students began to challenge authority in schools and universities. Protests arose over rights for Aboriginal nations and black North Americans. People also demonstrated against nuclear arms, American interference in Canadian affairs, and the Vietnam War. The civil rights movement in the United States, led by public figures such as Martin Luther King and Malcolm X, led to improved anti-racist legislation and improved civil rights for African Americans. Subsequently, Black Canadians succeeded in lobbying for improved rights as well.

WOMEN'S MOVEMENT

Similarly, baby boomers began to demand improved rights for women. The Women’s Liberation Movement became popular in the 1960s, during which time women sought changes in employment practices, life choices, and politics. After the Second World War, many women were laid off from their wartime jobs as the men returned from war. However, some of these women wanted to balance a career with responsibilities at home, and many women also needed the extra income to help pay the bills. As a result, the percentage of women in the workforce rose from 18% in 1921, to 39% by 1971. However, women still faced discrimination when they competed for the same jobs as men, and were paid less for the same work. There were also very few women in politics. Essentially, women were still looking to be treated equally in all fields. Within the Women's Movement there were both mainstream and radical feminists. Mainstream feminists believed that they could change laws by publicizing their cause through the media. On the other hand, radical feminists believed that men would not give up their advantages willingly, and so they used more aggressive protest tactics. These women were often considered to be "manhating women's libbers." While the Women's Movement
was responsible for many positive changes, there were still many areas in which equality had not yet been achieved.

CHANGING VALUES

Life in Canada had become much more liberal by the 1960s. Parliament passed more liberal laws regarding abortion, homosexuality and divorce. Women began to use the birth control pill, and thus had more control over their life choices. People began to question old ideas and wonder about new things-some common Canadian concerns were about the future of Canada, about Canada's relationship with the United States, and about the environment.

EXPO '67

Expo '67 was a world fair held in Montreal, that attracted visitors both from within Canada and from around the world. Many different countries set up pavilions for display at the world fair. This was Canada's one hundredth birthday party! Expo '67 allowed Canadians to see how much they had accomplished in the past one hundred years. Kings, princesses, presidents and politicians from around the world came to the celebration. However, General de Gaulle, the President of France, shouted to the crowd at the end of his speech, "Vive Ze Quebec! Vive Ze Quebec fibre!" (Long live Quebec! Long live a free Quebec!) Prime Minister Lester B. Pearson gave de Gaulle a tongue lashing in the media for his comments. While Quebec separatists were thrilled, de Gaulle's comment created further tensions between French and English Canadians.

TRUDEAUMANIA

In the atmosphere of social change and rebellion of the 1960s, people also wanted political change. In 1968, Pierre Trudeau became leader of the Liberal Party, and also Prime Minister of Canada. Because Trudeau was French-Canadian, many people felt that he would finally address Quebec's concerns. On the other hand, people were also attracted to him because he was youthful, casual, and stylish. He drove fast sports cars and was an outdoorsmen. He was cool under pressure and he was scholarly. He also had wit and confidence. All of these characteristics distinguished him from his political rivals, and contributed to his tremendous popularity. Attending one of Trudeau's speeches was like attending a rock concert-people swarmed around him. Trudeau flew into cities by jet, and arrived in shopping centres by helicopter. He mingled with the crowds, and accepted kisses from admirers. As one of his trademarks, Trudeau always wore a rose in his lapel, which he would toss to the crowd. The crowds, in particular the women, loved him-it was called Trudeauania. It is probably safe to say that Trudeau was Canada's first Prime Minister who had that elusive quality known as charisma.

LOUIS ST. LAURENT

Louis St. Laurent took over leadership of the Liberal Party from Mackenzie King in 1948, and was Prime Minister from 1948 to 1957. St. Laurent was known as a kind and gentle man who saw the post-war time in Canada as a time to bring about prosperity and unity. He was often compared to Wilfred Laurier, Canada's Prime Minister from 1896 to 1911. Under his government, Canada's oil industry boomed, as did Canada's mining industries. St. Laurent initiated several projects such as the St. Lawrence Seaway, the Trans-Canada highway, and a trans-Canada natural gas pipeline. He was also responsible for the tremendous growth of American investment in the Canadian economy. 

d) In 1948, Prime Minister St. Laurent encouraged Joey Smallwood, a journalist, trade unionist and farmer in Newfoundland, to organize a petition demanding that Confederation with Canada be
included in the referendum (a referendum is when a law, or proposed law, is submitted to a direct vote of the people) being held about the status of Newfoundland; neither Newfoundland nor Labrador had yet joined Confederation. On March 31’1 1949, Newfoundland and Labrador became Canada's tenth province, and Joey Smallwood became its first premier.

JOHN DIEFENBAKER

In the 1957 federal election, John Diefenbaker and the Progressive Conservatives managed to defeat the Liberal Party. Prime Minister Diefenbaker was known as "The Chief" because he was a powerful speaker who reflected people's concerns about the growth of American influence in Canada. Diefenbaker strongly believed in a united country, and in protecting those less fortunate. He raised pensions for the elderly and disabled, and gave financial aid to farmers in the Prairies and to the Atlantic Provinces. In 1960, Diefenbaker brought in the Canadian Bill of Rights, which guaranteed all of the basic freedoms including freedom of speech, worship and assembly.

LESTER B. PEARSON

Lester B. Pearson became Prime Minister in 1963, and remained in office until 1968. As a result of his actions as Minister of External Affairs during the Suez Crisis in 1956, Pearson had been awarded the Nobel Peace Prize in 1957. Pearson sought to improve French-English relations, and therefore he appointed a Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism (a commission is a special group assigned to consider the matter) to look into the situation. When reports discovered that French-Canadians did not receive the same benefits as English-Canadians outside of Quebec, many French-Canadians within Quebec began to think of separating from Canada. The Pearson government introduced the Canada Pension Plan and Medicare for all Canadians. e) Pearson thought it was important to cut Canada's symbolic tie with Britain by changing Canada's flag—the old flag included the British Union Jack. A vigorous flag debate ensued. In February 1965, the single red maple leaf design was officially accepted as Canada's new flag.

PIERRE ELLIOTT TRUDEAU

Pierre Trudeau became leader of the Liberal party and Prime Minister of Canada when Pearson resigned in 1968. Trudeau was a brilliant scholar and lawyer, and he also had charisma. Trudeau travelled across Canada talking about his vision of a "just society." Although Trudeau never explained what he meant by this term, it was an idea that appealed to many people. Trudeau implemented the Official Languages Act in 1969, in order to make Canada truly bilingual and bicultural. Trudeau believed that this would help to make Quebec feel like a part of Canada. Trudeau also implemented income tax cuts and improved benefits for the poor and elderly. (Refer to pages 136 for more on Trudeau.)

CANADIAN-AMERICAN RELATIONS

During the 1950s and 1960s, Canadian-American relations were marked by a period of uncertainty. On the one hand, Canadians supported American foreign policy by joining NATO and NORAD, and by participating in UN Peacekeeping in Egypt and Lebanon. Additionally, the economies of Canada and the United States were becoming increasingly interdependent. On the other hand, Canadians became more independent of American policy by refusing to criticize communism in China and Cuba as vehemently as the Americans. Prime Minister Diefenbaker was also reluctant to accept nuclear warheads for NATO's Bomarc missiles that guarded Canada. Furthermore, Diefenbaker hesitated to
back the United States during the 1962 Cuban Missile Crisis. For his part, Pearson questioned American policy in Vietnam and refused to stop American draft dodgers from entering Canada. In 1965, Pearson also publicly proposed a halt to the American bombing of North Vietnam. Finally, although Northern Canada was still used as a NATO training ground, Prime Minister Trudeau reduced defence spending and froze contributions to NATO. It is evident that through this period of increased interdependence, Canada also asserted its independence as a Middle Power, separate from the United States.

**AVRO ARROW**

In 1953, the Royal Canadian Air Force (RCAF) requested a new aircraft to meet the growing needs of defence in the Northern Hemisphere because Canadians were concerned with the possibility of a Soviet attack. The RCAF wanted a supersonic long-range jet to be developed. The Liberal government awarded the contract to A.V. Roe Canada out of Ontario. It was estimated that production costs for 600 airplanes would be approximately $2 million per jet. Canadians became excited by the prospect of making their mark in the world of aviation through the development of new technology. Employees of A. V. Roe put in over 28 months of work to design a plane that would meet the specific requirements of the RCAF. Initial tests revealed that it was the fastest and most sophisticated fighter plane in the world. However, costs had reached almost $4 million per plane. Additionally, on the day that the Avro Arrow was unveiled, the Soviet Union launched Sputnik I; this development cast doubts about the success of the Arrow technology. Even though the Arrow had been pushed past Mach 1.5 (Mach 1 is the speed of sound) this meant little to a government that was concerned with soaring costs. By February 1959, the Canadian government decided that all production of Arrows would cease, and additionally, the six completed Arrows (along with reports and blueprints) were to be torched. The Canadian government had opted to buy the Bomarc Missile from the United States instead. The choice to buy an American product, although cheaper, dealt the Canadian aerospace industry an enormous blow. As a result, 14,000 Canadians lost their jobs, and many moved to work in the United States. Many of the scientists that worked on the Arrow now took employment with NASA, the American space agency. To this day, debate continues about why Canada backed out of this program. There are strong suspicions, for reasons not understood, that the Americans put a great deal of pressure on the Canadian government to get rid of this airplane.

**THE ST. LAWRENCE SEAWAY**

The building of the St. Lawrence Seaway was one of the greatest achievements of the 1950s. The Seaway would link the center of the continent via the Great Lakes to the Atlantic Ocean. Ocean going vessels would now be able to go as far as Thunder Bay in Canada and Duluth in the United States. This project would require tremendous cooperation between Canada and the United States. For Canadians, this project meant that Canadian products could move to world markets. The building of the Seaway was a massive job: bridges and canals were built, rapids and islands were blasted away, and whole towns were moved. The Seaway took five years to build. By 1959, Queen Elizabeth and U.S. President Eisenhower declared the Seaway to be open for business.

**THE NORTH AMERICAN DEFENCE SYSTEM (NORAD)**

The North American Defence System (NORAD) was created between Canada and the United States in 1957. NORAD included radar stations that were set up to detect Soviet planes or missiles in order to give early warning of an attack. By the late 1950s, both the United States and the Soviet Union had developed long-distance bombers that carried nuclear weapons. They had also developed
Intercontinental Ballistic Missiles (ICBMs) that could be launched from the Soviet Union and arrive in Canada or the United States within half an hour. As part of NORAD, three radar lines were constructed in Canada's North by 1957 to provide advance warning of a missile attack. Although Canada contributed $300 million dollars, the project was mostly financed by the United States. 4.

THE CUBAN MISSILE CRISIS The Cuban Missile Crisis created tensions between Canada and the United States. Prime Minister Diefenbaker backed away from accepting nuclear weapons from the Americans, and delayed putting aircraft on alert during the Crisis. Diefenbaker resented the fact that the Canadian government had not been informed of the American blockade until after the fact. By the time Canadian forces were put on alert, the crisis was almost over. However, Canada's inaction caused great anger and resentment among Americans.

AUTO PACT

As a result of the growing popularity of cars in Canada, sales had risen dramatically. This industry created thousands of jobs for Canadians. However, there was fierce competition between car companies, and some of the smaller companies went out of business. In 1965, Canada and the United States signed the Automotive Products Agreement (Auto Pact) to create a single North American market. This free trade agreement allowed Canada and the United States to import cars from each other without paying import taxes. The Auto Pact led to increased specialization, as companies could focus on one aspect of the market. In turn, specialization allowed companies to lower production costs, which in turn, lowered consumer prices. However, the Auto Pact also led to increasing American investment in the Canadian economy. By the 1960s, American businesses owned over 90% of Canadian petroleum and automobile industries. Many of the biggest factories in Canada were branch plants-subsidaries of American companies. To protect Canadian industries, the government introduced tax incentives which excluded branch plants. However, even without the incentives, many Canadian economists believe that the Auto Pact benefited Canada more than the United States.

THE VIETNAM WAR

Initially, Canadian Prime Minister Lester Pearson gave a speech asking the United States to "rethink their position" in Vietnam. Pearson, as well as most Canadians, did not support American involvement in this foreign war. Additionally, Canada welcomed American draft dodgers. Although Canada was not officially fighting in Vietnam, the war was brought into the living rooms of all Canadians via extensive television coverage. Many protests took place throughout North America against the Vietnam War.

LIFE IN CANADA DURING THE 1970s

Many important changes took place in Canada during the 1970s. The relationship between the federal and provincial governments was becoming even more strained. Separatism was on the rise in Quebec, and western provinces harboured strong anti-Ottawa sentiments. Economic changes were evident as well. Rising unemployment was combined with rising prices, which caused Canadians to become even more concerned with American involvement in the economy. In terms of foreign policy, Canada expanded aid to the developing world, but cut back on military involvement in peacekeeping. Finally, during the 1970s, there were renewed efforts to achieve equal rights for women and Aboriginal peoples.

WESTERN DISCONTENT
Inflation

By the 1970s, Prime Minister Trudeau was beginning to lose popularity. Trudeau managed to win the election in 1974 by opposing price and wage controls, but then he later changed his mind and put them in. This policy caused prices for consumer items to rise drastically (inflation), while controls were used to keep wages down. Inflation is an economic condition that occurs when prices rise very quickly. In "normal" times inflation averages about two to four percent a year. During the late 1970s Canada had a number of years where inflation hit "double digits." People who are working generally get pay increases to help offset inflation. Those who live on fixed incomes (retired people for example) do not get increases in their income so their ability to buy the goods and services they need is much reduced.

**OPEC**

Crisis

To make matters worse, in 1972, there was a sudden increase in the price of oil when the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) realized that the demand for oil was greater than the supply. OPEC raised the price of oil knowing that people would need to pay. The price of a barrel went from $6 US to $16 US. By 1979, war between Iraq and Iran caused a drop in the supply of oil and prices rose up to $40 US. As a result, the cost of all petroleum products rose dramatically. Simultaneously, unemployment was rising as well. In response, teachers, police officers and health care workers formed unions to demand higher wages, and both federal and provincial governments substantially increased their debt. The National Energy Program In response to the OPEC crisis, Trudeau implemented the National Energy Program, which froze Alberta oil prices below world levels to keep the cost of oil down for Canadians. Trudeau also imposed a tariff on oil sold to the United States to make up for the oil imported from OPEC countries. This policy elicited angry reactions in Alberta, as Albertans were prevented from getting fair market value for any oil that they sold. This policy in particular served to strengthen feelings of Western alienation, and led some people to begin to think about the possibility of separating from the rest of Canada.

**TRUDEAU RETIRES**

Due in part to the implementation of the National Energy Program, Trudeau was defeated by Conservative leader Joe Clark in the federal election of 1979, until Clark's budget was defeated in the House of Commons through a vote of non-confidence. Trudeau was re-elected and went to work on making the truly Canadian, as it still remained an act of British parliament. All of the provinces except Quebec agreed to the proposed changes, and the Constitution Act was signed in 1982 (refer to page 16). Trudeau announced his official retirement in June, 1984.

**CANADIAN-AMERICAN RELATIONS in 1970's**

Economic Ties

By the 1970s, Canada had developed strong economic ties with the United States. As a result of the Auto Pact, American car companies set up branch plants in Canada. Additionally, over 70% of all Canadian products were sold to the United States. This dependence on sales to the United States was cause for some concern among Canadians about the growing American influence in Canada. Entertainment Industries

Furthermore, Canadians were bombarded with American music, television and radio. Prime Minister Trudeau decided that Canadian TV and radio stations would be required to air a certain percentage of Canadian programs. Trudeau also sought to promote the Canadian film industry: he introduced tax breaks for Canadian book and magazine industries, and he gave federal grants to the arts. However, some Canadians felt that these measures only served to prevent much needed American investment. Additionally, many people in the United States viewed Trudeau's decisions as unfriendly. Foreign Investment Review Agency (FIRA) In 1973, Trudeau
established the Foreign Investment Review Agency (FIRA) to approve the establishment of any new foreign companies in Canada, although it was intended to target American investment. Through FIRA, Trudeau hoped to protect Canadian industries. NORAD Throughout the 1970s, Trudeau maintained Canada's involvement in NORAD, although he phased out the Bomarc missiles and their nuclear warheads stationed in Canada by 1971.

CANADIAN FOREIGN POLICY 1970

Recognition of Communist China In 1970, Canada officially recognized the People's Republic of China as the legal government of China. Canada acknowledged the Chinese Communist government before the United States, which further highlighted our growing independence in international affairs. Many right wing Americans falsely accused Trudeau of being a communist. b) Involvement in NATO During his time as Prime Minister, Trudeau reduced the Canadian armed forces stationed in Europe under NATO. Foreign Aid During the 1970s, Canada increased aid to developing countries. Through its participation in La Francophonie, Canada also gave more aid to countries that were former French colonies. Additionally, Canada increased its support of UN aid programs, and increased spending for aid through the Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA), created in 1968 to oversee assistance to developing countries. Trade Under Trudeau, Canada increased trade with Asian countries and allowed more Asian immigrants to enter Canada. Canada also increased trade and political ties with Cuba and Mexico. Additionally, Trudeau visited the Soviet Union in 1971 to share ideas about northern development. Canada's involvement with both Cuba and the Soviet Union demonstrated a significant shift away from an adherence to American foreign policy objectives. For instance, American relations with Cuba deteriorated after 1959 as the regime moved towards a Communist system of government. As a result, the United States established an embargo (a government order imposing trade barriers) on Cuba in October 1960, and broke diplomatic relations the following January. Tensions between the two governments peaked during the attempted Bay of Pigs invasion (1961) and the October 1962 missile crisis. In following years, Cold War tensions kept U.S.-Cuban relations strained. In 1996, when the Cuban military shot down two U.S. registered civil aircraft in international airspace, killing three U.S. citizens and one U.S. resident, Congress passed a law which codified the U.S. trade embargo and imposed additional sanctions on the Cuban regime. On the other hand, Canadian Prime Ministers continued to ignore the American embargo and continued to foster a relationship with Cuba. Refugees As communism spread throughout Europe, Canada accepted refugees fleeing communist regimes after uprisings in Hungary in 1956, and Czechoslovakia in 1968. Canada also accepted South Vietnamese refugees (known as Boat People) fleeing in the face of communist takeover after 1975.

ROLE OF WOMEN

Legislative Changes In 1970, the Trudeau government produced a report that described the problems facing women in Canada. The report made suggestions on ways to help society adjust to the changing role of women. By 1980, many of these suggestions had already been acted upon. During the 1970s, discrimination against women became illegal. In 1976, the federal government passed maternity leave legislation, and in 1977, the federal government passed legislation mandating that women receive equal pay for equal work. By 1978, the federal government set up a Human Rights Commission to help bring an end to all types of racial, religious, and gender discrimination. The Trudeau government also increased the availability of subsidized day care, and implemented the child tax credit in 1978 to help supplement family allowances for low-income families. Women in Government Trudeau also appointed women to key roles in government-Jeanne Sauve was picked as
the first female Speaker of the House of Commons in 1978, she later became the first female Governor General in 1984. During this time, females were also appointed to the Supreme Court of Canada. The number of women in the workforce also improved. In 1970, 35% of women were employed outside of the home, and by 1980, this figure rose to 48%. More women also began to enter careers traditionally reserved for men such as lawyers, doctors, electricians, plumbers and auto mechanics. However, although significant gains had been made, equality had still not been achieved—men still held the top jobs, and in some cases were still paid more for the same work. National Action Committee on the Status of Women (NAC) In 1972, many women's groups joined the National Action Committee on the Status of Women (NAC). NAC was the new voice for a united women's movement. UN International Women's Year In 1975, the UN celebrated its first International Women's Year with the hope of promoting equality and full participation, and informing the general public about changing attitudes towards women.

**IMMIGRATION**

The Citizenship Act of 1976 In 1976, the Trudeau government implemented the Citizenship Act, which eliminated gender discrimination, and granted citizenship to children of overseas marriages when the mother was Canadian (previously this was only granted when the father was Canadian). The Citizenship Act also required adequate knowledge of one of the two official languages of Canada before a landed immigrant could become a Canadian citizen. The Immigration Act of 1978 Immigration policy saw many changes during the Trudeau years. In 1978, the federal government passed a new Immigration Act, which reduced barriers to immigration and gave the provinces a new role in immigration policy. Quebec now had the ability to ensure that new immigrants would be able to adapt to its francophone culture. New immigrants were welcome regardless of colour, religion, or country of origin. The Immigration Act of 1978 created three categories of immigrants: the family class (relatives who were sponsored by existing Canadian citizens), refugees, and independents (people seeking improved living conditions). Multiculturalism With these new changes, more immigrants arrived from Asia and the West Indies. In order to combat any growing racial tensions, the Trudeau government acted quickly by adopting a policy of multiculturalism which helped schools set up new courses, promoted multicultural events, and set up a council to study the problems of different ethnic groups in Canada.

