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News in Review, April 2008

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DODGING A SPRING ELECTION (Start: 00:24; Length: 13:20)

In late February, the fate of Stephen Harper's Conservative minority government seemed to hang in the balance. The government introduced a number of bills as well as a budget, and warned that if they were defeated it would trigger a federal election. In this *News in Review* story we'll look at how the opposition parties reacted and how a spring election was eventually avoided.

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KOSOVO DECLARES INDEPENDENCE (Start: 13:55; Length: 15:46)

On February 17, 2008, the breakaway Serbian province of Kosovo declared its independence from Serbia. The move was welcomed by the United States and many European countries. But the Serbs and their Russian allies reacted angrily. In this *News in Review* story we'll look at why and how Kosovo became a country. We'll also examine why some countries, including Canada, are worried the move could set a dangerous precedent.

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RESTORING PEACE TO KENYA (Start: 29:52; Length: 15:39)

The African country of Kenya has long been regarded as an oasis of stability in a troubled continent. But in January the country was rocked by an outbreak of bloody factional fighting. At least 1 500 people were killed and thousands were forced to flee their homes. In this *News in Review* story we'll look at what led to the two-month crisis and what is being done to try to end the violence.

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COMING HOME TO NEWFOUNDLAND (Start: 45:41; Length: 12:43)

For years, many Newfoundlanders have had to leave the province to find work in other parts of Canada. Now they might not have to do that anymore. The province is expected to undergo an economic boom thanks to the oil off its shores. In this *News in Review* story we'll look at why so many Newfoundlanders have left and whether changing economic conditions will be enough to make them come home.

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DODGING A SPRING ELECTION

Introduction

Focus

This *CBC News in Review* story focuses on the political parties, leaders, issues, and strategies at play as the minority Conservative government and the opposition confront the possibility of a federal election in 2008.

Quote

"There are some of my colleagues who would rather have their kidneys harvested without anaesthetic than go to an election."
— former Conservative-turned-Liberal MP Garth Turner (*CBC News in Review* video)

While the attention of most Canadians remained focused on the drama of the presidential contest taking place in the U.S., this country's own political scene was beginning to heat up in the early months of 2008. Prime Minister Stephen Harper's minority Conservative government was facing a number of challenges to its survival in Parliament, where the combined votes of all the opposition party members could defeat it and force a federal election. Issues such as the 2008 budget, the extension of Canada's military commitment in Afghanistan, and the government's insistence that the Liberal-dominated Senate pass its new anti-crime legislation all posed the real possibility of becoming matters of confidence—meaning that if the Conservatives failed to pass them, they would be obliged to resign. To some observers, it appeared that the government was daring the opposition to defeat it in the belief that Harper's popularity with voters and the perceived weakness of his Liberal opponents might result in a majority for his party.

At the same time, the opposition, in particular the Liberals, were raising a number of potentially damaging accusations against the Harper government in the hope that they would erode its popularity with voters on the brink of a spring election. The first of these was the allegation that Harper had sought to buy the support of the now-deceased Independent MP Chuck Cadman during a close no-confidence vote against the then-Liberal minority government of former prime minister Paul Martin in May 2005.

Then there was the issue of "NAFTA-gate"—the charge that the Conservatives had revealed secret conversations about the North American Free Trade

Agreement government officials had held with U.S. presidential candidate Barack Obama, with the intention of harming his campaign. Finally, like a ghost from the past, former Conservative prime minister Brian Mulroney was again in the news, testifying before a parliamentary committee about the "Airbus scandal" of the 1980s and his questionable financial dealings with German businessman Karl-Heinz Schreiber. Mulroney's continuing unpopularity with voters, coupled with the fact that he was a Conservative, posed a potential image problem for Harper, even though his party had long distanced itself from the widely reviled former prime minister.

Although the opposition kept up the pressure against the Harper government on these and other issues, the likelihood of a spring election, which had appeared almost certain as 2008 dawned, began to fade. The budget of Finance Minister Jim Flaherty was introduced in February and was approved by Parliament over the opposition of the Bloc Québécois and the NDP. The crime bill was passed, and a decision was made to extend Canada's troop commitment in Afghanistan to 2011 from 2009. Stéphane Dion's Liberals adopted the unusual and somewhat controversial tactic of abstaining en masse from parliamentary votes, making it impossible for Harper's government to be defeated. Dion adopted this strategy of playing for time and not provoking an immediate election for various reasons: the party was not ready for an election and there were grave concerns within Liberal ranks about Dion's popularity with voters, especially in Quebec. While opinion polls indicated that most Canadians did not favour an early election on the heels of two previous federal campaigns in 2004

Quote

"We will decide when the election will come. We will choose the trigger."

— Stéphane Dion
(*Toronto Star*,
March 13, 2008)

and 2006, the other opposition parties, especially Jack Layton's NDP, accused the Liberals of cowardice and caving in to Harper's political agenda.

At the same time, most polls indicated that if a new election were to be held, the results might not be much different from those of the last one, with yet another minority government in the cards.

The only wild card was the rise of the Green Party, which currently holds no seats in Parliament. Its candidates were competitive with the Conservatives and NDP in four federal by-elections held in March 2008 to fill vacancies in the House of Commons. Even if the Greens

were unable to win any seats, their increased vote totals might influence many close races across the country. The by-election results also contained some good news for the Liberals, who held three of the ridings, and elected two former leadership candidates, Bob Rae and Martha Hall-Findlay in Toronto. However, the Conservatives were successful in taking a seat from the Liberals in Manitoba. The mixed results of the by-elections, representing no clear trend in voters' preferences, were further proof that a federal election was beginning to appear increasingly unlikely any time before the fall of 2008.

To Consider

1. What were the main political issues that threatened to provoke a federal election in the spring of 2008? How were they resolved?
2. What allegations were the opposition parties making against the Conservative government of Prime Minister Stephen Harper?
3. Why is a minority government always vulnerable to defeat in the House of Commons in a no-confidence vote?
4. Why did the Liberals decide to abstain from voting against the government in the House of Commons in order to avoid the calling of an election?
5. If a federal election were to be held soon, what do you think the results would be, and why?
6. Which party would you most likely support in an election? Explain your choice.

DODGING A SPRING ELECTION

Video Review

Part I

Watch the video and answer the following questions.

1. Complete the chart below.

Name of Political Party	Number of Seats in Parliament	Name of Leader

2. What is meant by the term *minority government*? Why does a minority government make the possibility of an early election greater?

3. What changes in legislation are included in the government's new anti-crime bill?

4. What political party holds most of the seats in the Canadian Senate?

5. Why did some political observers believe that Harper's Conservatives wanted an early election?

6. What compromise was reached between the Conservatives and Liberals on the issue of Canada's troop commitment in Afghanistan?

Did you know . . .

Several of the leading candidates for the Liberal leadership in 2006 are still paying off huge debts from that campaign, including the winner, Stéphane Dion.

7. Why were the Liberals reluctant to trigger an early election by voting with the Bloc and NDP against Harper's government?

8. What is the name of the federal Minister of Finance? What new policies did he introduce in the federal budget of February 2008?

9. What was the response of the opposition parties to the budget? Which of them voted against it? Which did not? Why?

10. Why were the Liberals accused of being weak and indecisive as a result of their strategy of abstaining from confidence votes in the House of Commons?

11. How did some members of the Liberal parliamentary caucus feel about this strategy?

DODGING A SPRING ELECTION

The Federal Budget: Pro and Con

Did you know . . . Canada's first budget, tabled on December 7, 1867, had \$7.4-million in revenues and \$5.3-million in expenditures. Since 1867, there have been 143 budgets, as well as 22 mini-budgets, interim budgets, economic updates, and financial statements.

Finance Minister Jim Flaherty adopted a cautious approach to the nation's economic prospects when he brought down the Conservative government's third federal budget on February 26, 2008. Unlike previous budgets, this one did not contain any sweeping promises of further tax cuts or new federal spending initiatives. Instead, Flaherty sought to reassure Canadians in his budget speech that, despite growing concerns about the health of the U.S. economy, Canada's economic fundamentals were strong, and the likelihood of a serious recession was minimal. For this reason, he intended to "stay the course," introducing some minor changes to benefit various income groups but not pursuing any dramatic alternative economic policies. The centerpiece of the budget was a new tax-free savings account that would enable Canadians to deposit up to \$5 000 annually in a special account that would not require them to pay taxes on any money withdrawn from it. Unlike Registered Retirement Savings Plans (RRSPs), there would be no tax deduction for money deposited, but withdrawals would be tax free, which is not the case with RRSPs. This new savings vehicle, which was designed to benefit mainly middle- to upper-income people, would not be accessible until 2009.

In addition to this new savings plan, the budget also offered some modest debt relief to university students and a tax break for seniors who choose to work beyond the normal retirement age. There were also promises of small increases in federal money for aboriginal health, public transit, and climate change.

But the budget was noted more for what it did not contain than for what it

did. For example, there was nothing to assist the growing number of poor and unemployed people in Canada, and not nearly enough for major infrastructure programs that Canada's cities feel they need. There was also little assistance for the struggling automobile sector of the economy,—concentrated mainly in southern Ontario and the Montreal area—where many auto workers have been laid off. Both Quebec Premier Jean Charest and Ontario Premier Dalton McGuinty were quick to criticize Flaherty and the federal Conservatives for not offering enough relief to this beleaguered sector of the economy.

There was also not much in the way of new tax breaks or shelters for investors, who are becoming increasingly alarmed by the news of a growing credit crunch and mortgage meltdown south of the border.

For his part, Flaherty defended his government's steady-as-she-goes approach to managing the country's economic affairs, cautioning against expectations of further economic growth as the effects of the U.S. recession begin to be felt in Canada. In addition, the Conservatives had a more political reason for their reluctance to embark on new federal spending programs, since their strategy for the next election will be to tar their main opponents, Stéphane Dion's Liberals, with the brush of a "tax and spend" party. When the budget finally came to a vote in the House of Commons, it passed despite the opposition of the Bloc Québécois and the NDP because the Liberals abstained from voting on it. If they had joined the other opposition parties, then not only would the budget have been defeated but also the Conservative government

Did you know . . .

In the early 1990s, the federal government spent more on public debt charges than on any other single budget item. The federal government has recorded a budget surplus every year since 1997-98. The biggest federal budget surplus—\$19.9-billion—was recorded in the 2000-01 fiscal year.

itself, and a new election would have followed. According to parliamentary rules, the budget or any “money bill” a government brings before Parliament is viewed as a “confidence motion,” which it must be able to pass or resign if unable to secure a majority vote in its favour.

Here are some reactions to the federal budget by major political, business, and economic figures:

“Some would have us go down the path of higher spending, higher interest payments, and higher taxes, perhaps even an increase in the GST. But that approach is misguided. There is another way.” — Finance Minister Jim Flaherty

“With this budget, the Conservative government has begun to move in the direction that the Liberal opposition has been pushing. Under the circumstances, I don’t see enough in this budget that would justify that we precipitate an election that Canadians do not want for now.” — Opposition Leader Stéphane Dion

“It’s a budget that clearly fails the working families of Canada.” — NDP Leader Jack Layton

“Disadvantage Canada, that’s what this budget represents for Canada’s manufacturing and exporting sectors. We were very specific in what the nation’s most innovative industry needed and we received recycled ideas and pocket change at a critical time when we needed tangible solutions.” — Jay Myers, president, Canadian Manufacturers and Exporters Association

“Big problems require big solutions, and they’re nowhere to be found in this budget. The funding announced today may fulfill its role as a PR strategy but it doesn’t come close to the kind of

investment that our cities need to stay vibrant and competitive.” — Mark Lee, senior economist, Canadian Centre for Policy Alternatives (CCPA)

“The announcement of \$250-million over five years for the auto industry is a baby step in the right direction, but much more is needed. This money should be the first part of a much bigger long-term automotive strategy, not a one-time gesture to rally voters.” — Buzz Hargrove, president, Canadian Auto Workers union

“The allocation of \$500-million in 2007-08, dedicated to public transit, is a major boost to future access and mobility in Canadian communities. Extending the Gas Tax Fund as a permanent measure is an excellent response to the ongoing needs for municipal infrastructure investment. This is a good news budget for transit.” — Michael Roschlau, president, Canadian Urban Transit Institute

“The forest product industry is facing the worst economic conditions it has seen in many decades, and the government’s actions in this budget are not enough. In a nutshell, the action taken in the budget by the government is not proportional to what the industry has been doing and what the situation demands.” — Avrim Lazar, president, Forest Products Association of Canada

“The mutual fund industry has long taken the stand that the federal government should help Canadians save for themselves and be less reliant on government programs in the years ahead. The tax-free savings account takes Canadians down that road.” — Joanne De Laurentiis, president, Investment Funds Institute of Canada

“Budget 2008 delivers good news for cities and communities. The decision to make the gas transfer tax permanent represents a critical move toward addressing the municipal fiscal imbalance and building vibrant cities and communities.” — Gordon Steves, president, Federation of Canadian Municipalities

“The government has taken a positive step towards improving access to post-secondary education. By implementing

a national system of grants, the government has responded to a long-standing call by students and their families.” — Amanda Aziz, national chair, Canadian Federation of Students

“There was a real missed opportunity here for the federal and provincial governments to work together on the problems confronting Ontario. There was very little in this budget. It’s pretty thin gruel as I see it.” — Dwight Duncan, Ontario Minister of Finance

Inquiry

1. How did the 2008 federal budget of Finance Minister Jim Flaherty differ from its predecessors? Why do you think this was the case?
2. What were the main new policies contained in the budget? What alternatives did the government not pursue in it?
3. How was the government able to ensure the passing of the budget and avoid defeat in a no-confidence motion in Parliament?
4. For each of the quotes above, indicate: a) the background of the speaker, and what political, business, or economic group he or she speaks for, b) the specific aspects of the budget he or she is reacting to, and c) whether his or her reaction is positive or negative and why.
5. What is your personal view of the measures contained in the federal budget and the economic issues it does not address? Do you think it deals adequately with the main challenges now confronting Canadians and their economy? Why or why not?

