LANGUAGE AND SOCIETY

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OFFICIAL LANGUAGES IN EDUCATION

THE ANGLOPHONES OF THE EASTERN TOWNSHIPS

PRIVATIZATION

Special Report
CANADA AND THE COMMONWEALTH OF ENGLISH

NEW SERIES

Number **21**, Winter 1987

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NOTICE

Letters to the Editor, with the writer's name, address and telephone number, are most welcome. The Editor reserves the right to publish letters, which may be condensed. Send to: *Language and Society*, Office of the Commissioner of Official Languages, Ottawa, Canada K1A 0T8.

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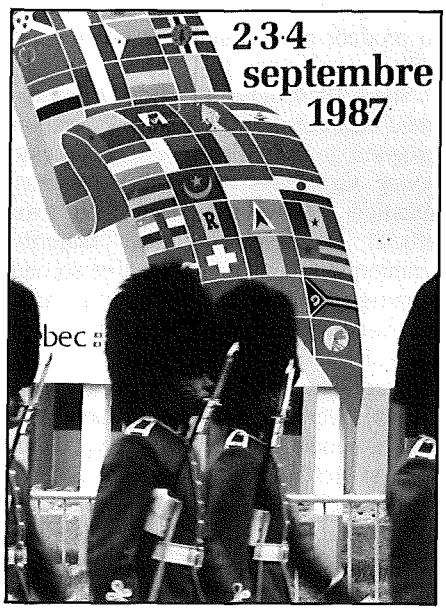

Special Report
CANADA AND THE COMMONWEALTH OF ENGLISH

To mark the Commonwealth Conference held in Vancouver, the Commissioner of Official Languages salutes Anglophones in Canada and throughout the world. Contributors: David Dalby, Stuart Beaty, Clyde Sanger, T.K. Pratt, Norman Snider, Charles Haines, Sarah Hood, Lyn Howes.

LANGUAGE AND SOCIETY

This quarterly review is published by the Commissioner of Official Languages for all interested Canadians, and especially for social and political commentators, political and administrative leaders, educators and leaders in voluntary organizations, the private sector and linguistic communities. The review aims at reflecting the linguistic experience of Canadians and at keeping them informed of relevant major events and at encouraging dialogue.

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The Canadian Agenda — Paradoxes and Convergences

D'Iberville Fortier

Canada is probably no more paradoxical than most countries. It only seems so because of its size and its diversity, and because of its ambition to build a single nation out of a multiplicity of cultural and other interests. It appears to be Canada's destiny to live its paradoxical nature to the full and to make a virtue of turning its divergences into convergences.

Seldom can this have been more true than in 1987, which might be remembered as a year when such important efforts at national reconciliation as the Meech Lake accord, a new Official Languages Act and a Multiculturalism Bill coincided with a Francophone Summit in Quebec City and a Commonwealth Conference in Vancouver. It was a heady brew, and one in which Canada's linguistic duality was a significant ingredient and brought visible benefits in terms of our influence in the world.

Nothing distracts us from our domestic shortcomings like the desire to look well on some larger stage. But there are other reasons to rejoice at the coming together on Canadian soil of leaders from two of the world's great cultural communities. It seems clear to us that the bridge position which Canada's English-French bilingualism helps bestow on it enables us — or entitles us — to promote, with proper modesty, our particular blend of tolerance and pragmatism in a world which has great need of both.

Canada's bilingual and multicultural heritage keeps us sensitive to issues in the North-South dialogue which dominate the global debate. The grassroots skills which we earn through internal efforts at national reconciliation are no less marketable in the difficult field of international co-operation. An innate command of two world languages — not to mention many other linguistic accomplishments — an openness to dozens of cultural traditions, experience of diverse technologies, a deserved image as an honest broker between conflicting interests and ideologies, all add up to a powerful package of resources which serve us and the world community well.

However, 1987 should also be remembered, if in a less spectacular fashion, as the year when the renegotiation of an important federal-provincial agreement on official languages in education was initiated against a backdrop of some troubling language statistics. A major component of federal strategy for reconciling our linguistic differences has been the premise that if English and French enjoyed equal treatment in our educational system their equality as the official languages of Canada would follow more naturally. It is in our schools that Canadians begin to discover the practical values of belonging to two great language traditions. It is certainly one of the positive aspects of my position to encourage this process of self-discovery. It is also my duty to ask whether convergences of educational interests for our English and French communities — majorities and minorities — are destined to produce an optimum harvest of good will.

Since 1970, when the federal government began its Bilingualism in Education program to help the provinces provide young Canadians living in a minority situation with education in their own official language and their majority counterparts with more effective second language instruction, opportunities have increased remarkably. The pay-off in mutual understanding among young Anglophones and Francophones has carried over into Canadian society as a whole, as opinion polls testify. But a closer look suggests we may be winning some battles while losing others. A recent evaluation of the Official Languages in Education program (see p. 23) confirms our anxious warnings about expanding demand, dwindling funds and potentially divisive conflicts between priorities. Meanwhile the latest census data confirm that Canada's two main language groups are still being polarized along territorial lines: French is somewhat stronger in Quebec, but English is much stronger elsewhere.

The question arises whether the bridges of official and personal bilingualism will succeed when English and French majorities are concerned and fail when it comes to ensuring a healthy life for the minorities. That is the paradox. A major aim of the Youth Option was to forestall such a trend. If its purpose was clear 10 years before Canada's leaders enshrined minority education rights in the Charter of Rights in 1982, it must be doubly so now. The challenge to official bilingualism in education in the next decade is bound to be decisive. Many Canadians have begun to embody in their own behaviour the kind of increasingly bilingual Canada we aspire to, but it looks as if they are sometimes woefully short of the political, financial and planning support needed if the obvious convergences of interest are to materialize. To an inexcusable extent, we are still flying by the seat of our pants.

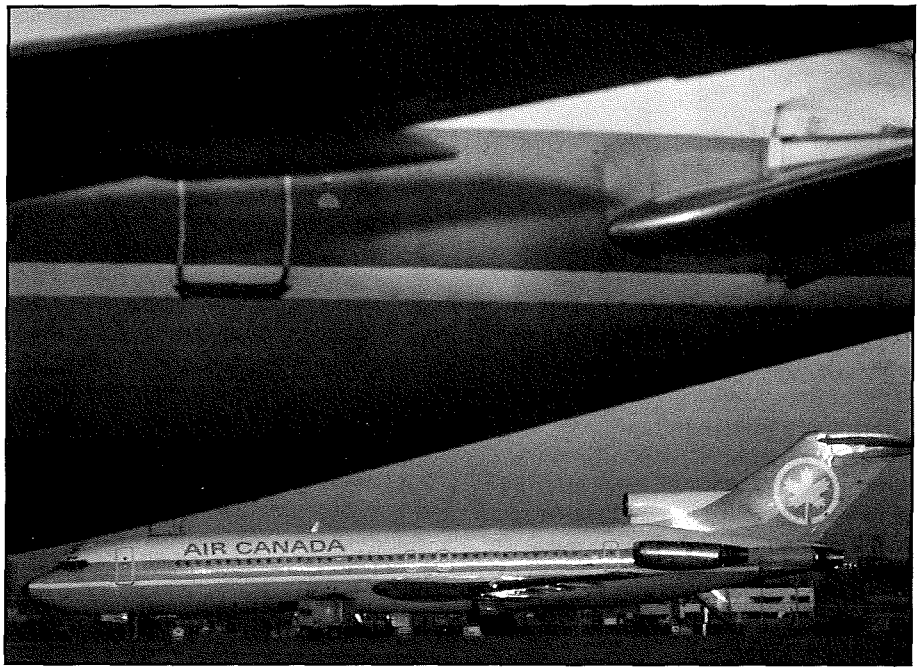
The test of Canada's will-to-be lies in the quality of the relationship between its two main language groups and in its treatment of its minorities. The educational infrastructure for many Francophone minorities in particular is, despite the progress of the last 17 years, a long way from satisfactory. Only an intelligent sympathy from provincial governments and English-speaking Canadians can give it the boost it needs to put it on a solid footing. Constitutional guarantees are only a means to an end: an appeal to human understanding and good government. So long as federal and provincial investment in official languages education remains stuck at its present level, it is virtually impossible to offer effective minority language schooling *and* decent English or French second language instruction at the same time.

The priority of minority language education is self-evident. Viable linguistic minorities are crucial to Canada's pluralistic purpose. But providing the best possible second language learning for majority youngsters is much more than just a *quid pro quo*. Beyond enabling them to compete effectively for truly bilingual jobs, majority bilingualism is important to the linguistic self-respect of their minority brothers and sisters. All Canadians should be lobbying their governments very hard right now to achieve a new federal-provincial agreement on official languages in education which is both richer in itself and much more focused on the aspirations and the needs of today's Canada. ■

The Language of Privatization

*Marjorie Nichols**

The role of Crown corporations in national language policy will be a critical factor when decisions are made for or against their privatization.



If there is a lesson in the debate about privatization of Air Canada, Petro-Canada and the other national Crown corporations, it is that no government policy is an island.

The government's unspoken dilemma and the factor that forced a wholesale review of plans to sell the nationally-owned airline and oil company has little to do with economics or even partisan politics.

It is, rather, the inherent policy conflict that privatization poses with the promotion and delivery of national bilingualism policies.

Targets

Air Canada and Petro-Canada, as well as several of the other privatization targets, including the Post Office, serve not only as important national symbols and conduits for economic development. They provide the federal government with its only significant delivery system for the national language policies that are the glue of the Canadian culture.

No government policy is an island.

The Prime Minister and his cabinet have had long and agonizing debates about these dilemmas, though they have refrained from expressing them publicly.

The government has, in fact, never specifically spelled out the weight that is attached to language promotion in making the judgements about which Crown corporations "no longer serve national policy objectives", and therefore should be privatized.

Political problems

A compounding political problem for the government is that the constituency from which it is receiving most pressure to proceed with privatization is the same constituency that has traditionally expressed the least sympathy for bilingualism objectives. That constituency is, of course, Western Canada.