**THE END OF THE COLD WAR**

After 40 plus years, why did the Cold War finally come to an end? The simple answer would be that communism collapsed in the Soviet Union. This answer however, does not tell the whole story. Leading up to the collapse of communism, there were certain events which began to unfold. The first such event is _'really a series of events known as Detente._

**DÉTENTE**

Detente simply means a relaxation of tension. In this context, it means a warming of relations between the Soviet Union and the United States, and a relaxation of the tensions that existed during the Cold War. The term detente describes Soviet-American relations from the late 1960s to 1979.

**NUCLEAR PARITY DÉTENTE**

Detente occurred in large part because the two superpowers had achieved nuclear parity (as
discussed in the previous chapter). This caused both sides to think twice about throwing their weight around the international scene.  

**ACCOMPLISHMENTS OF DETENTE**

a) **Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty** In 1968, the United States, the Soviet Union, and Great Britain led the world in signing a treaty which would limit the spread of nuclear weapons. By 1975, 93 other countries had joined this agreement. However, France, China, Egypt, Japan, Israel and South Africa were significant exceptions.

b) **Strategic Arms Limitations Talks** By 1972, the first SALT Treaty (SALT One) stated that the Soviet Union and the United States would limit the number of certain Inter-Continental Ballistic Missiles (ICBMs). By 1979, SALT Two was ready, which was intended to accomplish nuclear parity. However, the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan prompted U.S. President Carter to ask Congress to delay giving approval to this agreement. Ronald Reagan, who replaced Carter in 1980, said he would abide by the spirit of SALT II, but in fact completely ignored it and proceeded to step up the arms race to levels not previously seen.

**THE SOVIET INVASION OF AFGHANISTAN**

In 1979, as the period of detente came to an end, the Cold War heated up again. The Soviet Union placed 350 missiles in Eastern Europe, and in September invaded Afghanistan. 

b) The Soviets installed a new dictator, Babrak Karmal, as President of Afghanistan.

c) The West, China, and India were alarmed because the Soviets appeared to be attempting to take control of the Persian Gulf. The United States and others boycotted the Moscow Olympics of 1980 as a result.

d) Early in 1980, the Soviet Union escalated this war. They soon had almost 2,000 tanks and squadrons of aircraft supporting their war effort. In spite of this, the Afghan rebels still controlled most of the country.

e) From 1980 to 1988, a vicious war followed in Afghanistan, creating an enormous refugee problem for neighbouring states like Pakistan.

i) Finally, by 1988, the Soviets agreed to withdraw from Afghanistan, due in large part to the problems they were having at home.

**PROBLEMS WITHIN THE SOVIET SYSTEM - ECONOMIC STAGNATION**

By this point in time, it had become obvious that the economy of the Soviet Union had failed its people. Furthermore, the state-controlled economy could not meet the needs of the state itself. During the 1970s and 1980s flaws in the economic system became all too apparent. They were:

- a) Annual economic growth slowed from 5% in the 1960s, to less than 2% in the 1980s;
- b) A black market developed because people were growing tired of the endless line-ups for everyday items and a black market developed;
- c) The Soviet economy could not provide enough food for its citizens;
- d) Consumer goods were of inferior quality; and
- e) Resources were used inefficiently.

2. **MILITARY SPENDING**

The Soviet Union had little choice in this regard if it intended to compete with the United States. Military spending varied from 15 to 25% of GNP, while the Americans spent only 5-7%.

3. **POLITICAL STAGNATION AND CORRUPTION**

Tens of thousands of Communist Party officials lived a privileged life and wanted to keep it that way. Therefore, political reforms did not occur.

4. **IDEOLOGY**

By the 1970s, few people still believed that communism would render people classless and stateless. The economic failures of the communist system made people question the ideas of communism themselves—at this point, capitalism did not seem like such a bad idea.

5. **NATIONALISM**

Fully 50% of the population of the Soviet Union was not ethnically Russian. As people became increasingly unhappy with the Soviet system and economy, they began to think of seeking independence from the Soviet Union.

**MIKHAIL GORBACHEV**

Mikhail Gorbachev became the leader of the Soviet Union in March, 1985. Gorbachev’s intention was
to reform communism. Initially, he worked to rid the system of corruption. However, by mid-1986, Gorbachev realized that he needed to go further than this. 1. GLASNOST, 1986 Glasnost can be interpreted to mean "openness." When Gorbachev announced this policy in 1986 he truly shocked both his own people and the West. For the first time in Russian/Soviet history, a leader was encouraging open debate about the issues facing the country. Gorbachev believed that he was "democratizing communism," which he believed would make it better than capitalism. 2. PERESTROIKA, 1987 The meaning of perestroika is simply "restructuring." Gorbachev spoke of economic reforms, and of focusing on common human values. Gorbachev demonstrated that he was completely committed to the notion of reform. E. COLLAPSE Gorbachev demonstrated that he wanted improvements, but seemingly without a change in ideology. He also wanted openness, but only allowed one political party. The Soviet people, who had been patient for so long waiting for the benefits of all their sacrifices, would not wait any longer—revolution was at hand. As people with their newfound freedom began to experience what life was like in the West, and former Soviet Republics began to move towards independence, the Soviet system did not so much explode, as simply collapse on itself. By early 1991, although people had significantly more freedom, their standard of living was lower than it had been in decades. From an interview in Moscow at the time, asked about their reaction to these newfound freedoms, most Russians said, "I don't care about politics: I want sausage."

THE ATTEMPTED COUP D'ETAT, AUGUST 1991

In August 1991, Gorbachev left Moscow for his planned holiday. While on vacation, Gorbachev asked Boris Yeltsin, leader of the Russian Republic, to stay in Moscow. During this time, Yeltsin emerged as the effective leader of the country. While Gorbachev was away, a group of conspirators attempted to take over the Soviet Union, but Yeltsin saved the day. As a result, Gorbachev was ridiculed. Yeltsin took further steps and outlawed the Communist Party in the Russian Republic. This allowed independence movements in all the republics to gain momentum while Gorbachev was still on vacation.

THE END OF THE SOVIET UNION

On December 151 1991, a critical vote for independence was taken in the Ukraine. Subsequently, the Soviet Union broke into 15 smaller states including Poland, Hungary, East Germany, Czechoslovakia, Romania, and Yugoslavia. On the last day of the year, Gorbachev signed the documents that would abolish the Soviet Union.

LIFE IN CANADA DURING THE 1980s AND 1990s

After Pierre Trudeau announced his retirement, Brian Mulroney, leader of the Progressive Conservative Party, won the federal election in 1983. Most significantly, Mulroney was faced with dealing with the massive federal debt that was created during the 1970s. In response, Mulroney sought to create a balanced budget by cutting government spending. Mulroney also made efforts to amend the Constitution to include Quebec (refer to Chapter Eight). Additionally, by the 1980s and 1990s, Canadians were becoming concerned with the growing influence of the United States, and also with the influence of the increasingly interdependent global economy.

ECONOMY
Up until Trudeau's retirement in 1984, the federal government had been incurring a massive debt, as federal spending was allowed to escalate. By the mid-1980s, it became evident that a new economic approach would be required to deal with the staggering debt of the 1970s. This approach was called neo-conservatism. Neo-conservatism involved a reduction of government interference in the economy, and an increased reliance on the market forces of supply and demand. As part of the cutbacks, Prime Minister Mulroney took away family allowances and old age pensions from the wealthy. Mulroney was also known to favour business interests; as part of his debt-reduction strategy, Mulroney strengthened the private sector to help reduce the deficit. By the end of the 1970s, the Canadian economy had shifted its focus from the production of consumer goods, to the service industries. Service industries depended on improvements in technology and communications, thereby requiring a workforce that was higher skilled, and fewer in number. As a result of these changes, and the implementation of debt reduction strategies, Canada experienced rising unemployment in the early 1990s, and an increasing gap between the rich and poor. Consequently, the number of Canadians living below the poverty line (spending more than 55 % of their incomes on food, clothing and shelter) increased as well. On the other hand, internationally, there was tremendous economic growth in Japan, Hong Kong, Singapore, South Korea, and Taiwan. Businesses were becoming multinational in nature, leading to the growth of massive multinational corporations. Canadian businesses became more efficient in order to compete on a global scale. 5. Prime Minister Mulroney very much supported business interests—his most significant contribution to the Canadian economy was the implementation of free trade agreements with the United States, and, eventually, with Mexico. The first free trade agreement between the United States and Canada was signed in 1989, called simply the Free Trade Agreement (FTA). Free trade refers to a system of trading between countries without barriers such as tariffs (taxes) or quotas. Mulroney believed that free trade would benefit Canadian businesses by increasing investment and trade. In 1994, Mexico joined Canada and the United States in signing the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) to create free trade between all three countries. There are a number of pros and cons when it comes to assessing the impact of NAFTA. People who are in favour of NAFTA contend that it has helped to improve Canada's economy by increasing trade with the United States, and by leading to an increase in American investment. On the other hand, as a result of NAFTA a number of Canadian jobs were lost due to relocation, and some Canadian companies moved to the United States and Mexico, or were sold to American companies. Overall, free trade was not particularly successful during Mulroney's term as Prime Minister, due, for the most part, to a continuing global recession. When Jean Cretien became Prime Minister in 1993 his government resolved to end the practice of running annual deficits. In fact, by 1998, Chretien's government managed to produce a budget surplus!

NEW POLITICAL PARTIES

On the other hand, Chretien faced increased regional tensions, as Western discontent increased, and issues of Quebec separatism came to a head. These issues led to the development of two new federal political parties: the Reform Party and the Bloc Quebecois.

THE BLOC QUEBECOIS

As a result of the 1993 federal election, the Bloc Quebecois, led by Lucien Bouchard, became the official party of opposition. The Bloc Quebecois was a separatist party; it sought to achieve Quebec sovereignty, or separation from Canada.

THE REFORM PARTY
The Reform Party also emerged during the 1993 federal election. However, it wasn't until the election of 1997 that it made a name for itself by becoming the official party of opposition. The Reform Party grew out of Western discontent, as the Western provinces felt that their concerns were being ignored by the government in Ottawa. The Reform Party stated that it intended to reform the constitution so that it would more fairly represent the Western provinces. The Reform Party also opposed bilingualism or any special status for Quebec. Additionally, the Reform Party sought to cut social spending and restrict immigration.

**HEALTH CARE IN CANADA**

Until recent years, Canadians prided themselves on having one of the best healthcare systems in the world. Canada's Medicare is known as a publicly-funded system medical system. Essentially, we pay for our health care through taxes. The government collects income tax and distributes much of it to Medicare.

1. **THE CANADA HEALTH ACT (CHA)** The Canada Health Act (CHA), passed in 1984, is Canada’s federal health insurance legislation. The Canada Health Act established guidelines to ensure that all Canadian citizens have equal access to medically necessary services such as hospital visits, surgeries, and family doctor visits regardless of their ability to pay. For most medically necessary services, the CHA forbids doctors and hospitals from charging user-fees to people requiring the services. Thus there is no out-of-pocket expense to visit the hospital, see your doctor, or get X-rays. Also, under the CHA, each province receives money from the federal government in the form of a transfer payment to help pay for healthcare, although it is left to each province to use the money as it sees fit. Doctors and hospitals charge the provincial government for each visit or procedure that they provide. Each hospital also receives a lump sum amount of money from the government to pay for all the expenses of running a hospital such as staff, nurses, doctors and equipment. a) The benefit of this system is that whether you are homeless or a millionaire, you can go to visit a doctor or a hospital and get the same level of care without paying anything out-of-pocket. b) The problem with this system is that it has become very expensive. Each year the government is spending more and more money trying to keep up with the rising costs of our medical system, and yet services are deteriorating. Hospitals are very expensive to run. They have to pay for staff, nurses, doctors and equipment, and a host of other expenses. New medical technologies that help save lives such as CAT Scans or MRIs, are extremely expensive to purchase and maintain. Also, because there are no user-fees, some people go to the hospital or doctor's office very frequently, sometimes unnecessarily. And because there is not enough money to pay for everything, waiting lists develop. It can take months or even sometimes years to get some surgeries including brain, heart or back surgery! It has become increasingly common for people to go to the United States in order to have the procedure done quickly and to pay for it themselves (sometimes in the hundreds of thousands of dollars!) It has even happened that people who can't afford to go to the United States have died while waiting for medically necessary procedures in Canada.

2. **THE FUTURE OF HEALTH CARE IN CANADA** a) A Two-Tier System There is growing concern that if the system continues to be run in its current manner it will go bankrupt and essentially collapse. The federal government has commissioned many reports, most recently the Roy Romanow Commission, in an attempt to establish guidelines for the future of healthcare in Canada. There are many differing opinions on what should be done. Many believe that we should turn to a more "American-style of healthcare," with private doctor's offices and hospitals, as well as public ones. This is called a two-tier system. At private clinics, those who could afford to pay, or had insurance (for which they would pay themselves) would receive their healthcare faster by paying for it. These
offices and hospitals are run like normal businesses, and they try to make a profit. If you did not have insurance or couldn't afford to pay, you would go to the public doctor's office or hospital, and still receive your healthcare. People who support this system argue that everybody would still have access to medically necessary services, but waiting lists and expenses would be reduced, because those who could afford to pay for the services would choose to go to private offices. Opponents argue that if this occurs, there is the potential for the government to reduce the level of services at public doctor's offices and hospitals causing the "poor" to receive lower quality care. b) Privatization

Another possibility being debated is what is called privatization of the current system. In fact, privatization is already occurring to some degree. For example, everyone who works at a hospital is a government employee-including cleaning staff and food services staff-and they all belong to a union. Essentially, the government is laying off these employees and allowing private companies to come in to the hospital and provide these services. These private companies will use less expensive employees to clean and make food. The government foresees this act as saving millions of dollars, which would be used to pay for new equipment and pay for doctors and nurses. Opponents argue that many jobs will be lost and the quality of services will be severely compromised. At present, the healthcare system in Canada is in a state of flux. While most people agree that it cannot continue on its current path towards bankruptcy, there is no consensus on how to fix it. Clearly the next few years will be significant in deciding the fate of our healthcare system. D.

CANADIAN-AMERICAN RELATIONS 1980's

During the 1980s, Prime Minister Mulroney actively sought to create a closer relationship between Canada and the United States. In fact, so much so that many Canadians eventually came to resent Mulroney's pro-American attitude. Mulroney created new defence agreements with the United States, and agreed to contribute the Canadarm to the American space program. As we have seen, Mulroney also signed a number of free trade agreements with the United States (refer to page 150), and convinced the U.S. to pass a law controlling acid rain (refer to page 209). On the other hand, Mulroney refused to be part of the American Strategic Defence Initiative (known as Star Wars).

1. CANADARM a) Contract with NASA In 1974, NASA awarded Canada the opportunity to design, develop and build the Shuttle Remote Manipulator System (SRMS). The result was the Canadarm, a 15.2-metre long robotic arm for which Canada invested $100 million. The Canadarm can lift more than 30,000 kilograms on earth, or up to 266,000 kilograms in space, using less electricity than a toaster. As a contribution to the space shuttle program, Canada gave the first unit to NASA, which bought four additional Canadarms, resulting in over $600 million in export sales for Canada. b) Canadarm's Debut Canadarm made its debut in November 1981, and has yet to malfunction during more than 50 missions since. The Canadarm has had many purposes, some of which include search and rescue missions; nudging satellites into orbit; and loosening jammed solar panels. In December 1998, the Canadarm also played a critical role in the first assembly mission of the International Space Station. c) Significance Through the development of the Canadarm for NASA, Canadians gained worldwide recognition for their expertise in robotics. Additionally, Canadian scientists and engineers were allowed to further develop their skills. The project was truly a model of international cooperation.

2. THE STRATEGIC DEFENSE INITIATIVE (sm) The Strategic Defense Initiative, also known as "Star Wars," was an American proposal to develop a defensive "umbrella" over the United States to prevent incoming missiles from reaching their targets. One of the visions saw a laser system suspended in space which would vaporize any incoming missiles. While the Americans were dreaming up this new system, the Soviets became concerned that such a system might upset nuclear parity. However, after the Reagan Presidency was over in 1988, SDI did not have a very prominent
place in defence plans. With the election of George Bush in the United States in 2000, SDI again became an important issue. This created some tension between the United States and Canada because Prime Minister Mulroney did not accept becoming a part of the SDI.

3. PACIFIC SALMON WARS a) The Problem For decades, Canadians and Americans have argued over who owns the fish off the West Coast. However, before any Europeans even arrived on the West Coast of North America, native peoples had built an entire culture around the salmon. With the arrival of European settlers, it didn't take long before the salmon quickly became an important part of their economy as well. At the turn of the century, fishermen began to notice that salmon numbers were dropping. Aggressive fishing was certainly a factor, but so was the damage caused by the forest industry to the streams and creeks where the salmon spawn. b) The Pacific Salmon Treaty, 1985 Disputes between Canada and the United States were constant until 1985, when all parties agreed to stop the "overfishing," and signed the Pacific Salmon Treaty. The treaty was successful for 12 years, but in 1997, negotiators were unable to agree on quotas that satisfied all parties. As a result, each side was free to set its own limits. Consequently, American fishing boats were seized, an Alaska ferry was blockaded in Prince Rupert, and many bitter words were exchanged. Not only were hundreds of millions of dollars at stake, but so was the way of life of thousands of fishermen and their families. c) Resolution Finally, in early June 1999, Canada and the United States signed a new Pacific Salmon Treaty. The agreement was signed by Ottawa, the U.S. federal government, the states of Washington, Alaska and Oregon, along with representatives from 24 native tribes. Significantly, the government of British Columbia was absent from the negotiations. The province was likely cut out of the deal due to continual disagreements between Victoria and Ottawa. The deal established a $140 million US fund to protect and rebuild salmon spawning grounds. There was also a redistribution of quotas; in some areas Canadian fishermen are now able to catch more chum, pink and sockeye, while the U.S. percentage of Fraser River sockeye has been cut back. On the other hand, Canada will allow chinook and coho fish to return to Washington and Oregon to spawn. In the end, the main problem with the salmon fishery on the West Coast is that there simply are not enough fish to support the once burgeoning industry. For a great number of reasons such as overfishing and environmental damage, the salmon stocks are in danger. In fact, those who are more pessimistic predict the salmon fishery will go the way of the cod fishery on the East Coast. The cod fishery, for most intents and purposes, has been closed for a decade because of a lack of fish.

4. LANDMINES The United States continues to be the only major power that refuses to support Canada's push for a global treaty banning the use of landmines. (Refer to page 171 regarding the Anti-Personnel Land Mines Treaty.) s. THE KYOTO ACCORD President Bush of the United States withdrew American support for the Kyoto Accord, which calls for a 5.2% reduction by 2012 of all emissions that cause global warming.

5. THE WAR ON TERROR a) The Terrorist Attacks of September 11th 2001 On Tuesday, September 11th 2001, a commercial airplane crashed into the north tower of the World Trade Center complex in New York City. Shortly after, a second plane hit the south tower of the World Trade Center. Reports followed that another commercial plane hit the Pentagon, in Washington, DC, and a fourth commercial plane was downed in Somerset County, PA. b) Operation Enduring Freedom After the terrorist attacks of 911, the United States military entered into a war against global terrorism. Operation Enduring Freedom is the name given to this military response. U.S. President George Bush ordered the deployment of American troops to Southwest Asia and countries surrounding Afghanistan in the days following the attacks. c) NATO's Response NATO responded to 911 by invoking Article V of the Washington Treaty—an attack on one member will be regarded as an attack
on all. Thirteen members of NATO contributed to Operation Enduring Freedom, and NATO Allies led the International Stabilization Force in Kabul, Afghanistan. d) Canada's Response (i) Operation Support Operation Support was Canada's first response to the 911 attacks. Its first priority was to provide for the passengers and crew of the aircraft that were diverted to Canadian airfields. Secondly, Canada increased its level of emergency preparedness in order to respond to requests for humanitarian assistance. Canada also increased its commitment to NORAD by placing CF-18 fighter aircraft at strategic locations throughout the country. (ii) Operation Apollo Operation Apollo was Canada's military contribution to the campaign against terrorism. After 911, the UN issued a resolution which reaffirmed the right of member nations to individual and collective self-defence. The UN also stated that it was prepared to combat all forms of terrorism. Operation Apollo was set up to support the American Operation Enduring Freedom. Prime Minister Chretien announced that he would contribute air, land and sea forces to the international campaign. e) War On Iraq As the fight against Al-Qaeda (the terrorist group responsible for the 911 attacks) in Afghanistan was reaching a conclusion, President Bush declared that Iraq was also part of the "Axis of Evil" and that military action would also be directed towards ousting the regime of Saddam Hussein. In response, Prime Minister Chretien said that Canada would only join military action against Iraq if approved by the UN Security Council. However, by 2003, the Canadian government, as well as France and Germany, recognized that the Bush administration would wage war in Iraq no matter what. As such, these states, which had previously expressed reservations about the American drive for war, have since shifted in the direction of supporting war in Iraq. Some people suggest that Canada's shift in policy can be explained by the fact that Canada's best interests demand an alliance with American policy. Additionally, Canada has already committed $100 million to humanitarian assistance in Iraq, which is consistent with Canada's emphasis on human security, development, and peace building. Despite current fears that the United States will somehow reprimand Canada for its initial stance on the Iraq war, there will no doubt be a need for reconstruction efforts as the war in Iraq draws to a close. E. WOMEN IN CANADA DURING THE 1980S AND 1990S When Prime Minister Mulroney resigned in 1993, Kim Campbell became the first female Prime Minister in Canadian history. However, her term was short-lived, as she was defeated by Jean Chretien in the federal election later that year. By the 1990s, women held office at all levels of government. However, women's wages were still lower than men's. Because women held more jobs in the fields of health care and social work, they were more adversely affected by the funding cuts than were men. Additionally, as businesses made cutbacks to increase efficiency and competitiveness in the global markets, women were often first to lose their jobs. The cutbacks also made it more difficult for women to obtain day care for their children.