Source: CBC News In Depth: Federal Budget 2008, “Highlights,” www.cbc.ca/news/background/budget2008/, “The potatoes are a lot smaller this year, dear,” www.cbc.ca/news/background/budget2008/analysis.htm, and “Quotes,” www.cbc.ca/news/background/budget2008/quotes/html.

DODGING A SPRING ELECTION

The Chuck Cadman Affair

Did you know . . .
Cadman's wife, Dona plans to run in her husband's old seat as a Conservative candidate.

Further Research
To learn more about the role of the Speaker of the House visit the official Web site at www.parl.gc.ca/information/about/people/House/Speaker/index_e.html.

Chuck Cadman was a pony-tailed, earring-wearing maverick Independent MP representing a suburban Vancouver riding when he achieved national prominence during a moment of high political drama in May 2005. One year after their election as a minority government, Paul Martin's Liberals were fighting to avoid defeat in the House of Commons. They could count on the votes of Jack Layton's NDP after reaching a compromise over the budget with that party, but the combined forces of the Bloc Québécois and the Conservatives just about evened the score. The survival of the Martin government thus came down to the votes of a couple of Independent MPs, one of whom was Cadman.

Chuck Cadman had entered Parliament in 1993 under the banner of the now-defunct Reform Party. He had achieved fame as the leader of a victims' rights movement calling for harsher penalties for young perpetrators of gun crimes after his own son had been shot dead on a Vancouver street in 1996. In 2000, Cadman was re-elected for the Canadian Alliance, the Reform Party's successor, but failed to win renomination in 2004 as a Conservative. Instead, he ran as an Independent and won, largely because of his immense popularity in his riding, and also as a result of widespread disgust over how his Conservative rival had gained the party nomination by flooding the riding association with last-minute memberships.

In May 2005, Cadman was dying of cancer, but he managed to attend the crucial session of the House of Commons where the no-confidence vote in Paul Martin's government would be introduced. He was under intense pressure from both sides to cast his vote in their favour, since it

was clear that this would determine whether the government stood or fell. Days before, former Conservative leadership candidate Belinda Stronach had stunned the country by switching to the Liberals, giving Martin one more much-needed vote. Martin also depended on the support of another maverick, the unpredictable and volatile Independent MP Carolyn Parrish, who had left the Liberals over policy differences. But Martin was still one vote short of what the government needed—a tie vote where the Speaker of the House, Liberal MP Peter Milliken, who does not normally participate in parliamentary debates or voting, would cast his vote in favour of the government.

In the late afternoon of May 19, 2005, as the eyes of his fellow MPs and the nation fell on him, Chuck Cadman rose in the House to cast his vote in favour of the Liberal government. A snap federal election was narrowly averted, much to the chagrin of Conservative leader Stephen Harper, who believed that growing Liberal unpopularity over the unfolding sponsorship scandal in Quebec would have delivered victory at the polls to him. Less than two months later, Chuck Cadman died in his Vancouver home. In January 2006, the Conservatives finally came to power as a minority government after an election campaign in which the sponsorship scandal and allegations of Liberal corruption ensured Martin's defeat.

Tom Zytaruk's new biography of Cadman, *Like a Rock: The Chuck Cadman Story*, unleashed a political bombshell with the potential to cause serious damage to the Harper government when copies of it were leaked to the CBC prior to its publication in March 2008. In it, the author reopens

Quote

In spite of the numerous scandals plaguing Parliament, some observers believe good work is still going on. "This is the wackiest Parliament. It was supposed to be the weakest ever, but it's turned out to be the most stable, and in a way, the most productive."
—unnamed source
(*Toronto Star*, March 5, 2008)

allegations that the Conservatives had sought to buy Cadman's support with the offer of an uncontested Conservative nomination and funding for his campaign. But now there was the even more serious charge that the party had actually proposed a \$1-million life insurance policy to the dying MP, from which his family would benefit after he was gone. In researching his book, Zytaruk had interviewed Stephen Harper, who seemingly confirmed that he had known about the discussions between party officials and Cadman but was unaware of the details involved in any proposed deal. Harper had requested that his comments be kept "off the record," but Zytaruk informed him that they would appear in the book. Dona Cadman, Chuck's widow, believes that Harper knew nothing about any offer of a life insurance policy after he personally denied any knowledge of it to her during the 2006 federal campaign. For his part, Cadman kept the nature of his discussions with Conservative officials a closely guarded secret in the months before his death.

For Stéphane Dion's Liberals, the Cadman affair was political dynamite, which they planned to use to destroy the Harper government. They challenged Harper to come clean over the issue in Parliament and placed news of the affair on the party's Web site, charging that "Harper knew of Conservative bribery." In response, Harper took the unprecedented step of introducing a libel suit against

Dion and the Liberals for defamation of character. The legal status of Harper's suit is unclear, since according to parliamentary rules, MPs have immunity for any statements they make inside the House of Commons. However, this does not apply to remarks made outside the chamber, and a few Liberal MPs, including former cabinet minister and hockey legend Ken Dryden, deliberately repeated their allegations to news reporters assembled on the steps of the House.

In early March, Conservative MP James Moore unequivocally denied that there had ever been any attempt by members of his party to bribe Chuck Cadman in return for his vote. Moore, who represents a Vancouver riding neighbouring Cadman's former seat, was one of the representatives who had met with the dying MP in an effort to win his support just before the crucial vote in Parliament. Should the allegations prove true, however, the results could pose a serious problem for Harper and his party. The Criminal Code calls for penalties of up to 14 years in prison for anyone offering money or other valuable considerations to an MP in return for favours or support. The Liberals called for a full RCMP investigation of the affair, while the NDP proposed that it be referred to a special prosecutor. For now, the Cadman affair remains in a legal and political limbo, with Cadman's daughter Jodi appealing to her mother to think twice about running as a Conservative candidate in the next federal election.

Analysis

1. Why did Chuck Cadman become the focus for a major political crisis in Canada in May 2005?
2. Why was his vote so important at that time?
3. What potentially damaging allegations against the Harper government have emerged from the new biography of Chuck Cadman?
4. Why could these allegations pose a serious problem for the Conservatives should they prove true?

Source: CBC News In Depth: The 39th Parliament – Harper at the Helm, "Timeline: The Chuck Cadman Bribe Controversy" www.cbc.ca/news/background/parliament39/cadman.html

DODGING A SPRING ELECTION

By-elections and the State of the Parties

While the prospect of a spring election appeared to be fading by early April 2008, the political parties and their leaders continued to prepare themselves for a trip to the polls, probably sometime later in the year. In the meantime, they were sharpening their attacks on their opponents and focusing on the issues and strategies they believed would be most advantageous for them when the election was finally called.

By-elections are called whenever there is a vacancy caused by the death or resignation of a member of Parliament. They can be an important early signal of the state of a government's popularity with the voters. But by-election results are not always a reliable barometer of the mood of the electorate. For one thing, the turnout in by-elections is usually much lower than in general elections, especially when they are called in the winter or, in the case of the most recent by-elections, on St. Patrick's Day! Another aspect of by-elections is that voters in the ridings where they are being held can use the opportunity to cast a vote of no-confidence in the government of the day without risking its defeat.

On March 17, voters in four constituencies across Canada went to the polls to elect their new MPs. The Liberals had previously held all four, three of them by substantial majorities. For this reason the pressure was on Stéphane Dion to prove that his leadership was strong by holding on to all of them. In the two Toronto-area seats, suburban Willowdale and downtown Toronto Centre, two of Dion's former rivals for the party leadership, Martha Hall-Findlay and one-time Ontario premier Bob Rae, were easily elected. This was a "good news/bad news" result for Dion. The arrival of

Hall Findlay and Rae, two prominent and capable Liberals will no doubt add considerable strength and substance to the Liberal opposition in the House. But on the other hand, the presence of Bob Rae, who came in a close third to Dion in the December 2006 leadership race, will increase the pressure on the leader to prove that he is up to the job.

The Liberals lost Desnethe-Mississippi-Churchill River in northern Saskatchewan to Rob Clarke of the Conservatives despite the fact that Dion had hand-picked a star candidate, Joan Beatty, a former cabinet minister in the recently defeated provincial NDP government. In the B.C. riding of Vancouver-Quadra, a traditionally safe Liberal seat once held by former prime minister John Turner, the party's candidate, Joyce Murray, barely held on—with fewer than 500 votes over a strong Conservative challenge.

While both Stephen Harper and Stéphane Dion could take some comfort in what were very mixed results of the by-elections, the news was not as good for NDP leader Jack Layton. Although none of the seats were favourable territory for the party, their candidates lost ground in every one of them, much of it to a resurgent Green Party that cut into both NDP and Liberal support. If these results can be taken as pointing to a trend in the next federal election, then Canadians may be facing another minority government, with increased support for the Greens, a decline for the NDP, and a continuing stalemate between the two major national parties.

Many observers believed that the Conservatives' strategy during the winter and early spring of 2008 was to engineer their own defeat over an issue such as the budget, the extension of Canada's troop

commitment in Afghanistan, or the crime bill, forcing the Liberals to vote against them in Parliament. This was because they were convinced that Stephen Harper was more popular than Stéphane Dion, who appeared to be having difficulty retaining the confidence of his own party members, especially in his home province of Quebec. Polls showed that while no party was likely to gain a majority if an election were to be held at the time, the likelihood was that the Conservatives would hold on to power.

For their part, the Liberals were playing for time, hoping that Dion's image problems would disappear and, more importantly, that they would find an issue with real traction that they could deploy against the Conservatives. They attempted to use the Chuck Cadman affair for this purpose. They also, along with the NDP, seized on the issue of "NAFTA-gate." This was the controversy resulting from a secret meeting between a senior Harper aide, chief of staff Ian Brodie, and highly placed advisors to U.S. presidential candidate Barack Obama over the issue of the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA), which Canada and the United States signed in 1988. NAFTA is increasingly unpopular with many Americans, especially those living in industrial states such as Ohio, where Obama and his main rival, Hillary Clinton, were campaigning in a crucial presidential primary election.

According to Brodie's account, Obama's officials assured him that while the candidate would make public statements critical of the trade deal, the Canadian government should take them with a grain of salt as purely for political consumption. In the resulting furor, widely publicized in the U.S. media, Hillary Clinton used "NAFTA-gate" successfully against Obama and won the Ohio primary. For his part, Obama completely denied that either he or his aides had said any such thing.

NDP leader Jack Layton charged that the Harper government had deliberately leaked the story in order to damage Obama's campaign and possibly provide assistance to his Republican rival, John McCain, a politician more in tune with the Conservatives' political ideology.

It is unlikely that either the Cadman affair or NAFTA-gate will be high priorities for Canadians when they do eventually head to the polls, but the state of the economy may be a serious concern. Traditionally, Canada has been one of the first countries to feel the effects of a downturn in the U.S. economy, which by the early months of 2008 appeared to be headed for a serious recession. Job losses, rising energy and food prices, and a serious home mortgage crisis were all warning signs that Canadian political and business leaders could not fail to notice. If the economy does deteriorate markedly later in 2008, it could pose problems for the Harper government since, traditionally, voters take out their frustrations over a poorly performing economy on the government in power at the time.

