

CHAPTER SIX:
CANADA 1980-2004



The Berlin Wall—A Symbol of the Cold War

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61. International Criminal Court (ICC)
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NOTE TO STUDENTS AND TEACHERS:

The events pertaining specifically to Quebec and to aboriginal peoples in Canada have not been covered in this chapter; they will be addressed in their entirety in Chapter Seven.

I. THE END OF THE COLD WAR

After 46 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 *Détente*. The collapse of the Soviet Union and its ideology (communism) ended the Cold War because the Cold War was an ideological struggle and with one of the ideologies disappearing from one of the major combatants in this struggle the Cold War itself also disappeared.

A. DÉTENTE

Détente 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 *Détente* describes Soviet-American relations from the late 1960s to 1979.

1. NUCLEAR PARITY

Détente occurred in large part because the two superpowers had achieved nuclear parity (equal nuclear capabilities).

2. ACCOMPLISHMENTS OF DÉTENTE**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 (SALT)

By 1972, the first SALT Treaty (**SALT I**) stated that the Soviet Union and the United States would limit the number of certain missiles. By 1979, **SALT II** was ready. However, because of the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan the U.S. refused to sign. In the 1980s the arms race increased to greater levels than ever before.

c) The Helsinki Accords

In 1975 the super powers and major European powers met in Helsinki, Finland and agreed to the following:

- (i) To accept the division of Germany and the existing boundaries in Europe.
- (ii) The USSR agreed to respect human rights.
- (iii) Make possible easier movement of people across borders.

Helsinki was perhaps the greatest achievement of the *Détente* era because the super powers finally both accepted a divided Europe.

B. THE COLD WAR HEATED UP AGAIN**1. THE SOVIET INVASION OF AFGHANISTAN**

- a) In 1979, as the period of *Détente* 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 Afghanistan lay in between the Soviet Union and the Persian Gulf. The Persian Gulf is an extremely significant area in terms of international relations because of the volume of oil that is shipped from its ports. With the Soviet invasion, they 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.
- f) Finally, by 1988, the Soviets agreed to withdraw from Afghanistan, due in large part to the problems they were having at home.

C. PROBLEMS WITHIN THE SOVIET SYSTEM

1. 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.
- 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, (GNP stands for Gross National Product and is a quick way of measuring a nation's wealth) 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.

D. 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 they had been promised for making 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 practical aspects of life, like food, had become much more important than ideology.

1. THE ATTEMPTED COUP D'ETAT, AUGUST 1991

In August 1991, Gorbachev left Moscow for a 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 drastic steps such as outlawing the Communist Party in the Russian Republic. This allowed independence movements in all the republics to gain momentum while Gorbachev was still on vacation.

2. THE END OF THE SOVIET UNION

On December 1st 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 dissolve the Soviet Union.

II. 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 signifi-

cantly, 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.

A. ECONOMY

1. 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 believed that strengthening the private sector would help reduce the deficit. In spite of his efforts the annual deficit and the total national debt continued to grow throughout the Mulroney era.
2. 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.
3. 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.
4. 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.
 - a) 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 (limits on certain goods). Mulroney believed that free trade would benefit Canadian businesses by increasing investment and trade.
 - b) 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 say 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.

- c) Overall, free trade was not particularly successful during Mulroney's term as Prime Minister, due, for the most part, to a continuing global recession.
6. When Jean Chrétien became Prime Minister in 1993 his government resolved to end the practice of running annual deficits. In fact, by 1998, Chrétien's government managed to produce a budget surplus! (a budget surplus is when a government takes in more money than it spends.)

B. 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 Québécois (refer to pages 22-23).

1. THE BLOC QUÉBÉCOIS

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

2. 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.

C. HEALTH CARE IN CANADA

Until recent years, Canadians prided themselves on having one of the best health-care systems in the world. Canada's Medicare is known as a **publicly-funded system medical system**. Essentially, we pay for our healthcare 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** (the patient pays) 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. (Transfer payments are a method used by the federal government of sharing its revenues with the provinces.) 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. 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 recent (November, 2002) the **Romanow Commission**, attempted to establish guidelines and made suggestions for the future of healthcare in Canada.

There are many differing opinions on what should be done. Some 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. This certainly has happened with the two-tier

system in the United States.

In British Columbia and Quebec some private hospitals already exist. People who use these facilities pay for treatment or surgery. These clinics, as they are called, operate in what is called a grey zone - meaning it is unclear whether or not they are operating legally. So far governments have tended to turn a blind eye to private clinics. They are popular with those who can afford it because the patient can avoid long waiting times for their surgeries. Critics claim it is "the thin edge of the wedge" for a two-tier system in which the rich would get better and quicker service than those with less money.