For many Westerners, and indeed for other Canadians living outside Quebec, the Crown corporations that Ottawa is now contemplating selling provide rare and therefore significant exposure to the French language.

Several privatization targets serve as significant delivery systems for national language policies.

The joint Commons-Senate committee on official languages has expressed repeated frustration with the pace of bilingual policy implementation by several Crown corporations. Foremost on that list is Petro-Canada, the Calgary-based oil behemoth with 4,000 service stations from coast to coast.

Petro-Canada

At his last appearance before the committee in March, Petro-Canada Chairman William Hopper defended his company's bilingual achievements. He said about 12 per cent, or 469, of all service stations had bilingual signage and that about 11 per cent of all employees had French as their first language.

Hopper reiterated Petro-Canada's commitment to eventually having bilingual signs on all stations located on the Trans-Canada Highway; and he said consideration was being given to installing bilingual signage in areas where 5 per cent of the population speaks the minority second language, rather than the 10 per cent rule that it now applies.

The Petro-Canada chief raised committee hackles when he said that he doubted the Crown-owned oil company would ever have a Francophone component equivalent to the country as a whole. MPs and Senators also had difficulty with Hopper's arguments against bilingual stations in Calgary, which is, after all, the head office of a Crown corporation.

Jean-Robert Gauthier, the veteran Liberal MP from the Ottawa area, finally erupted in frustration: "For God's sake, do something! Try and set an example for Calgary. It will help Francophones as well as Anglophones. It does not take anything away."

"Whether you will see bilingual service stations in Calgary or not, I do not know,"

►

***Marjorie Nichols is a columnist with the *Ottawa Citizen*.**

Hopper replied. "But we may get up our courage and do that."

The revealing part of that exchange was Hopper's suggestion that it would require "courage" to put the French language on service station signs in Calgary.

Negative reactions

The Petro-Canada chairman does not exaggerate. There are communities across the Prairies, and in Alberta especially, where a Petro-Canada sign is reviled because of the political-economic philosophy that it represents. To add French to that sign doubtless would, as Hopper intimated, provoke additional hostility.

It is obviously depressing to those who care about bilingualism that almost 20 years after the passage of the first Official Languages Act, there is still such negative reaction and resistance to a policy that the Canadian mainstream accepts as an established fact of national life.

But the most sobering note is the certain knowledge that if Petro-Canada were not a Crown corporation, there probably would not be any bilingual signs on the Trans-Canada Highway west of Winnipeg and no effort in the Calgary oil patch to recruit French-speaking professionals into the industry in the West.

As Language Commissioner D'Iberville Fortier so accurately put it in his summation to the committee following Hopper's testimony:

> If fairly rapid progress is not made in some of the areas that were mentioned here, one may wonder if any regulatory agency will ever be strong enough to ensure that Petro-Canada sees to the safety and comfort of all the Canadians it serves along the Trans-Canada Highway or in the main urban centres after it is privatized, if that cannot even be done now, before privatization.

Control and influence

What can be said of Fortier's observation, except *Amen*? While the form of privatization would bear directly on Ottawa's continued ability to exert control or influence over a privatized Petro-Canada or Air Canada, there can be little argument about one thing: That control and influence would be diminished.

Instead of simply selling the public interest outright, the federal government could offer a limited number of shares to the public and maintain effective corporate control. Still, even a partly privatized company with, say, 49 per cent of shares remaining in government hands, would remove that company from direct parliamentary scrutiny.

"For God's sake, do something!"

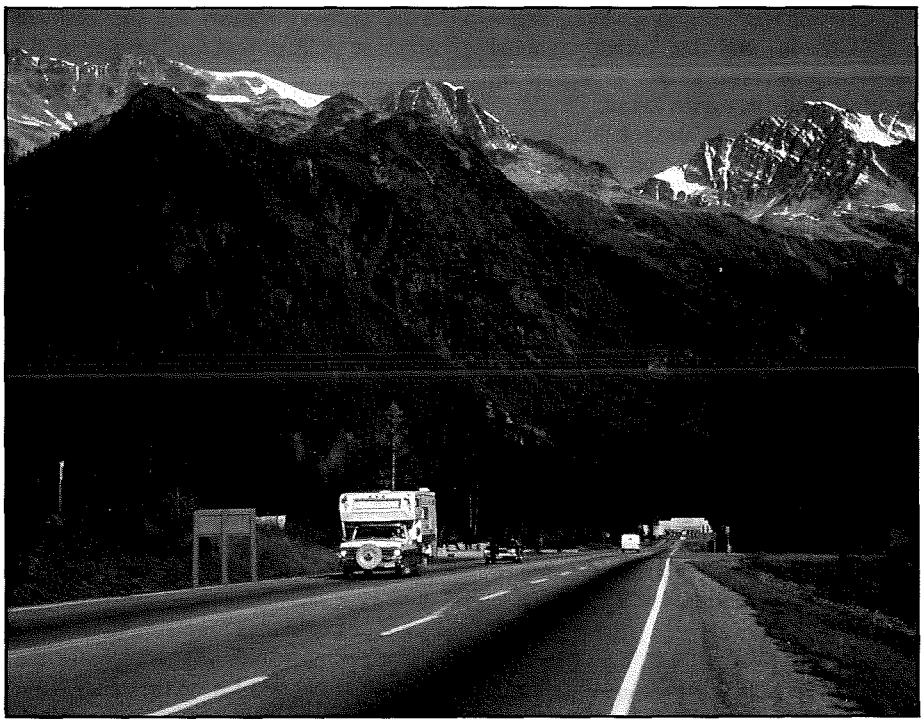
In early September Deputy Prime Minister Don Mazankowski confirmed that privatization of both Air Canada and Petro-Canada was still on the government's priority agenda, though he would not speculate on timing.

At mid-summer when the powerful Inner Cabinet, the planning and priorities committee, met in Edmonton, the sale of Air Canada was the lead topic of debate.

While ministers declined to publicly discuss the cabinet arguments that concluded with a decision to place Air Canada privatization on hold, they privately confirmed that it was the Crown-owned airline's role as a vehicle for national language and development policies that was the critical factor.

It is impossible to determine which policy, privatization or bilingualism, will be awarded priority when the Prime Minister and his government make their choice.

Suffice it to say that the delay is comforting confirmation that the decision is being mulled over with care for the enormous consequences. ■



Tourism British Columbia

The Evolution of a Law

*Jean Pelletier**

The Official Languages Act of 1969 has become a permanent fixture in Canadian life. The 1987 Bill to amend the Act removes it from the realm of mere rules and regulations.

It is 18 years now since the Official Languages Act was adopted in 1969, the culmination of a long and difficult birth of awareness.

Opponents of the Act in those early days never expected it to last. They really believed that once another party came to power, once the West woke up, once the courts had declared the Act discriminatory, everything would return to normal and the federal Public Service would settle down again to Anglophone unilingualism. But here we are in 1987 and the Official Languages Act is still going strong. What is more, in June this year a Conservative government, under the leadership of a Quebec-born bilingual Prime Minister, introduced legislation to give the Act even more muscle.

The Official Languages Act is still going strong.

Altered ideas

Looking back over the years, it is clear that despite the rough going it has encountered, and although it can be criticized, the Official Languages Act of 1969 has profoundly altered the mental landscape of federal politicians and public servants and has become a permanent fixture in Canadian life. That, ultimately, is its greatest achievement.

The experience of the Conservative leader in the last provincial elections in Ontario is a measure of the Act's acceptance. His campaign appeal to anti-bilingualism sentiment completely backfired. A further measure is the fluent French spoken by the Premier of Ontario and the leader of the provincial New Democratic Party. Who would ever have believed it in 1969? Who would have imagined that an Act about "official languages" could produce such a radical transformation? At most, only a few idealistic dreamers....

Many changes had to take place for this metamorphosis to occur, each one blazing the trail a little further.

The 1987 preamble

Some of the most striking changes are reflected in the preamble of the Bill to amend the Official Languages Act. Even the presence of a preamble is striking, for the 1969 Act had no such introduction.

The preamble officially recognizes Canada's linguistic duality and the necessity of promoting the two official languages. It also contains a commitment to enhance the vitality and support the development of the English and French linguistic minorities in Canada.

As well, it binds the federal government to work with the other levels of government, the business community, labour organizations and the voluntary sector in fostering linguistic equality throughout Canadian society.

These additions to the text remove the Act from the realm of mere rules and regulations and elevate it to the status of a law that takes precedence over other legislation and can serve as an inspiration for the day-to-day political life of this country. The adoption of a new Canadian Constitution in 1982 undoubtedly had much to do with the inclusion of these broad horizons in the Bill. But it is equally true that, without the major political upheavals of the 1970s, federal language legislation would have simply been left on the back burner.

The political upheavals of the 1970s forced language reform.

The 1970s

Election of a separatist government in Quebec in 1976 had a profound effect on the entire country. In response to charges by the Parti Québécois that Francophones had no future in Canada, the federal government made determined efforts to apply the Official Languages Act in all federal institutions. These efforts were not always crowned with success. In 1977, for example, eight years after the Act was passed, French-speaking pilots still found it virtually impossible to use French in the airspace over the Ancienne-Lorette and Bagotville airports.

Speaking of which, the air traffic control crisis would probably never have gotten out of hand had Ottawa not been precipitated into action by a Quebec electorate that despite its federalist leanings enthusiastically supported Bill 101, the Quebec National Assembly's law making French the official language of Quebec.

In fact, most of the early achievements of the 1969 Act can be attributed to the impact that political events in Quebec had on the federal scene. In 1976, when Joe Clark became leader of the Conservative party, what did it matter if his command of French was not the greatest? That at least was the attitude of his advisers. One of his closest aides earnestly confided to me at the time (in English, of course), "Our leader is surrounded by Francophones, and he has to concentrate on reorganizing the Party." But this was not the way the Conservative leader saw things. By the time he became Prime Minister in 1979, he spoke a very respectable French. In contrast to too many of those around him, Joe Clark realized that bilingualism had become one of the requirements of Canadian political life.