Another potential problem for the Conservatives is the view of some Canadians that the party harbours right-wing elements with extreme views on social and moral issues. While Harper has sought to present a more enlightened and tolerant image to voters, the remarks of some of his MPs have not always helped him. In early April 2008, a 16-year-old video was released by the Saskatchewan NDP, in which Conservative MP Tom Lukiwski is shown making extremely crude and offensive homophobic comments. Lukiwski was quick to apologize for the remarks, which were also condemned by Conservative House Leader Peter Van Loan. But the Harper government stated that there was no question of expelling Lukiwski from the party caucus, as had occurred previously when another one-

time Conservative MP, Larry Spencer, had called for making homosexuality a criminal offence.

All this happened shortly after the controversy over a proposed new bill that would limit federal arts funding to films that were viewed as containing graphic sex or violence. Charles McVety, an Ottawa lobbyist for the Canadian Family Action Coalition (www.familyaction.org), a right-wing evangelical Christian group, claimed credit for pressuring the government to introduce this bill. Many in the arts community, along with a number of Liberal senators, criticized the proposal as smacking of government censorship and control over freedom of expression.

The Harper government succeeded in gaining parliamentary approval for an extension of Canada's military commitment to Afghanistan over the strong opposition of the Bloc Québécois

and the NDP, who both believe that our troops should be withdrawn as quickly as possible. The Liberals agreed to the extension based on Harper's insistence that any further commitment of Canadian troops to the dangerous Kandahar mission would be contingent on increased support from at least one other NATO partner. At the NATO summit in Bucharest, Romania, in early April, Harper was able to gain this support from France. But this does not mean that the issue of Afghanistan is now resolved in the minds of Canadian voters. Many people are still opposed to the mission and fear that more Canadian casualties are likely in the future—adding to the total of over 80 killed so far. The goals of the effort remain unclear in the minds of many, and there is no reason to believe that Afghanistan will fade from the public's attention and not become an issue in the next federal election.

To Consider

1. Why were the results of the four federal by-elections such a mixed bag of good and bad news for the Liberals and Conservatives?
2. Why do you think the Green Party is becoming more popular with Canadian voters?
3. Do you think that either the Cadman affair or NAFTA-gate will provide Stéphane Dion and the federal Liberals with sufficient electoral ammunition to damage Stephen Harper's Conservative government in the next election? Why or why not?
4. How do you think the state of the Canadian and U.S. economies will influence the results of the next federal election when it is finally held?
5. Why do you think the Conservatives continue to have difficulties with some Canadians who suspect them of harbouring right-wing elements with narrow, extreme, and intolerant views of minorities?
6. Do you think Afghanistan is likely to become an important issue in the next federal election? Why or why not?

Sources: CBC News In Depth: The 39th Parliament – Harper at the Helm, "Four Liberal seats up for grabs on Monday," www.cbc.ca/news.background/parliament39/byelections.html, "Harper aide accused of sparking NAFTA-gate," www.cbc.ca/canada/story/2008/03/05/canada-obama.html, "Tory tape scandal has opposition calling on Sask. MP to resign," Yahoo Canada News, http://ca.news.yahoo.com/s/capress/080403/national/sask_scandal_tape&printer+1, "Taxpayers being abused by film funding: lobbyist," www.cbc.ca/arts/film/story/2008/02/29/mcvety-film.html, "NATO to meet Canada's demand for troops in Afghanistan," www.cbc.ca/world/story/2008/04/02/nato-afghanistan.html

KOSOVO DECLARES INDEPENDENCE

Introduction

Focus

This *News in Review* story looks at the birth of the nation of Kosovo on February 17, 2008. While many countries came out quickly to either recognize or denounce Kosovo's declaration of independence, Canada carefully measured its decision before weighing in on the issue a month later.

Definition

Ethnic cleansing is a term used to describe a policy of removing people from an area by means of brutal military action, including genocide. It is a relatively new term born in the brutality of the Balkan Wars in the 1990s.

Note

Slobodan Milosevic was arrested on war crimes charges in Belgrade in 2001. He stood trial at The Hague but died in prison in 2006 before a verdict was delivered.

A visibly distraught Dusan Batakovic, Serbia's ambassador to Canada, issued this stern warning to the Canadian people after Kosovo unilaterally declared independence from Serbia: "This dangerous precedent will obviously have a long-term effect on many separatist movements all over the globe, starting from the last corner of southeast Asia to the northernmost parts of America" (*Toronto Star*, March 18, 2008). From Batakovic's perspective, Kosovo's declaration of independence set a precedent for Quebec separatists. Despite federal efforts to establish laws regarding secession, Canada's endorsement of Kosovo's statehood opened the door for the Quebec sovereignty movement to seek its own unilateral declaration, the Serbian ambassador warned. To protest the Canadian government's decision, Ambassador Batakovic packed his bags and headed back to Belgrade to consult his superiors.

Serbia and Kosovo

Prior to the break-up of Yugoslavia in the 1990s, the country consisted of six republics and two autonomous provinces—each containing many different ethnic groups. Serbia was one of the republics, and Kosovo was one of the provinces. After the death of Yugoslavian leader Josip Broz Tito, the Balkans erupted in a series of civil wars, with each republic seeking autonomy and independence for its region. Once the dust settled, Yugoslavia had splintered into a cluster of new nations, including Serbia, which absorbed Kosovo into its boundaries. Events took on a particularly aggressive tone in the Balkans after the rise of Serbian leader Slobodan Milosevic. The Serbian president pushed through repressive measures against non-

Serbs in his territory and made war on his neighbours. Milosevic targeted the people of Kosovo in particular. He eliminated Kosovo's autonomy and effectively legalized the persecution of Kosovars (ethnic Albanians). Kosovo fought back, initially through non-violent resistance to Serb rule and then with violent guerilla warfare under the leadership of the Kosovo Liberation Army. Both tactics proved unsuccessful against the might of the Serbian army. The Serbs rolled over Kosovo in the late 90s, driving 800 000 ethnic Albanians out of the region and killing an estimated 10 000 people in a campaign of ethnic cleansing.

Once it became clear that the Serbs were resorting to ethnic cleansing to gain control of Kosovo, the international community took steps to thwart Milosevic's efforts. First, the Serb army was ordered to leave Kosovo. The Serbs refused to go. NATO stepped in and began a 78-day aerial-bombing campaign of Serbia that brought the nation to its knees. Eventually Milosevic ordered his troops out, and a NATO force of close to 50 000—including several hundred Canadians—was deployed to make sure the Serbs weren't tempted to return.

The Birth of Kosovo

The nation of Kosovo was born out of the ashes of the conflict with Serbia. The international community viewed the actions of Slobodan Milosevic and his Serbian comrades as savage, immoral, and sadistic. By most accounts, Kosovo was the clear victim of a brutal aggressor. International sympathy would serve to both protect the war-torn region and to facilitate the introduction of measures that would bring about independence. Once it became clear that Serbian territorial claims had faded,

control of the region was transferred from NATO to the UN, with a multinational contingent of soldiers protecting the peace in Kosovo.

In the interim, politicians from Kosovo worked closely with the UN to lay the foundations for a new nation. But the process moved slowly. The people of Kosovo had hoped that, after witnessing the atrocities of the war with Serbia, the international community would usher in nationhood quickly. Eventually the UN dispatched special envoy Martti Ahtisaari to see if he could mediate an independence agreement between Kosovo and Serbia. Several rounds of negotiations ended in futility. Kosovo would agree to nothing short of independence, and Serbia would not agree to any deal that included independence.

By the fall of 2007, political pressure from within Kosovo forced the issue onto the international agenda. As the year came to a close, Kosovo prepared to declare independence based on the recommendations of Ahtisaari, which included EU supervision and protection of ethnic Serbian rights within the new republic. Despite threatening rhetoric from Serbia and Russia, and vows of diplomatic reprisals, the politicians of Kosovo held firm. On February 17, 2008, they unilaterally declared their nation's independence.

International Reaction

Britain, the United States, and France came out quickly to recognize Kosovo's

independence, while Serbia and Russia came out just as quickly against the unilateral declaration. Britain, the U.S., and France felt that the declaration was another victory for democracy; Serbia protested that Kosovo was part of their territory and that Kosovar efforts to form a breakaway republic constituted a violation of international law. Meanwhile, the Russians threw their support behind Serbia, vowing to block any effort by Kosovo to join the UN.

Canadian politicians waited anxiously as most of their allies rallied behind the fledgling nation. Canada faced a dilemma. Would recognition of Kosovo give Quebec sovereignists a precedent for unilateral separation? A month after Kosovo declared its nationhood, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Maxime Bernier, announced Canada's position: Kosovo's independence would be recognized because the decision to form a nation was based on unique circumstances emerging from the Balkan civil wars of the 1990s. According to this logic, separatists would not have grounds to secede unilaterally with Kosovo as their inspiration because Quebec had not endured the degree of bloodshed suffered by Kosovars.

And so a new political world emerged in February 2008. The new republic of Kosovo would see if it could emerge as a prosperous and viable nation, while the government of Canada cautiously hoped that recognition of Kosovo would not reignite the hopes of sovereignists in Quebec.

Questions

1. Why did the Serbian ambassador pack his bags and head back to Belgrade?
2. What dangerous precedent did he feel was set when Canada recognized Kosovo?
3. Make a point-form list of the events that led to Kosovo's freedom.
4. Who opposed Kosovo's declaration of independence? Why?
5. Why did Canada wait a month to recognize Kosovo's independence?
6. What new political world emerged in February 2008?

KOSOVO DECLARES INDEPENDENCE

Video Review

Watch the video and answer the following questions.

1. Why did Kosovo's declaration of independence cause anxiety in Canada?

2. Why is Kosovo considered a flashpoint of territorial tension?

3. Describe the mood of the people of Kosovo regarding independence.

4. What percentage of people living in Kosovo are ethnic Albanians? _____

5. Identify some of the problems that emerged in the Balkans in the 1990s.

6. How did NATO stop the persecution of Kosovars by Slobodan Milosevic and the Serbian army?

7. How many people died in the war that eventually led to Kosovo's independence?

8. What was Serbia's reaction to Kosovo's declaration of independence?

9. What issues will the new nation of Kosovo have to deal with as it tries to show the world it is worthy of nationhood?

10. a) Who will supervise Kosovo's new government?

b) What will this mean for the government of Kosovo?

11. Why did Canada wait to recognize Kosovo?

KOSOVO DECLARES INDEPENDENCE

Profile of Kosovo



Why would the geographic position of Kosovo make its political problems critical to other nations? In your view what are the positive and negative aspects of Kosovo's geographic location?

Geography

Official Name: Republic of Kosovo

Capital: Pristina

Area: 10 887 square kilometres (roughly double the size of Prince Edward Island)

Land boundaries: Total – 702 km (Serbia, 352 km; Albania, 112 km; Macedonia, 159 km; Montenegro, 79 km)

Water: Kosovo is a landlocked nation bordering on Serbia, Albania, Macedonia, and Montenegro.

People

Population: 2 126 708

Ethnic Groups: Albanians 88 per cent; Serbs 7 per cent; Other (Bosniak, Gorani, Roma, Turk, Ashkali Egyptian) 5 per cent

Nationality: Ethnic Albanians are referred to as Kosovars while ethnic Serbians are referred to as Kosovacs.

Religions: Muslim, Serbian Orthodox, and Roman Catholic

Languages: Albanian and Serbian are the nation's official languages; in some areas Bosniak, Turkish and Roma are spoken.

Government

Type: Republic

Formed: February 17, 2008

Constitution: To be written; it will be based on the recommendations made by United Nations' envoy Martti Ahtisaari prior to Kosovo's unilateral declaration of independence.

Voting age: Any citizen over the age of 18

Legislature: The Kosovo Assembly

Head of State: President Fatmir Sejdiu

Head of Government: Prime Minister Hashim Thaci

Cabinet: Elected by the Kosovo Assembly

Economy

Gross Domestic Product (GDP): \$3- to \$4-billion (approx.)

GDP growth rate: 3 per cent

GDP per capita: \$1 800
Labour force: 832 000
Largest labour sector: Agriculture (21 per cent); analysts note that Kosovo is presently shifting away from agriculture to a market-based economy.
Unemployment rate: 43 per cent

Population living below the poverty line: 37 per cent
Inflation rate: 2 per cent
Currency: Euro (the Serbian dinar is used in regions bordering on Serbia)

Source: Central Intelligence Agency
World Factbook: Kosovo (<https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/kv.html>)

Research

Compare Canada with Kosovo based on the main categories listed in the profile above. What similarities do you notice between the two countries? What differences do you notice? Use this organizer to frame your research and be prepared to share your findings orally.

Two sources you can use are Statistics Canada (www.statscan.ca) and the CIA *World Factbook* (www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook).

Comparison between Canada and Kosovo	
Major Similarities	
Major Differences	

KOSOVO DECLARES INDEPENDENCE

Balkan Timeline

Did you know...

Turkey is the nation most associated with the Ottoman Empire. At its height, the Ottoman Turks' kingdom stretched across three continents.