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, in the past everyone who worked at a hospital was a government employee—including cleaning and food services staff. Essentially, in the last years the British Columbia the government has been 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. Opponents argue that many jobs will be lost and the quality of services will be severely compromised. Opponents would also argue that health care is so important that it should be above the profit motive in its conduct.

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

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** (see below) to the American space program. As we have seen, Mulroney also signed a number of free trade agreements with the United States, and convinced the U.S. to pass a law controlling acid rain. 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 gave Canada the opportunity to design, develop and build the Shuttle Remote Manipulator System (SRMS). The result was the Canadarm, a 15-metre long robotic arm for which Canada invested \$100 million. The Canadarm can lift more than 30,000 kilograms on earth, or and 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 (SDI)

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 the Canadian government 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 North American 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 would satisfy 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 166 regarding the Anti-Personnel Land Mines Treaty.)

5. 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 (refer to page 202).

6. THE WAR ON TERROR

a) The Terrorist Attacks of September 11, 2001

On Tuesday, September 11, 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. Then 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 9/11, 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 9/11 by invoking that part of their agreement that stated an attack on one member would 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 9/11 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 9/11, 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 Chrétien 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 9/11 attacks) in Afghanistan was reaching a conclusion, President Bush declared that Iraq was also part of the "Axis of Evil" (Iran, Iraq, and North Korea) and that military action would also be directed towards ousting the regime of Saddam Hussein. In response, Prime Minister Chrétien said that Canada would only join military action against Iraq if approved by the UN Security Council. France and Germany took similar positions. In spite of considerable criticism President Bush began his war on Iraq on March 19, 2003.

Since the war on Iraq started, Canada has already committed over \$100 million to humanitarian assistance in Iraq, which is consistent with Canada's emphasis on human security, development, and peace building.

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 Chrétien 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 sometimes were the first to lose their jobs. The cutbacks also made it more difficult for women to obtain day care for their children.

1. THE MONTREAL MASSACRE

A tragedy that unfolded in Montreal in December 1989 brought the issue of violence against women to the forefront in the minds of all Canadians. On December 6, 1989, 14 female students at the *Ecole Polytechnique* in Montreal were systematically killed by a single gunman who targeted only women. He then killed himself. The **Montreal Massacre** was the worst single-day massacre in Canadian history.



P.M. Kim Campbell

a) Marc Lépine

Throughout the 1970s and 1980s, women had been increasingly entering non-traditional occupations and educational programs. Growing numbers of women enrolled at the *École Polytechnique*, the School of Engineering at the University of Montréal. However, Marc Lépine felt that he had been disadvantaged by women seeking new roles and opportunities. Marc Lépine, a 25-year-old from Quebec, was described as a moody loner. Lépine had been rejected from the Canadian Armed Forces, and was not accepted for admission at the *École Polytechnique*. Lépine's reasons for killing 14 women on December 6, in Montreal became clear after reading the suicide note that was found on his body.

(i) Lépine'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 opportunistic 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)

Lépine had also attached a list of 19 prominent Québec women in non-traditional occupations, including the province's first woman firefighter and police captain. On this list Lépine wrote:

"[These women] nearly 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 6, to this day. The Canadian government has declared December 6 to be the **National Day of Remembrance and Action on Violence Against Women**. Partially as a result of this horrific event, Canadians were eventually able to achieve reforms to sexual assault laws and gun ownership regulations in Canada.

E. IMMIGRATION IN CANADA DURING THE 1980s AND 1990s

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 had chosen 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 2001, more than half of all Canadian immigrants came from the Asia and Pacific region. The chart below illustrates the changing demographics (the study of population and its characteristics). It is interesting to note that before 1981 the top six were of European origin, while in 2001 the top six were from Asia.

COMPARING SOURCE COUNTRIES OF IMMIGRANTS 1980 AND 2000 COUNTRIES ARE LISTED IN DESCENDING ORDER

2001	BEFORE 1981
CHINA	UNITED KINGDOM
INDIA	ITALY
PAKISTAN	U.S.A.
PHILIPPINES	GERMANY
SOUTH KOREA	PORTUGAL
SRI LANKA	NETHERLANDS
U.S.A.	INDIA
IRAN	POLAND
YUGOLAVIA	CHINA
GREAT BRITAIN	YUGOSLAVIA

Source: Citizenship and Immigration Canada

2. QUALIFYING FOR IMMIGRATION TO CANADA

Applicants intending to immigrate into Canada must meet certain criterion. The government has established a point system whereby out of a possible 100 points an applicant must have 67 points. The criterion used are: education, fluency in English or French, experience and employment opportunities. For example, a higher education will gain the potential immigrant more points. The applicant must also submit to a medical test.