Bilingualism is more than a luxury.

What makes us different?

Quebec's influence notwithstanding, the Official Languages Act would have long been consigned to oblivion if the debate on national identity during the 1970s had not impelled us to seize on mastery of the other language as one answer to the question: What distinguishes Canadians from Americans? French thus became an unexpected lifeline in the face of a danger far worse than Quebec separatism — the threat of American assimilation.

If thousands of children from coast to coast have been enrolled in French immersion programs, this is no mere yuppie luxury or passing fad. Rather, it is the nation-wide expression of a deep awareness that bilingualism, apart from its practical value, is the best guarantee of making it in this country. ■

***Jean Pelletier is a reporter for the *Journal de Montréal*.**

Bilingual Energy

Tom Sloan

Energy, Mines and Resources, a federal department with special scientific and technical needs in the field of official languages, finds solutions to its problems.

Arthur Kroeger, Deputy Minister of the Department of Energy, Mines and Resources (EMR), has a good many things to think about, and one of them is bilingualism.

In most ways, his Department is probably reasonably typical of federal ministries. It has a few thousand employees, it has the usual echelons of authority, it has a demanding clientele to serve, and it has had problems over the years in working out methods to achieve the effective bilingualization of its own operations required by the Official Languages Act.

Where it is somewhat different from many departments is in the peculiar difficulties with which it has had to cope and the determination with which it is now facing up to the bilingual challenge.

The march towards fruitful linguistic co-existence in the federal government has in some cases been relatively smooth, if not entirely uneventful. But one of the areas in which it has had some particularly difficult terrain to cross is that of scientific and technological operations, of which EMR is a prime example.

Cosy unilingualism

A major reason for this has been that for most of this century, the realm of science and scientific research has been considered, rightly or wrongly, as virtually the exclusive turf of English-speaking graduates from English language (or sometimes German) institutions, either here or abroad. In the case of EMR, it was precisely from these sorts of institutions that most of the geologists, physicists, chemists and scientific researchers on which it depends came.

While for many years such a perception was probably not inaccurate, the educational explosion in Quebec over the past few decades has clearly rendered it obsolete, and, in any case, the passage of the Official Languages Act left EMR with no choice. It had to act. A cosy unilingualism was coming to an end.

For most of the past two decades, the Department has been struggling to combine its scientific vocation and its duty to give more scope for bilingualism in its operations. In some areas, it has had considerable success; but much less so in the key sectors of management and science research, where the proportion of Francophone participation was noticeably less than the population would warrant. As a result, the Department has for some time found itself in the position of being politely knocked on the head by a succession of Commissioners of Official Languages. In his 1986 report the Commissioner noted that, while the Department had made some "timid advances", it still "has a long way to go and a serious effort is required, mainly with regard to language of work and the balanced representation of both language groups."

Arthur Kroeger

The bilingualism process

No one took that advice more seriously than the man at the centre of the administrative apparatus, Deputy Minister Arthur Kroeger, a 29-year veteran of the Public Service, who moved to EMR in August 1986, after having served as a deputy minister in four other departments in recent years.

A native of Alberta, Mr. Kroeger studied French language and literature at the University of Alberta before joining the Public Service shortly after graduation.

"As soon as I arrived, I knew we had problems," Mr. Kroeger says. But the outlook was not entirely bleak. Already installed, even if only briefly, was the new Minister, Marcel Masse, a firm proponent both of bilingualism in general and the rights of French in particular within the federal structures. In addition, there already existed a strong bilingual component at the senior staff level — a fortunate circumstance, since the new Minister asked that meetings between himself and senior staff take place essentially in French. In an almost unbelieving tone, Mr. Kroeger recalls that "in EMR, of all places, we were actually able to do it." He has no problem placing the credit for the situation. The whole bilingualism process within the public service was set in motion by Lester Pearson in 1965. Mr. Kroeger describes the program succinctly as "an impressive success story in public policy in Canada."

The new push for a more bilingual Department was not confined to ministerial meetings. At a hearing of the Standing Joint Committee on Official Languages in November 1986, Mr. Kroeger assured sceptical Francophone members that plans were in the works to improve the language situation.

The promise was followed, in December, by the creation of a special advisory committee on Francophone participation in the Department. "It was a first," says Mr. Kroeger, in bringing in people from the private sector to advise on language issues. The committee included high officials from universities and from private companies, including Domtar and Bell Canada.

In a report submitted last May, the committee pinpointed two basic problems. Francophone participation in the science and management sectors was too low (15.5 per cent and 10.5 per cent respectively) and the use of French as a language of work was insufficient.

Setting an objective of a 26 per cent proportion of Francophones at the end of a five-year period, in accordance with their place in the population, the report suggested several means for achieving it. Among them, one-third of all candidates for relevant positions should be French-speaking, moves should be made to improve EMR's image in French-speaking areas and contacts with Francophone institutions should be increased.

The report was quickly adopted by the Minister, and it is now in the process of being implemented, Department officials say.

Obstacles

This does not mean that all obstacles have been removed. According to Mr. Kroeger and Jacques Ranger, the Assistant Deputy Minister in charge of human resources, the two principal ones are the major staff reductions still taking place as a result of government financial constraints and the low rate of staff turnover, now in the range of between 2 and 3 per cent annually. These are serious difficulties, Mr. Kroeger concedes, but, as some hirings continue to

be necessary, they will not compromise the program.

While rejecting calls from some MPs for freezing the hiring of all non-Francophones, the Deputy Minister also says that "we'll have to make a real effort to search for candidates." He has no doubt that "Just like women, Francophones can win open competitions fair and square."

The search for candidates will not be easy. With only 100 out of 5,000 employees working in Quebec, the Department has relatively few regular contact points in that province. And, Mr. Kroeger adds, "we have to realize that there's competition for French-speaking scientists from Hydro-Quebec and others." That is part of the challenge. "We have to make it look like a welcoming environment."

One aspect of that, the Deputy Minister notes, is to achieve a "critical mass" of Francophones at senior levels so that French will automatically become a normal language of work along with English. This has already occurred at the most senior level, where executive committee meetings, once exclusively in English, are now regularly bilingual. One beneficiary is Mr. Ranger, with 30 years in the Public Service. "It's only very recently that I've been able to speak French normally in such situations," he comments.

Solutions

In its drive towards bilingual operations, EMR has also embarked on an experiment in the realm of translation services. While it still follows the century-old tradition of having a central translation pool on loan from the Secretary of State's Department, it has also, with the approval of the Secretary of State, set up a special team of translators assigned to particular areas within the Department. There they can develop expertise in specific subjects and work closely with those whose words they are translating. "Everyone concerned is happy with this arrangement, and the translators are delighted," says Mr. Ranger.

While there is no doubt that the arrival of Marcel Masse on the scene provided a real impetus, Mr. Kroeger emphasizes: "This is a departmental program." Adds Mr. Ranger, "I've never before seen the depth of commitment that I have to this."

Other departments, especially those with a considerable scientific component, are taking notice. Both Agriculture and National Defence have sent officials to study what is happening in EMR, and others are showing interest. Needless to say, Mr. Kroeger and his colleagues are delighted and proud of what appears to be a new leadership role for their Department. From all indications, they have every right to be. ■

The Critical Time

John Newlove

Despite the strengths of the federal government's language training program, new Anglophone graduates still need assistance when they return to the workplace. They don't receive it.

Robert Hart is a consultant with the Social Service Programs Branch of Health and Welfare Canada who has just taken his recertification for B (intermediate) level French competency.

He believes that the Canadian government probably has "one of the best language education systems for adults in the world." He is impressed with the quality of the staff and with the thought behind the curriculum. But he worries that the hard-won gains of the system are often lost when employees return to the workplace.

This is the critical time for the program — the time when it usually fails. This is the time, Hart says, when the employee needs the most assistance and receives none.

"One of the best language education systems for adults in the world."

The fear of looking foolish

One of the hardest things in adult language training is to overcome the feeling of looking foolish in front of peers. During instruction, Hart says of his 1981 language training, "I don't think they had anything at that time built into the program. I think all of the instructors were aware that in adult education that was a factor they had to deal with. Some chose to ignore it and some dealt with it very conscientiously. One particular instructor we had told us point-blank: 'Listen, I realize it's a problem for you. Try to ignore it. The more you can get over being self-conscious and speak, speak, speak, the faster you're going to be comfortable in the language. I'm not going to be annoyed at any amount of mistakes that you make, but I will consider that there's a problem here if you're hesitating to speak, if you're not opening your mouth.' So he met it head on. People saw that those who spoke progressed more easily than others."

Returning from language school

Hart talks about what happens when the employee returns from language training. "The problem comes back, and it comes back with a particular force. The whole teaching environment is geared to helping the individual. That's the whole purpose. The work environment does not have that at all. It's not even a secondary purpose of the work environment. You may have controlled your self-consciousness while you were learning because it's a more effective way to learn a language, but the attitude hasn't gone away. When you come back and you're working with your peers and your friends and your colleagues, then the emotional stakes are higher. Especially because you've come back certified. You're expected to perform at a certain level. So obviously everyone is waiting for you to start performing, and you're on stage and the lights are on you. There's a certain amount of tension. One thing that the formal language training probably hasn't taught you is the vernacular of your workplace, so all the professional words that you need to pick up weren't taught, and the support isn't there. It's not that people are not supportive, it's just that the teachers were *trained* to be supportive. People's work has the priority and this isn't their work. I think people's language skills when they return to work are still tender, they're still formative, and that's where they can run into real difficulty, because the sociology of the workplace has been ignored."

"The support isn't there."

Polite reversions

Robert Hart's experience is that Francophone co-workers are only too happy to begin speaking French with a colleague newly returned from language training. Conversations begin and continue in French until the new graduate hits a difficulty, often with the technical language of the workplace, and switches to English. ➤

Appointment to the Standing Joint Committee on Official Languages

The Member of Parliament for Témiscamingue, Gabriel Desjardins, was appointed October 8 as co-Chairperson of the Standing Joint Committee on Official Languages. Mr. Desjardins, whose Vice-Chairperson is Alex Kindy, MP for Calgary East, will represent the House of Commons, while Senator Dalia Wood continues as co-Chairperson representing the Senate. Mr. Desjardins succeeds Charles Hamelin, MP for Charlevoix, who presided with great tenacity over the questioning of federal departments and organizations invited to appear before the Committee, and who through his efforts contributed to the tabling of Bill C-72 on the Official Languages.