Read the following timeline and complete the activity that follows.

1389 Serbs lose a war with the Ottoman Empire at the Battle of Kosovo.

1815 Serbia wins limited freedom from the Ottoman Empire.

1919 In the aftermath of the First World War, Yugoslavia—an amalgam of over 20 ethnic groups—is created.

1946 A new constitution is drafted in the aftermath of the Second World War. Yugoslavia is divided into six politically equal republics. Kosovo is not granted republic status but is given regional autonomy.

1968 Pro-independence demonstrations take place in Kosovo; Yugoslavian police make many arrests.

1974 Kosovo is declared an autonomous province, with the majority Albanian population exercising almost complete control of the region.

1980 Yugoslavian leader and dictator Josip Broz Tito dies.

1981 Mass independence demonstrations take place in Kosovo.

1989 Serbian Communist Party leader Slobodan Milosevic becomes president of the Republic of Serbia; Milosevic pushes through repressive laws and eliminates autonomy for Kosovo.

1991 Yugoslavia disintegrates, shrinking to include Serbia and Montenegro and losing Croatia, Albania, and Slovenia to independence in a series of civil wars; Kosovo declares itself an independent republic. Only Albania recognizes Kosovo's independence.

1992 Ibrahim Rugova encourages Kosovars to practise non-violent, passive resistance to Serb rule to stem off a violent clampdown by Milosevic.

1995 The Dayton Peace Accord ends the war in Bosnia, but peace in Kosovo remains in limbo.

1996 The Kosovo Liberation Army (KLA) is formed and begins attacking Serbian police targets.

Spring 1998 Serb police retaliate, killing dozens of suspected separatists; meanwhile, the people of Serbia overwhelmingly reject international mediation in a national referendum.

Summer 1998 The KLA takes control of 40 per cent of Kosovo; the Serbs respond with deadly force, destroying villages and, in one case, killing 22 ethnic Albanians in central Kosovo.

Fall 1998 NATO authorizes air strikes against Serbian military targets to stem Serbia's ethnic-cleansing campaign.

Winter 1999 The international community calls for a war-crimes investigation after learning of the massacre of 45 ethnic Albanians outside Racak, Kosovo, by Serb troops.

Spring 1999 Belgrade rejects a peace deal offered by the international community; NATO begins a 78-day air bombardment campaign to bring Serbia into compliance. Meanwhile Serb forces push 800 000 ethnic Albanians out of Kosovo into neighbouring Albania and Macedonia. Eventually, Serb leader Slobodan Milosevic pulls Serbian troops out of Kosovo, and NATO sends peacekeepers, including Canadians, to occupy the war-torn province. While ethnic Albanians return to their homes, many ethnic Serbians flee Kosovo to avoid reprisals.

Fall 2000 Slobodan Milosevic is forced to resign.

Further Research

For a more in-depth analysis of Kosovo and the Balkans, consider a visit to www.cbc.ca and the feature CBC News In Depth: "Balkans" (www.cbc.ca/news/background/balkans/workman.html). The CBC Digital Archives also presents an audio-visual feature on Canada's military participation in the region in the file "The Kosovo Question" (http://archives.cbc.ca/war_conflict/defence/clips/10401/).

Did you know . . .

The nations of Serbia, Kosovo, Macedonia, Slovenia, Bosnia, Montenegro, Croatia, and Herzegovina emerged out of the former Yugoslavia.

2001 Milosevic is extradited to The Hague on war-crimes charges by Serbian authorities; the former Serbian president dies in prison before a verdict is rendered.

2002 Now a UN protectorate but still an autonomous region of Serbia, Kosovo elects a parliament with Ibrahim Rugova as the leader; Rugova dies four years later of lung cancer.

2006 The UN initiates negotiations aimed at bringing independence to Kosovo; the Serbs respond by holding a referendum wherein Kosovo is declared an integral part of Serbia.

2007 UN envoy Martti Ahtisaari releases his recommendations regarding the establishment of an independent Kosovo; Serbia rejects the recommendations and refuses to participate in any negotiations that call for Kosovan independence.

February 17, 2008 After a rocky 2007 that saw Serbia and Russia challenge the UN at every turn regarding Kosovan independence, the government of Kosovo—with the backing of the U.S. and many influential members of the European Union—unilaterally declares independence from Serbia. Serbia claims that the declaration violates international law as well as UN resolutions.

2008 The Serbian parliament is dissolved on March 8, and new elections are called for May 11. The key issue is how to respond to the independence of Kosovo.

Sources: "Timeline – Kosovo Independence," www.cbc.ca/news/background/balkans/kosovo-timeline; "Balkans Timeline – 1389-1999/1999-Present," www.cbc.ca/news/background/balkans

Activity

Use the timeline to write a newspaper report that outlines the history of Kosovo's drive for independence. Focus on the events that you believe are most important in the campaign for independence.

Length of report: 300-500 words

KOSOVO DECLARES INDEPENDENCE

The Story Behind the Story

Did you know . . . Kosovo has a small Serbian minority in the north that has itself suffered reprisal attacks at the hands of the Albanian majority in Kosovo. Serbia is very anxious to protect this group of people, and some Serbs think that this area should itself be separated from an independent Kosovo. What do you think?

Recognition of Kosovo's independence was never going to be an easy process. Serbia still considers Kosovo to be its spiritual homeland, with the roots of this idea stretching back hundreds of years. In the famous Battle of Kosovo in 1389, Serb forces lost a key battle to the Ottoman Turks, signaling the beginning of the end for the medieval Serbian empire. It wasn't until 1815 that the Serbs achieved a degree of autonomy from their Turkish rulers—with full freedom coming about a hundred years later. Out of the Battle of Kosovo, the Serbs developed a folklore that recognized the province of Kosovo as the cradle of Serb civilization.

However, folklore and history have a tendency to collide awkwardly. In the case of Kosovo, while Serbian children learned of the bravery demonstrated by their ancestors in the Battle of Kosovo, the population of the region was shifting from predominantly Serb to ethnic Albanian. By the time Slobodan Milosevic came to power, Kosovo was almost 90 per cent Albanian. In other words, the clear majority of the population of Kosovo had no connection to the Serbian folklore stemming from the famous battle of 1389 and certainly didn't see itself as Serbian.

For his part, Milosevic tapped into the last vestiges of Serbian nationalist sentiment surrounding Kosovo. Despite the reality that Kosovo was now an ethnic Albanian province, Milosevic used the full power of the Serbian army to try to put the province back into the hands of the Serbs. His efforts failed because the international community stepped in to protect Kosovo. By the time the last NATO bomb was dropped on Serbia,

Kosovo had become an international protectorate. Any hope that Serbia had of regaining the land of their ancestors was lost.

Within two years of Serbia's withdrawal from Kosovo, Milosevic was shipped off to The Hague on war-crimes charges, and the new Serbian government was taking steps to join the European Union (EU). Joining the EU would provide a major boost to the Serbian economy and restore its credibility on the international stage. While last-ditch efforts were taken to preserve Kosovo's status as a Serbian province, the momentum toward independence—due largely to powerful international support—could not be halted. The UN attempted to mediate a negotiated agreement between Serbia and Kosovo, but it became clear that the Serbs were not prepared to accept the independence of Kosovo in any form. By the fall of 2007, with negotiations deemed an utter failure and the patience of the people of Kosovo wearing thin, independence was seen as imminent.

On February 17, 2008, Kosovo unilaterally declared its independence. Serbia protested by recalling its ambassadors from any countries that recognized the new nation, and Russia vowed to block all efforts to give Kosovo a seat at the United Nations. No doubt a period of conflict between Serb hard-liners looking to find a way to get Kosovo back and Serb moderates seeking to bring Serbia into the EU will mark the next phase in Serbian politics. In the meantime, Kosovo is an independent nation, and Serbia has no realistic chance of reversing this new political reality.

Questions

1. Why is the Battle of Kosovo considered such an important historic event for the Serbians?
2. How did folklore and history collide in Kosovo?
3. How did Slobodan Milosevic tap into Serb nationalism to gain control of Kosovo?
4. What debt does Kosovo owe the international community for its role in the independence movement?
5. What organization is Serbia hoping to join? Why is this important for the prosperity of everyday Serbians?
6. How do you think Serbia should respond to Kosovo's independence?

KOSOVO DECLARES INDEPENDENCE

Recognizing Kosovan Independence

Further Research

To stay informed about Kosovo, consider a visit to the official Web sites of NATO (www.nato.int), the United Nations (www.un.org), and the European Union (http://europa.eu/index_en.htm).

Key Supporters of Kosovo's Declaration of Independence

Britain, the United States, and France were the strongest supporters of independence for Kosovo. All three nations pushed for independence through NATO, the UN, and the EU. Even when it became clear that Russia was not going to budge on the question of nationhood, the three countries stuck to their agenda and eventually backed Kosovo's decision to unilaterally declare its independence.

While the majority of Canada's strongest allies came out early to support the new nation of Kosovo, Canadian politicians waited a month before recognizing Kosovo. Politicians feared that too quick a recognition could inspire Quebec separatists to seek a unilateral declaration of independence in the future. Once the decision was made to recognize Kosovo, politicians were quick to point out that Kosovo's suffering during the civil war of the 1990s made its nationhood a unique situation with no resemblance to the sovereignist movement in Quebec.

Key Opponents of Kosovo's Declaration of Independence

Serbia is the most obvious opponent of Kosovo's independence. In the post-Milosevic era, Serbian leaders drafted a new constitution that declared Kosovo an

“integral part” of Serbia. In the lead-up to the declaration in February 2008, Serb politicians protested vehemently that a unilateral declaration of independence violated international law because Kosovo was a part of Serbia's territory. Nations like Britain, the U.S., and France argued that Kosovo had been under UN control since 1999 and that any Serbian claims to Kosovo had vanished once international troops came in to occupy the region. Serbia countered that UN resolution 1244—the resolution that ended the war in Kosovo in 1999—as well as precedents established under international law, gave it a legal claim to Kosovo.

Russia, a longtime ally of Serbia, came to its defence. Russia argued that recognition of Kosovo set a precedent for any number of separatist groups seeking to break away from member countries of the United Nations. Russia's battle with Chechen separatists has been well documented. Canada, Spain, Romania, Cyprus, Greece, Bulgaria, Georgia, and Slovakia are also countries dealing with separatist elements trying to form their own nations. China is yet another nation that is dealing with groups seeking to assert independence. Examples there include the long-running feud with Taiwan and recent unrest in Tibet.

Activity

1. Review the chart on the next page.
2. Highlight the nations in the chart that were mentioned in the article above. Why did each of these nations choose to recognize or not recognize Kosovo's declaration of independence?
3. Put an asterisk (*) beside the three countries that you believe represent:
a) the greatest allies of Kosovo and b) the greatest enemies of Kosovo.
Explain your conclusions (one sentence for each choice).

4. Put two asterisks (**) beside the nations that are dealing with separatist movements within their own countries. Why do you think each nation either recognized or did not recognize Kosovo (one sentence per choice)?
5. Many nations that have not recognized Kosovo are studying the situation. Why might a nation make an announcement telling the world that they are intentionally waiting before they recognize a new nation like Kosovo?
6. Highlight the nation that you believe has the greatest to lose by recognizing the new nation of Kosovo. Explain your choice in three to five sentences.

International Reaction			
Countries that recognize Kosovo's independence		Countries that do not recognize Kosovo's independence	
Afghanistan	Latvia	Algeria	Mexico
Albania	Liechtenstein	Argentina	Moldova
Australia	Lithuania	Armenia	Montenegro
Austria	Luxembourg	Azerbaijan	Morocco
Belgium	Malaysia	Bangladesh	Mozambique
Bulgaria	Monaco	Belarus	New Zealand
Canada†	Netherlands	Bolivia	Nicaragua
Costa Rica	Norway	Bosnia and Herzegovina	Pakistan
Croatia	Peru	Brazil	Panama
Denmark	Poland	Chile	Paraguay
Estonia	Senegal	China	Philippines
Finland	Slovenia	Columbia	Portugal
France	South Korea	Cuba	Romania
Germany	Sweden	Cyprus	Russia
Hungary	Switzerland	Egypt	San Marino
Iceland	Taiwan	Georgia	Serbia
Ireland	Turkey	Greece	Singapore
Italy	United Kingdom	India	Slovakia
Japan	United States	Indonesia	South Africa
		Iran	Spain
		Iraq	Sri Lanka
		Israel	Sudan
		Jordan	Tajikistan
		Kazakhstan	Thailand
		Kuwait	Uganda
		Kyrgyzstan	Ukraine
		Laos	Uruguay
		Libya	Uzbekistan
		Mali	Venezuela
		Malta	Vietnam
			Zambia

Source: "Who recognizes Kosovo?" www.kosovothanksyou.com

†Canada formally recognized Kosovo's independence on March 18, 2008

KOSOVO DECLARES INDEPENDENCE

Activity: Recognizing Kosovo

Quote

“Imagine that Quebec, for instance, proclaims independence in the same way that Kosovo did, unilaterally. Would Ottawa then recognize Quebec as an independent country? How would it react if other countries, without notifying Ottawa, recognize an independent Quebec?”— Dusan Batakovic, Serbian Ambassador to Canada (*Toronto Star*, March 19, 2008)

Background

The decision to recognize the new nation of Kosovo was not an easy one for the government of Canada. The prospect of separation in 1980 and 1995 put the nation into a state of trauma that demonstrated the fragile nature of national unity. So when Kosovo declared that it was no longer part of Serbia, Canada needed to take stock to make sure it was not sending the wrong message to separatists in Quebec who continue to seek to break away from the Canadian union. Kosovo’s independence bid did not have the backing of the United Nations, and it certainly didn’t have a shred of support from Serbia. Canadian politicians had to ask: what if the situation was reversed? What if Quebec declared its independence from Canada without the support of the United Nations and in direct violation of Canadian law?