There are five general categories of immigrants to Canada. The chart on the next page lists the five categories and gives the percentage of immigrants in each category in 2001.

CATEGORIES OF QUALIFYING IMMIGRANTS FOR 2001

CATEGORY	PERCENT OF TOTAL
FAMILY SPONSORSHIPS	26.7 %
SKILLED WORKERS	54.8 %
ENTREPRENEURS/INVESTORS	6.3 %
REFUGEES	11.1 %
CAREGIVERS/RETIRES ETC.	1.1 %

Source: Citizenship and Immigration Canada

3. 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 Statistics Canada's low-income benchmark. For example, in 2002 figures, the low-income benchmark was \$24,069 (before-tax income) for a two-person household. In Montreal, the rate of immigrants with a family income below this mark 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. Often the process of having one's qualifications recognized 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.

1. 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, follow your political 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. These asylum seekers are looking for refugee status because they have been politically and personally persecuted in their country of origin.

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.

2. 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 countries with the most claims, 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.

(iii) Changes to Canadian Refugee Law, 1989

These issues remained unresolved until new legislation regulating the refugee status determination process became law in 1989. The legislative changes ensured that an oral hearing to hear the refugee claims would occur within days. Also, it enacted provisions which would punish people who assisted undocumented passengers in

coming to Canada, and who made fraudulent claims. The new laws imposed harsh penalties on convicted smugglers, and severe fines on transportation companies bringing people to Canada without documentation. These laws also detained people who arrived in Canada without having been legally processed. All of these changes helped to give the Canadian refugee determination system some credibility and it seems safe to say that the intention was to give legitimate claimants had a better chance of acceptance

b) Chinese Boatpeople

In spite of the above, it did not 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 they 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. Some argue that these refugees should be turned away because they are queue jumpers.

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. Of those who do apply for refugee status, approximately 4,000 per year disappear into the Canadian system, never to return for their hearings. The backlog of cases like these waiting to be heard has reached as many as 30,000. On average, it is estimated that over 25,000 illegal migrants enter Canada each year.

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 intercept 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.

G. CANADIAN ACCOMPLISHMENTS

1. TERRY FOX

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 12, 1980, Terry started his run in St. John's Newfoundland. Terry ran 42 kilometres a day through the Atlantic provinces, Quebec and Ontario, raising money along the way. On September 1, after 143 days, Terry was forced to stop running outside of Thunder Bay, Ontario because cancer had reappeared in his lungs. Tragically, on June 28, 1981, Terry passed away at age 22. 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.

III. 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 Chrétien 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 for developing countries; 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.

C. FOREIGN AID IN THE 1980s AND 1990s

1. CANADIAN FOREIGN AID

a) Official Development Assistance (ODA)

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 in Africa in response to a 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, then 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 2000, Canada contributed \$1.72 billion US in net ODA, ranking eighth 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 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.

5. 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

Canada has suspended aid when gross human rights abuses have been discovered in recipient countries. 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, 1950-1965, 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 aid went to countries whose violations of basic security rights ranged from serious to extreme.

d) Recent Performance

More recently the Canadian government took a much more assertive position by introducing a cabinet review, human rights training, 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 the flow of aid 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 Secretary-General 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 military force was in 1956 in response to the Suez Crisis. In Chapter Five 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.

1. THE CHANGING ROLE OF PEACEKEEPING

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 judiciaries 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.

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.

E. CANADIAN TROOPS OVERSEAS

1. INTRODUCTION

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, 1990-91****(i) 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.

(ii) 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****(i) 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 groups broke away and formed independent states (e.g. Slovenia, Croatia, Bosnia,) 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**.

(ii) 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 did in fact ethnically cleanse Croatia of the Serbs.

(iii) 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 Bosnians (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 set up the peacekeeping troops 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 diminish the negative 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 Croats 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

(i) 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.

(ii) 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.

(iii) 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

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. Anti-personnel mines are explosive devices usually implanted in the ground and are triggered when a soldier steps on them. These devices come in dozens of shapes and sizes. When a war is over these killing devices are rarely removed and remain as a treacherous legacy for the local populations. 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.

D. 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 bring to trial 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.

E. THE FUTURE OF NATO

Refer to Chapter Five for a discussion of the origins of NATO after the Second World War.

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 11, 2001, NATO has perhaps more relevance again, yet critics 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 been heavily involved in the Balkans. In 1999, NATO carried out a bombing campaign against Serbia to prevent ethnic cleansing against ethnic Albanians (refer to pages 162 and 165). 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.

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