Mr. Desjardins has been a member of the Committee since 1986 and has always shown a strong interest in promoting the equality of the two official language communities of Canada and in the progress of linguistic reform. ■

This reversion to English would be all right, Hart says, if the Francophone colleague continued to speak in French. Unfortunately, out of politeness, most will automatically switch to English as well, and the conversation will end in that language.

Hart knows that everyone needs to slip back into the mother tongue occasionally. But the graduate's greatest need is continual exposure to French, both practising it and hearing it spoken. He says that if policy called for French to be spoken to graduates of language training for at least the first several months back on the job, chances of their becoming more confident and more fluent in their language skills would increase considerably.

The sociology of the workplace

As much attention, Hart says, should be paid to the sociology of the workplace as to the dynamics of adult learning in the classroom if the program is to succeed to a much greater degree than it has in the past. He even suggests that language bonuses that are presently being paid to Anglophone employees could be transferred to Francophones to encourage them to speak French to newly-returned language school graduates. "You're asking French-speakers in effect to be part-time instructors, to go a little slower, to sometimes explain, and that's not their job," says Hart, who thinks that this use of the incentive would be much more effective. ■

Canadians and the Rights of Minorities

*Monique Cousineau**

Does the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms have the approval of all Canadians? Is there unanimous support for its provisions on the equality of the two official languages (Section 16) and minority official language education rights, as set forth in Section 23? Five years have gone by since the adoption of the Constitution Act, 1982, and it is time these questions were asked. The task was undertaken by a team of researchers, who presented the results of their national survey in Chicago on September 6, during the annual meeting of the American Political Science Association.

The team consisted of Joseph F. Fletcher and Peter H. Russell of the University of Toronto, Paul M. Sniderman of Stanford University and Philip E. Tetlock of the University of California in Berkeley. They carried out a telephone survey of 2,000 respondents, more than a thousand of whom filled elected positions or were decision makers.

The study, *Unanimity and Dissidence: The Charter of Human Rights*, reveals that Canadians are relatively tolerant in matters of rights and liberties. They readily accept the guiding values of democracy, particularly the linguistic rights of minorities, and accept the objective of equality of Anglophones and Francophones.

However, when it comes to controversial situations, their support for those same values turns out to be rather moderate, which is, after all, not too surprising. If they feel themselves threatened, both Anglophones and Francophones are less inclined to support minority rights.

The interest of this study lies in part in the fact that leaders in our society were interviewed, as well as ordinary citizens. It appears generally that the former are more concerned about rights and freedoms. For example, 87.9 per cent of leaders were in favour of freedom of speech, even for those with radical opinions, as against only 60.4 per cent of ordinary citizens.

The gap, however, is much narrower when we come to language rights: 78.2 per cent of Anglophones in elected positions feel that it is important to maintain bilingualism, compared with 72.6 per cent of citizens in the same language group. In the case of Francophones, this gap is almost nonexistent. Elected representatives and ordinary citizens expressed support for bilingualism in far greater numbers (96 per cent and 95 per cent respectively).

On the question of services in the minority language, Francophones again showed the higher degree of support: 90.3 per cent of them thought that Anglophones in Quebec have a right to federal government services in their own language, as against 63.1 per cent of Anglophones who would give the same right to French-speaking citizens outside Quebec. As for education, 79 per cent of Francophones support the minority's right to an education in its own language, as compared with 59 per cent of Anglophones.

The data compiled by Professor Fletcher and his team confirm that the objective of bilingualism is increasingly accepted in Canadian society. This confirms the results obtained in the survey done by Canadian Facts in 1985.

Professor Fletcher pointed out that this was only the first stage in a study that will be carried on for a number of years. Later information will allow us to measure the progress made and to obtain more insights into public opinion on a variety of subjects such as programs initiated by the provinces to increase the range of services available to minorities. ■

***Monique Cousineau has headed the Toronto office of the Commissioner of Official Languages since its opening in April 1987.**

Under Control?

In our last issue we reported that Transport Canada was officially investigating complaints by eight French-speaking air traffic controllers, who alleged that language discrimination was practised against them at airports in Whitehorse, Kamloops and Winnipeg.

That investigation has been completed. The Commissioner of Official Languages received a copy of the Transport Canada report in late September and it is being studied. The association Les Gens de l'Air is also following the situation. We will report further developments.

Cheers

Petro-Canada is the first major corporation to give financial support to the training program in journalism and communications offered by the Association de la presse francophone hors Québec, donating $30,000 for the purpose this year.

Environment — After a July visit to Kouchibouguac, Fundy, Prince Edward Island and Cape Breton Highlands National Parks and the Fortress of Louisbourg, members of a Francophone family said they were very satisfied with the quality of service they received in French.

Canada Post — From now on, Canada Post will clearly identify wickets where service is avaiblable to the public in both official languages.

Tears

Language and Society — We cast aspersions on Environment Canada by reporting in our last issue that French signage cannot be found at Banff National Park, which is not true. The Department's only sin was to have allowed some signs which were unilingually English.

Energy, Mines and Resources — The Department's Moncton office contracted with private industry to organize an information session on energy efficiency. Invitations and documentation were produced in English only.

Petro-Canada — A brochure sent to all the company's credit card holders offering Canadian coin collections was illustrated by a presentation certificate which was in English only.

National Defence — Confusion reigns supreme on the subject of outside courses in French given by companies such as Bell Canada. Just ask the Francophone employee who was offered a course in English but later found out he could have taken it in French.

Statistics Canada — At Ottawa headquarters, a unilingual English-speaking employee was assigned to the visitor's parking lot. Supposedly the job involves "no contact with the public" — but it does include giving out parking tickets!

Canada Post — Seventy per cent of the population of Dieppe, New Brunswick, speaks French — but at the Place Champlain Post Office, only two of five clerks serving the public are bilingual. Add the effects of shift work, and you have Canada Post's own special linguistic roulette, the biggest game of chance in town.

Employment and Immigration — Three senior officials of the Department gave a press conference in Halifax, Nova Scotia, to explain the situation with regard to 174 Asian immigrants. None of the officials was able to answer in French when questioned by reporters from the two French television networks and the numerous French-language radio stations and newspapers covering the event. ■

Brief

A first

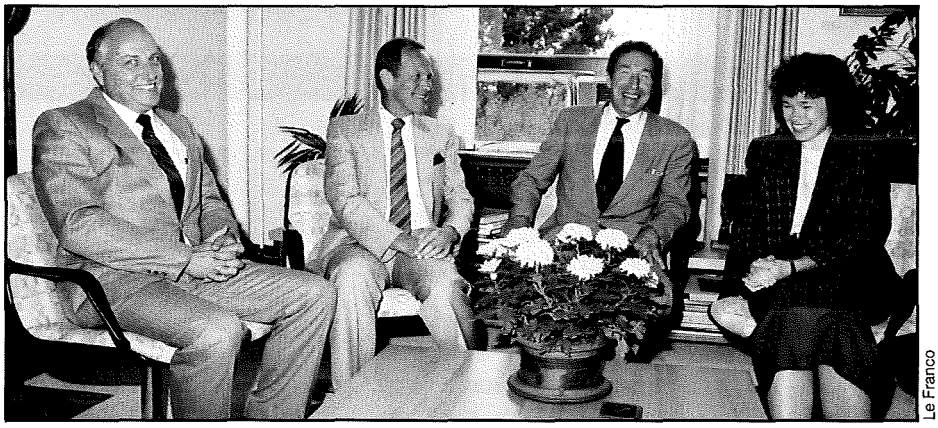
In the wake of the new Official Languages Act and the Meech Lake accord, Secretary of State David Crombie and former New Brunswick Premier Richard Hatfield initialled a framework agreement on the official languages program that defined the objectives and mechanisms for co-operation between the federal government and the province. In close consultation with the most directly affected groups, the two levels of government will work together to provide the public with services in the language of their choice and to promote the full participation of English-and French-speaking communities. ■

David Crombie

Brief

Options

The new Official Languages Act makes the Secretary of State responsible for taking measures he considers appropriate to advance the equality of status and use of English and French in Canadian society and to encourage and co-operate with the business community to provide services in both languages. His Department, which is intensifying its research, consultations and initiatives in this regard, has recently published a very interesting bilingual brochure entitled "Options". In it, representatives of several private sector corporations confirm the fact that bilingualism is good for business. ■



Le Franco

Roger Fréchette, David Russell, D'Iberville Fortier and Nancy Betkowski

The Commissioner's Travels

Sarah Hood

The existence of regional offices does not make it less important for the Commissioner of Official Languages, D'Iberville Fortier, to meet with Canadians all across the country. By talking with them it is possible not only to learn what Canadians have on their minds, but to gather impressions of and promote their receptiveness to bilingualism. In 1986, for example, Mr. Fortier travelled more within Canada than most Canadians do in a lifetime. He visited seven provinces, and travelled not only to major centres like Winnipeg, but also to smaller cities like Paspébiac in the Gaspé region of Quebec, where there is a sizeable proportion of Anglophones, and Kapuskasing, a largely French-speaking town in Northern Ontario. Yellowknife and Whitehorse were on his agenda for 1985.

In 1987 he visited virtually all of the provinces. Let's accompany him on one of these trips to see what happens.

This September Mr. Fortier spent four days in Alberta, beginning at nine o'clock on a Monday morning when he met David Russell, Deputy Premier and Minister of Advanced Education, and Nancy Betkowski, Education Minister, in Edmonton. They discussed the 1,500 French-speaking students enrolled in French schools in Alberta, as well as such subjects as the matter of the École Georges-et-Julia-Bugnet, in which parents asked the courts to define their right to have a say in the management of the school.