Canadian politicians took a month to think about the prospect before weighing in on the issue. After much deliberation, Canada decided to follow the lead of its allies and recognize Kosovo. The rationale: Kosovo had paid for its freedom with the blood of its people after Slobodan Milosevic and the Serbian army’s attempt at ethnic cleansing in the 1990s. Any comparison to Canada’s conflict with Quebec separatists lacked this brutal and tragic element.

Your Task

Assume you are the prime minister of Canada. You need to decide whether or not to recognize the independence of Kosovo. Your job is to write a speech that clearly states your decision and explains the reasoning behind your conclusions. Make sure you specifically refer to Quebec in your speech, explaining how the efforts by some Quebec separatists influenced your decision. Keep in mind that you are not bound to follow the lead of the Canadian government in 2008. In other words, you are free to either recognize or not recognize Kosovo.

Instructions

Preparation

Use the information found in this *News in Review* story as background research for your speech.

1. List three convincing reasons why Canada should recognize Kosovo.*
2. List three convincing reasons why Canada should not recognize Kosovo.*
3. Decide on whether or not you will recognize Kosovo.
4. Prepare your speech.
5. Write your speech based on the information you have gathered. (Length of speech: 300-500 words)
6. Either hand in your speech to your teacher or read your speech to the class.

*A good speechwriter knows the pros and cons of any argument. Where possible your speech should refute the arguments against your position.

RESTORING PEACE TO KENYA

Introduction

Focus

Kenya's recent presidential election resulted in some of the worst violence in the country's history. This *News in Review* module examines the causes of the conflict and the agreement that ended it. We discuss many of the keys to the conflict in Kenya's recent history and tribal rivalries.

Definition

Tribalism generally refers to the identification of people with their tribe rather than their nation as a whole. In extreme cases tribalism can lead to rivalry, national strife, and civil war.

Update

As the Kenyan crisis was apparently winding down, yet another election crisis erupted in the Africa nation of Zimbabwe where March election results were disputed and political violence loomed on the horizon.

The 2007 Kenyan presidential election should have been a high point in the republic's history. Described by the respected journal *The Economist* (December 22, 2007) as "a haven of stability and prosperity in eastern Africa," Kenya was expected to hold an election that would be an example to all of Africa. "If a country as complex and poor as Kenya can hold genuine elections without civil strife, then any country in Africa can. This is a chance to set an example." Unfortunately, the resulting election was not what *The Economist*—or most outside observers—expected.

The election was predicted to be extremely close. Opinion polls showed a very small lead for Raila Odinga, the leader of Kenya's main opposition party. Odinga more than once alleged that the ruling party, led by President Mwai Kibaki, had plans in place to rig the vote. He even claimed to have letters and videotapes proving his allegations.

Election day itself was almost anticlimactic. The vote was orderly, and no major disruptions were reported. The count, however, was extremely slow. Preliminary results indicated that Odinga was the likely winner.

The vote was held on December 27, 2007, but it was December 30 before the official announcement was made: Kibaki defeated Odinga by less than two per cent of the vote. Odinga, supported by outside observers from the European Union, was quick to declare that widespread fraud had cost him the election.

Ethnic Violence

The rivalry between Kibaki and Odinga is complicated by the fact that they are members of two different tribes. Kibaki,

a Kikuyu, is a member of a tribe that considers itself Kenya's ruling elite. Odinga, a Luo, belongs to a tribe that has long resented the political and economic success of the Kikuyu. Kibaki's election in 2002 had returned the Kikuyu to power after a period of 24 years.

Well before the 2007 election, *The Economist* (June 9, 2007), described tribalism as "the motor of politics in Kenya," and declared that it was "as potent and prevalent as ever." (We examine the role of tribalism later in this guide.) Nonetheless, many observers felt that there were definite signs of improvement in Kenya. While the Kikuyu and the Luo might be adversaries, all Kenyans seemed to be benefiting from improved social and economic conditions.

It took only 15 minutes from when the official result was announced for violence to erupt in the slums of Nairobi, Kenya's capital. Members of the Kikuyu were the targets. Anti-Kikuyu violence soon spread to many parts of the country. In all, more than 1 000 people died, and 600 000 were displaced.

The Kenyan election violence was especially dispiriting to other Africans who had hoped for evidence that multiparty elections could be held peacefully and that tribalism could become a thing of the past. Many hoped that the ethnic cleansing that took place in Rwanda in 1994 would serve as an example that would prevent future occurrences. The Kenyan violence, while hardly on that scale, proved that the old ways were not dead.

Resolution?

On the other hand, both sides, with the assistance of outside mediation, did come together and negotiate a

Quote

The Economist
(June 9, 2007)
doesn't mince words in assigning blame for the mess Kenya finds itself in. "The answer is misguided economic policies, mismanagement, poor maintenance, sloppiness, tribalism, and corruption. This litany of failings is almost entirely the fault of Kenyans themselves: the politicians they have allowed to rule over them and rip them off; the civil servants and road builders (some of them foreign) who have skimmed off contracts or simply not bothered to do the job; and the dishonesty, venality, and fatalism that have gripped society at large."

Update

The fragile compromise that seemed to end the violence in Kenya appeared to be breaking down by early April, when the Odinga opposition broke off negotiations with the Kibaki government. Violence erupted on the streets again.

settlement. The result was a power-sharing arrangement where both men could influence the future political and economic development of the country.

One can only hope they can come together to deal with the challenges. In addition to the tribalism at the root of the recent violence, the country faces a huge number of economic and social problems. These include a population explosion, from eight million at independence (1963) to almost 37 million today. Six per cent of that population suffers from HIV/AIDS. Nairobi, the capital, is one of the world's

fastest-growing cities; at the heart of it is a slum that houses anywhere from 600 000 to 1.2 million people. Crime is increasing dramatically. Fifty per cent of the population lives below the poverty level. Infrastructure is collapsing, and it is Kenya's roads that best demonstrate this; many of the main roads between cities have so many potholes and craters that traffic can move no faster than 15 kilometres per hour.

Kibaki, Odinga, and the Kenyan National Assembly have their work cut out for them.

For Discussion

One of Kenya's greatest political problems is that the members of each tribe, as they take power, seem to feel it entitles them to help themselves to much of the public purse. The result has been the numerous problems listed at the end of this introduction. What measures might a power-sharing government under Kibaki and Odinga take in order to reverse this corrupt practice? How likely are they to make a serious attempt to do so? Is there any useful role for Canada in this situation? Explain.

RESTORING PEACE TO KENYA

Video Review

Quote

"The postcard Kenya that everyone sees with elephants and nice sunsets is gone. We now have to deal with the reality of Kenya, which is the majority of people who live in slums with no toilets and have a very hard life." — Kenyan anti-corruption activist John Githongo (*Toronto Star*, February 9, 2008)

Respond to the questions in the spaces provided.

1. What is the name of Kenya's president who ran for re-election in 2007?

2. Who was his main opponent, the man who claimed he was the real winner?

3. For many observers, the Kenyan violence brought to mind previous tribal violence in another African country. What was that country? _____
4. How did the United States react to the announced Kenyan election results?

5. According to a statement by the head of Kenya's election commission, who really won the presidential election? _____
6. Which well-known diplomat was finally able to bring both sides together to discuss a potential agreement? _____
7. How many Kenyans died in the first month of violence? _____
8. How many Kenyan children are believed to have been lost or orphaned? _____
9. Kenya supplies more of one agricultural product to Europe than does any other country. What is that product? _____
10. How many Kenyans work in the country's tourist industry? _____
11. By the end of February 2008, Kenya's presidential election rivals had agreed to two major deals to end the conflict. What were they?
 - i. _____
 - ii. _____
12. What lessons might other African nations take from the recent crisis in Kenya?

13. Why might this matter be of interest to countries far beyond the African continent?

RESTORING PEACE TO KENYA

Profile

Further Research

Good background information on Kenya is available at Infoplease at www.infoplease.com/ipa/A0107678.html, and at the (U.S.) Central Intelligence Agency's *World Factbook* at www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/ke.html. The official Web site of the Government of Kenya is www.kenya.go.ke.

Did you know...

A useful statistical comparison can be made with Canada, with its population of 33 390 000. The median age of Canadians is 39.1, and the population is growing at less than one per cent per year. Canada's infant mortality rate is 4.63 per 1 000 live births. Canadians have a life expectancy of 80.34 years. About 56 000 Canadians are estimated to be living with HIV/AIDS.



Kenya is an East African country bordering on the Indian Ocean, with Somalia to the east and Tanzania to the south. Its other neighbours are Ethiopia on its north, Sudan on the northwest, and Uganda to the west. Its capital and largest city is Nairobi, with a population of about 2.5 million.

Population

- Kenya's population is estimated (July 2007) at 36 913 721.
- The median age of the Kenyan population is 18.6 years. 42.1 per cent of the population is 0-14 years of age; 55.2 per cent is 15-64; only 2.6 per cent is 65 or over.
- Kenya's population is growing at a rate of about 2.8 per cent per year.
- The infant mortality rate is high – 57.44 deaths per 1 000 live births.
- The current life expectancy for Kenyans is 55.31 years.
- HIV/AIDS is an important factor in the Kenyan mortality rate. Over six per cent of the population—1.2 million people—is believed to be living with HIV/AIDS.
- The bulk of the Kenyan population consists of members of a number of

African tribes. The largest are the Kikuyu (22 per cent), the Luhya (14 per cent), the Luo (13 per cent), the Kalenjin (12 per cent), and the Kamba (11 per cent). Only about one per cent of the population is non-African.

- A large majority of the population is Christian—about 78 per cent. About 10 per cent is Muslim, and another 10 per cent practise traditional African religions.

Economy

Until the recent election crisis, Kenya's economy was seen to be strengthening significantly after several years of stagnation.

- The Gross Domestic Product (GDP = total value of goods and services produced in a country) grew in 2007 at a rate of 6.3 per cent.
- The per capita GDP was \$1 600 in the same year.
- The GDP came from three major areas: agriculture (23.8 per cent), industry (16.7 per cent) and services (59.5 per cent)
- Industrial production is increasing at a rate of about 6.1 per cent per year.
- Kenya is a major producer of tea and coffee for the international market.
- Tourism is a \$6-billion industry for Kenya.
- One quarter of the labour force works in the industrial and service sectors; 75 per cent works in agriculture.

However, it is important to note that:

- Kenya's unemployment rate is 40 per cent.
- 50 per cent of the population lives below the poverty line.
- The inflation rate is about 9.3 per cent.

Government

Kenya achieved independence from the United Kingdom on December 12, 1963, after several years of violent and non-violent struggle (see “Past Politics,” on page 37). The country is a constitutional republic, with a constitution that has been amended many times. A new constitution was proposed for adoption in 2005, but was defeated by popular vote. Negotiations following the recent election have guaranteed that another major rewrite will be necessary.

Currently, the president is both chief

of state and head of the government. However, a recent agreement has resulted in power-sharing between the president as chief of state and a prime minister as head of government. The latter will be responsible to the legislature.

The legislature consists of a National Assembly of 224 members. Of these, 210 are directly elected to five-year terms; 12 are appointed according to party vote totals; two others are ex-officio members (the attorney general and the speaker of the assembly).

Follow-up Activity

Kenya has long been considered to be one of the more progressive African countries south of the Sahara. To see if this observation is valid, use the CIA *World Factbook* (www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/) to compare the population and economic statistics given above with those of another African country. Each student should select a different country; comparisons can then be made to give a broad picture of Kenya’s place in the overall African demographic.