THE MONTREAL MASSACRE

A drastic turn of events in December 1989 brought the issue of violence against women to the forefront in the minds of all Canadians. On December 6th 1989, 14 women students at the Ecole Polytechnique in Montreal were systematically killed by a lone gunman who targeted only women. The Montreal Massacre was the worst single-day massacre in Canadian history. a) Marc Lepine Throughout the 1970s and 1980s, women had been increasingly entering non-traditional occupations and educational programs. Growing numbers of women enrolled at the Ecole Polytechnique, the School of Engineering at the University of Montreal. However, a minority of men felt that they had been disadvantaged by women seeking new roles and opportunities. One of these men was Marc Lepine, a 25-year-old from Quebec who was described as a moody loner. Lepine had been rejected from the Canadian Armed Forces, and was not accepted for admission at the Ecole Polytechnique. Lepine's reasons for killing 14 women on December 6th in Montreal became clear after reading the suicide note that was found on his body. Ci) Lepine's Suicide Note "Please note that if I am
committing suicide today... it is not for economic reasons... but for political reasons. For I have
decided to send Ad Patres [Latin: "to the fathers"] the feminists who have ruined my life. ... The
feminists always have a talent for enraging me. They want to retain the advantages of being women...
while trying to grab those of men. ... They are so opportunist that they neglect to profit from the
knowledge accumulated by men throughout the ages.
They always try to misrepresent them every time they can." (www. gendercide.org) Lepine had also
attached a list of 19 prominent Quebec women in nontraditional occupations, including the
province's first woman firefighter and police captain. On this list Lepine wrote: "[These women]
early died today. The lack of time (because I started too late) has allowed these radical feminists to
survive." (ii) Response People rallied across the country and around the world to commemorate the
victims and denounce the anti-feminist nature of the attack. Municipal and provincial governments
declared three days of mourning, and the flag at the Canadian parliament flew at half-mast.
Candlelight vigils were held across Canada, and are held on December 6th to this day. The Canadian
government has declared December 6th to be the National Day of Remembrance and Action on
Violence Against Women. As a result of this horrific event, Canadians were eventually able to
achieve reforms to sexual assault laws and gun ownership regulations in Canada.

IMMIGRATION IN CANADA DURING THE 1980's AND 1990's

By the 1990s, Canada was a truly multicultural nation. In 1996, visible minorities made up 11% of the
total population of Canada. People from around the world chose Canada as a place to live. However,
some people continued to experience prejudice and discrimination. By the 1980s, Canada had
implemented human rights legislation, and in 1982, the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms
guaranteed equality for all-allowing individuals from visible minority groups to break through some
of the barriers they faced. The official Canadian policy of multiculturalism, the Canadian
Multiculturalism Act, had been adopted in 1987 "to recognize all Canadians as full and equal
participants in Canadian society." Multiculturalism ensures that "all citizens can keep their identities,
can take pride in their ancestry and have a sense of belonging... Through multiculturalism, Canada
recognizes the potential of all Canadians, encouraging them to integrate into their society and take an
active part in its social, cultural, economic and political affairs." (Department of Canadian Heritage)

1. COUNTRIES OF ORIGIN During the 1980s and 1990s, immigrants and refugees gravitated
towards Canada's major cities such as Toronto, Montreal and Vancouver. By 1999, more than half of
all Canadian immigrants came from the Asia and Pacific region. In descending order the top-ten
countries or origin were People's Republic of China, India, Pakistan, the Philippines, the Republic of
Korea, Iran, the United States, Taiwan, Sri Lanka, and the United Kingdom.

2. IMMIGRANT POVERTY The Canadian government's policy is to continue to select newcomers
who can make positive economic contributions to Canada, while also maintaining the family
reunification and refugee protection programs. However, according to the 2001 census, 35% of
immigrants who arrived in Canada in the 1990s live below Statscan's low-income cut-off. For
example, in 2002 figures, the lowincome cutoff was $24,069 (before-tax income) for a two-person
household. In Montreal, the rate is more than 47%, and in Vancouver, the rate is more than 40%.

3. DIFFICULTIES FACED BY IMMIGRANTS IN CANADA For most of the twentieth century,
Canada's immigration policy was in sync with the country's business cycle. Immigration rates
increased when the business cycle was at its peak and unemployment was low, and decreased when
the economy was in recession. However, in 1990, Prime Minister Mulroney moved away from the
cyclical immigration-rate policy; instead, he increased the immigration rate in the middle of a
recession. According to an article in the Globe and Mail in April 2004, "Let's tie immigration to the Economy," immigrants who arrive in Canada during a recession experience "economic scarring." The author contends that these effects often persist well beyond the end of the recession. Economic scarring occurs as individuals' technical skills depreciate with lack of use, and when individuals are forced into poor economic situations that continue even after the economy turns around. Another significant problem faced by new immigrants is the difficulty in having foreign credentials and education recognized in Canada, e.g. cab drivers with a PhD. Often the process is so lengthy and cumbersome that people who were surgeons in their countries, end up finding minimum wage employment in Canada.

F. REFUGEES

The Office of the UN High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) currently assists more than 22 million refugees and displaced people around the world. It is estimated, that by the mid-1990s, there were more than 125 million people living outside the countries of their birth. These numbers have increased due to shorter travel times, low transportation costs, and the ease with which information is exchanged across continents.

4. DEFINITIONS

Refugees are people who have left their countries for fear of persecution based on race, religion, nationality or political opinion. Persecution could mean that you would not be allowed to follow your religion, speak your own language, voice your ideas, move around your country, legally leave your country, or publish your ideas. More specifically, a refugee becomes an asylum seeker when he/she seeks refugee status in another country. It is important to understand the difference between refugees and economic migrants. An economic migrant is a person who has left his or her home because of poverty (not persecution), and therefore seeks to move to a new country for better economic opportunities.

5. REFUGEES IN CANADA

In 2001, Canada admitted almost 28,000 refugees; however, almost 45,000 refugee claims were made. Of the refugee claims finalized by the Immigration and Refugee Board, 47% of claimants were found to be legitimate refugees. In 2001, the leading countries of origin for refugee claims in Canada were Hungary, Pakistan, Sri Lanka, Zimbabwe, and China. Mexico, Colombia, Turkey, India, Argentina, and Congo-Kinshasa were the next largest source countries. Among the countries with the highest approval rates were Afghanistan (97 percent), Somalia (92 percent), and Colombia (85 percent). Among the leading source countries, Hungary and Mexico had the lowest approval rates (27 and 28 percent respectively).

a) Background

i) UN Convention on Refugees, 1951

In 1969, Canada signed the 1951 UN Convention on Refugees and its Protocols (also called the Geneva Convention). However, while the convention granted refugees the right to seek asylum, it did not impose an obligation upon states to grant it. ii) Immigration Act, 1976

In 1976, Canada adopted the Immigration Act which incorporated the principles of the Geneva Convention into domestic law. As a result, refugee acceptance based on economic criteria was specifically ruled out. Also, refugees had to be considered for their ability to adapt and resettle in Canada (not just from the perspective of their need for protection). These restrictions on refugee claims came about as a result of the huge backlog of refugee claims, and the increasing number of people filing fraudulent claims. However, despite these attempts, the backlog mounted, and fraudulent claims increased.

b) Chinese Boatpeople

However, it didn't take long for this initial credibility to erode. In
the summer of 1999, four consecutive boats arrived off the coast of Vancouver Island, carrying over 500 migrants from China's Fujian province. People were very hostile to these migrants who, although had risked their lives, were clearly economic migrants. British Columbians increasingly supported the American practice of turning away boats at sea, in order to avoid the obligations of the Geneva Convention. (The United States, along with many other countries, claims that refugee protections do not apply if those seeking asylum are encountered and turned back before they enter a state's territory. In fact, deterrence has become the official refugee policy of many states.) Once these migrants arrived off the coast of Canada, they were detained as prisoners until they could be processed. c) The Immigration and Refugee Protection Act In November 2001, Canada enacted the Immigration and Refugee Protection Act (IRPA). The IRPA replaced all prior immigration and refugee legislation and made significant changes to Canadian asylum procedures. IRPA took effect in June 2002. Under the new legislation, an immigration officer must refer an asylum claim to the Refugee Protection Division within three days. The new law requires the immigration officer to "suspend consideration of a person's eligibility for asylum if the government alleges that the person is inadmissible on security or criminal grounds or for violating human rights (in which case the Immigration Division will hold a hearing to determine admissibility), or if the asylum seeker has a serious criminal charge pending in Canada (in which case the consideration of eligibility for asylum will be suspended until the criminal court issues a judgment)." d) Illegal Migrants It has been suggested that many migrants who claim refugee status never make it to their hearings. Instead they cross into the United States or disappear into Canadian cities. On the other hand, those refugee-claimants who do remain in Canada waiting for a hearing (there have previously been backlogs of over 30,000 cases) end up costing the taxpayer a fortune. For example, Citizenship and Immigration Canada spent over $1.9 million to provide food and lodging for the four boatloads of Chinese migrants that arrived on the West Coast in 1999. On average, it is estimated that over 25,000 illegal migrants enter Canada each year. Additionally, of those who do apply for refugee status, approximately 4,000 per year disappear into the Canadian system, never to return for their hearings. In response, new partnerships have been developed, and agreements are in place with transportation carriers to assist them in ensuring that passengers are screened for proper documents before departure to Canada. Additionally, immigration officers have been placed around the world to interdict illegal migrants before they reach Canada. In December 2000, Canada signed the UN Convention Against Transnational Organized Crime, which will help Canada change the way that it responds to modern migration pressures from sophisticated people-smuggling organizations.

CANADIAN ACCOMPLISHMENTS

1. TERRY FOX was born in Winnipeg, Manitoba and raised in Port Coquitlam, British Columbia. As a teenager, Terry was very athletic and involved in many types of sporting activities. However, in 1977, Terry was diagnosed with bone cancer at 18 years of age. He was forced to have his right leg amputated six inches above the knee. During his treatment, Terry was overcome with the suffering of other cancer patients, many of whom were young children. As a result, Terry decided to run across Canada in an effort to raise money for cancer research. Terry's journey was called the Marathon of Hope. Terry ran for 18 months and over 5,000 kilometres to prepare for this marathon. On April 12th 1980, Terry started his run in St. John's Newfoundland. Terry ran 42 kilo metres a day through the Atlantic provinces, Quebec and Ontario, raising money along the way. On September pt, after 143 days, Terry was forced to stop running outside of Thunder Bay, Ontario because cancer had reappeared in his lungs. Tragically, on June 28th 1981, Terry passed away at age 22. All Canadians grieved for the loss of this heroic young Canadian. Through Terry's legacy, more than $340 million has been raised for cancer research through the annual Terry Fox Run held across Canada and around the world.
2. RICK HANSEN In the summer of 1973, Rick Hansen was an athletic 15-year-old who had a life altering car crash that left him paraplegic—he was paralyzed from the waist-down. Rick went on to compete in many international wheelchair marathons, and competed for Canada in the 1984 Olympic Games. In 1985, Rick decided to wheel around the world to raise awareness and funds for spinal cord injury—the Man in Motion World Tour. After two years, and 40,000 kilometres, Rick returned to Vancouver, British Columbia having raised over $26 million dollars. Rick is now President and CEO of the Rick Hansen Man in Motion Foundation, and he remains committed to improving the lives of those with spinal cord injuries. He does dozens of presentations a year promoting perseverance when facing adversity.

3. CRAIG KIELBURGER Craig Kielburger became a spokesperson for children's rights in 1995, at 12 years of age. While Craig was searching for the comics in a local Ontario paper, he read an article about a young boy from Pakistan who was sold into bondage as a carpet weaver, then escaped and was murdered for speaking out against child labor. Craig gathered a group of friends and founded the organization Free the Children. Free The Children is an international network of children helping children at local, national and international levels through leadership and action. The primary goal of the organization is not only to free children from poverty and exploitation, but to also free children and young people from the idea that they are powerless to bring about social change. Free the Children has grown into an international organization with hundreds of thousands of young people in more than 35 countries. Among other accomplishments, youth members of Free the Children have raised funds for the construction of more than 375 primary schools in developing nations, providing education to over 30,000 children. They have distributed over 125,000 school kits and in excess of $5 million dollars worth of medical supplies to needy families.

CANADA AND THE WORLD

After his election in 1993, Prime Minister Chretien worked to strengthen Canada's commitments to foreign aid and to peacekeeping missions.

A. TEAM CANADA Prime Minister Jean Chretien started the Team Canada trade missions in 1994. As part of Team Canada, the Prime Minister and other delegates travel to other countries to meet with their representatives. Team Canada missions are designed to increase trade and create jobs and growth in Canada. Team Canada missions have helped more than 2,800 Canadian business representatives gain access to leaders in international markets, and have contributed to over $30 billion in new business for Canada. The first Team Canada Mission was to China in 1994; then to Indonesia, Malaysia, India and Pakistan in 1996; to South Korea, the Philippines and Thailand in 1997; to Mexico, Brazil, Argentina and Chile in 1998; to Japan in 1999; to Beijing, Shanghai and Hong Kong in 2001; and to Russia and Germany in 2002.

B. THE GROUP OF EIGHT The Group of Eight (G8) is a group of countries that come together for a summit conference every year, which allows the leaders to discuss major economic, social and political issues that affect member nations. The G8 member countries are Canada, France, Germany, Italy, Japan, Russia, the European Union and the United States. The first Summit took place in 1975 in order to address concerns over the economic problems that faced the world in the 1970s. At this time, there were only six member countries which participated in the Summit. Canada joined the group in 1976, and the European Community (now the European Union) was given observer status the following year. Russia became a full partner of the G8 in 1997.
At recent summits, G8 leaders have made significant changes: to reform international institutions such as the World Bank; to launch debt relief initiatives; to provide new funding to address infectious disease; to provide developing countries with new technologies; and to look into issues such as terrorism and sustainable development.

FOREIGN AID IN THE 1980’s AND 1990’s

1. CANADIAN FOREIGN AID a) Official Development Assistance (CODA) Canada's Official Development Assistance (ODA) program gives financial aid to the countries of Africa, the Middle East, the Americas, Asia and certain countries of central and eastern Europe. Canada gives assistance through various channels: directly from government to government (bilateral); by supporting non-governmental organizations (NGOs); by supporting private sector enterprises; as well as supporting multilateral institutions such as the United Nations, the World Bank, and La Francophonie. b) Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA) The ODA program is managed by the Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA) which was developed in 1968. CIDA promotes sustainable development in developing countries and focuses on six priorities: basic human needs; women in sustainable development; infrastructure services; human rights, democracy and good governance; private sector development; and the environment. CIDA has also expanded four social development sectors: basic education; health and nutrition; HIV / AIDS; and child protection. c) Canada Fund for Africa Canada has also established a $500 million Canada Fund for Africa to promote development on this continent in response to the G8 Action Plan. The Canada Fund for Africa is expected to provide $6 billion over the next five years, and is intended to recognize the right of Africans to take control and ownership of their own path to development.

2. RECIPIENT COUNTRIES The top ten recipient countries of Canadian ODA in descending order are Poland, Former Yugoslavia, Cameroon, Cote D’Ivoire, Bangladesh, India, China, Afghanistan, Vietnam, and Russia. The largest proportion of Canadian ODA per region goes to sub-Saharan Africa, Latin American and Caribbean, then South and Central Asian. (OECD-Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development)

3. A DECLINE IN CANADIAN ODA Canadian Official Development Assistance is at a 30-year low. From 1991 to 2001, Canadian ODA fell by 34 % in real terms (removing the impact of inflation). In 2000, Canada contributed $1. 72 billion US in net ODA, ranking 8th among countries that provide development assistance. However, when considering ODA as a percentage of GNP (Gross National Product or wealth of a country), Canada ranked 17th of 22 countries, contributing only 0.25 % of GNP. The UN 8.' has stated that it recommends an ODA/GNP goal of 0.7 %, which is a long way off from Canadian ODA percentages. (OECD Statistics)

4. POVERTY REDUCTION Increasingly, development agencies and non-governmental organizations argue that priority should be given to aid that aims at poverty reduction. Aid should be concentrated on meeting the needs of the most disadvantaged people in the poorest of countries. Yet in reality, less than one quarter of Canadian aid goes to the least developed countries, and only a very modest proportion of aid goes to meeting basic human needs. However, CIDA allocations for sustainable basic human needs did show modest improvement by growing to 17 % in 1996, up from 13 % of ODA in 1990. S. CANADIAN ODA AND HUMAN RIGHTS a) Linking Aid to Human Rights Until the late 1970s, Canadian governments were not concerned with human rights criteria when considering recipients for Canadian development assistance. By 1986, Canada's focus had shifted, and human rights became a fundamental part of official Canadian aid policy. The notion of linking aid to human rights is based on the assumption that Canada has a responsibility to ensure that its
development assistance is not used to support governments that deny citizens their basic economic, social and cultural rights. b) Canada's History of Linking Aid to Human Rights However, Canadian action to suspend aid in the face of gross human rights abuses has been predominantly punitive in nature. A suspension of assistance has only occurred in the worst of cases. Additionally, even when suspension did occur, the lack of explicit condemnation of human rights abuses sent an unclear message to the offender. c) Cold War Fears Cold War fears also played an important role in determining foreign aid policy. Aid to communist or strongly anti-Western countries (such as Indonesia under Sukarno, Vietnam and Cuba) was terminated when they engaged in oppressive military interventions. On the other hand, aid was maintained when pro-Western states committed similar offenses (such as Indonesia in the 1970s and 80s, and Honduras). Essentially, Canadian practice was to ensure that no important economic relations were jeopardized. When aid was indeed suspended, it was to countries in which Canada's interests were limited, and the programs that were cut were very small. It is estimated that seventy percent of Canadian bilateral aid went to countries whose violations of basic security rights ranged from serious to extreme. d) Recent Performance However, more recently, the Canadian government has taken a much more assertive position by introducing a cabinet review, human rights training, country reporting, CIDA's Good Governance and Human Rights Policies Division, and the creation of the International Centre for Human Rights and Democratic Development. However, although the structures for a highly effective aid-rights policy were now created, actual performance still fell short of the ideal. There is a continuing reluctance to cut aid flows to abusive states that are important to Canada, such as China and Indonesia, while aid flows have been cut to "marginal" countries such as Fiji, Haiti and Myanmar. However, Canada is by no means unique in this regard. There is little evidence that any countries are willing to relinquish trade interests in the name of human rights. D. PEACEKEEPING Peacekeeping is a technique developed by the United Nations which does not have a simple definition—the term itself is not even found in the UN Charter. In his 1992 report to the Security Council, UN SecretaryGeneral Boutros Boutros-Ghali defined peacekeeping as:

"...the deployment of a United Nations presence in the field, hitherto with the consent of all the parties concerned, normally involving United Nations military and/or police personnel and frequently civilians as well. Peacekeeping is a technique that expands the possibilities for both the prevention of conflict and the making of peace. " Although the first peacekeeping mission was established in 1948 in the Middle East, the first deployment of a peacekeeping force was in 1956 in response to the Suez Crisis. In Chapter Six we learned how Canada played an important role in the development of this peacekeeping force. Since that time, there have been 56 United Nations peacekeeping operations. Peacekeeping was initially developed as a means to resolve conflict between states. This was achieved by deploying unarmed or lightly armed military personnel from a number of countries between the armed forces of the states that were formerly at war. In these circumstances, a ceasefire would be in place, and the parties to the conflict would have agreed to allow the UN forces to be present. Peacekeepers were not part of the conflict; rather, they observed the ceasefire from the ground.