At ten-thirty the Commissioner checked in with his employees at the regional office on Jasper Avenue, which covers Alberta, British Columbia, the Yukon and the Northwest Territories. Then he saw representatives of Francophonie Jeunnesse de l'Alberta, who told him that young Francophones find it difficult to obtain services in French from the federal government in Alberta.

In the afternoon, Mr. Fortier spoke with Léo Piquette, the Francophone MLA who inadvertantly caused a furor in the Legislature by asking a question in French last April. Next, Mr. Fortier found himself at CHFA radio for the program "Première Page". He spoke about his trip and about the recent history of bilingualism in Canada, telling listeners how to approach his Office if they feel that their language rights have not been respected.

That evening the Commissioner addressed members of Edmonton's Francophone community and of the media, dealing with the new Official Languages Act and its implications. Afterwards he fielded a flurry of questions from his audience, the last duty of a gruelling day.

By ten after nine Tuesday, Mr. Fortier's first meeting was already over, this one with Georges Arès, president of l'Association canadienne-française de l'Alberta (AFCA), the lobby group which represents Alberta's French-speaking minority. Mr. Fortier spent the next hour and a half with employees of the Association, discussing the Official Languages Act and the Francophone community.

The Commissioner then attended a meeting of his colleagues, making a presentation at the Ombudsman's Conference before attending a luncheon with Amy Zelmer of the administration of the University of Alberta and Jean-Antoine Bour, Dean of the Faculté Saint-Jean. They spoke about post-secondary opportunities for French-speaking students and the future of the French-language faculty.

Before the day was over, the Commissioner also met with students and teachers at a French-language school and participated in the launching of a business course at the Alberta Vocational Centre.

Wednesday morning brought more interviews with journalists, a second meeting with the ombudsmen and a trip to Calgary, where Mr. Fortier met representatives of the Fédération des parents francophones de l'Alberta, who told him of their concerns, particularly regarding the financing of French-language schools in Alberta.

That evening the Commissioner took part in the launching of Contact-Calgary, a committee made up of federal government representatives and members of ACFA, which will promote bilingualism at the Calgary Olympics. Members of the media, the French-speaking community, City Hall, the Olympic Organizing Committee and local business turned out for the event. The Commissioner spoke briefly, saying that Calgary has changed a great deal since his first official visit two years ago. "It's remarkable," he said, noting the French signs and other information which are now available. "I humbly suggest that such improvements...will pay off abundantly from a business point of view in the long run."

Early the next day, time was spent with members of the Olympic Organizing Committee under less hectic circumstances. Mr. Fortier was interested in their plans for the Games. Will the programs and announcements for the ceremonies be bilingual? Will there be any French-speakers among the volunteers who work at the Olympics? French is one of the official languages of the Olympics, and it would be odd if Canada were to come up short.

The Commissioner managed to squeeze in a visit to the Calgary Tower, a quick tour of the Olympic Centre and a brief look in at the Court of Queen's Bench, where the first proceedings ever to use a French jury in Alberta were in process, before addressing about 40 invited guests at the Palliser Hotel, including politicians and business people. He followed the speech with another series of interviews at three television stations, two newspapers and a radio station.

In mid-October Mr. Fortier made his first official visit to Newfoundland, then touched base with the English-speaking Quebecers organization Alliance Québec in Montreal and completed his travels for the year with a four-day trip to Manitoba and Saskatchewan in early November. ■

French as a Language of Science

Thérèse Aquin

Those who aspire to the world of science — a kind of international club — soon discover that today's password is generally English. French, one of the great languages of science over the centuries, has suffered an obvious decline in the global village.

What is the situation in Canada? Is the status of French guaranteed by the presence of French-speaking scientists in scientific departments and agencies of the federal government? Or is that going downhill too, declining from the already low level revealed by statistics compiled in 1982 by a Treasury Board Task Force? The Public Service Commission's Annual Report 1986 notes that the percentage of French-language scientists working in the Public Service has actually increased slightly, suggesting that prospects for the increased use of French are looking up. Francophones now occupy 21.8 per cent of the positions in the Scientific and Professional Category.

The Commissioner begs to differ

But in the opinion of the Commissioner of Official Languages, the picture is not as rosy as might appear at first glance. Closer examination of the Public Service Commission's report reveals, for example, that in chemistry, physical sciences and scientific research — three fields in which the 1982 study noted an almost complete absence of Francophones — participation levels are still low. French-speaking scientists represent only 14.2, 13.5 and 9 per cent of these occupational groups.

The Commissioner lamented these shortcomings in a speech to the Association canadienne-française pour l'avancement des sciences (ACFAS) in May this year. "These figures do not even give a true picture of the situation," he said. "They do not include the scientific personnel employed by the National Research Council (of whom only 13 per cent are Francophones) or the various other scientific councils, nor those working for Crown corporations such as Petro-Canada, Air Canada and Atomic Energy of Canada. We know for a fact that, in some of these organizations, the participation rates of Francophone scientists do not even reach 13 per cent."

Nor is the picture any brighter where French as a language of scientific work is concerned. For example, a study conducted by the Treasury Board in 1984 found that in one particular science department that shall remain nameless to spare it further ignominy, the use of French increased only marginally, from 3 per cent of working time in 1978 to 5 per cent in 1983 — a small step, agreed, but hardly a giant leap for mankind.

Research by the Commissioner's own office indicates that the overabundance of managers with inadequate second language skills in bilingual positions is a systematic impediment to the increased use of French.

Too few French-speaking scientists and too little on-the-job use of French — these are the two greatest continuing obstacles to linguistic equality among the ranks of those who have chosen to make their scientific careers in the federal government.

Time is passing

The first factor was carefully investigated by a Treasury Board Task Force set up in 1982. Its report, *Francophone Participation in the Scientific and Professional Category*, concluded that the French presence in scientific occupations — inordinately low in some groups — should be increased but that first Francophone scientists would have to be given a real opportunity to use French on the job. The problem could not be resolved simply by recruiting, the study noted.

The Treasury Board's response to the Task Force study was a circular dated November 19, 1982, urging departments, agencies and Crown corporations to make scientific, technical and professional publications available to the public simultaneously in both official languages "where significant demand exists."

Five years later, new elements appear to have set the scene for substantive change. In reaction to the Commissioner's May speech, and confronted by statistics difficult to deny, the Secretary of the Treasury Board established another task force, composed of representatives of science-oriented federal departments and agencies. This time, however, these representatives directly informed Mr. Fortier in writing of their intention to follow up on his recommendations. Many of them — 25 to be exact — promised their full support and mentioned specific ways in which they plan to promote the advancement of French in their respective area: examples included the appointment of a Director at the Economic Council of Canada; presentations in French by Environment Canada at international conferences; and the participation of Francophones in Petro-Canada's sponsorship of management training programs designed for oil-producing countries of Africa.

This reaction was exactly what the Commissioner had hoped for. The fact is, he said, that the federal government should be "more forceful with regard to French as a language of science, and in particular should step up its efforts to recruit French-speaking scientists and improve their work environment." Mr. Fortier added that he hoped the new Official Languages Act would act as a catalyst in this regard.

On the international scene

The future of French as a scientific language in Canada is inextricably bound up with what happens internationally. This point also came through loud and clear in the Commissioner's speech. Mr. Fortier stressed the urgent need to "gradually develop a network of high-quality French-language scientific journals in order to encourage publication of communications and research in French." With regard to oral communication he said, "French should be used wherever possible, and simultaneous interpretation made available so that non-Francophones can understand."

Last year, Quebec's Commissioner General for Francophone Affairs, Jean-Marc Léger, identified three major factors he believed would determine the future of French: scientific research, technological innovation and communications. The status of French in North America as a language of advanced science and technology received a major boost from the member nations of *la Francophonie*, including Canada, when they recently approved a Quebec proposal advanced two and a half years ago at the Paris Summit to locate the headquarters of an energy institute serving the entire French-speaking world at Cape Diamant near Quebec City. The upper echelons of Canada's Public Service must now do their part in recognizing the scientific merits of French in all disciplines. For, while forward-looking policies can set the scene, it is ultimately only the personal choices of individual scientists and the senior officials who hire them that can reverse the slow decline of the language of such eminent twentieth-century scientists as Jacques Monod, Louis de Broglie and Hubert Reeves and such great scientists of the past as Antoine Lavoisier and Blaise Pascal. ■

The Determination of the Fransaskois

The Fransaskois have a 200-year-old history on the Prairies. They remember the leading role they played before and after the creation of Saskatchewan.

The Francophones of Saskatchewan have a problem. Although numerous enough to people a city of 25,000 inhabitants, they do not form the kind of compact, organic community that would ensure their collective survival.

There has been an alarming decline in the Fransaskois population.

The Fransaskois have lived in isolation from one another since settling on Saskatchewan's open southern plains and wooded northern regions in the eighteenth century. Today, though scattered over more than 40 towns and villages around the province, they are as active as any community four times their size.

Never has such a small minority, besieged on all sides by the forces of assimilation, created so many organizations to defend its language and culture. Every aspect of community is covered by one of a number of institutions, which include the Association culturelle franco-canadienne, Commission des écoles fransaskoises, Conseil de la coopération de la Saskatchewan, Fédération des aînés fransaskois, Association jeunesse fransaskoise, Société historique, Fédération des femmes canadiennes-françaises and the Commission culturelle fransaskoise, which itself consists of 17 committees and societies.

Figures from the last census show there has been an alarming decline in the Fransaskois population. Only 2 per cent of Saskatchewan's inhabitants claim French as their mother tongue. Despite this trend, the province's remaining Francophones, whether from St-Denis, Gravelbourg, Saskatoon, Ferland, Prince Albert, Prud'homme, Regina or Ponteix, refuse to admit defeat and defend their language and culture with admirable energy.

History

This dynamic approach stems from the Fransaskois' 200-year-old history in this region of the Prairies and is fuelled by their memories of the leading role they played before and after the creation of Saskatchewan. The Fransaskois remember that the pioneers who built the region's schools and hospitals spoke French and long controlled the province's economic, religious and political life.