RESTORING PEACE TO KENYA

Past Politics

Further Research

Learn more about the Mau Mau uprising on Wikipedia at http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mau_Mau_Uprising; on About.com at africanhistory.about.com/od/kenya/a/MauMauTimeline_2.htm; and on Kenyalogy.com at www.kenyalogy.com/eng/info/histo13.html.

Did you know . . .

Oginga Odinga is the father of 2007 presidential candidate and now prime minister Raila Odinga.

The history of modern Kenya began in 1895, when the greatest of all colonizers, the British, formed the British East Africa Protectorate in what is now Kenya and Uganda. White settlers were quick to move into the highlands, and, in 1920, the protectorate became the crown colony of Kenya, administered by a British governor.

Independence

Kenya's independence movement began in 1944, with the foundation of the Kenyan African Union (KAU). Three years later Jomo Kenyatta, the man destined to become Kenya's first president, became the leader of the KAU.

Kenyatta was a member of the largest Kenyan tribe, the Kikuyu. In 1952 some of the Kikuyu formed a political group called the Mau Mau and began a series of violent attacks against white settlers. Kenyatta was regarded as their leader, and he was jailed by the British in 1953. However, the uprising continued, and Britain declared a state of emergency in Kenya.

By 1956 the British had had enough and moved some 50 000 troops into the country to end the rebellion. When the revolt was finally put down, about 12 000 Africans were dead and another 100 000 imprisoned. About 30 Europeans were killed.

Kenyatta remained in jail until 1959, when he was placed under house arrest. The British did not end the state of emergency until 1960, when they announced that they would prepare the country for independence.

That same year, Tom Mboya and Oginga Odinga—with the blessing of the British—formed the Kenya African National Union (KANU). In 1961, Kenyatta was finally released from house

arrest. He was offered and accepted the presidency of KANU.

On December 12, 1963, Kenya became an independent country. Jomo Kenyatta was its first prime minister.

Kenyatta's Presidency

Kenya was transformed into a republic in 1964, and Kenyatta, a Kikuyu, was elected its first president. He chose Oginga Odinga, a Luo tribesman, as his vice-president. Ideologically, the two leaders often disagreed (Odinga called himself a socialist). In 1966 Odinga left the KANU party and founded a new party, the KPU, or Kenyan People's Union, to contest the next election.

That election was to be held in 1969. Shortly before it a Kikuyu tribesman assassinated Tom Mboya, a Luo whom Kenyatta was believed to be grooming as his successor. Ethnic unrest followed. Kenyatta arrested Odinga and banned the KPU. Kenyatta easily won the election, as well as a subsequent one in 1974.

Despite the political problems, Kenyatta's presidency was a time of economic growth and positive change for Kenya. Kenyatta was beloved by the majority of Kenyans as the father of his country. He was also highly respected by foreign politicians—in Africa and elsewhere in the world.

Daniel Arap Moi

Kenyatta died in office on August 22, 1978. He was succeeded by his vice-president, Daniel Arap Moi. Moi was considered a weak politician. However, the National Assembly was quick to endorse his presidency. As a member of the Kalenjin tribe, he did not represent any of the country's dominant ethnic groups.

Further Research

For an authentic African look at the fight for Kenyan independence, go to Kenyaweb at www.kenyaweb.com/history/struggle/index.html. Also useful are Infoplease at www.infoplease.com/ipa/A0107678.html and the BBC at news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/africa/country_profiles/1026884.stm.

Moi quickly proved to be a despot, banning tribal societies and closing universities. In 1982 he and the KANU party declared Kenya a one-party state, effectively silencing most of his opposition.

By 1991, pressure from within Kenya and other countries accelerated to the point where the constitution was changed once again—to permit the registration of opposition parties. The biggest beneficiary was the Forum for the Restoration of Democracy (FORD), one of whose leaders was Oginga Odinga. Moi, however, proved increasingly adept at playing one group off against another. In the 1992 election, the first multiparty election in Kenya's history, he won decisively once again.

By 1997, Moi had served four terms as president—all the constitution allowed. KANU, unwilling to give up power, announced a constitutional change to permit him one more term. He was duly re-elected in a vote that is believed to have been rigged.

During Moi's last period in office, Kenya was plagued by a series of environmental and civil disasters, leaving the economy reeling. His attempts to deal with corruption—a demand by the international community that provided Kenya with extensive financial assistance—proved to be ineffectual.

In 2001 problems reached a peak. Moi's solution was to form a coalition government. He included in it Raila Odinga, Oginga's son and now leader of the opposition, as minister of energy. But the country was restless. Millions of Kenyans had been affected by a lengthy drought. Furthermore, Moi's new anticorruption law failed to pass the National Assembly.

After 24 years in power, Moi could not run again. He chose Jomo Kenyatta's son Uhuru as his successor. But Uhuru Kenyatta had only one year of parliamentary experience and was easily defeated by Mwai Kibaki (31 per cent of the votes to 62 per cent). Kibaki remains president to this day.

Analysis

1. Carefully indicate the progress made in Kenya since independence and outline the problems that still plague the young nation.
2. In your view, is the future of Kenya generally positive or negative? Explain your position.

RESTORING PEACE TO KENYA

The 2007 Election Crisis

Further Research

Raila Odinga has an official Web site at www.raila07.com. Mwai Kibaki has a site at www.kibaki.co.ke.

The 2007 Kenyan presidential election pitted two powerful politicians with lengthy political records against one another. The result was the closest vote in Kenyan election history, and one that both sides are believed to have tried to manipulate.

President Mwai Kibaki

Mwai Kibaki is 77 years old and has served in Kenyan governments since independence in 1963. He was appointed vice-president by Daniel Arap Moi in 1978 and held that post for 10 years—until he fell out of favour with the president. Kibaki first ran for president in 1992, coming third. He ran again in 1997, this time coming second.

Kibaki finally won power in 2002, running on an anti-corruption platform. The first part of his term seemed very promising. He began a crackdown on corrupt judges and police. He promised a new constitution to limit presidential powers. He instituted free elementary school education for all Kenyans. Under Kibaki's leadership, foreign aid increased, tourism hit record numbers, and the economy expanded yearly.

But disappointment followed for many Kenyans. The proposed new constitution increased rather than diminished presidential authority (it was defeated in a 2005 referendum). The government's anticorruption minister resigned in 2005 because he was blocked from investigating a number of scandals. And, despite the improved economic situation, 50 per cent of Kenyans still found themselves living below the poverty level. Kibaki's decision to run again in 2007 seemed to many to be a serious political mistake.

Raila Odinga

Raila Odinga, 63, son of Kenya's first vice-president, has been a parliamentarian since 1992. He served as a minister in Kibaki's cabinet from 2002 to 2005. Odinga made his first run for the presidency in 1997, coming third. He then joined the government of Daniel Arap Moi, serving as minister of energy in 2001 and 2002. Odinga hoped to be named by Moi as his successor. When that hope failed to materialize, he threw his support behind Kibaki, who won handily.

By 2005, Odinga had broken with Kibaki and founded the Orange Democratic Movement (ODM). It was as the ODM candidate that Odinga ran for president in 2007. His promise was to end the corruption that remained unresolved by Kibaki's government.

A Disputed Election

The 2007 election brought out an unprecedented number of voters, and many of them were obviously unhappy with the existing government. The ODM won more than twice as many seats in the National Assembly as did Kibaki's Party of National Unity (PNU). But, according to a surprise declaration by the Electoral Commission of Kenya (ECK-www.eck.or.ke), the presidential victory went to Kibaki and the PNU, by 46 per cent to 44 per cent.

Tales of election fraud were rampant. The European Union team of observers condemned the election and called for an investigation. They pointed to a number of irregularities in both the vote and vote counting that clearly favoured Kibaki.

Within an hour of the ECK announcement, Kibaki had himself sworn in as president. Odinga's reaction

Did you know . . .

Both Canada and the U.S. threatened to block the visas of Kenyan politicians and businesspeople who fuelled violence and blocked negotiations during the recent troubles.

Further Research

The full agreement negotiated by Kofi Annan to end the election dispute is available at www.reliefweb.int/rw/rwb.nsf/db900sid/EDIS-7C9NLB?OpenDocument.

was one of outrage. He refused to accept the results and declared that he would hold his own alternative inauguration. He also called for a million-man march to protest the president's action.

The country was even quicker to erupt into violence. Kibera, Nairobi's large slum district, was the scene of massive riots immediately following the announcement. The violence soon spread to other parts of the country; much of it was aimed at the Kikuyu, Kenya's largest tribe and the tribe of which President Kibaki is a member.

Despite an enormous police presence, the situation worsened daily. The violence was to continue for weeks, resulting in at least 1 000 deaths and the dislocation of 600 000 people.

Negotiating a Solution

It seemed obvious from the beginning of the violence that only a negotiated solution between Kibaki and Odinga could bring it to an end. Both parties, however, seemed unable to move in that direction. Kibaki quickly solidified his

hold on power by appointing half his cabinet before any talks with Odinga had taken place. Odinga, in turn, insisted he would not speak with Kibaki until he agreed to abandon his claim to the presidency.

Several attempts were made to promote negotiations. John Kufuor, the president of Ghana and chair of the African Union, tried and almost succeeded in brokering an agreement in January, but the thorny issue of power-sharing prevented his success. And it was early February before Odinga indicated he would no longer demand that Kibaki resign before he would sign an agreement.

Under the leadership of former United Nations secretary-general Kofi Annan, an agreement was finally reached on February 28, 2008. The Kenya Accord and Reconciliation Act creates a new position of prime minister, a post to be held by Raila Odinga. He will share power with Mwai Kibaki, who will continue as Kenya's president.

For Discussion

Some observers have argued that a division of powers between Kibaki and Odinga, president and prime minister, will only lead to further instability and power struggles in Kenya. It might even divide the country further along ethnic lines. How would you expect the agreement to play out? What would you expect to happen if one of the participants decided to withdraw in the future? What solutions would you offer to the recent upheaval in Kenya?

RESTORING PEACE TO KENYA

Tribalism and Violence

Further Research

The most appalling example of tribal violence in recent history is the Rwandan genocide of 1994. The government, controlled by Hutu tribesmen, initiated a well-planned campaign to systematically destroy the country's Tutsi population. About 800 000 people died in the conflict. A good short article on the Rwandan genocide is available from the BBC at news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/africa/1288230.stm. Also helpful is an article from the United Human Rights Council at www.unitedhumanrights.org/Genocide/genocide_in_rwanda.htm. The CBC Digital Archives (www.cbc.ca/archives) has a file on the UN leader of the Rwandan Mission, Canadian General Roméo Dallaire, entitled "Witness To Evil: Roméo Dallaire and Rwanda."

Violence erupted in Kenya immediately following the announcement of the 2007 presidential election results. Outside observers were prepared for a political protest against what many perceived as a fraudulent election. Few were prepared for an explosion of ethnic violence along tribal lines.

Kenya's population consists largely of people drawn from about 40 different African tribes. Most prominent among these tribes are the Kikuyu, who make up about 20 per cent of the population. The president, Mwai Kibaki, is a Kikuyu, as are many members of his Party of National Unity (PNU).

Raila Odinga, the leader of the opposition Orange Democratic Movement (ODM—www.odm07.com) and Kibaki's main opponent in the election, is a member of the Luo tribe. It makes up about 14 per cent of the Kenyan population.

Members of both tribes have been important in modern Kenyan history. Kenya's first president, Jomo Kenyatta, was a Kikuyu. His vice-president, Oginga Odinga (Raila's father), was Luo.

Stoking the Fire

Kenya developed a reputation as one of the most stable African nations south of the Sahara. But ethnic violence has occurred in the past—much of it aimed at the Kikuyu. "In Kenya, politicians have long stoked ethnic strife, and particularly anger over the perceived economic privileges of Kikuyus. In colonial days, the British promoted the tribe as their local proxies in Kenya. Jomo Kenyatta, the country's first president, made sure that his own people had privileged access to land, jobs, and power" (*The Globe and Mail*, January 4, 2008).

During the period between the 1992 and 1997 elections, resentment against the Kikuyu erupted in Kenya's Rift Valley. More than 2 000 Kenyans died in the violence, and another 300 000 were displaced. Most of them were Kikuyu.

Anti-Kikuyu sentiment also played a part in the 2007 election. In an article that appeared on January 7, 2008, *Newsweek* reported: "If elected, Odinga has suggested he'll oust educated Kikuyus from government, decentralize power, and build up Kenya's Western province (Luo land) with money from the Central province (Kikuyu country)—steps that could increase the tribal tensions that paralyzed the country in years past."

Within minutes of the announcement of election results, violence aimed at the Kikuyu broke out in the Nairobi slums. Stores were looted, homes were set on fire, and police were attacked. Anti-Kikuyu violence spread rapidly, especially to the Rift Valley and to the Western province, Odinga's stronghold. Police imposed a curfew on Kisumu, Kenya's third largest city. Tens of thousands of people fled to Uganda.