THE CHANGING ROLE OF PEACEKEEPING

a) With the end of the Cold War, there was a dramatic shift in the role of UN peacekeeping. a) More Missions After the end of the Cold War, there was increasing demand for UN peacekeeping missions. Thirty-five peace missions have been initiated since 1990. As of 2004, fourteen of these missions are ongoing. At the peak of UN activity in the mid-1990s, there were nearly 80,000 UN peacekeepers deployed around the globe.
b) Peacekeeping Within States Rather than keeping the peace "between" states, peacekeepers were now charged with creating the peace "within" states, often in situations of civil war. In contrast to
the traditional role of patrolling borders, in these situations there may not be a clear area of conflict, but rather, fighting is often spread throughout a country's entire territory.

c) More Actors After the Cold War, peacekeeping came to include organizations other than the United Nations. Regional organizations such as NATO, the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe, and the Organization for African Unity are also involved.

d) Peace "Making" Peacekeeping is no longer a matter of simply standing between two armies and keeping the peace. It has increasingly become a matter of creating a peace where none exists.

e) Changing Role of Peacekeepers Whereas traditional peacekeeping tasks involved patrolling contested borders, and unarmed monitoring of ceasefires, modern peacekeeping has come to involve training and restructuring local police forces; de-mining; conducting elections; facilitating the return of refugees; monitoring human rights; demobilizing and reintegrating former soldiers; and promoting sustainable democracy and economic development. For example, in Cambodia from 1991 to 1993, the United Nations was charged with disarming warring factions, repatriating refugees, ensuring respect for human rights, and organizing provisional elections. In Somalia from 1992 to 1993, and in the former Yugoslavia from 1992 to 1995, peacekeepers were deployed not to maintain a cease-fire, but rather to ensure the distribution of relief supplies and to stabilize the situation. More recently in Haiti, Kosovo, and East Timor, peacekeepers have been deployed to monitor and train local police forces. (www.un.org)

f) More Diverse Skills Consequently, in order to respond to these more complex situations, peacekeepers require a more diverse set of skills. Military personnel now work with police and other experts to develop security in conflict-affected societies. These experts may include regional and municipal administrators; judges and prosecutors to develop judicaries and run courts; media, health, tax and social policy advisors; child protection experts; facilitators and mediators; and even people to manage basic infrastructure, such as sewage treatment plants or railways. (www.un.org)

g) Humanitarian Interventions The nature of peacekeeping has also been transformed to include actions that can be classified as humanitarian interventions. A humanitarian intervention is an armed intervention with the intention of protecting human rights within the confines of another sovereign state. There is much debate over the legality of intervening without consent in the affairs of another sovereign state. While it is important to protect the human rights of citizens around the world, it is also important to protect the sovereignty (government free from external control) of states. If state sovereignty is not protected, then any intervention might also be considered to be a form of imperialism. On the other hand, it is imperative that governments do what they can to prevent other governments from engaging in massive human rights violations and crimes against humanity.

CANADIAN TROOPS OVERSEAS

In the second half of the twentieth century, over 100,000 Canadians have served as peacekeepers under the auspices of the United Nations. Canadians have served in Cyprus, the Middle East, Haiti, Bosnia, Cambodia, El Salvador and Angola to name a few. (Refer to pages 130-131 for Canadian involvement in the Suez Crisis and in Cyprus.) As of 2004, Canadian peacekeepers were serving in 14 operations in Europe, Asia, Africa, South America and the Middle East. Peacekeeping can also be dangerous-in the course of Canada's peacekeeping history, 107 Canadians have been killed. Note to Students: The following section examines the international community's response to recent conflicts overseas. By no means are you required to know the details of these conflicts. Rather, they are included to give you a general understanding of the situation.

a) The Persian Gulf War, 1990 The Background In August 1990, the Iraqi Army invaded Kuwait. Kuwait was a small, but oil-rich southern neighbour. Saddam Hussein made claims that Kuwait historically "belonged" to Iraq. He did not expect the international community to react, because he
had the strongest army in the region. UN Response Led by American President George Bush (Senior), the United Nations condemned Iraq's actions and imposed an economic boycott on Iraq, thereby cutting off its oil trade. The boycott was not successful in driving the Iraqi Army out of Kuwait, and so the UN passed a resolution which authorized the use of force to expel the Iraqi Army from Kuwait. A multinational force, led by the United States, was created to drive the Iraqi forces out of Kuwait. Canada participated by sending ships and fighter planes to patrol the Persian Gulf. For over a month, under what became known as Operation Desert Storm, the allies bombed Baghdad and other strategic locations. Beginning in February, a short four-day ground campaign drove the Iraqi army out of Kuwait. By February 1991, a ceasefire was reached. However, by not removing Saddam Hussein from power, the coalition forces allowed this dictator to continue to repress and torture his own people.

b) Yugoslavia, 1992 The Background Yugoslavia was composed of a number of ethnic groups that were historically hostile to each other. This history of tension and violence has left the various groups with a deep distrust of each other. In Yugoslavia, there were essentially three groups: the Serbs (Orthodox); the Croats (Catholic); and the Kosovars (Islamic). Religious differences were also a source of tension. In fact, this area of the Balkans has been at the front line of conflict between the Islamic and Christian world over the course of the century. As the various ethnic nations broke away and formed independent states in the post-Communist era, this led to civil wars in which the goal was to consolidate new ethnic nation-states by killing or driving out those who were different. These tactics came to be known as ethnic cleansing. Cii) The Independence of Slovenia and Croatia Slovenia and Croatia declared independence in 1991. The Yugoslav government attempted to prevent this from happening because it was worried about protecting the Serb minority in these new states. While the process of separation occurred smoothly for Slovenia, this was not the case in Croatia. By 1995, Serb communities began to be expelled from Croatia. Despite the best efforts of Canadian peacekeepers, the Croats had managed to ethnically cleanse the Serbian population. CHi) UN Peacekeeping in Bosnia Bosnia's desire for independence also led to a civil war between its three ethno-religious groups: the Serbs (Orthodox), the Bosniaks (Muslim), and the Croats (Catholic). Fighting continued in Bosnia between 1992 and 1995. In 1992, the UN peacekeeping mission UNPROFOR was established in Sarejevo. However, in this situation, there was no peace to keep. While the original mandate of UNPROFOR was to deploy along the ceasefire line, the mission arrived in Sarejevo to face a full-scale civil war. UNPROFOR was instructed to open a way for convoys of food and medical supplies. In order to do so, the UN forces attempted to occupy the demilitarized zone. UN troops quickly became involved in trying to mitigate the impact of the civil war. Eventually almost all of the "safe areas" that had been set up by UN peacekeepers on behalf of the Bosnians were crushed by the Serbs. Croatian forces began to attack Canadian soldiers, who then launched a full-scale assault to reoccupy the ceasefire zone. The Croatians eventually left the region, but not before committing murder, rape and acts of destruction. The peacekeeping mission in Bosnia became known as the worst battle involving Canadians since the end of the Korean War. One of the biggest lessons to be learned from the war in Bosnia is that peacekeeping is best carried out by combat-trained, well-equipped troops.

c) Somalia, 1992 The Background In late 1992, the 900 soldiers of the Canadian Airborne Regiment (CAR) were sent to Somalia on a difficult peacekeeping mission called UNISOM. The CAR arrived in Somalia at a desperate time. The country had been through a famine and a civil war, and it had no government. Gangs terrorized the country and interfered with food deliveries. Cii) The Events During the deployment of the CAR in Somalia, events took place that damaged the reputations of individuals, Canada's military and, indeed, the nation itself. These events included the shooting of Somali intruders at the Canadian compound in Belet Huen, the beating death of a teenager in the custody of CAR soldiers, an apparent suicide attempt by one of these Canadian soldiers, and, after
the mission, alleged episodes of withholding or altering key information. In fact, one of the soldiers involved in the torture and murder of the Somali teenager took "trophy" pictures of the torture. The Somalia Commission of Inquiry When all of these activities eventually came to light, the Canadian government subsequently disbanded the Canadian Airborne Regiment and called a commission of inquiry into the whole affair. The final Report of the Somalia Commission of Inquiry was delivered to the government at the end of June, 1997. The Commission concluded that there was indeed a cover-up in the shooting death of a Somali citizen in March 1993. It also pointed to the failure of military leadership, and the poor organization of the regiment. Essentially, the Somali mission faced many difficulties. There was no ceasefire, the parties to the conflict had not consented to a peacekeeping presence, and the mission had a large mandate to fulfil yet no manpower to implement it. As a result of the Somalia inquiry, changes were eventually made to military training, and investigations were initiated into the chain of command. 

d) Rwanda, 1994

c) The Background Under colonial rule, the Tutsi comprised about 15% of the population of Rwanda, yet they were given ruling status by the colonial powers. The Belgians imposed rigid ethnic divisions within Rwanda, in particular, by issuing ethnic identity cards to all Rwandans. The Tutsi elite treated the majority Hutu population very harshly as a lower class. By the 1960s, after Rwanda had gained independence, the Hutu party won in a general election. During this period, over 20,000 Tutsis were killed, and over 300,000 fled to neighbouring countries. In 1990, the children of the Tutsi refugees formed a rebel army called the Rwandan Patriotic Front (RPF). The RPF attempted to invade Rwanda, yet President Habiyarimana's French allies came to support him. The civil war that ensued was devastating, producing thousands of casualties and millions of refugees. The Hutu government decided that in order to retain power, it would need to eliminate the Tutsi population. In 1994, two rockets shot down the plane carrying Rwandan President Habiyarimana. A small group among the Hutu elite of Rwanda decided to use the attack to launch a full-scale genocide against the Tutsi minority. The Genocide Over a period of a few months in 1994, approximately 1 million Tutsi and moderate Hutu people in Rwanda were killed in systematic attacks. Virtually all were civilians, unarmed and defenceless. Women and children were specifically targeted to ensure the final elimination of all Tutsis. In addition to the killings, millions of Rwandans were internally displaced, or became refugees in neighbouring countries. UN Response Only days after the incident in Somalia, the first UN mission to Rwanda (UNAMIR) was set up. This mission had a weak mandate and minimal capacity. Some argue that this feeble UN effort actually served to encourage the conspirators as it demonstrated that they had nothing to fear from the international community. Once the genocide began, the United States repeatedly resisted attempts to strengthen UN military presence in Rwanda. Romeo Dallaire, as the former head of the UN Peacekeeping Force in Rwanda, has since written a book describing the atrocities that he witnessed. In the face of this genocide (the systematic and planned killing of an entire racial or ethnic group), General Romeo Dallaire sent an urgent warning (later called the "genocide fax") to UN headquarters in 1994. Dallaire explained that an informant had told him that the Hutu were planning to register all Tutsis in order to exterminate them. The informant advised that the Hutu were able to kill 1,000 Tutsi in 20 minutes. Other informants provided equally dire warnings—the world knew that a great disaster loomed in Rwanda. Dallaire pleaded for 2,000 more peacekeepers to be added to his insufficiently equipped force of 3,000 men. Dallaire believed that the UN could have stopped the slaughter of hundreds of thousands of Rwandans if it had responded to his pleas. Instead, after 10 Belgian peacekeepers were killed, the UN cut Dallaire's forces down from 3,000 to only 500. Gen. Romeo Dallaire and his troops were forced to witness one of the most horrible acts of genocide in history. An entire nation was brutalized and traumatized. They now call themselves the "walking dead." The Rwandan genocide is widely recognized as an extreme failure of the international community to protect people at risk of mass scale atrocities. In this case, a small number of actors could have directly prevented, halted or reduced the slaughter at any moment. According to Dallaire, the "international community has blood on its hands." The UN, the United
States, Belgium and the Anglican Church have since apologized for their failures to stop the genocide in Rwanda; however, no reparations have ever been considered.

e) NATO Bombing of Kosovo, 1995

(i) The Background

In 1989, Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic made changes to the Serb constitution which effectively abolished the status of Kosovo as an autonomous province within Serbia, and increased the Serb security presence in the region. This action led to increasing Kosovar resentment, since the population of Kosovo was predominantly ethnic Albanian (known as Kosovars), and only eight percent Serb. In response, the Kosovo Liberation Army (KLA) was created in order to try to achieve independence for Kosovo. Throughout the early 1990s, there were repeated skirmishes between Serb forces and the KLA. In 1998, Serb forces mounted an attack which allowed them to gain control of areas previously held by the KLA. An estimated 300,000 Kosovars were displaced during this campaign. Under the threat of NATO air strikes in October 1998, Milosevic agreed to allow an observer force into Kosovo to facilitate the withdrawal of Serb security forces. However, by January 1999, Serb forces massacred Kosovar citizens in the Kosovo village of Racak. By February, Milosevic refused to allow NATO forces to enter Kosovo, and began to move troops towards the Kosovo border. Yugoslav forces immediately launched their campaign of ethnic cleansing against the Kosovar Albanians.

(ii) NATO Response

In order to stop Serbian persecution of Kosovar Albanians, on March 23rd 1999, NATO authorized and undertook an intensive bombing campaign against a member of the United Nations, the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Milosevic was now President). All members of NATO, including Canada, participated in the bombing campaign. However, the UN Security Council did not authorize NATO military action. NATO warplanes, including Canadian CF-18s, continuously bombed Yugoslav military and communications targets. In response, Serbian President, Slobodan Milosevic, finally agreed to a ceasefire, after having been advised that NATO planned to launch a land offensive. At this point, a multinational force made up of NATO troops (including Canadians) working under a UN mandate, entered Kosovo to keep the peace. By June 1999, all Yugoslav forces had left Kosovo.

f) Land Mines

Often the terror continues, even after the war is over. Anti-personnel land mines are a major problem faced by many people in war-torn countries. There are over 110 million antipersonnel land mines in over 64 countries around the world. Internationally, 500 people die each week because of land mines, and thousands more are maimed. While land mines cost only $5 to buy, they cost between $300 and $1,000 each to remove. Experts estimate that under current conditions, it would take more than 1,000 years to clear the world of mines if no new mines are laid. However, for every mine cleared, at least 20 are laid. The only mine clearance technique known to be 100% effective is manual clearance, using metal detectors, prodders and hand brooms. The top land mine-producing countries include China, Russia, and the United States. On the other hand, countries most affected by land mines include Bosnia, Cambodia, Vietnam and Angola. In 1996, Canada's foreign minister, Lloyd Axworthy, hosted an international conference on land mines. In December 1997, over 120 countries gathered in Ottawa to sign the Anti-Personnel Land Mines Treaty, which bans the use, production, transfer and stockpiling of land mines. As part of Canadian peacekeeping efforts, Canadian soldiers seek out and deactivate land mines in countries around the world.

INTERNATIONAL LAW

1. UN INTERNATIONAL TRIBUNALS

Due to the massive violations of human rights in the former Yugoslavia, the United Nations Security Council established an International War Crimes Tribunal in 1993 to try persons accused of war crimes in that conflict. In 1994, a second tribunal was set up to hear cases involving the genocide in Rwanda. In 1998, the Rwanda Tribunal handed down the first-ever verdict by an international court on the crime of genocide, as well as the first-ever sentence. A Canadian, Louise Arbour, was chief prosecutor of the International War Crimes Tribunal from 1996
to 1999. Arbour is known for bringing justice to those responsible for the genocide in Rwanda.

2. INTERNATIONAL CRIMINAL COURT In 1998, it finally became possible to punish mass violations of human rights with the establishment of the International Criminal Court (ICC). Through the ICC, the international community made it clear that those who committed horrible acts would not go unpunished. Although 120 countries voted in favour of establishing the ICC, some countries such as the United States voted against the ICC because they did not want their soldiers and leaders to be subject to an international court. The ICC consists of 18 judges elected over a nine-year term, and a team of prosecutors and investigators. The ICC has jurisdiction over issues such as genocide, war crimes, crimes against humanity and aggression.

3. THE FUTURE OF NATO After the Iron Curtain collapsed and the Cold War came to an end, there were many people who no longer saw the value of a collective defence alliance. Since the tragic events of September 11th 2001, NATO has perhaps more relevance, yet naysayers would claim that the Americans, with their unrivalled military power, no longer need

NATO

1. NATO ACTIONS SINCE THE COLD WAR Since the end of the Cold War, NATO has become heavily involved in the Balkans. In 1999, NATO carried out a bombing campaign against Serbia to prevent ethnic cleansing against ethnic Albanians. NATO also completed a mission that brought order to the new democracy in Macedonia. NATO troops are now keeping peace in Kosovo and Bosnia, and are involved as part of Operation Enduring Freedom in Afghanistan.

2. NATO MEMBERSHIP In April 1999, NATO enlarged its membership to admit Poland, the Czech Republic and Hungary. Although some critics argue that accepting more members into NATO will only serve to dilute the alliance, NATO has since accepted seven more new members. The other side of the argument suggests that although small countries have less to offer in terms of capability, they can be useful in providing niche capabilities, i.e. they can specialize in specific fields. The new NATO members have also pledged to contribute as many as 200,000 new troops to the Alliance.

3. NATO-RUSSIA COUNCIL In May 2002, at a summit meeting in Rome, President Bush, President Putin and NATO heads of state and government met formally to establish the NATO-Russia Council. NATO and Russia have worked together on projects in key areas such as combating terrorism, peacekeeping, civil emergency planning and nuclear non-proliferation.

4. PRAGUE 2002 In November 2002, NATO members met at a summit in Prague to discuss reforms to NATO. NATO's leaders agreed to the Prague Capabilities Commitment, in which European Allies agreed to "spend smarter," pool their resources, and pursue specialization. NATO's leaders also agreed to the NATO Response Force-NATO's forces would be organized into highly-ready land, air and sea forces capable of carrying out missions anywhere in the world. The NATO Response Force will consist of approximately 25,000 troops that would be deployable on thirty days notice. At the summit, NATO leaders invited seven new democracies, Bulgaria, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Romania, Slovakia, and Slovenia, to join NATO. Existing NATO members had previously worked with the aspirants to encourage political, economic and military reform.

BACKGROUND TO FRENCH-ENGLISH RELATIONS
1600-1944 Up until the end of the Seven Years War in 1763, what is now Canada was the French colony of New France. As you might recall, the Seven Years War was a global conflict involving Britain, France, and their colonies. In Canada, the British defeated the French forces at the Battle of the Plains of Abraham. With the arrival of British ships for reinforcement, the French troops were forced to agree to conditional surrender. Under this agreement, they were given the right to maintain their Catholic religion and their French culture. With the Treaty of Paris in 1763, France gave up New France, and was left with only a few islands off of Newfoundland. As a result, the French Canadians felt betrayed. In 1774, the Quebec Act was passed by the British, which entrenched the rights of French Canadians. This was Canada's first constitution. By 1867, Quebec joined Confederation based on the understanding that the rights of French Canadians would be protected. Between 1885 and 1944, a number of events occurred to create further tensions between French and English Canadians: Metis leader Louis Riel was executed for leading a second rebellion; Prime Minister Laurier compromised French interests in the Manitoba Schools controversy, the Boer War, and the Naval Crisis; and Quebec became dissatisfied with conscription in both the First and Second World Wars.

FRENCH-ENGLISH RELATIONS IN THE 1950s AND 1960s

1. THE GREAT DARKNESS Maurice Duplessis served as the Union Nationale premier of Quebec from 1936 to 1939 and 1944 to 1959. Duplessis was a staunch Roman Catholic and political conservative. He became known as le chef -the boss. Duplessis avoided English influence at all costs. He even refused any money from the federal government as he was a strong supporter of provincial rights. The Duplessis era was also known for bad working conditions, as Duplessis discouraged unions and used strong arm tactics against them. For these reasons, the period of his rule is sometimes referred to as la grande noirceur -the Great Darkness. By 1959, with the advent of the "swinging sixties," people started to want social change, and therefore, no longer supported Duplessis who was considered to be old-fashioned.