The West was explored in the 1740s by La Vérendrye and his sons, who opened the region for French-speaking traders and settlers. The Francophone voyageurs and commercial travellers who soon followed often took Indian wives, and it was in this way that the Francophone Métis nation was born. In 1770 the first acre of wheat was harvested downstream from La Fourche on the banks of the Saskatchewan River.

One hundred years later, French-speaking Belgians and farmers from the Ardennes, Ardèche, Brittany and other regions of France came to cultivate the land in Saskatchewan. Then followed the Franco-Americans, Quebecers who had earlier left Canada to settle in the United States, but who were ultimately enticed by the colonizing efforts of the Oblate missionaries. Last came the French-Canadians of Quebec, who, despite the entreaties of their clergy and political leaders, travelled westward in search of a better life. In 1931 the Fransaskois numbered more than 50,000. However, they have never represented more than 6 per cent of the province's population.

The Métis

Saskatchewan Francophones have never forgotten the humiliation of Batoche. It was there that Louis Riel became leader of the Métis, whom Dominion authorities had unjustly dispossessed of their land, and proclaimed a provisional government. In the ensuing struggle, the Métis forces were defeated at Batoche and Riel himself was hanged in Regina in 1885.

The Métis, those half-brothers to whom the French-Canadians gave their language and religion, were never very well received in the Francophone family. And the great reunion which this heritage could have brought about was prevented by contrasting ways of life. Today, a few old Métis still speak French and are on friendly terms with their Fransaskois contemporaries.

The Association culturelle franco-canadienne (ACFC), the leading defender

Saskatchewan Archives

Saint-Vital Convent, North Battleford, 1898

of Fransaskois interests, this year celebrated the 75th anniversary of its founding at Duck Lake, where it was created, in Prud'homme and in Saskatoon. The ACFC was established to a large extent to oversee the creation of French-language schools, a cause it continues to promote today. The Bureau de la minorité de langue officielle, which was set up as part of the Department of Education, is one of ACFC's achievements.

French-language schools

At the Association's prompting, Francophone parents founded the Commission des écoles fransaskoises, which petitioned the Court of Queen's Bench in 1984 to grant the Fransaskois the right to administer their own schools. Provincial law currently grants Saskatchewan Francophones French-language schools which are designed A and B. In the former, all courses are given in French. In the latter, 50 to 80 per cent are taught in English. At present, category A comprises nine elementary schools, although well-informed teachers feel there are really only three — in Prince Albert, Saskatoon and Regina — and one secondary school. Category B consists of 64 schools at both levels. Since Anglophones are permitted by provincial law to attend French-language schools, those schools have enabled English-speaking students to acquire a second language. But they have also made it easier for young French-Canadians to lose their mother tongue. Provincial law also grants regional school boards, which are mainly directed by Anglophones, the power to determine which schools will be classified A or B.

Collège Mathieu in Gravelbourg is the only completely French secondary school in Saskatchewan.

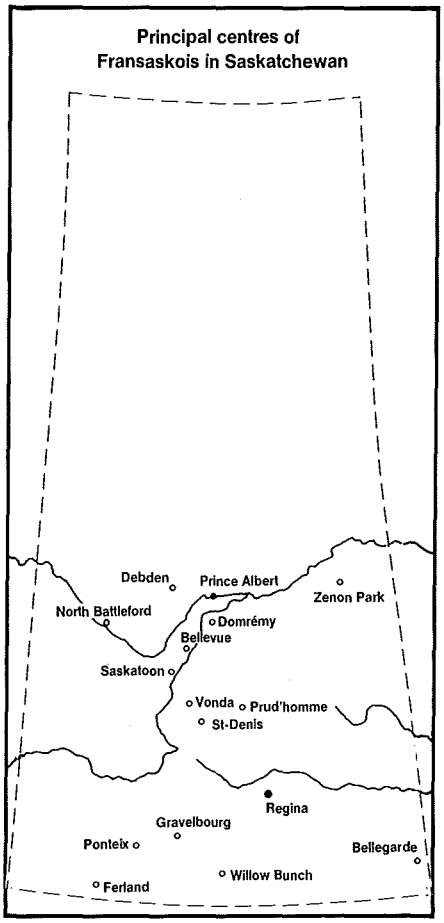
Collège Mathieu

While the Commission des écoles fransaskoises continues to press the Court to introduce the model separate school board it wishes to establish for the province's French-language schools, the Collège Mathieu, in Gravelbourg, the only completely French secondary school in Saskatchewan, has moved into the field of post-secondary education by founding its Centre fransaskois d'éducation permanente (Fransaskois Continuing Education Centre). Since 1986 the Collège has provided, in addition to the regular program it offers its 130 students, 80 popular training courses in 14 municipalities and one course by telephone from the Faculté Saint-Jean at the University of Alberta.

The Collège Mathieu selected the name Centre fransaskois d'éducation to emphasize its determination to enter the university field. The Centre fransaskois de ressources culturelles et pédagogiques was added last year to provide French-language schools with teaching materials.

The North-West Territories Act

Saskatchewan's French-language minority achieved a major victory on July 27 of this year. The Saskatchewan Court of Appeal ruled unanimously that the Saskatchewan Act does in fact extend the language rights granted under the North-West Territories Act, thus entitling Francophones facing criminal charges to a trial in French.



Cultural initiatives

To help maintain their French roots, Fransaskois in 14 locations throughout the province enjoy services provided by the Commission culturelle, another agency which, like ACFC, is subsidized to a large extent by the federal Secretary of State Department. The Commission is set up to promote the arts in general and theatre in particular. Saskatchewan's Francophones have always loved the stage and frequently produce the works of their playwright, Laurier Gareau.

In addition to the French-language weekly, *L'Eau vive*, which with a circulation of 2,000 is concerned about its future, the publishing house Éditions Louis-Riel was established in 1985. Its founder, René Rottiers, proudly lists the titles of the 11 works he has published since that time, most of which are poetry and novels, but makes no attempt to hide the fact that he has set his marketing sights on the schools.

But all is not well in the land of the Giant Beaupré (Édouard Beaupré, born in 1881 in Willow Bunch). These cultural initiatives are not enough to counter the attraction of English-language radio and television. As a last resort, the Fransaskois have demanded that the federal Department of Communications force cable television companies through legislation to offer a few French-language channels with their services. Radio-Canada is received everywhere and in Zenon Park viewers can also watch Radio-Québec and TVA.

The greatest concern is education.

Sons and daughters

What French is still spoken in Saskachewan homes is due in large part to Fransaskois women. They run the parents' committess and, in 1981, established a network of French-language pre-schools, which are now attended by 250 children. Although their greatest concern is education, since that is ultimately what will determine the fate of the Francophone community, they are also active in the cultural sector, and some have gone into politics.

Most Fransaskois live in small towns and villages and earn their living from the land. They are no longer the die-hard Liberals they used to be and now vote for the party that seems to serve their interests best. Their faith is still strong, as is their love of family, families usually with three or four children.

As their sons and daughters grow up, a problem arises for Fransaskois parents. If they encourage their children to learn English, the schools and television make short work of assimilating them. If they insist on having their children educated in French and succeed in instilling in them their attachment to their mother tongue, the children ultimately leave Saskatchewan to continue their studies in St. Boniface, Ottawa or Moncton. It is distressing for the parents because they know they will probably not return.

The Fransaskois minority is thus gradually losing ground and each year finds it in a weaker position. Community leaders nevertheless hope within 15 years they will be able to summon the resources and the strength to reverse this trend. ■

T.L.-A.

Exodus and Equality

Hal Winter

For a long time, privilege, protection and prosperity had favoured the English-speaking communities of Quebec's Eastern Townships. Then their world began to change....

Against the summer sky, the wooden steeples of the white churches are silent symbols of Sundays past.

"It used to be full house for every service," recalls 90-year-old William Holmes, joining the handful of worshipers in Ways Mills United Church. "But the young folk are mostly gone," explains his wife Gladys. "And those of us left are getting older...."

Inside, Rev. Diane Blanchard prays for Parliament and tells the faithful of the Children of Israel in the wilderness. The text is from Exodus. And exodus is very much on everyone's mind as this scene is repeated in scores of hamlets across the some 15,000 square kilometres of Quebec's Eastern Townships.

The exodus

In Lennoxville, Editor Gladys Beattie and her part-time staff struggle to meet the publication deadline for their monthly community newspaper, the *Townships Sun*. "There was a dramatic decline in the English population after Bill 101 [the 1977 Charter of the French Language]," she says. "Morale was very bad. So many decided there was just no future here."

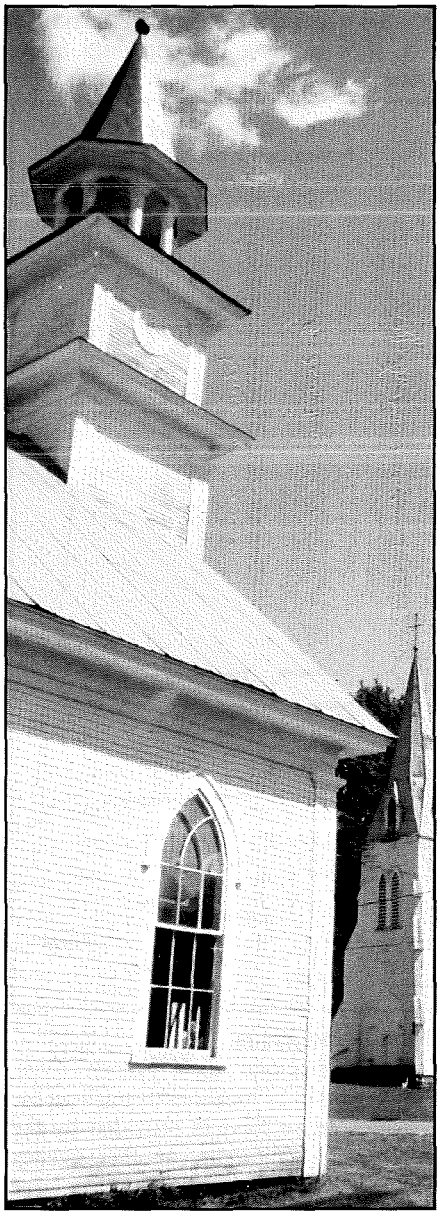
It's milking-time at nearby Fairview Farms, which has stood over the valley since 1803. Brian and Vicky Herring still get help from 70-year-old Gordon Herring who was born in the century-old house and worked the 800-acre farm all his life.