Spontaneous or Planned?

At first the violence seemed spontaneous and disorganized. On January 3, 2008, *The Christian Science Monitor* wrote: "Much of the violence is focused on the economically and politically dominant Kikuyu group, but the attacks lack the Rwandan genocide's organization and preparation, and there is no evidence that Kenyan officials are organizing it."

By the end of January about 1 000 people were dead, and hundreds of thousands had fled their homes. It was also clear that at least some of the tribal

Further Research

A perceptive article written before the election (December 11, 2007) describing how tribalism was helping to shape the election may be found at www.reuters.com/article/inDepthNews/idUSL1051929320071211?feedType=RSS&feedName=inDeptHNews&rpc=22&sp=true.

violence had been planned. “Leaflets calling for ethnic killings mysteriously appeared before the voting. Politicians with both the government and opposition parties gave speeches that stoked long-standing hatred among ethnic groups. And local tribal chiefs held meetings to plot attacks on their rivals, according to some of them and their followers” (*The Globe and Mail*, January 21, 2008).

In particular, considerable evidence has come to light alleging that some of the anti-Kikuyu violence in the Rift Valley was actually organized by high-level members of Odinga’s Orange Democratic Movement (ODM). Some of the senior members of the ODM coalition are notorious for their belief in the need for “ethnic cleansing” to be used against the Kikuyu. Observers noted that the violence in the Rift Valley

was far too well-organized to have been spontaneous; tractors had even been brought in to dig trenches to keep Kenyan security forces out of the area.

Once the anti-Kikuyu violence began, there were also numerous reprisals. Most involved the Kikuyu attacking members of Odinga’s tribe, the Luo. Meanwhile both leaders, publicly deploring the violence, dug in their heels and refused to negotiate. It was the end of February before an agreement was finally signed.

Tribal violence has ended, and relative political calm has been restored to Kenya. The country was spared violence on the scale of the Rwandan genocide of 1994. But few doubt that the potential remains for a future explosion as long as political leaders feel free to exploit the tensions between their country’s ethnic groups.

For Discussion

Raila Odinga has proposed a national conference on tribalism to bring together Kenyans to discuss the roots of ethnic conflict in Kenya. Philip Ochieng, a noted Kenyan news commentator, has argued that more is needed. “We need something much more significant, a permanent institution—a ministry or commission—of known cosmopolitan minds dedicated full-time to this problem. Its primary assignment would be to collect information on how negative ethnic attitudes take root and become so paramount in our minds as to translate into such things as ethnic cabals intent on discrimination, corruption, parochial politics, and other crimes” (*The Nation* [Nairobi], March 23, 2008, available at <http://allafrica.com/stories/200803240324.html>).

How effective do you think either proposal would be in coming to terms with tribalism in Kenya? What kind of mandate would such an institution require in order to bring about real change? What suggestions can you offer to reduce ethnic strife in Kenya?

COMING HOME TO NEWFOUNDLAND

Introduction

Focus

Newfoundlanders and other Atlantic Canadians have a history of migrating west to look for work. But the economic fortunes of Newfoundland are improving, thanks in large part to vast oil reserves located in the North Atlantic. In this *News in Review* story we will look at why so many Newfoundlanders have left the province and what is needed to get them to come back home.

Did you know . . .

The floor of the Atlantic Ocean is about 2 000 metres deep.

Often referred to simply as “the Rock,” Newfoundland was the last province to join Confederation. The province consists of the island of Newfoundland and the mainland Labrador on Canada’s Atlantic coast. Famous for its stark, rocky geography, the province is considered to be one of the most beautiful in the country. It is one of the only places where you can spot whales, dolphins, puffins, and polar bears. It is also one of the only places in the world where you can watch icebergs float by in the Atlantic Ocean. In fact, more than 2 000 icebergs pass Cape Chidley, the northern tip of Labrador, every year.

The province is also known as a tough place to make a living. Historically, many Newfoundlanders made their living from fishing. The geological boundary of North America lies offshore, at the edge of the continental shelf. The shelf includes relatively shallow areas known as banks, and deeper areas, known as troughs, or channels. The shallow parts, known as the Grand Banks, are less than 50 metres deep. In these shallow areas, light can reach the sea bed, allowing for the growth of phytoplankton—the first link in the marine food chain—resulting in an abundant stock of fish and marine mammals. These conditions played an important role in Newfoundland and Labrador for centuries.

In 1968, at the height of the Newfoundland fishery, more than 40 000 people were employed catching and processing nearly 810 000 tonnes of cod. But by the 1980s, it was obvious that the cod stocks were dwindling. Some people blamed climate change, some blamed overfishing, and some blamed the Canadian government for mismanaging the fishery. Regardless of

the reason, by 1992, the number of cod had dropped so dramatically that fishing in the area was suspended.

As the fish stocks declined, unemployment rose. Through much of the 1970s, 80s, and 90s, Newfoundland and Labrador had the highest unemployment rate of any Canadian province. More people in the province received unemployment insurance benefits than in anywhere else in Canada. For those who did find work, the average annual salary fell well below the national average.

Not surprisingly, Newfoundlanders and other Atlantic Canadians have a history of migrating west to look for work. Many end up in Ontario, but over the past 10 to 15 years the majority have landed in Alberta—specifically, in Fort McMurray, Alberta, working in the oil industry for high wages. Some bring their families with them, but many leave their families behind and “commute” home every couple of months. This is hard on workers, their families, and local communities.

But now all this might be changing. For the first time in a long time it looks like the economic situation in Newfoundland is improving. Three major oil refineries are now operational off the coast of Newfoundland. As well, a large nickel mine has been opened at Voisey’s Bay in Labrador. These large developments are creating spin-off jobs in the hospitality and service sectors. All this should add up to a lot of jobs.

Ironically, the government of Newfoundland and Labrador is now placing advertisements in Alberta newspapers to lure locals back to the province. Some don’t need much encouragement to return. While most

Did you know . . .

On entry into Canada in 1949, the entire province was known as Newfoundland, but on December 6, 2001, an amendment was made to the Constitution of Canada to change the province's official name to Newfoundland and Labrador.

Newfoundlanders like the big money they make while working in Alberta or Ontario, many have always been homesick for the Atlantic coast and are ready to come home. In Newfoundland, they call these people “Come-Back-From-Aways” (CBFAs). Some local Newfoundlanders who never left the province in search of work feel they should be given the first opportunity at any new jobs. But most returning Newfoundlanders believe they should have the same opportunity as those who never left.

Other Newfoundlanders and Atlantic Canadians who are working outside the province are skeptical at the economic recovery anticipated for Newfoundland. They have heard promises of jobs at home before, only to be disappointed when they didn't materialize. As well, now that they are used to making big money, they might not be willing to settle for anything less. Time will tell if there will be enough Newfoundlanders to fill new jobs in the region, or whether the government will have to encourage other Canadians to migrate east for work.

To Consider

1. In a small group, talk about the experience of moving. Find out whether or not anyone in your group has moved, how frequently they've moved, or how far they've moved.
2. Discuss what was exciting and scary about the move.
3. Would the students in your group consider moving in the future for employment, even if it meant leaving their families behind? Why or why not?
4. Join with another group and compare your answers.

COMING HOME TO NEWFOUNDLAND

Video Review

Did you know . . .

In 2004, Alberta and British Columbia were the only provinces in Canada that enjoyed a net gain in interprovincial migration.

Archives

To learn more about the people and politics of life in Newfoundland, consider a visit to the CBC Digital Archives at www.cbc.ca/archives and explore the audio-visual files "Pelts, Pups and Protest: The Atlantic Seal Hunt" and "Has Confederation Been Good for Newfoundland?"

Respond to the following questions as you view the video.

1. Record the reasons why Newfoundlanders move away from the province.

2. List the reasons why some Newfoundlanders never return home.

3. How common is it for Newfoundlanders to move out of province?

4. How is outmigration today different from the outmigration that occurred 20 or 25 years ago?

5. How are work schedules designed in Fort McMurray, Alberta, so that out-of-province workers can maintain ties to their families?

6. What impact does outmigration have on families and communities back in Newfoundland?

7. Why might new jobs created in Newfoundland not be enough to get out-of-province workers back home?

For Discussion

In a small group, discuss the impact of telecommunications on separated families. One woman in the video stated that it is not such a big deal to move out of province today because telecommunications allow family members to keep in touch frequently, and inexpensively. Do you agree? Do relationships between people change when they don't get to actually see each other every day or every week? Why or why not? Record your answers in your notebook.

COMING HOME TO NEWFOUNDLAND

Migration to the West

Quote

"The movement to the West is significant, and there is every indication that it is going to continue for some time. Oil patch companies are very aggressively recruiting our region's young people." — Greg Byrne, New Brunswick's minister of business, *The Christian Science Monitor*, December 15, 2006

Further Research

To learn more about the wealth of oil in northern Alberta, check out "Oil" at www.cbc.ca/news/background/oil/alberta_oilsands.html.

To learn more about Fort McMurray, visit the site of *Fort McMurray Today*, the local newspaper at www.fortmcmurraytoday.com.

Migration from the East to the West is a common pattern in Canada. Young workers flock to Ontario, Alberta, and British Columbia from provinces like Newfoundland, Prince Edward Island, and Nova Scotia. From 1996 to 2001, one in 10 islanders headed to the mainland, the highest number in 20 years. And in 2001, Quebec saw the highest spike in outmigration in the province's history. More anglophones left Quebec than francophones, and of those who left, many reported leaving because they were tired of the continued debate over language and politics.

Most Canadians migrate west because of better economic opportunities. Higher wages, lower unemployment, and greater job stability help to draw Canadians to the West. Canadians between the ages of 15 and 29 move most frequently—and the farthest. They head largely for the biggest cities. And they are much more likely than older Canadians to stay put and make the new province their permanent home. Older Canadians are more likely to settle in small cities or rural areas.

Fort McMurray, Alberta

It is impossible to talk about western migration without focusing on Fort McMurray, in northern Alberta. Commonly called "Boomtown," the former small town's population exploded after the discovery of oil sands in the area. Although estimates vary, it is believed that there is five times more oil in the sands of northern Alberta than in all of Saudi Arabia.

Extracting oil from sand is a complicated process. It requires a huge labour force and a huge amount of energy. As a result, Fort McMurray has grown from a population of under 1 000

in the 1960s to its current population of around 50 000 people. That does not include the 10 000 people who live in construction camps in the outskirts of town, or the people who live year-round in trailers at campgrounds. It does not include the workers who stay with their friends until they can get a place of their own, or those who crowd into hotels while they are in town for short-term jobs. And it does not include those who commute to somewhere by car or on one of the 50 buses that leave every Thursday night for Edmonton, 450 kilometres to the south.

The city is a series of pockets connected to each other by Highway 63. Each pocket is built in a scramble to accommodate the latest influx of workers. Although home construction is booming, there are not nearly enough homes or apartments to accommodate the 150 new people who arrive every week. Not surprisingly, rent is high, and so is the price of houses. People who work for the big energy companies in the oil sands make good money and can afford the price, but those who work in the stores and restaurants that service the workers cannot.

People who live in Fort McMurray complain about the fact that everything is expensive. Crime rates are climbing, along with drug use and drinking and domestic violence. There are fights in the bars on the weekends. There are not enough doctors or hospital beds. Pollution is terrible. Oil-sands mining produces huge amounts of air and water pollution and leaves large tracts of land barren. Some workers report that they can smell the pollution from the oil-sands refineries at their homes an hour's drive from the sites.

Further Research

Learn more about pollution and the oil sands by checking out the photos and the February 2008 report prepared by the organization Environmental Defence at www.environmentaldefence.ca/reports/pdf/TarSands_TheReport.pdf, or view the scope of the oil sands project yourself via Google Earth.

About 11 000 Newfoundlanders now live in Fort McMurray, the largest concentration outside St. John's, their capital. In April 2006, Air Canada began running direct flights between those two cities to meet the demands of workers, many of whom leave their families behind in Newfoundland when they move west. Oil companies have advertised aggressively to encourage Atlantic Canadians to migrate west. The

Westfair supermarket chain has held job fairs across the East Coast in an effort to hire the hundreds of cashiers and supervisors it needs to work in its Alberta stores. Some fast-food restaurants and convenience stores in Fort McMurray pay as much as \$14.95 an hour, while the salaries for skilled workers are often more than 60 per cent higher than in Atlantic Canada.

Activity

With a partner, create a list of the pros and cons of living in Fort McMurray. Try to create a balanced list, with a similar number of points for each side. When you are finished, write a concluding statement that explains whether you, as an individual, would want to move to a boomtown like Fort McMurray. Provide reasons for your choice.

COMING HOME TO NEWFOUNDLAND

Newfoundland's Economy

Did you know . . .