2. THE QUIET REVOLUTION From 1960 to 1966, Jean Lesage of the Liberal Party was premier of Quebec. Lesage campaigned under the slogan Maitres chez nous-masters of our own house. Lesage wasn't seeking independence for Quebec, but he wanted more control over decisions affecting its future. Essentially, Lesage sought to create a new and equal partnership with English-Canada. Lesage also recognized that although English-Canadians amounted to a small percentage of Quebec's population, they controlled a large percentage of the business in Quebec. During this time, Quebec went through a period of rapid reform and modernization called la revolution tranquille-the Quiet Revolution. The Quiet Revolution was characterized by secularization (a move away from the Catholic Church in political affairs); the strengthening of the welfare state; massive investments in public education; the unionization of the civil service; measures to control the economy; and the nationalization of hydroelectric production and distribution (the development of Hydro-Quebec). Lesage also sought "special status" for Quebec in order to protect the French language and culture. The federal government allowed Quebec to run its own pension plan, loans, and medical insurance. However, arguably the most drastic change that occurred during the Quiet Revolution was a huge increase in Quebec nationalism-French-Canadians became "Quebecois."

3. "VIVE LE QUEBEC LIBRE!", 1967 During Expo '67 in Montreal, the French President Charles DeGaulle ended his speech with "Vive le Quebec libref"-Long live a Free Quebec! This statement encouraged French-Canadian nationalism and enraged EnglishCanadians, as this slogan had been scrawled on the wall at the site of the 1963 FLQ firebombing in Montreal (refer to the following section).

4. THE OFFICIAL LANGUAGES ACT, 1969 In 1969, Prime Minister Trudeau signed the Official
Languages Act, giving all Canadians the legal right and ability to deal with the federal government in either French or English. Additionally, all products sold in stores across the country had to be labelled in both French and English. Also as a result of this act, French Immersion programs were implemented across the country.

**FRENCH-ENGLISH RELATIONS IN THE 1970s**

1. **THE OCTOBER CRISIS (THE FLQ CRISIS), 1970**
   a) The Front de Liberation du Quebec (FLQ) was a Canadian separatist group founded in the 1960s and based primarily in Montreal. The FLQ was a virtually unknown group of young French Canadians who occasionally spoke of Marxist objectives, and of Quebec's separation from Canada. Throughout the 1960s, members of the FLQ were trained by revolutionaries who were supporters of the Cuban revolutionary, Che Guevara. Also, a few FLQ members also received guerrilla training in selective assassination from Palestinian commandos in Jordan. From 1963 to 1970, the FLQ committed over 200 political actions including bombings and bank hold-ups, resulting in at least three deaths by FLQ bombs, and 131 deaths by gunfire. Targets included English-owned businesses, banks, McGill University, and the homes of prominent English-Canadians. By 1970, many members of the FLQ were in jail.
   b) The Kidnappings
   On October 5th 1970, four men of the FLQ's Liberation cell kidnapped the British Trade Commissioner James Cross at gunpoint in Montreal. The FLQ demanded a ransom of $500,000; transport to Cuba; that they be allowed to read the FLQ Manifesto in public; as well as the release of FLQ "political prisoners" who were jailed for terrorist bombings. Five days later, on October 10th, the Chenier cell kidnapped the Quebec Vice-Premier and Minister of Labour, Pierre Laporte.
   c) Laporte's Letter
   Pierre Laporte wrote the following letter to the Premier of Quebec during the October Crisis. Bourassa has since acknowledged that determining the proper course of action in response to this letter was the "toughest challenge he ever faced."

> October 11th 1970 (translated from original French) M. Robert Bourassa
> My Dear Robert, I believe I am writing the most significant letter of my life. For the moment, I am in perfect health. I am treated well, even with courtesy. I insist that the police stop all searches to find me. If they found me, it would result in a shootout, which I would certainly not live through. This is absolutely urgent.
> You have, in short, the power over my life. If there were nothing else to it but that, and if my sacrifice might bring good results, one could think of it. But we are in the presence of a well-organized uprising, which will finish only with the release of the "political prisoners." After me, there would be a 3rd, then a 4th and then a 5th person. If all the politicians get protection, it will strike elsewhere, in other classes of society. Act immediately and thus avoid a quite useless bloodbath and panic. You know my personal situation merits some attention. I had two brothers; they are both dead. I remain alone as head of a large family which includes my mother, my sisters, my own wife and my children, as well as Roland's children, to whom I am the guardian. My death would create an irrevocable grief, as you know the ties which bind the members of my family. It is not just me in question, but a dozen people, all of them women and young children. I believe that you understand!
> If the release of the "political prisoners" is organized and completed, I have a guarantee that my personal security will be assured. Mine... and that of the others who could follow. This could be done quickly, as by taking more time I continue to die little by little in captivity. Decide... on my life or my death... I depend on you and thank you.
> Sincerely,
> Pierre Laporte
> PS. I repeat, put an end to the search. And also ensure that the police are warned not to continue
without you knowing it. The success of this search would be a death sentence for me. (ebc.ca/news/indepth/october/laporte_letter.html)

d) The October Crisis

On October 17th 1970, Laporte's dead body was discovered in the trunk of a car. The Canadian government, under Prime Minister Trudeau, agreed to broadcast the FLQ Manifesto over the radio, and to transport five FLQ terrorists to Cuba in exchange for Cross' release. Cross was released, and the FLQ terrorists were allowed passage into Cuba. Over the years, most of these terrorists eventually returned to Canada and received light sentences. In total, 23 people went to prison as a result of the October Crisis. The October Crisis was the first political kidnapping in Canadian history.

e) The War Measures Act, 1970

In response to the October Crisis, the Canadian government invoked the War Measures Act, which gave the government the power to take away certain civil rights. As a result, thousands of searches were conducted, and over 400 arrests were made. Membership in the FLQ became criminal, and all political rallies were banned. The government now had the ability to arrest, question, and detain suspects without charge for a period of 90 days. The War Measures Act was invoked based on the belief that there was a widespread conspiracy to overthrow the Canadian government. When asked by a reporter how far he would he go (in terms of the restrictions of the War Measures Act), Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau responded, "Just watch me." Trudeau showed no sympathy: "There's a lot of bleeding hearts around-go on and bleed." 2. BILL 22, 1974

In 1974, the Liberal Premier of Quebec, Robert Bourassa, introduced Bill 22. Bill 22 made French the official language of Quebec, and strengthened French in the workplace. Additionally, children had to pass an English proficiency test before being allowed to register at English schools in Quebec. Bourassa introduced Bill 22 because birth rates were declining in Quebec, and immigration was increasing. Therefore, there was reason to fear that the French language might disappear.

3. THE PARTI QUEBECOIS (PQ)

In 1976, the Parti Quebecois (PQ), led by Rene Levesque, defeated the Liberals in the provincial election. The PQ was a non-violent separatist party that was dedicated to winning independence for Quebec by following the rules of Canada's political process.

4. BILL 101, 1977

In 1977, Rene Levesque proposed Bill 101 to replace Bill 22. Bill 101 became known as the Charter of French Language bill. Bill 101 required that French be the language used by governments, courts and businesses in Quebec, and that commercial signs be displayed in French only. Bill 101 also further restricted access to English schools-at least one parent had to have previously attended an English school in Quebec. Bill 101 created enormous backlash within Quebec and across the country. As a result, many English businesses left Quebec for other parts of Canada. In 1988, a Montreal store owner was charged with violating Section 58 of Bill 101, the section which required that all outdoor commercial signs be in French only. In 1989, the Supreme Court ruled that Section 58 was unconstitutional, as it violated the right to freedom of expression. However, under the Charter of Rights of Freedoms, governments may pass a law that overrides certain sections of the Charter for a period of five years. This is called the Notwithstanding Clause (refer to page 16). In other words, "not withstanding" the store owner's right to freedom of expression, the Quebec provincial government can nevertheless pass a law that violates this right for a period of five years. The new law, Bill 178, still requires that outdoor signs be in French, but allows indoor commercial signs to be bilingual, providing French is given priority.

FRENCH-ENGLISH RELATIONS IN THE 1980s AND 1990S

1. REFERENDUM, 1980

In 1980, Quebec held its first referendum on the issue of sovereignty-association with the rest of Canada. A referendum is when a proposed law is submitted to a direct vote of all the citizens. The proposal was that Quebec would be an independent state, with control over its own taxes, social policies, citizenship and immigration, but would maintain close economic
ties with the rest of Canada. Over 90% of the people in Quebec cast their ballots in this referendum, which resulted in 60% voting "Non." Quebec would remain as part of Canada. Those who had campaigned vigorously for a "Non" vote in the 1980 Quebec referendum promised the people of Quebec a new constitutional arrangement if the referendum was defeated. Pierre Trudeau kept his promise by patriating the Constitution in April of 1982.

2. CONSTITUTION ACT, 1982 Canada's original constitution, the British North America Act of 1867, was an act of British Parliament. Prime Minister Trudeau wanted Canada's constitution to belong to Canada, and so he proposed the Constitution Act of 1982. Under the Constitution Act, Canada's constitution was repatriated—brought home to Canada. The ten premiers met in November 1981 to draft the new constitution. However, all were awakened in the middle of the night to look at last minute revisions except for Rene Levesque. While the Prime Minister and nine premiers reached an agreement, Quebec felt betrayed, and did not sign Canada's new constitution. The new constitution included an amending formula, which gave Canadians the ability to make changes to the constitution (changes which would no longer require the consent of the British Parliament), and also included the Charter of Rights and Freedoms. (Refer to Chapter One for more details)

3. MEECH LAKE ACCORD In 1987, Prime Minister Mulroney and all ten premiers (this time the premier of Quebec was once again Robert Bourassa) met at Meech Lake to change the constitution to include Quebec. The Meech Lake initiative was Brian Mulroney's attempt to create constitutional harmony by bringing Quebec into the fold. All ten premiers reached a tentative agreement at Meech Lake. Thus began a three-year race to get unanimous consent from Ottawa and the other nine provinces. First, however, there were a number of concerns with the Meech Lake Accord. It included a clause that referred to Quebec as a "distinct society." This clause was left open to interpretation, and therefore it worried many English Canadians. Additionally, Aboriginal peoples did not feel that Quebec should have any special consideration, if no special consideration was being given to them. Similarly, women had related concerns. At first, Newfoundland, New Brunswick and Manitoba didn't ratify the Meech Lake Accord, and finally it was Manitoba, led by Aboriginal leader Elijah Harper, that refused to sign the Accord. There were essentially five parts to the proposed Accord: a) Quebec would be considered to be a "distinct society." b) Three of the nine Supreme Court judges were to come from Quebec. c) Any amendments to the new constitution would require agreement from all ten provinces. d) Provinces could choose to opt out of federal funding. e) Quebec would be able to control its own immigration. The Meech Lake Accord became known as the Quebec Round of constitutional amendments.

4. CHARLOTTETOWN ACCORD, 1992 By 1992, the issue of constitutional amendment again came to the forefront. As a result of the failure of the Meech Lake Accord, Quebec was still not included in Canada's constitution. Again, all leaders met in Charlottetown to try and reach a new agreement. The Charlottetown Accord made provisions for Aboriginal self-government, Senate reform, universal health care, workers' rights, and environmental protection. This round of negotiations was called the Canada Round, as the Accord included a Canada Clause in addition to the "distinct society" clause for Quebec. The Canada Clause outlined the values and characteristics that define all Canadians, including a commitment to the equality of men and women, and to the well-being of all Canadians. In a referendum to decide upon the Charlottetown Accord, only four of the ten provinces approved, as they felt that the provisions were too large and daunting. Once more, Aboriginal peoples and women opposed the accord, as did the Reform Party. s. BLOC QUEBECOIS In 1993, the separatist federal party of Quebec, the Bloc Quebecois, became the Official Party of Opposition in Canada. The Bloc Quebecois was led by Lucien Bouchard.
5. **PARTI QUEBECOIS** In 1994, the Parti Quebecois defeated the Liberals in the Quebec provincial election, and Jacques Parizeau became the Premier of Quebec.

6. **REFERENDUM, 1995** The rejection of Charlottetown left many French Canadians feeling that the rest of Canada was indifferent to their wishes. In 1995, Jacques Parizeau, Premier and leader of the Parti Quebecois (PQ), held another referendum on the question of Quebec's sovereignty—whether or not to separate from Canada. In a close and heated campaign, the "Non" side won with 50.6% of votes. After the referendum, Parizeau resigned and was replaced by Lucien Bouchard. Bouchard had every intention of calling for another sovereignty referendum but only "under winning conditions." The question remained—could Quebec legally separate from Canada on a unilateral basis, or did separation require the consent of all of the provinces?

7. **CALGARY DECLARATION, 1997** In 1997, in a gesture of goodwill, the Canadian government declared Quebec to be a "unique society" as part of the Calgary Declaration. However, the leader of the Bloc Quebecois, Lucien Bouchard, did not attend this meeting.

8. **SUPREME COURT DECISION, 1998** In 1998, the Supreme Court ruled that Quebec did not have the right to separate unilaterally (it wasn't allowed to decide by itself) from Canada. In order to achieve independence, Quebec would have to negotiate with the federal government, the nine other provinces, the Aboriginal nations living in Quebec, and the other minorities living there. Additionally, negotiations could begin only after a referendum in which a "clear majority" voted. "Yes" to a "clear question." Both sides hailed the decision. Prime Minister Chretien claimed that the Court made it clear that separation was a much more complicated process than the PQ had led supporters to believe.

9. **CLARITY ACT, 1999** The Canadian government passed the Clarity Act in 1999, which stated that in any future referenda, Quebec must ask a clear question, and win a clear majority. Essentially, this Act would make it next to impossible for Quebec to gain independence from Canada through a referendum.

**SHOULD QUEBEC SEPARATE FROM CANADA?**

1. **ARGUMENTS FOR UNITY** "What we have built together in Canada is something very great and very noble. A country whose values of tolerance, understanding, and generosity have made us what we are: a society where our number-one priority is the respect and dignity of all our citizens... This is what we have accomplished. And I say to my fellow Quebecers, don't let anyone diminish or take away what we have accomplished. Don't let anyone tell you that you cannot be a proud Quebecker and a proud Canadian." Excerpted from Prime Minister Jean Chretien's national television address, October 25th 1995.

"The government of Quebec does not have a monopoly on pride. My ancestors also tilled and sowed the land; my maternal ancestors arrived from Ireland during the famine of the 1840s. My ancestors, anglophones and francophones, busted their backs to build this province and this country." Excerpted from Margaret Delisle, Member of Quebec National Assembly, September 1995.

2. **ARGUMENTS FOR SEPARATION** "I believe strongly in a future partnership between Canada and Quebec and I think I can speak for an overwhelming number of Quebeckers, if not all Quebeckers, who will also want this negotiation to succeed after Yes...Sovereignty and the offer of a partnership are the best choices for Quebeckers. This Yes vote will provide Quebec with the power and the leadership it needs to achieve its ambitions and its goals but also to refashion its relationship with Canada." Excerpted from Leader of the Opposition, Lucien Bouchard's national television address, October

"Because we are free traders, we export half of what we produce beyond our borders. At present we cannot take proper advantage of this flexibility and openness, because we will always have to wait for the rest of Canada, which often doesn't have the same interests, or quite simply can't come to an agreement on the steps to follow. So we miss out on opportunities. Quebec's great blueprint for society means taking full advantage of our ability to adapt quickly and to be among the most prosperous people in the world. " Excerpted from Our Hearts in Our Work, Booklet issued by the Yes campaign, September 1995.

3. THE POTENTIAL IMPACT OF SEPARATION

a) The Potential Impact of Separation for Quebec
   Ci) Quebec might be forced to renegotiate international trade deals such as NAFTA. (ii) Quebec may no longer receive federal grants or assistance. Ciii) The Anglophone population and big business may move to other provinces. Civ) Foreign and domestic investment might drop. (v) Economic or social problems such as unemployment or poverty might worsen. Cvi) Quebec may be asked to repay its portion of Canada's national debt. Cvii) Quebec may lose land to Aboriginal group. Cx) Quebec would be forced to re-negotiate its status in the North American Trade Agreement. Cxi) Quebec may not receive ownership of federal property owned by Ottawa.

b) The Potential Impact of Separation for Canada
   Ci) Canada would lose 15.5 % of its land area. Cii) Canada would lose up to 25 % of its population. Ciii) Canada may lose up to 23 % of its GNP (Gross National Product). Civ) Canada would lose 15 % of its fresh water, and 14 % of its mineral production capability. Cv) Atlantic Canada would be physically severed and isolated from the rest of Canada. Cvii) Canadian defence would become more difficult. (vii) Quebec's separation may cause other provinces to consider separating from Confederation. Cviii) Francophones in other provinces would be left without one of their most powerful allies.

4. UNRESOLVED ISSUES

As a result of the failed constitutional negotiations, no provision currently exists in the Constitution Act for a province to legally separate from Canada. Therefore, even if the majority of Quebec were to decide to separate, the prospect of achieving sovereignty may never materialize. The twin struggles between the French and English, and between Ottawa and the provinces, have made attempts at constitutional reform difficult, if not impossible. Other contemporary developments have further heightened the difficulty. Aboriginal peoples have demanded constitutional recognition and have pursued significant land claims, and multiculturalism has radically altered the social make-up of both Quebec and the rest of Canada. Nevertheless, those who campaigned vigorously for a "Non" vote in the 1980 referendum, promised Quebeckers a new constitutional arrangement if the referendum was defeated. Although Pierre Trudeau signed the Constitution Act in 1982, a new constitutional arrangement including Quebec has yet to be achieved. The failed Meech Lake Accord may have been the closest that our leaders have ever come to reconciling the divisions within our country. Today many pundits (experts) agree that the new generation of Quebec has simply lost interest in separation and are more interested in economic progress than sovereignty.

ABORIGINAL PEOPLES IN CANADA

A. DEFINITIONS

Before proceeding with a discussion of the history and current status of Aboriginal peoples in Canada, it is necessary to define some of the terms that will be used.

1. In the first half of the twentieth century the following terms were used to refer to Aboriginal peoples: Indian, Eskimo, and Metis. However, by the last decades of the century, it was more common and acceptable to use the terms Native peoples and Aboriginal peoples. Generally, the most
commonly acceptable term used today is Aboriginal peoples.

2. ABORIGINAL PEOPLES Aboriginal peoples are the first peoples to live in any nation; in Canada the term refers to Inuit (replacing Eskimo), Metis (a person of mixed Native and European ancestry who self-identifies as Metis, and is of historic Metis Nation 8– Ancestry), First Nations (legally defined Indian nations consisting of Status Indians), and non-Status Indians. a) Status Indians Status Indians are those who have legal rights under the Indian Act. They have rights under treaties, or, where no treaties have been signed, rights as Registered Indians. b) Non-status Indians Non-status Indians are those who have given up their legal status as Indians, while still retaining their cultural identity. c) Indian The term Indian is used only when referring to legislation (e.g. the Indian Act), when used in a historical sense (e.g. the National Indian Brotherhood), or when referring to legal status (e.g. Status Indian). d) First Nation In the 1990s, First Nation came to be used in place of "Indian band" or "Indian nation."

B. THE HISTORY OF ABORIGINAL PEOPLES IN CANADA Archaeological evidence confirms that some Aboriginal peoples have been living in Canada for at least 11,000 years. Before contact with Europeans, 53 aboriginal languages existed. Geographical diversity added to the broad range of cultures. However, leading up to Confederation, European settlers decided that the Aboriginal way of life was inferior to the Euro-Canadian one. The Canadian government forced Aboriginal peoples from their land, put their children into residential schools, and made Aboriginal peoples live according to its laws.

1. THE ROYAL PROCLAMATION, 1763 The Royal Proclamation was a remarkable document for its time. It prevented any further settlement across North America until treaties had been negotiated with Aboriginal peoples, and it recognized that Aboriginal peoples lived as nations on their own lands. This law is the basis for many modern aboriginal land claims, because in several provinces, including British Columbia, treaties were never signed.

2. THE RESERVE SYSTEM, 1830 By 1830, Aboriginal peoples were seen as blocking the settlement of the British North America Act. Therefore, they were pushed onto reservations managed by agents of the government. The federal government passed legislation which granted it control and management of the lands and property of the Indians in Canada. Although these reserves were originally located within the areas which various tribes had long occupied, the actual size of the enclosures was greatly reduced from their previous territories. Today, only 0.4% of Canadian land is set-aside for Indian reservations. Living on reserves limits the ability of Aboriginal peoples to fully participate in the Canadian economy, as the key to generating wealth is in using individual property as leverage for loans and wealth creation. However, all of the land on reserves is owned by the federal government. Additionally, because all federal money is distributed through band councils to disperse as they choose, the Chief and council are given a tremendous amount of power and control over community members. This power isn't always used wisely, and often there are a few people who are very wealthy, while the rest of the population lives in conditions of poverty. As a result, living conditions on reserves are lower than in the rest of Canada-life expectancy is lower by six years, and suicide rates are over eight times higher.