The family — now the seventh generation on the land — has seen a host of friends depart over the past decade.

Today, their forceful determination to stay and bring up their children in their homeland reflects a growing sentiment across this entire region, once the most vibrant English-language community outside of Montreal.

But to survive, all agree, they must have support.

Facile judgement might suggest that stringent language laws sparked the exodus sapping this 50,000-strong Anglophone population, centred on the city of



Sherbrooke, 150 kilometres southeast of Montreal, stretching south to the U.S. border and east from the Richelieu River to the Beauce country.

Reality is more complex. It involves subtle interactions of economic, political and social forces over the past half-century, with Bill 101 providing the last, most visible straw.

Rise and fall...

The uniqueness of the Eastern Townships area can be understood only in its historical context. The basis for the prosperous Anglophone community came first from south of the border. When the American colonists broke with the Crown in 1776, a segment rejected the Republic and migrated north in search of a new home under British rule. The United Empire Loyalists found in the Townships area some of Quebec's finest farmland and scenic beauty.

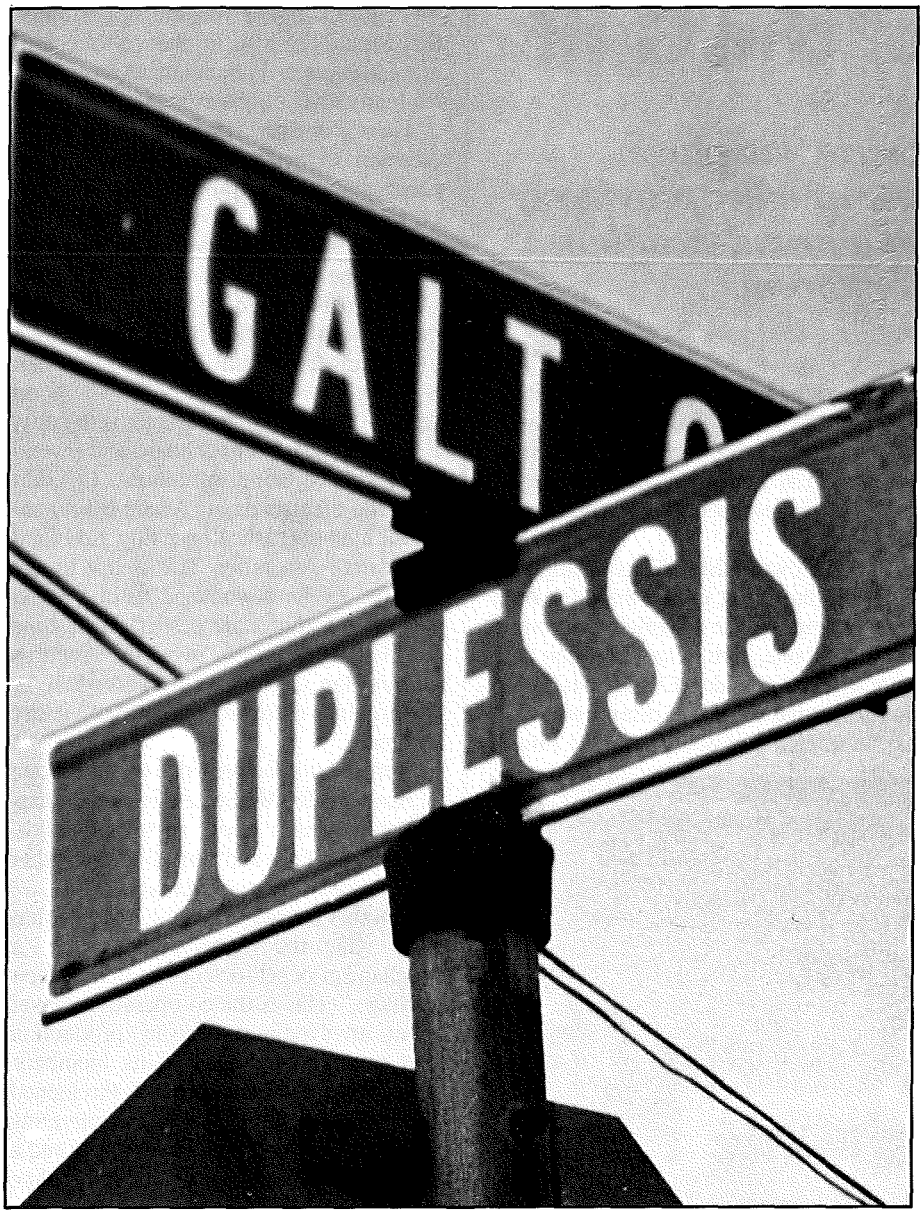
The uniqueness of the Eastern Townships area can be understood only in its historical context.

Already an elite before leaving the United States, the privileged position of these settlers received a further boost in 1867. To protect Protestants from being swamped electorally, the English community leader Alexander Galt managed to get Section 80 written into the British North America Act, creating 12 predominately English "protected" ridings — eight within the Townships — which could never have their constituency boundaries altered by any Quebec government without the consent of a majority of the sitting members of the ridings. This powerful political clout persisted for over a century, often with the connivance of premiers who enjoyed the support of their rural, conservative vote.

Their forceful determination to stay and bring up their children in their homeland reflects a growing sentiment across this entire region, once the most vibrant English-language community outside Montreal.

The Townships English-speaking community prospered, its numbers swelled by other migrations. Coexistence with French was taken for granted. With English institutions — such as Bishop's University — available, there was no real need to learn the other language, no incentive to integrate with the larger Quebec reality. It had the hallmarks of a golden ghetto.

Serious harbingers of economic distress came after the Second World War with a decline in resource industries and the manufacturing sector. In the mid-60s, social pressures were added with "Maîtres Chez Nous", Quebec's Quiet Revolution



and emphasis on the "French Fact" across Canada. Job competition grew tougher as language ability became a factor of competence. Old values were crumbling.

In 1970 the newly-elected Bourassa government dealt a death-blow to political privilege with abolition of the protected ridings. Over the years, distortions to the electoral process had become flagrant. In the 60s some 6,000 votes were cast in the Townships riding of Huntingdon, 100,000 in Montreal's Laval.

Electoral reform undercut political power in the Townships. This translated into less attention to the mounting economic plight of the population. Then came the election of René Lévesque's Parti Québécois and declaration of a unilingual Quebec. Ottawa and the Official Languages Act seemed remote. The exodus, which had been a trickle, became a flood as youth sought opportunity elsewhere.

The remaining population is aging. Estimates are that the elderly — age 60 and over — make up some 20 per cent of the English community. Many of these move when they can. In a Sherbrooke suburb, 68-year-old Ruth George recently bade farewell to her last English neighbour. But has the exodus peaked? Is a stabilizing trend in the offing? The consensus seems to be a cautious "maybe".

Dedicated to a turnaround is the 8,000-member Townshippers Association, set up in 1979 to act as a sort of ombudsman helping people deal with the government. Thanks to federal funding, this non-profit volunteer organization publishes a newsletter and sponsors a range of activities designed to foster a sense of community. Over recent years, briefs have been prepared on several crucial areas.

But the larger goal, explains past president Della Goodsell, is to break the barrier to equitable participation in the civil service by persons whose mother tongue is not French. "We must somehow change the traditional perception that these people cannot function effectively in French. Our people face an identity crisis. They need to know where they can fit in."

Individuals such as 29-year-old entrepreneur Peter Bishop are also taking steps to check the exodus. Establishment of a forum where speakers tell young Townshippers why they ought to stay is among his initiatives. He believes "we've turned the corner....But reality today dictates that we can operate fully in French."

At the *Townships Sun* Gladys Beattie agrees that "the worst is over" and there's a "new understanding and respect now" between the former language solitudes.

Down on the Fairview Farms the perception is the same. "Some English are coming back," says 39-year-old Bruce Herring. "The new generation can all speak French." Brian Herring plans to send his children to a French school "at least part of the time. I figure it's an advantage...almost a luxury."

Back at Ways Mills, William Holmes's 52-year-old son Stanley is also taking French courses. "I'm not going to turn against lifelong neighbours just because of Bill 101. Those who wanted to stay in Quebec stayed. It's our home too."

Thus, more than two centuries after the first Loyalists moved here, Quebec's Eastern Townships promise a viable bilingual lifestyle to those determined to survive.

They know that, in addition to economic relief, their future depends on the development of language skills. Committed to the concept of a bilingual Canada, they view with dismay recent English-only trends in some parts of Ontario.

They know that, in addition to economic relief, their future depends on the development of language skills. Committed to the concept of a bilingual Canada, they view with dismay recent English-only trends in some parts of Ontario.

"Those unwilling to pay the price," comments Ways Mills observer George Hayes, "have already departed on a sort of second diaspora along [highway] 401." But today there is a fresh resiliency, a new optimism growing among those who have decided to stay.