When John Cabot sailed to Newfoundland from Bristol, England, more than 500 years ago he said the cod was so plentiful that sailors could pull them up in baskets.

Definition

A *moratorium* is a suspension of activity, or a waiting period set by an authority.

Archives

To learn more about the failed fishery, visit the CBC Digital Archives at www.cbc.ca/archives and explore the file "Fished Out: The Rise and Fall of the Cod Fishery."

To say that the economic engine of Newfoundland has always been fishing, is an understatement. The plentiful cod fishery enabled permanent settlements—or outports—to be established all along the coast of the island. These outports, located as close to the cod fishing grounds as possible, varied in size from a few families to 1 000 or more people.

In most communities, everything revolved around the cod fishery. Indeed, the word *fish* in Newfoundland referred only to cod. The typical community saw the entire family involved in fishing. Fathers taught sons, brothers fished together, and mothers and daughters helped to process, salt, and preserve fish.

In 1968, at the height of the Newfoundland fishery, more than 40 000 people were employed catching and processing nearly 810 000 tonnes of cod. But by the 1980s, it was obvious the cod stocks were dwindling. Most people blamed the depletion on overfishing. By 1992, the number of cod had dropped so dramatically that a moratorium on fishing in the area was imposed by the Canadian government.

When the government imposed the moratorium on cod fishing in 1992, it did so in the hope that cod stocks would bounce back. But they did not. In fact, 10 years after the moratorium was imposed, the death rate of young cod reached 50 per cent, up from an annual average of 15-20 per cent. Although marine biologists are not exactly sure why, some suspect that cooler water temperatures, natural predators, and ultraviolet radiation might be factors.

Failed Attempts to Diversify

The Canadian government has long been concerned about Newfoundland. Whenever a region is heavily invested in

one primary industry there is always the potential for disaster. Most prosperous communities have a number of primary industries. This diversification protects the communities against economic disaster in the case of the failure of one of its industries. So in an attempt to diversify Newfoundland's economy, the province has been the target of a number of projects, referred to by locals as "get rich quick" schemes. Unfortunately, these schemes have largely been unsuccessful.

Churchill Falls Power Contract

- This deal was negotiated in the 1960s.
- It allowed the province of Quebec to buy electricity generated from Churchill Falls in Newfoundland and resell it for profit.
- Unfortunately, Quebec buys electricity from Newfoundland for only about one-tenth of the hundreds of millions of dollars it gets on resale.
- Newfoundland has exhausted all legal avenues to get out of the deal and is stuck with it until 2041.

Come By Chance Oil Refinery, Owned by Shaheen Resources

- Originally built in 1971, the facility refined its first shipment of crude oil in 1973.
- In 1976 the company that ran the refinery went bankrupt and the refinery was shut down.

Hibernia Oil Project

- In 1979 the Hibernia oil field was discovered off Newfoundland.
- Despite having potential oil resources estimated to be at 615 million barrels, the project has started and stopped a number of times.

- Although over 54 million barrels of oil were produced in 2001, Newfoundlanders remain skeptical that the revenues will benefit the province and local people.

Sprung Greenhouse Cucumber Project

- In 1987 the government entered into an agreement to grow hydroponic cucumbers on a large scale.
- The project was a complete failure—absorbing \$18.5 million in government assistance and producing 8.5 acres of dead cucumber plants.
- In 1989 the project was abandoned.

Hope For the Future

Although Newfoundland has traditionally had the highest unemployment rate of any province in Canada, it looks like its economic fortunes are turning around. The Come By Chance oil refinery was brought back online and employs over 700 Newfoundlanders. That refinery was voted one of Canada's top 100 employers in 2006, 2007, and 2008. Two other oil fields—Terra Nova and White Rose—are now producing results. White Rose has the potential to produce 100 000 barrels a day. If the price of oil stays high, it could provide revenues of more than \$2-billion annually.

Analysis

1. Analyze the strengths and weaknesses of the diversification attempts discussed in this feature.

2. What recommendations would you make to the federal and provincial governments regarding economic development plans in the future?

COMING HOME TO NEWFOUNDLAND

Returning Home

Two major new developments have led to increased demand for workers. One is the opening of the White Rose oil field off the coast of Newfoundland. The other is a giant nickel project in Labrador—the largest mineral excavation effort in 60 years. Because outmigration from

the Eastern provinces has resulted in a shortage of workers, the Newfoundland government has taken out advertisements in Alberta newspapers to try to entice workers back home. But it might not be easy to get workers to return to the East Coast.

Task

Below you will read a selection of quotations from people who left the East Coast in search of work. Before you begin to read, create a three-column Plus, Minus, Interesting (PMI) chart in your notebook, using the example below as a model. Respond to each quotation by making an entry in the chart that addresses what is positive about the quotation, what is negative about the quotation, and why it is interesting.

Coming Home to Newfoundland – PMI Chart		
Quotation 1 – Daphne Griffin		
Positive	Minus	Interesting
Quotation 2 –		

1. “My family is one of the families who left the Maritimes (Montague, PE) to live and work in Alberta. My boyfriend is a welder and was unable to find work in our home province. If the Maritimes wants to ‘turn back the tide,’ there has to be more, better-paying jobs available. It is impossible to support a family of four on \$10 an hour, which is what he would be getting paid at home. In Alberta, the average welder makes between \$25 and \$40 an hour and more than double that if they have their own truck and equipment.” — Daphne Griffin, Edmonton, AB (“Turning Back the Tide,” CBC, March 20, 2007)

2. “It’s a lot steadier, a lot more secure than it is back home, that’s for sure. Alberta is so far ahead with regard to work, and that’s the main reason that

everyone like myself is packing up and getting out.” — Walter Andrews, Fort McMurray, AB (*The Globe and Mail*, March 13, 2002)

3. “We are forgetting that not only is the West attracting our talented youth, so is south of the border. When I graduated, there were few teaching opportunities. Saddled with a student loan, I jumped at an opportunity to gain experience and make American dollars.

As with most things, the longer you are away, the harder it is to come back. You develop roots and interests in your new-found home. While I would love dearly to come back “home” to the Maritimes, it is not a realistic choice for me.” — Mandy Copp-Wilson, Havelock, NC (“Turning Back the Tide,” CBC, October 28, 2006)

4. Robert Vargo is the General Motors dealer in Fort McMurray, Alberta. He has also entered the real estate market, but not as an agent, as a way to keep employees working for him. “It’s a staff problem. The housing is terrible. It’s just nuts. I have to tie them up so I won’t lose them. I pretty near bought a whole subdivision.” — Robert Vargo, Fort McMurray, AB (*The Globe and Mail*, August 10, 2002)

5. “The biggest problem that I encountered in IT back on PEI was that NOBODY retires. I applied at the provincial government IT department and the average age there was approximately 60. Hard for young people to get a job if there are never any openings. The one job that I did get offered was at a call centre making \$8 an hour.” — A. MacKinnon, Calgary, AB (“Turning Back the Tide,” CBC, April 11, 2007)

6. “When you’re out west, the employee calls the shots, and that is not the case in Newfoundland. The employer calls the shots. . . . It probably has gotten a bit better than it once was, but there’s still that power, and the tables are turned in,

let’s say, in Alberta or even where I am in the Northwest Territories. The employee has the power. The employee must be respected. Employees not respected, if it’s not just compensation, they’ll walk and they’ll get a job, same money, even more pay in a matter of days. And to attract people . . . the Newfoundland employment experience is going to have to match what’s out there.” — Rob, Hay River, NWT (“Home From Away,” CBC, January 25, 2008)

7. “There is no quick and easy answer, but there is an answer. With an unemployment rate that historically averages between 8 and 14 per cent and higher, with the lowest annual income in North America, with some of the highest personal and business tax rates in all of the industrial nations, with a frighteningly low birth rate, and with, the topic of this debate, an alarming outmigration that is only getting worse, it is time that we accepted the seriousness of our future and that we have been going about things the wrong way. It is time that we started making the tough steps involved in turning back the tide.” — Dan Perry, Calgary, AB (“Turning Back the Tide,” CBC, November 5, 2006)

Follow-up

Review your PMI chart and decide how easy or difficult it is going to be for the government to get people to return to Newfoundland.

COMING HOME TO NEWFOUNDLAND

Impact of Outmigration on Local Communities

Note

The Web site of the Newfoundland and Labrador government contains information about minimum wage, careers, and activities in the province. Check it out at www.gov.nl.ca.

Outmigration from Newfoundland is common. So common, in fact, that almost every family has at least one member away. While leaving can be a difficult decision, being left is difficult as well. Consider the impact of outmigration in the following areas.

Divorce and Family Problems

It is hard to make a marriage work under the best of circumstances. But long-distance relationships create even more challenges for families. When one parent leaves the province for work, the remaining spouse effectively becomes a single parent, becoming entirely responsible for children of the marriage, any other relatives who require care, and the daily running of the household. Household details include housework, food preparation, paying bills, lawn or property maintenance, and car maintenance.

Long-distance relationships can create frustration. The spouse who is left at home may resent the perceived “freedom” experienced by the other parent. The spouse who is living out of province may be exhausted from long hours, as well as lonely and unhappy. If the two spouses begin to take their negative feelings out on one another, marital problems and divorce can result.

Children, Teens, and Young Adults

When a parent moves away, the children in the family have to adjust as well. They

will miss the parent who has moved away and may be fearful the parent will not return. The normal routine of the house may be upset by the parent’s absence, and the children may be aware the remaining parent is under stress.

Outmigration also results in a drop in enrolment, and some local schools may close as a result. Children may have to be bused to a new school if their local school closes. Teenagers who have trouble finding a part-time job may find they have extra time on their hands. For some teens, this can lead to trouble. As well, many teenagers and young adults enrol in college or university because there are no job opportunities available when they graduate from high school. Unfortunately, this can result in considerable student debt that they have little chance of repaying when they graduate. As well, professors complain that many of these students are very unmotivated in class because they do not believe they will be able to get a job even after they graduate.

Outport Communities

In extreme cases, the closing of the cod fishery and outmigration have resulted in entire outport communities being abandoned. These small communities along the coast relied almost entirely on fishing and, as a result, families were not able to sustain themselves if they stayed. Those who chose to stay have had to rely on government assistance, and poverty levels are high.

To Consider

How would your life and your local community be affected if one member of every family moved out of province? Record the impact in your notes.

COMING HOME TO NEWFOUNDLAND

Activity: To Stay or Go

In this *News in Review* story you have explored the reasons why some Newfoundlanders have left the province. The decision to leave home is not easy for anyone, and each person and family has his or her own unique set of factors to consider when making such a decision. In this activity, you are going to participate in a role-play where you have to decide whether to stay in Newfoundland or migrate west for a job.

Preparation

Your teacher will place you in a small group with three or four other students. You will be assigned a role-play scenario from the list below. (More than one group will be preparing the same role-play.) In your group, decide who will play each of the people in the scenario, and decide whether you will stay in Newfoundland or migrate west. Prepare for your part by reviewing the material in this guide, watching this *News in Review* story again, or conducting further research about the situation in Newfoundland.

Scenarios

- You are a family of four or five. The father is a fisher, the wife works as a cashier in a grocery store, the kids are four, six and eight years old. The father has been without work since a moratorium was placed on cod fishing. The wife's parents live in the same neighbourhood and help with the children. This saves the family money they would have to spend on child care. The father has been offered work in Fort McMurray that will pay \$24 an hour. What will you do?
- You have just graduated from university with a degree in Languages. You have been offered a job in Ottawa as a translator at \$21.50 an hour. There is a similar job available in your province that would pay \$14.75 an hour. Your mother has multiple sclerosis and is unable to work. Your father works in a mine and only comes home on weekends. You have been dating your boyfriend/girlfriend since high school and he/she does not want you to move. You have two younger siblings who still live at home. What will you do?
- You are married without kids. Both you and your spouse have well-paid jobs in Newfoundland. You have been offered a once-in-a-lifetime job in Fort McMurray. If you take the job for four or five years, you'll be very wealthy. There are no jobs in your spouse's area of employment in Fort McMurray. Your brother in Newfoundland is handicapped and you spend a lot of time caring for him. What will you do?

Role-Play

Remember that your role-play should include a discussion about whether or not you stay in Newfoundland or migrate west. Rehearse your role-play a few times to make sure you are prepared for your performance. Try to consider all of the factors that would influence your decision. After all the groups have performed, discuss the similarities and differences that appeared in the performances.

News in Review Index

A list of the stories covered last season and to date in the current season is provided below.

The complete chronological index for all 17 seasons of *News in Review*, and a subject-oriented index listing *News in Review* stories appropriate for various subject areas can be accessed through our Web site at www.cbc.ca/newsinreview. Hard copies of these indexes can also be obtained by contacting CBC Learning.

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