3. BETWEEN 1864 AND 1867 In the last years leading up to Confederation, no aboriginal leaders were invited to Confederation negotiations. During this time, the goal became to assimilate Aboriginal nations into the Canadian mainstream. This meant that the Canadian government hoped to have Aboriginal peoples adopt the same culture, and essentially become the same, 'as European Canadians.
4. THE INDIAN ACT, 1876 The Indian Act of 1876 was the Canadian government's official way of encouraging Aboriginal peoples to give up their own culture and traditions, thereby assimilating them into the mainstream culture of Canada. 

a) Benefits of the Indian Act The Indian Act provided schools, medical care, hunting and fishing rights, and annual treaty payments to Aboriginal peoples across the country. It also exempted Aboriginal peoples from paying income and sales taxes. Finally, the Indian Act gave "Special Status" to Aboriginal peoples, and as a result, many Aboriginal peoples eventually wanted to keep the very legislation that "colonized them," because they claim that it provides recognition of their special status.

b) Disadvantages of the Indian Act According to Matthew Coon Come, National Chief of the Assembly of First Nations, the Indian Act "says we are children, wards of the state. This is a colonial mind set." Aboriginal peoples were denied the right to take up land as others could, and were denied the right to vote in provincial elections. As well, being aboriginal was perceived to be incompatible with being a Canadian citizen. If Aboriginal people wanted to vote, they had to trade "Indian status" for voting rights. Aboriginal peoples or "Indians" lost their status (and benefits) if they lived off reserves, joined the military, obtained higher education, or married a non-Indian. Additionally, traditional activities such as the potlatch were outlawed, and Aboriginal art and memorabilia were shipped to museums across North America. Furthermore, reserves have been consistently made smaller, and offer fewer economic opportunities than original Aboriginal territories.

c) Residential Schools Under the Indian Act, the federal government assumed responsibility for the education of Aboriginal children in Canada. Children were taken from their homes and forced to abandon their own language and culture. Sometimes the children were even criminally abused. The residential school system was administered by Protestant and Catholic missionaries across the country. By 1930, only 3% of native students progressed beyond grade six, and by 1950, only one-third of native pupils progressed beyond grade three. It wasn't until 1951 that Aboriginal children were allowed to attend schools within the public school system. In the 1990s, the United Church of Canada and several Catholic religious orders accepted responsibility for the harmful practices in residential schools. Some people have since been awarded compensation for the sexual abuse that was suffered in residential schools, and many lawsuits are still ongoing.

5. TURN OF THE CENTURY The following quotations serve to highlight the general attitude of both the Canadian government and the European population around the turn of the century. "The [residential] schools should be located in centres of white settlement. Not only would this sever familial connections but it would surround the children with the wonders of white civilization. And it would have the further advantage that Indians would be less likely to cause trouble if their children were under direct control of the state." J. Macrae, Inspector of Protestant Schools, 1886

"Before the Gospel was preached by the Missionary, the natives were ignorant, superstitious, degrade, wild and cruel." Reverend W. Pierce, 1896

"The prime purpose of Indian education is to assist in solving what may be called the Indian problem, to elevate the Indian from his state of savagery." F. Pedley, Deputy Superintendent of Indian Affairs, 1906

"[the purpose of the Indian Act is] to continue until there is not a single Indian in Canada that has not been absorbed into the body politic and there is no Indian question and no Indian department." Duncan Campbell Scott, Superintendent of Indian Affairs, 1920

6. SUFFRAGE In 1960, Aboriginal peoples were finally given the right to vote in federal elections in Canada.

7. THE WHITE PAPER, 1969 Until 1960, Aboriginal peoples living on reserves did not have the right to vote, own land individually, or consume alcohol. Enfranchisement was encouraged, which meant that they would gain the right to vote and have rights as a Canadian citizen, but lose Indian status.
and the right to live on a reserve. In 1968, Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau and Indian Affairs Minister Jean Chretien, wanted to make changes to the reserve system. Unemployment, ill health, and poverty were common on many Native reserves. Subsequently, the Canadian government introduced a white paper (an official statement of policy) to address the issues facing Aboriginal peoples in Canada. In 1969, the White Paper proposed the abolition of reserves and an end to special status for treaty Indians. The premise was that equality (or non-discrimination) was necessary for a solution to the problems of Indians, and that special status had been the major cause of difficulties. The government believed the solution was for Aboriginal peoples to assimilate into the mainstream culture-to be "citizens like any other." The Aboriginal community rejected the proposal on the basis of it amounting to "cultural genocide" (deliberate extermination of their culture). According to Harold Cardinal in the Unjust Society, "For the Indian to survive, says the government in effect, he must become a good little brown white man... the only good Indian is a non-Indian." Harold Cardinal was elected president of the Indian Association of Alberta from 1968 until 1977. Cardinal wrote the Unjust Society in 1969, which was strongly critical of federal Indian policies and supported a renewed emphasis on the protection of Aboriginal culture in Canada. There was an overwhelmingly hostile response in reaction to the White Paper. The National Indian Brotherhood (NIB) was formed to represent Status Indians, and the Native Council of Canada was created to represent non-Status Indians and Metis. The reaction of these and other Aboriginal organizations caused Trudeau's government to withdraw the White Paper in 1971.

8. LAND CLAIMS During the 1970s, the federal government funded programs to support local government initiatives among Aboriginal peoples. As well, the Office of Native Claims was created in 1974 to deal with the issue of land rights. However, despite these measures, the federal government did not contribute as much to the development of Aboriginal peoples during the 1970s, as it did for the general Canadian population. Therefore, during the 1980s, the NIB, renamed that Assembly of First Nations, stepped up its efforts to work towards and demand better conditions for Aboriginal peoples in Canada. The new Office of Native Land Claims dealt with both specific land claims, and comprehensive land claims. Specific land claims were based on existing treaties, while comprehensive land claims were based on traditional use and occupancy. As a result of all of the work that the Assembly of First Nations put into raising awareness among Aboriginal peoples, Aboriginal rights became more clearly recognized, and Aboriginal peoples began to submit hundreds of land claims. By 1975, the Declaration of the First Nations was adopted, which included the rights of nationhood and self-government.

9. ABORIGINAL PEOPLES IN THE 1990s During the 1990s, frustrations grew alongside growing rates of poverty, addiction and suicide on Native reserves. Aboriginal peoples were frustrated not only by these conditions, but by the failure of the federal government to honour treaties and settle land claims. A number of protests were organized during this time period to challenge government responses to these issues. a) The Oka Standoff, 1990 By 1990; tensions between Aboriginal peoples and non-Aboriginal peoples in Canada began to flare up. In the Municipality of Oka, Quebec, officials decided to extend a nine-hole golf course originally built in 1959, on land that the Mohawks claimed had always belonged to them. In response, the Mohawks set up blockades of major roads that lasted for more than six months. The police stormed the barricades and one police officer was killed. The Canadian Army was called in, and there was a tense standoff between the army and the Mohawk Warriors. Finally, an agreement was reached, and the federal government bought the disputed land and negotiated its transfer to the Kanesatake First Nation. b) Other Protests Other protests were soon to follow at Gustafsen Lake in British Columbia, when Aboriginal people re-occupied land that they claimed was sacred ground, and at Ipperwash in Ontario, when Aboriginal people occupied land on a former army base that had been taken during the Second World War but
never returned. c) The Meech Lake Accord In 1990, as we saw in the previous section, the Meech Lake Accord was opposed by Elijah Harper, an Aboriginal leader from Manitoba, because he believed that Aboriginal peoples deserved special status alongside Quebec. He believed that the Meech Lake Accord did not recognize the distinct status of Aboriginal peoples in the same spirit as it recognized Quebec. d) Self-government Aboriginal peoples believe that they have an inherent right to self-government. Self-government arrangements would recognize Aboriginal peoples' right to make decisions about matters internal to their communities, integral to their unique cultures, traditions and languages, and connected with their relationship to the land and resources. The Constitution of 1982 guaranteed that the existing rights of Aboriginal peoples would be recognized and affirmed. According to Aboriginal peoples (and increasingly the Supreme Court) their rights include the right to control traditional land, to protect beliefs and culture, and to have self-government. Under self-government, the relationship with the federal government would be similar to provincial governments. Aboriginal governments would be responsible for their own policing, health care, and education, but would also have equal access to the institutions and benefits provided by the federal government.

i) Self Government in Manitoba In the 1990s, Aboriginal peoples took over the responsibilities of the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development in Manitoba and assumed self-government. ii) The Nisga'a Treaty In 1998, the Nisga'a of British Columbia signed a unique treaty with both the provincial and federal governments. The Nisga'a were given wide powers of self-government pertaining to issues of culture, language and family life. Additionally, the Nisga'a were given ownership of 1,922 square kilometres of land, including all resources, fishing and hunting rights, and $190 million dollars. Under the Treaty, no non-Aboriginal settlers were forced from the territory that the Nisga'a control; however, non-Aboriginal settlers do not have the right to vote for the councils that govern the region. iii) The Creation of Nunavut In 1999, the new Canadian territory of Nunavut was created, where Aboriginal peoples were given the right to self-government over natural resources, education, and justice systems. In the political system of Nunavut there are no political parties—people run for election as individuals, and then the elected members vote for the member who they want to lead the government.

e) The Statement of Reconciliation In 1998, the federal government issued an official Statement of Reconciliation to the Aboriginal peoples of Canada. In this statement, the Canadian Government recognized that policies which sought to assimilate Aboriginal peoples were not conducive to building a strong country.

10. THE LEGACY OF CANADIAN POLICY TOWARDS ABORIGINAL PEOPLES As a result of the policies adopted by the Canadian federal government in relation to Aboriginal peoples over the years, a massive state of inequality now exists. The 500,000 Aboriginal people in Canada face far worse living conditions than do the rest of Canadians. For instance, the average income on reserves is about half the national average. Close to 50% of reserve families live below the poverty line, and 66% are either unemployed or on welfare. Fewer than 50% of Aboriginal houses are fully served with sewer and water connections, compared with a national rate of 90%. As we learned earlier, suicide among Aboriginal people is six times the national rate, and in fact, exceeds the rates for all other racial and ethnic groups in the world. It is only through the process of negotiating and resolving outstanding land claims, setting up self-government, and abolishing the reservation system, that we can hope as a country to address some of the inequalities that have resulted from over a century of mismanaged federal policy.

DEMOGRAPHY AND THE ENVIRONMENT
One of the greatest single factors affecting quality of life around the world is population. As the populations of individual countries fluctuate, so must the social, economic, and political systems that are in place. With an increase in population, there is a greater demand for resources, which can often lead to environmental damage such as ozone depletion, deforestation, and soil erosion. This unit will examine the issue of overpopulation, the study of demography, and the overall distribution of the world's people. Note the following: In 6000 BCE, (Before Common Era, formerly referred to as BC) the world's population was 5 million. By 1 CE, the world's population was over 250 million. Two hundred years ago, the world's population reached 1 billion. In 1960, the world's population was 3 billion. Today, the world's population is over 6 billion. The United Nations estimates that the world's population will increase to 10 billion by 2100. The above statistics are significant in that they highlight the accelerated rate of population growth which began in the 1800s. Today, the world's population increases by more than 80 million people every year. It is important to note that this level of increase is not as apparent in Canada, as it is in other parts of the world. Currently, 80% of the world's people live in developing countries (4.8 billion), while only 32 million people live here in Canada (approximately 1/2 %). Also, the United Nations estimates that over 90% of future population growth will occur in these already overpopulated developing countries.

I. DEMOGRAPHY

Demography is the study and analysis of trends relating to human populations. This type of study dates all the way back to ancient times, but has changed considerably over the years. For example, most demographers today agree that the world's rate of population growth needs to slow down. However, demographers in ancient times believed that population growth was beneficial. For example, a large population allowed for a stronger military, and, therefore, provided better security. Similarly, the Romans favoured increased numbers in order to further expand their vast empire. In addition, people everywhere were encouraged to have large families in order to offset deaths caused by famine and war. Thomas Malthus, an English economist and philosopher, was one of the first to warn against the dangers of population growth. Witness to the poverty of the Industrial Revolution (in England during the 1800s), Malthus argued that if the population growth rate did not slow, serious repercussions would occur. He believed that the rate of food production would not be able to keep up with the rapid growth of population, and that everyone's quality of life would eventually be destroyed. Though inaccurate during his lifetime, Malthus' predictions have eventually been proven to be valid in some regions around the world. Today, governments study demography in order to better provide social programs such as education and health care. In order to plan ahead, governments need to know information about how many people there are, where these people live, what they do for a living, and how they spend their money. Without this knowledge, governments would be inefficient in their planning and spending, and would not be able to combat such problems as poverty and illiteracy.

1. THE RATE OF NATURAL INCREASE

Statistics contribute invaluably to the study of population. One of the most important uses of statistics in demography is the manipulation of birth and death rates. By comparing these two statistics, analysts can determine the rate of a population's increase or decrease. It is important to know not only the size of a country's population, but also the speed at which the population is increasing or decreasing. a) The crude birth rate of a country is determined by calculating the average number of births during a year per 1,000 people. (You may do this yourself by dividing the number of births in one year by the population and then multiplying the result by 1,000-the multiplier of 1,000 is used to avoid having to use decimal points). b) The crude death rate of a country is the average number of deaths during a year per 1,000 population (same method of calculation as the above). c) Subtracting the death rate from the birth rate gives the rate of natural increase. Population growth occurs when the birth rate is higher than the death rate, and population
decrease occurs when the death rate is higher than the birth rate. When the rates are similarly high or similarly low, the rate of natural increase is low. d) In Canada, the rate of natural increase for a given year is 0.6 %. This is calculated from statistics showing that the crude birth rate is approximately 11 per 1,000, and the crude death rate is approximately 7 per 1,000.

2. THE POPULATION GROWTH RATE In countries where there are few immigrants, the annual growth rates are made up entirely of natural increase. However, the population growth rate of a country like Canada depends highly on immigration rates. Currently, Canada is experiencing fairly low birth rates, thus migration has become the main contributor to our population growth. By combining statistics on the birth rate, death rate, immigration rate, and emigration rate (those leaving the country) a much more accurate picture of Canada's population emerges. Considering all statistics, in 2003, Canada's population increased at a rate of 0.9 %. Note the jump between Canada's rate of natural increase (0.6 %) and Canada's total population growth (0.9 %). The calculation involving all four factors is as follows:
First, determine the net migration rate:
Immigration rate (people arriving in Canada) - Emigration Rate (people leaving Canada) = Net Migration Rate
Then, add the net migration rate to the rate of natural increase:
Birth Rate - Death Rate + Net Migration Rate = Population Growth Rate
a) Doubling Time When looking at a statistic, it is important to consider its implications. One way to do so is to put the number in a context to which people can more easily relate. For example, if we learn that a country's population increases by a rate of 5 % annually, the implications of this statistic might not be clear. One method to more clearly express the significance of population growth rates is to look at the population's doubling time. Doubling time is the time it takes for a population to double. The following formula is used to calculate doubling time:
70 = Number of years for population to double % rate of population growth
This means that with a current growth rate of 0.9%, Canada's population will double in about 78 years. However, keep in mind that this equation assumes a continued growth rate of approximately 0.9 %. What happens if the rate of immigration slows, or the fertility rate (average number of live births each year for every woman of childbearing age) drops? Therefore, the doubling time can only give you an indication—any number of factors could cause the actual result to be different. b) The Demographic Transition Model Studies have shown that population growth rates do not increase indefinitely. The demographic transition model explains this phenomenon by showing that populations go through five stages of growth in which the population remains stable, increases rapidly, and even declines. Each stage is dependent on technological and cultural changes. i) Stage 1 High birth and death rates result in small population growth. Disease and malnutrition keep infant mortality rates particularly high. Life expectancy (the average lifespan of an individual) is very low. This pattern was widespread a few hundred years ago, and is still common in some developing countries today. ii) Stage 2 High birth rates and low death rates result in a population explosion. Death rates fall due to medical and scientific advances such as vaccines and modern sewage systems. New technologies such as refrigeration and pasteurization lead to better nutrition. Most developed countries experienced this stage during the 1800s. iii) Stage 3 Low death rates and rapidly declining birth rates characterize this period. Social programs, industrialization, and urbanization eliminate the need for large families. iv) Stage 4 At this point, the rates of natural increase have stabilized. Low birth rates and low death rates mean the population growth is low. Many nations in Western Europe are currently at this stage, and it is likely that many emerging industrial nations will soon enter this stage as well. Factors such as the changing role of women (which leads to better education for women) and family planning programs result in lower birth rates. However, in some areas, such as in Africa, although death rates have fallen as a result of better health care, birth rates still remain high.
v) Stage 5 In this final stage of the demographic transition model, the birth rate drops below the death rate. This is currently happening in some European nations and Japan. A possible consequence here is that the language, culture, and traditions of a people may disappear as the rate of natural decrease accelerates. However, a definite positive effect is that the environmental impact of a large population is lessened.

3. POPULATION DISTRIBUTION Population distribution refers to the way people are distributed across the Earth's surface. The distribution of the world's people has always been uneven, and continues to include high concentrations of people in small areas. In fact, over half of the world's population lives on only 5% of the land, and 90% of people live on 20% of the land. This concentration may be explained, in part, by the fact that many areas of the Earth's land are inhospitable (difficult to live in) due to accessibility (transportation and/or communication), the climate, the landscape, the vegetation, or the resources available. In total, approximately 35% of the world's land area is not good for settlement. Here in Canada, for example, 80% of people live within 200 km of our Southern border. Although some people settle in the colder northern regions, many choose to live in areas where temperatures are more moderate. Elsewhere in the world, some areas are deemed too dry, others too mountainous, and others too hostile (e.g. an abundance of insects or a lack of resources).

4. POPULATION DENSITY Population density refers to the number of people in a given area. The population density for an entire country is called a crude density. This is calculated by dividing a country's population by its area. Crude densities are useful for making comparisons between countries. For example, statistics show that 75% of the world's population live in Africa and Asia. One might therefore assume that these two continents are overpopulated. However, when looking at the crude densities for both these continents, it actually appears that Africa is under-populated. Africa comprises 20.2% of the Earth's landmass, yet only holds 12.7% of the Earth's population. On the other end of the spectrum, a much smaller area like Europe (only 3.3% of the Earth's land mass) holds 10% of the Earth's population.

5. NUTRITIONAL DENSITY Traditionally, some areas of land are more productive agriculturally than others. This has bearing on the study of population because more people settle in nutritionally rich areas. Nutritional density measures how much nutrition in calories can be produced from the land. a) Carrying Capacity Some demographers (following Thomas Malthus' school of thought) believe in the concept that every piece of land has a certain carrying capacity. Carrying capacity refers to the level at which a land can no longer support its people. As populations increase, relative food supplies dwindle until eventually the land can no longer support its people.

B. DEMOGRAPHIC TOOLS

1. THE POPULATION CENSUS In order to help governments maintain accurate records of its people, most countries conduct a population census every five to ten years. In Canada, a major census is held every ten years, and a less detailed census is held every five. At its most basic level, a census is a national count of population, i.e. the number of citizens a nation has. However, a census today is more far-reaching. The United Nations defines a census as the "total process of collecting, compiling, and publishing demographic, economic, and social data pertaining to a particular time, to all persons in a particular country." "Demographic, economic, and social data" means such factors as birthplace, age, sex, first language, level of literacy, employment, income, etc. a) Census Limitations Although a census is a valuable tool for many countries, it is rarely completely accurate. For example, it is difficult to contact/keep track of individuals who do not have permanent addresses, who live on
the streets, or who choose to avoid the census. People may decide to avoid the census because they fear the authorities or want to avoid paying taxes. The most significant factor which skews census results, however, is the fact that in some countries, many births and deaths go unrecorded. The census may be off by as much as 30% because of these errors. Factors such as illiteracy and poor communication networks severely undermine a nation's ability to maintain accurate records. Unfortunately, with inaccurate records, it becomes even more difficult to combat the problems which lead to the inaccuracies in the first place—such as poverty and illiteracy. This is a circular problem which faces many developing countries.

2. POPULATION PYRAMID All countries have distinct population structures. These structures provide insight into population "problems" and give reasons for shifts in population trends. A typical structure used in demography is an age-sex structure, or population pyramid. a) A population pyramid is a graph that shows the age and sex make up of a population. This means that it shows both the percentage of people in each age group, and the percentage of males and females in each age group. For example, a population pyramid would show you how many people in a country are between the ages of 16 and 64, and how many of these people are male. This type of information is useful since it can be used to predict future population trends. For example, if there are few women of childbearing age, it is likely that the population will decrease due to a low birth rate. b) Population pyramids are created by a series of horizontal bar graphs at age intervals of five years. These bars are called cohorts. The male and female populations are placed back to back, with the males usually represented on the left side of the graph. Countries with a high birth rate (expanding populations) will have a wide base; countries with balanced birth and death rates (stable populations) will have relatively equal bases and upper sections; and countries with a low birth rate and large number of older citizens (contracting populations) will have a wider upper section. Ci) Dependency Ratio or Dependency Load One particular use of the population pyramid is the calculation of a nation's dependency ratio. The dependency ratio refers to the proportion of the population that is being supported by the working-age group. This ratio is based on the assumption that children under the age of 15 and adults over the age of 65 do not work, and must therefore be supported by people of working-age. Those who work experience a greater financial burden if their country has a high dependency ratio. In some countries, especially in Africa and Asia, more than 40% of the population is under 15. Based on this information, and synthesizing what we have learned about populations so far, we could conclude that a country such as this has a high birth rate, that it is an expanding population, and that it is likely in the early stages (Stage 2) of the demographic transition model. (ii) Case Study: Canada's Changing Population Can you estimate the current stage of Canada's population? We have already seen that in 2003, Canada's rate of population growth was 0.9%, and its rate of natural increase was 0.6%. These figures alone, however, do not provide much insight. A more significant statistic pertains to Canada's changing age structure. In 2003, 12.8% of the population was over the age of 65. This percent was up from 10% in 1981, and 5% in 1921. It is estimated that by 2041, 23% of the Canadian population will be over 65. This means that Canadian citizens, on average, are getting older, which affects both government spending (rising cost of health care) and immigration rates. Immigration rates are affected because the government wants to attract more young, skilled workers in order to offset health-care costs, maintain the average age of Canada's population, and prevent Canada's population from shrinking. Taking into account its aging population, it appears that Canada is entering Stage Four of the Demographic Transition Model. Both Canada's birth rate and death rate are considered to be fairly low, and they will likely continue to drop even lower in the coming years. At this point, we can say that Canada's population growth is in the process of being stabilized.

c. OVERPOPULATION
Overpopulated countries have too many people for a given resource base and a given level of technological development. Referring back to a term we covered previously, this means that a country is overpopulated when it has exceeded its "carrying capacity" and can no longer support its inhabitants. The result of overpopulation is that many people live in poverty, lacking adequate food, water, and shelter. The shortage of resources forces countries that are overpopulated to rely heavily on importing necessary goods.

1. POSSIBLE SOLUTIONS The above section mentions one possible solution to the problem of overpopulation, which entails seeking outside help. Other possible solutions lie in increasing the resource base internally, improving technology, or reducing the population growth rate. The following section describes the rather dramatic steps one nation took to combat overpopulation. a) Case Study: The Fertility Revolution in China China is perhaps the most intriguing case study with regards to population control. In the early 1970s, China had one of the highest population growth rates in the world, and was home to nearly 1 billion people (one fifth of the world's population at the time). The Chinese government decided to develop a rather aggressive policy towards reducing the country's birth rate. At the time, women in China had an average of nearly six children each. The government decided to implement a program geared towards reducing the number of children to two per family. This campaign was named the "later, longer, fewer" campaign, and it involved encouraging later marriages, longer intervals between births, and fewer children. This was a difficult policy for many families to accept, particularly since Chinese culture traditionally favoured large families. Although the "later, longer, fewer" program met with some success, the government felt that stricter controls were necessary. CO China's One-Child Policy In 1979, the Chinese government introduced a new campaign to lower birth rates. At this point, the number of births had been reduced to 2.7 children per woman. In order to enforce the one-child policy, the government began offering rewards to compliant families such as free medical care, monthly wage bonuses, preferential housing, and extra pension income. If a family had a second child, it suffered penalties such as the cancellation of benefits, fines, and even wage reductions.

(ii) Problems With the One-child Policy Success of this policy has always been greater in urban areas than in rural areas. In rural areas, families tend to rely on their children as labourers, and often value sons above daughters. Some families resort to infanticide (murder) of female babies, while others ignore the onechild policy in order to achieve their desired family structure. Urban families are more likely to comply because of the financial benefits. In the long run, unless rural youths migrate to the cities and/or greater consistency is achieved, this discrepancy could mean a shortage of young people in cities to care for their elderly parents. iii) Current Status As of January 2004, the average number of births for each Chinese total population is expected to be controlled within 1.3 billion by the end of 2004. However, the problem still remains that birth rates vary significantly in rural and urban regions. In the upcoming years, officials intend to focus on supporting rural households who have practiced effective family planning, and managing better migrant services.

II. POPULATION CONCENTRATION: THE DEVELOPMENT OF CITIES

A. WHY DO SETTLEMENTS DEVELOP

Most early communities formed when groups of people came together for purposes of food storage/trade. Other reasons for population concentration include the need for protection/defense and the need for better transportation. The factors which affected the location of these communities may be categorized under two main headings: site and situation.
1. SITE Site is the term used to describe the specific spot where an urban place is located. Descriptions of site include the physical characteristics of the land, such as details of landforms and bodies of water. "Good" sites include areas with readily available waterpower, natural resources, transportation lines, and protected harbours.

2. SITUATION Situation is the term used to describe the relationship between a city and its wider surroundings. Descriptions of situation include details about access routes to other regions, proximity to other large cities, and information about the population and its economic patterns. Cities with both site and situation advantages are said to have a locational advantage over others.

B. TYPES OF SETTLEMENT Settlements (places where people live) may be classified as either low-order, middle-order, or high-order. These designations refer to the types of services a settlement provides to the surrounding regions. Generally, villages may be classified as low-order settlements, towns as middle-order settlements, and cities as high-order settlements. The following table provides examples of the type of functions/services you might expect to find in the different levels of settlement.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Settlement Functions/Services</th>
<th>Metropolitan area</th>
<th>City</th>
<th>Small City</th>
<th>Town</th>
<th>Village</th>
<th>Hamlet</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>cathedrals, government buildings, railway terminals, museums and galleries, theatres and (at least 100,000 people) shopping malls / centers</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>large railway station, shopping complex, cathedral, (more than 50,000 people) hospital, football team, opticians and jewelers</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Small City same services as a town, with some or all the (10,000 - 50,000 people) services of a city</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Town several shops, high school, bus station, (1000 - 10,000 people) supermarkets, doctor, dentist, and banks</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Village local shop, church, post office, pub and small (200 - 1,000 people) elementary school</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hamlet no services (fewer than 200 people)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

C. URBAN FUNCTIONS The term urban functions refers merely to the activities which take place within a settlement. The functions of every settlement may be classified into two categories: basic and non-basic.

1. BASIC ACTIVITIES Basic activities are urban functions that help to build a community and bring wealth into the area. These activities include gathering resources (also known as "primary industry"), promoting tourism, and improving transportation.

2. NON-BASIC ACTIVITIES Non-basic activities are urban functions that serve the needs of the local population. Examples of non-basic activities are grocery stores, places of worship, and parks and recreation programs.

3. THE MULTIPLIER EFFECT The Multiplier Effect is a method by which job opportunities and wealth are created by attracting new industry into an area. This process occurs when the growing basic activities of a community stimulate the generation of non-basic activities. The theory is that when new industries are introduced, other industries elsewhere in the economy will also be stimulated. The process outlined below shows how a community may benefit from expanding industry. a) First, people have more money to spend; therefore local shops and other services benefit and can possibly expand both their range of services and size. In turn, all of these effects can create the money needed to enhance the infrastructure and image of the developing community. The result of this is that more industry is attracted to the area, and the cycle continues. b) It is also possible for communities to experience the opposite of the multiplier effect. This process, called the spiral of decline, occurs when industries move away, thereby creating high unemployment. Especially if jobs are lost in basic activities, the effects will spiral outward and produce even greater losses in non-basic activities. For example, as the unemployment rate increases, and more people have less money to
spend, more stores go out of business. c) Communities which have experienced the multiplier effect are cities such as Vancouver and Toronto in Canada, Seoul in South Korea, and Bangkok in Thailand. Each of these expanding cities has a locational advantage over other, less successful urban areas. Cities experience decline if they are poorly located, and/or if their primary industry collapses. The worst-case scenario is that a once bustling city becomes a "ghost town."

D. FORMS/PATTERNS OF SETTLEMENT Not every settlement looks the same or performs the same functions. The form of a settlement refers to its shape (pattern of streets). There are generally five patterns in city forms: political or religious, organic, planned, transit, and automobile. It should be noted that settlements can show the characteristics of more than one form.

1. POLITICAL OR RELIGIOUS SETTLEMENTS Political or religious settlements are built around a designated core. They are often comprised of a rectangular street grid pattern (in which streets cross each other at right angles), but one that is centered on a prominent feature of the settlement, for example, a church or government building. If the streets radiate outwards from the core it is called a radial street pattern. The solution, perhaps, as an alternative to eliminating urban life altogether, is to start building more sustainable cities.

2. LOOKING FORWARD: BUILDING SUSTAINABLE CITIES a) Sustainable cities are cities which enhance and integrate the economic, social and ecological well-being of current and future generations. Factors which contribute to sustainability include increased energy efficiency and alternative energy use, effective transportation systems that discourage automobile use, better waste management and treatment (including recycling programs), and land use planning that includes green spaces, a variety of affordable housing types, and a mix of land uses. b) Central to the concept of sustainable cities is the idea that city functions should be more intermingled, and that different "areas" of a city (as we saw earlier) should be dispersed. This would create interspersed residential and workplace neighbourhoods, which would help reduce the necessity of commuting. c) Yet another possible solution is to increase the population density of cities. Although high population density may be a problem in itself, many cities would benefit from less wasted space. The idea is to build upwards, not outwards. Ideally, this process of "infilling" allows more people to live in the same space without suffering from cramped quarters. As we have seen, the issues associated with a growing global population are becoming increasingly important. The tools previously discussed allow us to better understand the growing trends in population development. This understanding will hopefully lead to policies which will enable the global population to live together in a more harmonious manner.

ENVIRONMENTAL ISSUES

You have undoubtedly heard of many examples of the environmental damage that is caused by human activity. Due to our high rate of consumption of natural resources, pollution is clogging our rivers and skies, acid rain is threatening the survival of our lakes and forests, the ozone layer is steadily depleting, and greenhouse gases are wreaking havoc on our climate. One way the global community has attempted to counter this reality is by pushing awareness of the concept of sustainable development.

A. THE HISTORY OF SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT The concept of sustainable development emerged in 1972 at the United Nations Conference of the Human Environment in Stockholm, Sweden. Sustainable development is a type of development that meets the needs of the present, without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs. This concept
requires that people, particularly in developing countries, reduce their consumption of resources, slow their population growth, and practice a more sustainable lifestyle.

1. THE BRUNDTLAND REPORT The concept of sustainable development became popular in 1987 by the United Nations' Brundtland Report, also known as Our Common Future. This report alerted the world to the urgency of stopping resource depletion and, by doing so, curbing environmental damage. It also suggested that social equity, economic growth, and environmental maintenance are indeed simultaneously possible, but would require changes on many levels.

2. THE EARTH SUMMIT In 1992, the United Nations held a Conference on Environment and Development (UNCED) in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil. This conference soon became widely known as the Earth Summit. During the conference, world leaders signed several important documents, including a statement of action called Agenda 21. This document was a blueprint on how to make development socially, economically, and environmentally sustainable in the 21st century. Nations that pledged to take part in Agenda 21 agreed to promote its guidelines at the local and regional levels within their own countries. However, despite these pledges, in the 12 years since the Earth Summit, environmental damage has continued to ensue.

B. AREAS OF ENVIRONMENTAL CONCERN

1. EXTRACTION OF MINERAL RESOURCES Mining, though it affects only a small percentage of the earth's surface, can be very destructive to the environment. Mining operations strip away natural vegetation, rock, and soil in order to reach the valuable ore deposits. When mines close down, particularly in developing countries, they are often abandoned as opposed to restored, and pollutants are merely dumped into the environment.

2. AGRICULTURE Agricultural practices, which require farmlands to expand, play a large role in the destruction of natural habitats. When a wilderness area is converted to farmland, entire food chains may collapse, which leads to the extinction of species. In addition, when farmers till their lands, moisture escapes and much of the fertility of the soil is lost. To compensate, the land is often irrigated (where dry land is supplied with water by artificial means) and artificial fertilizers are used. These processes, however, often make soils too salty to continue to grow crops. In the end, some areas of farmland end up becoming wastelands or desert on which very little can grow or survive. a) Chemicals in Agriculture In order to control insects and fungus that attack crops, and to kill weeds, many farmers have resorted to using pesticides and herbicides. These chemicals poison harmless insects, often harm farm workers, and may eventually seep into nearby streams. Currently, many pesticides are being phased out in Canada. Stores are also stocking an increased supply of organic products—foods grown without the use of agricultural chemicals or artificial fertilizers. b) Genetically Modified Foods Some farmers are now growing crops that have been genetically modified. This means that the crops have been altered by having a spliced gene from another organism added into them. People in favour of genetic modification argue that genetically modified crops cost less, use fewer pesticides, and increase the yield of food. In Canada, genetically modified foods that have been approved by the government include corn, canola, soybeans, squash, and potatoes. Opponents argue that no long-term testing has yet been conducted, and that genetically modified foods could present a large health risk.

3. DEFORESTATION Tropical rainforests purify the air, absorb carbon dioxide, and produce oxygen. With the destruction of these forests, habitats are being destroyed, more carbon dioxide is being released into the atmosphere (which leads to global warming), and the survival of certain species
a) The Brazilian Rainforest

The most publicized exploitation of the rainforest is occurring in Brazil. Over the past 30 years, the Brazilian government has sought to support its people by developing the rainforest through farming, cattle ranching, mining, and lumbering. In the early stages, impoverished farmers were given areas of the rainforest to develop. This was called subsistence farming. Unfortunately, these farms were largely unsuccessful. Lumbering in Brazil has proven more successful, and this practice, though still damaging, has become less destructive to the environment. However, reforestation is not always possible, and the removal of the forest cover often results in arid (dry) wastelands. Deforestation (the process of clearing forests) also affects nearby bodies of water. Because the soil is no longer covered by the forest it becomes stripped away by rain or snow. This washed-out soil raises riverbeds, which leads to flooding, and clogs reservoirs, which shortens the life of dams. The washed-out soil also contributes to the formation of new islands, which depletes coastal fisheries. b) Canada's Forests

Canada has one-quarter of the world’s temperate deciduous coastal forest, one third of the world’s boreal coniferous forest, and virtually all of the world’s old-growth pine. Deciduous refers to trees that lose their leaves at the end of the growing season, and coniferous refers to trees that bear cones. Across the country, various factors have contributed to the decline of Canada's forests. Leading factors include forest fires, particularly in British Columbia and Ontario, industrial development, and logging. In British Columbia, the forest industry makes up a large section of our economy, and it has certainly been a challenge to balance economic growth with effective resource management. The effective management of resources, which results in sustainable practice, is called environmental stewardship.

4. POLLUTION IN THE ATMOSPHERE

a) Ozone Depletion

The ozone layer is a thin layer of ozone (a special kind of oxygen) that protects life on earth by shielding it from ultraviolet radiation. Over the years, we have seen that this delicate layer is thinning, and even developing holes. Chemicals, particularly CFCs (chlorofluorocarbons) are the root cause of this destruction. CFCs are chemicals that were once widely used in refrigerators and air conditioners, foams, and aerosol spray cans. Because of the depleting ozone layer, increased levels of ultraviolet radiation are reaching the earth's surface. Ultraviolet radiation causes mutations of the genetic structures of plant and animal cells. This leads to increased incidence of skin cancer in humans, and the reduction of microscopic marine life (plants and animals which are particularly susceptible to UV rays). As a result, CFCs are currently being phased out. In 1987, all industrial nations agreed to cut their use of CFCs in an agreement known as the Montreal Protocol. If international agreements are adhered to, the ozone layer is expected to recover by 2050. It is important to note that it takes many years after changes have been made for the ozone to even begin to recover. The Ozone "Regime" (the group of organizations that pushes for the implementation of environmental regulations pertaining to the ozone layer) is strong because of the evolving scientific knowledge that points to the negative effects that ozone layer depletion has on health and on the earth's aquatic systems. The Ozone Regime is also strong because 30% of CFC emissions can be eliminated by conservation, and an equal amount of emissions can be eliminated through the use of CFC substitutes. Additionally, countries that do not comply with regulations face trade sanctions from the United States, and strong pressure from environmental groups. For these reasons, there has been more progress in implementing regulations to protect the ozone layer than there has been in comparison to other environmental issues. The depletion of the earth's ozone layer is most noticeable over Antarctica. Over the last few decades scientists have measured the growth of the huge hole in the ozone layer in this southern region. After years of growth, in 2003, scientists reported that the Antarctic "hole" has marginally decreased in size. This is encouraging in the sense that perhaps the steps taken in the last fifteen years are beginning to take effect.

b) The Warming of the Earth's Temperature

i) The Greenhouse Effect

The greenhouse effect is the rise in temperature that the earth experiences because certain gases in the atmosphere trap energy...
from the sun (like the glass of a greenhouse). This process occurs naturally and has kept the earth's temperature about 15 degrees Celsius warmer than it would be otherwise. Life on earth could not be sustained without the natural greenhouse effect. However, the global warming we have seen over the past one hundred years increases temperatures beyond the natural greenhouse effect to dangerous levels.

ii) Global Warming

Global warming refers to an average increase in the earth's temperature, which in turn causes changes in climate. Global warming is caused by increased levels of greenhouse gases such as carbon dioxide and nitrous oxide, caused by the massive burning of fossil fuels (coal, oil, and natural gas). This increase, though seemingly minor, can cause lasting, possibly disastrous effects. If global warming continues, people living along coastal plains may have to migrate due to rising sea levels, some islands may disappear altogether, interior lands may become drier, and violent storms may occur. Effects of Global Warming in Canada In Canada's Arctic regions the sea ice is shrinking, causing sinking shorelines and the death of some Arctic animals. Warmer weather causes increasing numbers of forest fires throughout Canada, and more droughts in prairie areas. In British Columbia, the survival rate of salmon has decreased by about one-third since the early 1990s.

Increasing water temperatures have contributed to this decline. Because of increased surface temperatures, fewer nutrients are brought to the surface by the movement of cold water from deep in the ocean. These nutrients support and maintain zooplankton, which is very near the beginning of the food chain for sea life.

iv) The Kyoto Protocol

The Kyoto Protocol is a document that was signed by about 180 countries at Kyoto, Japan in December 1997. The Protocol was an agreement among the industrialized nations of the world to reduce emissions of six greenhouse gases over a certain period of time. Canada was among several industrialized countries that agreed to cut their emissions of greenhouse gases by 2012, to levels 5.2% below 1990 levels. The United States, however, withdrew from the Protocol in 2001, saying that it would combat global warming in other ways. Given that the United States alone was responsible for 25% of worldwide carbon dioxide emissions in 1990, this presented quite a setback for Kyoto proponents. Additionally, critics of the Kyoto Protocol argue that it places restrictions only on the developed nations of the world, and not on developing countries like China, India, and Brazil. Developing countries did not support the Kyoto Protocol because they thought that they should have the same opportunities for development as did industrialized countries in the past (refer to page 210). The strength of the Climate Change Regime (the group of organizations that pushes for the implementation of environmental regulations pertaining to climate change) is affected by the fact that there is very little scientific evidence relating to the damages caused by climate change, even though scientists speculate that carbon emissions are responsible for warmer temperatures, shortage of freshwater, rising sea levels, and increased energy prices. Additionally, the costs of reducing carbon emissions are huge, and thus, very few states are willing to spend the money.

s. WATER

a) Fresh Water Supplies

Of the earth's many resources, water is by far the most vital to all organisms. River basins have been the cradles of human civilizations throughout history. Although water is renewable and abundant on a global scale, it is often finite and poorly distributed in regional settings. While over 70% of the Earth's surface is covered in water, it is estimated that only 0.000008% of the earth's water is readily accessible for human use. Accessible fresh water is stored either in the soil, in bedrock fractures beneath the ground (aquifers), or in lakes, rivers, and streams on the earth's surface. Canada has a large share of the world's fresh water contained within the Great Lakes.

b) Uses of Water

Currently, human beings use more than half of all accessible surface water. Approximately 67% is used for agriculture, 19% for industry, and 9% for municipal/residential services. (UN World Water Development Report, 2003)

c) Fresh Water Sources

Ci) Aquifers (groundwater)

An aquifer is an underground geological formation that stores water. We can access this water by drilling a well into the aquifer and pumping it out. There are several factors which make aquifers a better source of water than surface water, particularly for farmers irrigating their
lands. First, aquifers help to make farming more time and cost-efficient (being in most cases more easily accessible than surface water, and less costly than reservoir storage). In addition, the water that reaches the chambers of an aquifer is usually much cleaner than the water of reservoirs at the earth's surface. Very few bacteria live in aquifers. However, the problem with aquifers is that they recharge quite slowly. The water in aquifers comes from surface water which has seeped through porous rocks such as sandstone or limestone. The process is slowed if water becomes trapped between layers of impermeable rock, which does not allow water to seep through. Groundwater Depletion In many areas of the world, the need for water has led to the over pumping of aquifers. This means that water has been pumped out of the aquifer faster than rains or seepage from the surface can recharge it. Over-pumping makes the water table (the top of the saturated layer of porous rock) fall, which forces farmers to dig their wells even deeper. If wells are dug too deep, they tap into minerals such as arsenic and fluoride, which are harmful when ingested. In countries facing groundwater shortages, a solution would be for farmers to decide to change their schedules to coincide with seasonal rains. Possible Solutions Solutions to the depletion of water resources include water "exports" (transferring supplies of water over long distances) the desalination (removing the salt) of seawater, and basic conservation. Cii) Surface Water Surface water is, of course, a large source of the world’s fresh water. However, due to human activity, it too, has started to dwindle. Rivers and lakes are becoming increasingly polluted through tanker accidents, natural causes, and, predominantly, the dumping of waste. These wastes include pollutants from agricultural, industrial, and municipal sectors. Agricultural waste refers to the chemicals used in herbicides and pesticides that may end up in rivers. Industrial waste consists of the by-products of production in oil refineries, pulp mills, nuclear reactors, and chemical factories. Municipal waste includes human excrement, detergents, and solvents.

One very clear example of the over-use of surface water is the Colorado River in the Western United States. This large river does not spill one drop of its water into the Pacific Ocean. By erecting dams and then using the water for irrigation and human consumption, the United States takes 90% of the water from this river, and Mexico uses the last 10%. The Colorado River is comparable in size to the Fraser River in British Columbia. d) Acid Rain Acid rain is rain, snow or fog that is polluted by acid in the atmosphere and which damages the environment. Two common air pollutants acidify rain: sulphur dioxide (SO) and nitrogen oxide (NOx). When these substances are released into the atmosphere, they can be carried over long distances by strong winds before returning to earth as acidic rain, snow, fog or dust. (This causes political controversy when acid rain crosses borders). Some areas are less susceptible to damage from acid rain because their soil is high in calcium or other alkalines that neutralize the acid. Damage from acid rain occurs when the environment cannot neutralize the acid being deposited. Some problem areas include most of eastern Canada (the Canadian Shield), the Alps, the Appalachians in the United States, and most of Japan. Acid rain causes the loss of animal and plant life, and even entire ecosystems. It slows the growth of deciduous trees, kills plants, fish and birds, corrodes steel, and affects lung capacity in human beings. The solution, again, is to lower emissions that cause acid rain, such as the burning of fossil fuels. The Acid Rain Regime (the group of organizations that pushes for the implementation of environmental regulations pertaining to acid rain) is moderately strong within Western Europe and North America. By 1993, sulphur and nitrous oxide emissions were reduced by 30%. In North America, in 1990, the Clean Air Act was signed, which required the installation of tradeable permits (meaning that countries could trade their emission quotas with other countries if they weren't going to use them up, and in return, receive larger quotas in another area). In 1991, the Air Quality Accord was signed between the United States and Canada, which called for a 50% reduction of sulphur dioxide by the year 2000, and significant cuts to nitrous oxide emissions. While the Acid Rain Regime is weakened because restrictions hurt the lumber, tourism and fishing industries, and it is difficult to enforce compliance with acid rain regulations, the Regime is also strengthened by the increasing number of
lakes and forests that are becoming acidified and fishless. In the end, the economic losses that result from material damage may justify the costs of control. e) Water Scarcity Ci) Facts According to the UN World Water Development Report, 2003. Over the next 20 years, the average supply of water worldwide, per person, is expected to drop by a third. There are more than five million people who die each year from illnesses caused by poor-quality water supplies. Over 50% of people in Africa suffer from water-related diseases. Worldwide water consumption has doubled in the last 50 years. A child in a developed country uses 30 to 50% more water than its counterpart in the developing world. Some estimates predict that by 2025, chronic water scarcity will affect as many as three billion people in 52 countries. As a result, many people believe that the wars of the next century will be over water.

6. ENVIRONMENTAL PROBLEMS IN DEVELOPING COUNTRIES While it is clear that environmental concerns exist in all countries, most of the world's most serious environmental problems arise in the cities of the developing world. Energy-efficient, environmentally friendly products are all relatively expensive. Now that developed countries have achieved a certain level of industrialization, they are able to afford to pay for more expensive, but sustainable technologies. However, in order to arrive at their current level of industrialization, developed countries had to go through a stage of development that caused major stress on the environment. Developing countries argue that they shouldn't have to follow the environmental rules set out by developed countries until they reach the same level of industrialization. "If you did it, why can't we?" Some people also suggest that if developing countries could put forward a unified front, then they might be in a position to raise demands for increased foreign aid, in return for an agreement to reduce threats to the global environment. a) Environmental Problems in Developing Countries The most serious environmental problems in developing countries are: Ci) lack of clean, piped water for homes and businesses; Cii) inadequate provision for sanitation and the disposal of solid and liquid wastes; and Ciii) governments which prove unable or unwilling to penalize polluters and to provide basic services to poorer groups. b) Attempts to Link the Environment to Development Concerns The Stockholm Conference in 1972 was the first time that developing countries had succeeded in linking the environment to development concerns. As a group, developing countries sought to promote a joint approach to the environment that allowed them to continue to pursue economic growth. Developing countries saw this as an opportunity to advance a broader agenda of change in the economic relationship between developed and developing countries. Ci) In the area of ozone depletion, developing countries pushed for the creation of a special fund that would be dedicated to facilitating compliance with the Montreal Protocol. In other words, the governments of industrialised nations accepted the responsibility to help developing countries with the technology that they would require to reduce CFC emissions. Cii) Similarly, the Global Environmental Facility (a more comprehensive fund) was created in 1991 to assist developing countries in their efforts to protect the global environment. The GEF provides funds to developing countries to assist them in complying with global warming, pollution, biodiversity, and ozone conservation regulations. (Hi) On the other hand, while developing countries were able to work together to achieve a common goal during the ozone negotiations, this was not the case for climate change. Countries such as Brazil, India, and Mexico had large emissions and predicted dramatic growth. Additionally, major oil exporting countries also opposed limitations to carbon emissions. However, developing countries were divided, as smaller, more vulnerable states favoured strong reductions. For example, the extreme poverty of sub-Saharan Africa made it susceptible to climate changes, and smaller island states were at increased risk for floods, hurricanes and cyclones. These differences made it impossible for developing countries to find a common ground, and so they were in no position to bargain for concessions from industrialised countries.
7. CONCLUSIONS Although there are many areas of environmental concern, the world environmental regime has had some effectiveness in helping to improve the condition of the environment. There has been a rise in the creation of national parks, and widespread protection for air and water. Additionally, the regulations discussed above may help to slow the formation of new environmental problems. Some people also believe that the possibility of widespread environmental crisis may bring states closer together, as they must collaborate to find common solutions. On the other hand, in "The Coming Anarchy," Robert Kaplan predicts a time when environmental scarcity, combined with overpopulation and disease, will overcome the world. Kaplan proposes that nature unchecked will finally seek its revenge. Certainly, although you might find Kaplan's thesis apocalyptic, no one can ignore the fact that there are many more improvements to be made.

CHANGING PATTERNS

WOMEN AND CHILDREN AROUND THE WORLD

A. WOMEN

The women's movement did not gain momentum until the nineteenth century because most women lacked the educational and economic resources to challenge the prevailing social and economic order. In the nineteenth century, governments began to draft laws that would guarantee equality among men, and many women sought to be included as well. The Industrial Revolution further divided the roles of men and women in society. Whereas men had previously worked in or around the home, they were now seeking employment in factories outside of the home. This split between the home and the "world" solidified the view that women belonged in the home, while men belonged in the public world of employment and politics. The first wave of the women's movement began in the nineteenth century, and lasted until the 1920s, when several countries granted women the right to vote. The second wave of feminism developed during the American civil rights movement of the 1960s. In the early twentieth century, most women in Europe and the United States had no legal identity apart from their husbands. Women were prohibited from being a party in a lawsuit, sitting on a jury, holding property, or writing a will. Custody disputes routinely granted permanent custody to the father. In the United States a revival of religion led women to campaign for improvements in the lives of prostitutes and to expand employment opportunities for women. At this time, women also campaigned to prohibit alcohol. Women in British Columbia were given the right to vote in provincial elections in 1917, and were given the right to vote in federal elections by 1919. American women gained the right to vote in 1920, when amendments were made to the Constitution of the United States. By 1938, courts in the United States lifted all federal legal prohibitions against birth control. Although most of the legal barriers preventing equality had been lifted, the implementation of these changes on a social level was a slow process.

1. CURRENT ISSUES FACED BY WOMEN
a) Wage Disparity

Although women in Canada are now equal and protected under Canadian law, there are still particular issues which continue to reflect a gender disparity. For example, according to Statistics Canada, the average annual earnings for full-time workers in 2001 in Canada were as follows: . All education levels: men $49,198 and women $34,642 . With university degrees: men $71,957 and women $48,257 However, while these statistics clearly reflect a disparity, there may be a number of reasons for the difference. For instance, according to Statistics Canada, men are more likely to enter high-income professions such as engineering, whereas women predominate in less lucrative professions such as social sciences, education and health. Additionally, if women choose to have children, they often take more time off for parental leave than men, and are more likely to return to work part-time in order to be at home to
raise their families. For this reason, women are less likely to ascend the income ladder because they tend to have fewer years of work experience. Also, uneducated men often have higher income jobs because they choose careers that pay more (e.g. construction worker versus restaurant server). It is also more likely that men in the "All education levels" category have gone to school to learn a trade, which would help to raise their incomes, but would not place them in the "university degree" category. In order for the above statistics to be more representative of gender disparities, they should compare similar careers and similar years of experience. Additionally, since women are more likely to work part-time, this study does not take into account those women who have high paying professions but do not work full-time. If the income of these women was taken into consideration it would very likely decrease the gender gap. b) Physical Rights In several countries around the world such as Sierra Leone, Kosovo, the Democratic Republic of Congo, Afghanistan, and Rwanda, men continue to rape women as a weapon of war with little or no consequence. In Pakistan, South Africa, Peru, Russia and Uzbekistan, there are no repercussions for beating women in the home. Due to staggering inequalities, women from the Ukraine, Moldova, Nigeria, the Dominican Republic, Burma and Thailand are bought and sold, and trafficked to work in forced prostitution. (Human Rights Watch) Not only do these practices severely harm women both physically and emotionally, but on a broader scale, they facilitate the spread of the worldwide HIV pandemic. According to Human Rights Watch, women do not have basic control over what happens to their bodies. Millions of women and girls are forced to marry and have sex without their consent. While most women have access to reproductive health care in developed countries, this is not the case for millions of women around the world. Additionally, continuing practices such as polygamy, forced prostitution, rape, and female genital mutilation, among others, give women little or no control over the circumstances which expose them to the HIV virus. The gender disparities which are pervasive throughout African countries in particular, make women economically and socially dependent on men, and thus unable to control what happens to their bodies. c) Legal Rights Women's legal rights are also systematically denied around the world. The governments of Nigeria, Kenya, Zambia, and other African states deny women equal inheritance and property rights. In Syria, a woman is only allowed to marry with the consent of a male family member. While Jordan and Pakistan have condemned domestic violence, they offer reduced sentences to males who commit "honor" crimes against female family members. This does little to discourage men from beating or even killing women who have "dishonoured" the family, perhaps by having a child out of wedlock. (Human Rights Watch) d) Status of Women's Rights Today The extent to which women's rights are protected varies dramatically from country to country, and also within countries depending upon ethnicity and economic class. While women have been granted suffrage rights (voting rights) in many countries, they do not have an equal share in decision-making. For example, in 1994, women headed the governments of 10 countries, but more than 100 countries had no female members in their legislative bodies. In the United States, women hold a mere 8% of managerial positions, and around the world, women make up only 1% of executives. On the other hand, worldwide, women make up approximately two-thirds of the world's illiterate adults, and 70% of the world's poor. Additionally, two-thirds of the 100 million children who drop out of school before completing the fourth grade are women. (www.unifem.org) However, in some countries, more women have enrolled in colleges and universities than men. While there continues to be gender discrimination in every country, it is evident that the experiences of women around the world vary significantly. Although the women's movement in the United States is often seen to have been successful, it is clear that the benefits women have enjoyed in Europe and North America have not been shared with millions of women around the world.

B. CHILDREN The United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund (CUNICEF) is active in 158 countries around the world. After the Second World War, European children were faced with famine and disease. UNICEF was created in December 1946 by the United Nations to provide food,
clothing and health care to the children of Europe. UNICEF soon began a worldwide campaign to work for improved living conditions for children. In 1959, the UN General Assembly adopted the Declaration of the Rights of the Child, which defines children's rights to include protection, education, health care, shelter and good nutrition. By 1989, the Convention on the Rights of the Child was adopted by the UN General Assembly, and it entered into force in September 1990. This Convention soon became the most widely- and rapidly-accepted human rights treaty in history (refer to page 35). UNICEF has five key priorities for children. Below is a brief synopsis of the concerns identified by UNICEF under each priority. (www.unicef.org)

1. CHILD PROTECTION Hundreds of millions of children around the world are victims of exploitation, abuse and violence each year. Children are abducted and recruited into the army; they are forced to work as prostitutes; and they are forced into slavery. For example, according to the International Labour Organization, there are 246 million children engaged in exploitative child labour around the world. Additionally, at any given time, millions of children are without primary caregivers such as a mother or father or relative. It is estimated that 1.2 million children are trafficked into the commercial sex trade each year. Finally, over 300,000 child soldiers are involved in armed conflict at any given time.

2. IMMUNIZATION More than 2 million children die unnecessarily each year because they haven't been immunized. In total, over 30 million children are not immunized because vaccines are unavailable, or because families are uninformed.

3. EARLY CHILDHOOD Each year, more than 11 million children die from preventable diseases before reaching their fifth birthday. In many of the world's poorest countries, child mortality rates have worsened over the last decade.

4. HIV / AIDS In 2002 alone, AIDS-related illnesses killed over 610,000 children. Young girls have been the hardest hit. Among teenagers in sub-Saharan Africa, five or six girls are infected for every boy infected in that age group. Every day, almost 2,000 babies are infected with HIV during pregnancy, at birth, or through breastfeeding. Refer to the following section on world health issues for more details regarding the larger HIV / AIDS pandemic.

5. GIRL'S EDUCATION Children of educated mothers are more likely to survive and to be healthier because of better nutrition and immunization rates. Educated women marry later and have fewer children. Additionally, a girl's education is an extremely powerful weapon in the prevention of HIV transmission as it contributes to female economic independence (thus lessening the need to enter the sex trade or to rely on men for economic survival), delayed marriage, and an understanding of disease prevention.

A. INFECTIOUS DISEASES While the twentieth century has been heralded as one of progress in terms of science and medicine, the rewards are not equally distributed. While life expectancy has increased on a global scale, there are countries where it has recently plummeted by more than twenty years. Many of these countries, located in sub-Saharan Africa, Latin America and South Asia have experienced an unprecedented rise in infectious disease. Infectious diseases are the world’s leading cause of death, killing at least 17 million people every year. However, breaking the chains of transmission is possible. Some diseases are already within range of elimination. For instance, in terms of child mortality, 25 % of deaths in the developing world could have been prevented by immunization.
1. HIV / AIDS, TUBERCULOSIS, AND MALARIA Globally, HIV has infected 47 million people, 14 million of whom have died. In sub-Saharan Africa, infection levels range from 10 to 25 %, up to 70 %. The pandemic is expanding into Eastern Europe and spreading throughout India and elsewhere at an alarming pace. Other diseases such as tuberculosis and malaria are reappearing and making inroads into developed countries. Malaria now affects 45 % of the world's population, and is likely to affect close to 60 % by the middle of the century due to global warming. Additionally, it is estimated that 200 million people who were alive in 1998 will eventually develop tuberculosis.

2. FACTORS THAT FACILITATE THE SPREAD OF INFECTIOUS DISEASES There are a number of factors that can magnify the effects of infectious diseases such as population growth combined with rapid urbanization that moves millions of people into cities. These people live in overcrowded and unhygienic conditions, which are breeding grounds for infectious diseases. Along with urbanization comes a rise in sex industries, intravenous drug use, and black market access to antibiotics whose overuse or misuse contributes to the emergence of resistant diseases. Additionally, wars, civil turmoil, and natural disasters force millions of migrants or refugees to travel in conditions fertile for infectious diseases. There has also been a rapid increase in international air travel and trade, which means that disease-producing organisms can be transported within hours from one continent to another. This increase in mobility places millions of people at risk from diseases previously limited to a specific geographic area. In terms of HIV, the virus that causes AIDS, several factors have combined to facilitate its global spread. Although the virus itself has been proven to be over 100 years old, it has spread due to sweeping social changes: African urbanization; intravenous drug use; homosexual activity; rape as a tool of ethnic cleansing; and the growth of the blood products industry. Additionally, government denial and societal prejudice has contributed to inappropriate interventions, or inaction.

3. THE THREAT OF INFECTIOUS DISEASES Infectious diseases are the greatest threat to developing countries. The prevalence of infectious diseases can lead to chronic underdevelopment which may exert a net drag on global trade, and impair global prosperity. Infectious diseases may also exacerbate the economic disparity between developing and developed countries. As a consequence of infectious diseases, premature death erodes worker productivity and undermines state prosperity, fosters internal migration and emigration, threatens a state's ability to defend itself, generates institutional fragility, and undermines the legitimacy of authority structures, thus impairing the state's ability to govern effectively.

4. THE WORLD HEALTH ORGANIZATION The World Health Organization (WHO), created in 1948, with currently 192 Member States, has contributed in many ways to help curb the spread of infectious diseases. Some of its strategies have included the establishment of surveillance programs and collaborative programs such as UNAIDS. It has also provided technical assistance and implemented vaccination campaigns, yet these efforts are far from sufficient. The WHO is seeking to complete the eradication of diseases that are close to being eliminated such as leprosy, measles, cholera, diarrhoeal diseases, hepatitis and typhoid. It is also tackling old diseases that present new problems of resistance such as tuberculosis, malaria, and dengue, by providing early diagnosis and prompt treatment. Finally, in terms of new diseases, such as HIV and Ebola, the WHO is engaging in research into methods of control and vaccines.

5. THE PHARMACEUTICAL INDUSTRY However, the WHO in itself cannot curb the spread of infectious disease. There is another obstacle to overcome when combating infectious diseases-the will of pharmaceutical agencies and governments to invest in drugs to address infectious diseases in developing countries. In 1998, 6.1 million people died of preventable diseases because it "doesn't pay
to keep them alive." Only one percent of medicines brought to market was designed for diseases that most affect developing countries. Most money, research and development have traditionally been spent on lifestyle drugs. In other words, drugs for the rich, e.g. to treat impotence or baldness, as this market is worth billions of dollars. Excessive amounts of money go into advertising and politics, as well as to stockholders, when some of it could be invested into research on tropical diseases. For the most part, money is being siphoned into the cure for toenail fungus and face wrinkles, while the tragic extent of the effects of infectious diseases in the developing world go unnoticed. One exception is HIV because it also plagues the developing world, therefore it has been the subject of substantial drug company research. But, sadly, the research has focussed only on the developed world, the fruits of which cannot be enjoyed by developing countries because they are too expensive. However, drug companies are not the sole perpetrators, so are governments in developing countries themselves, which invest little in health care, as are governments of the West whose foreign aid and domestic research program budgets have both been slashed.

B. OTHER HEALTH CONCERNS While heart disease is the leading cause of death in Canada, new studies predict that cancer is about to surpass heart disease. Currently, lung cancer is the leading cause of cancer death in both Canadian men and women. Worldwide, tobacco-related illnesses are estimated to cost nearly $200 billion a year in direct healthcare expenses and lost productivity. Although death from heart disease and cancer are the most significant health problems in Canada, according to the New Internationalist, there are a number of environmental factors that are increasingly leading to increased mortality around the world.

1. CARS AND TRUCKS Each year, more than 60,000 people in the United States die due to vehicle emissions. In Ontario, the Medical Association predicts that premature deaths due to deteriorating air quality will climb to over 2,500 by the year 2020.

2. AIR AND WATER QUALITY Nearly four million children a year die of acute respiratory infections resulting from air pollution. Additionally, over 2.5 million children die from diarrheal disease linked to poor water quality.