In the meantime, while waiting for some friendly signals of understanding from Quebec, this minority community is hungry for support and encouragement from fellow citizens across the nation. ■

The Garden of the Gulf

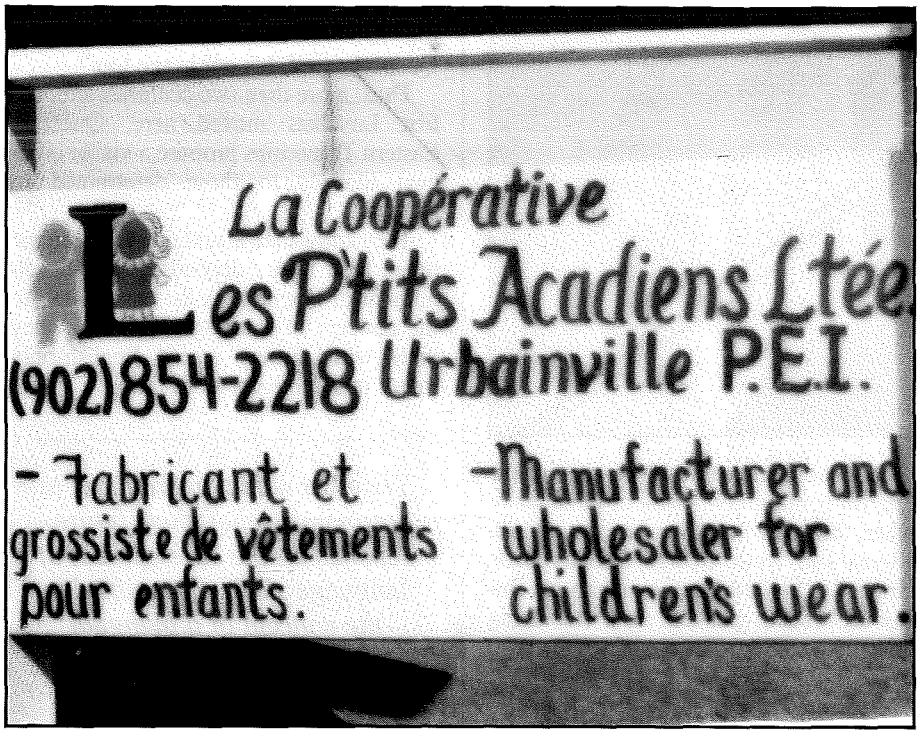
Prince Edward Island's minority language problems are not unlike those of other provinces, but research has shown that a proud Acadian community has reason for optimism.

Prince Edward Island has much to contribute to research into Canadian problems, as an investigative team from the Office of the Commissioner of Official Languages (OCOL) has discovered.

Since starting work last January, the four-person team from OCOL's Ottawa and Moncton offices has made several visits to the Island, producing a report which deals with some of the issues raised and the challenges posed by the existence of a minority official language community.

The federal government cannot by itself solve the problems of Canada's minority language groups, but it can set an example and, within its own jurisdiction, make their lives and their prospects for survival a little better.

Prince Edward Island has a language situation that is not unlike that of several other provinces. The minority community is a small one, but it has tradition and tenacity on its side. Despite its small numbers it has refused to disappear, and it has no intention of doing so in the future.



The Acadians

The study will serve as a prototype for similar projects involving all Canada's provinces over the next few years. More immediately, it is of great importance to the Acadians of Prince Edward Island, who make up about 5 per cent of the province's population. The figures are not large — about 6,000 people in all but the heritage is long, the community and its problems are real, and, according to the team's report, solutions are realistically possible, at least in terms of the federal government's role.

These are Acadians, with a long history of survival in the face of an equally long history of obstacles in their path, including exile in the eighteenth century and outside neglect and indifference since.

A vibrant community

What the OCOL team found was a vibrant, optimistic community, basically at peace with their Anglophone neighbours but determined to remain themselves. "Acadians are not complainers," the report says. They are used to the predominance of English in most spheres of life outside their own group, but, given the opportunity, they would jump at the chance to receive more and better French-language services from any level of government.

There is one basic factor that favours the Acadians in their struggle. This is a certain geographic concentration of the Francophone population in one area of the province — the appropriately named Évangéline region of Prince County, where Acadians make up about three-quarters of the total population. It is not a huge number — about 2,000 people. But it is enough to set a certain tone. There, on the southwest tip of the Island, is the only French-language school board and several other Francophone institutions. In addition, the area sends an Acadian Francophone member to the Prince Edward Island Legislative Assembly. This is not to say that the reality is confined to one place. "Of course, things are best in Évangéline for Francophones," says the report's author, Jan Carbon, "but everywhere in the province there's a good deal of vitality evident."

Throughout the province the backbone of Acadian life is the Société Saint-Thomas-d'Aquin, which works in several fields, including culture and education, to further the interests of the community.

Another factor helping the Acadians has been what the report describes as "a mechanism of self-defence rooted in their heritage." This is the co-operative movement, involved in purchasing, production and services on behalf of its members. Now, however, the tradition is threatened by several trends, including an accelerating move to the cities, media influence, and a greater emphasis on individual rather than collective aspirations.

Reasons for optimism

One result has been that, to a considerable extent, federal government services are more and more important, replacing reliance on mutual help mechanisms. "Federal institutions on the Island therefore have an increasingly crucial role to play," the report says. It also suggests that federal structures are too inflexible, too concentrated in Charlottetown and, in their bilingual component, too fragile — a total of 66 bilingual posts in all government departments — to give adequate service to Prince Edward Island Francophones. Despite the problems, the OCOL team did not come away discouraged. There were several reasons for quiet optimism.

One of them is psychological. There appears to be no reason to fear an Anglophone backlash to the prospect of more French-language services. In Prince Edward Island, French immersion courses are very popular — courses which have

brought English- and French-speaking parents as well as children more closely together — and the province has also, in recent polls, shown itself to be overwhelmingly supportive of the provision of French-language services to its Francophone population.

Part of this may be due to the fact that there is no perception of a threat to the predominance of English in the province. But there is also apparently a real reservoir of good will remaining between the Island's two language groups.

The Island supports French-language services.

Small is beautiful

The recommendations of the OCOL team are unlikely to endanger that climate. Rather than suggesting any massive increase in bilingual capacity on the part of federal government staff on the Island, it tries to follow its own perceptions: "Any attempt at a solution must be in keeping with the context of the Island...where 'small is beautiful'."

In that context, the report suggests the creation of a few regional offices, staffed by small bilingual teams capable of giving advice to, and if necessary interpreting for, those having dealings with federal government departments.

The idea is modest, involving the hiring and training of perhaps fewer than a dozen people and the installation of a toll-free telephone number to serve all parts of the Island. And, while the staff would be bilingual, its services would be open to all Islanders, not Francophones alone. It would, to a large extent be modelled on similar offices already set up by the provincial government, including a bilingual one in Évangéline.

A testing ground

The proposers and backers of the recommendations hope that the very modesty of the ideas presented — including a project to simplify federal forms and documents — will recommend them. According to team members, the response of the province's Acadians has been enthusiastic.

For all its practicality at the Prince Edward Island level, the report recognizes that implementation of a similar program at a national level would necessarily be much more ambitious. Therein might lie the significance for the future. "The Island would be an ideal testing ground for concepts that might later be introduced nationally," the report says. ■

T.S.

Bill 8

When the Ontario Legislature unanimously passed the French Language Services Act in November 1986 there was relatively little reaction from the public. Over the year that followed, however, a small but vocal resistance has been making itself heard, causing some to wonder whether the Act, known as Bill 8, is on the endangered list.

The Alliance for the Preservation of English in Canada (APEC) has become active in southeastern Ontario, trying to persuade municipalities to voice displeasure with Bill 8, to officially declare themselves unilingually English and to call for a provincial referendum on the subject.

When questioned on the matter, Bernard Grandmaître, Minister for Francophone Affairs, points to some of the indications that APEC's views are not widely held, mentioning a motion by the Association of Municipalities of Ontario in favour of entrenching the rights of French-speaking Ontarians in the Constitution. He also speaks of a survey conducted in February 1984 which showed that 72 per cent of Ontarians were in favour of enacting a law to guarantee the availability of French language services in areas where numbers warrant. "In my view, such facts should be interpreted as the result of significant social and attitudinal changes on the part of Ontario's population," he says, adding: "I deeply believe that respect between English- and French-speaking Canadians is of fundamental importance to our life as Canadians."

"One Language Unites, Two Divide"

But APEC, like the fabled Missouri resident, is hard to convince. "One Language Unites, Two Divide" is its motto. Although it has only recently become the subject of widespread media attention, the group is not a new one. It was founded some 10 years ago by Thornhill, Ontario, resident Ronald Leitch, who is still active in the field and who is frequently heard on radio talk shows and in other public forums expounding his vision of an English-only Canada.

One of the most energetic new members is Faye Garner, a Brockville resident who took action after losing out in a competition for a job in the local office of the Ontario Ministry of Correctional Services, believing that the position had unjustly been given to a Francophone. The matter has been the subject both of an appeal and of an investigation by the Ontario Human Rights Commissioner, but the decision has been upheld.

Garner helped found a branch of APEC in Brockville. The location was tinder to her spark — Brockville and the surrounding area take pride in the United Empire Loyalist tradition and have one of the smallest Francophone populations of any part of Ontario. Brockville is also the home of a number of disaffected English-speaking former Quebecers and one of APEC's most frequently-cited arguments is that Francophones outside Quebec deserve no improvements to their situation as long as Quebec's Bill 101 is in effect.

The main worry of APEC supporters is that Bill 8 is the "thin end of the wedge". They believe that Ontario will eventually be declared officially bilingual and that this will put an end to the employment chances of unilingual Anglophones.

Autonomy of municipalities respected

That fear is based on misunderstanding. Most of the area that has reacted so strongly has no obligation at all to conform to the French Language Services Act, precisely because of the low proportion of French speakers among the population. Bill 8 only applies in areas where Francophones represent a significant number of the population — as in the Ottawa area, in Sudbury and in Windsor. Furthermore, municipalities are not bound by the Act unless they choose to be, a choice that 25 municipalities have made so far.

According to Grandmaître, "The Act doesn't impose — as some people have contended recently — any obligation on municipalities to offer any of their services in French, even in the 22 designated areas. In fact, when the legislation was being drafted we went to great lengths to ensure that we didn't infringe upon the traditional autonomy municipalities enjoy."

In late August the cities of Cornwall and Brockville, apparently satisfied that English speakers within their boundaries are not threatened, turned down all of APEC's proposals. The results of Ontario's election on September 10 have certainly shown that the most voters are not of APEC's mind about the dangers of extending more rights to Francophones. It would seem that most Ontarians agree that recognition for the Francophone community is the way of the future.

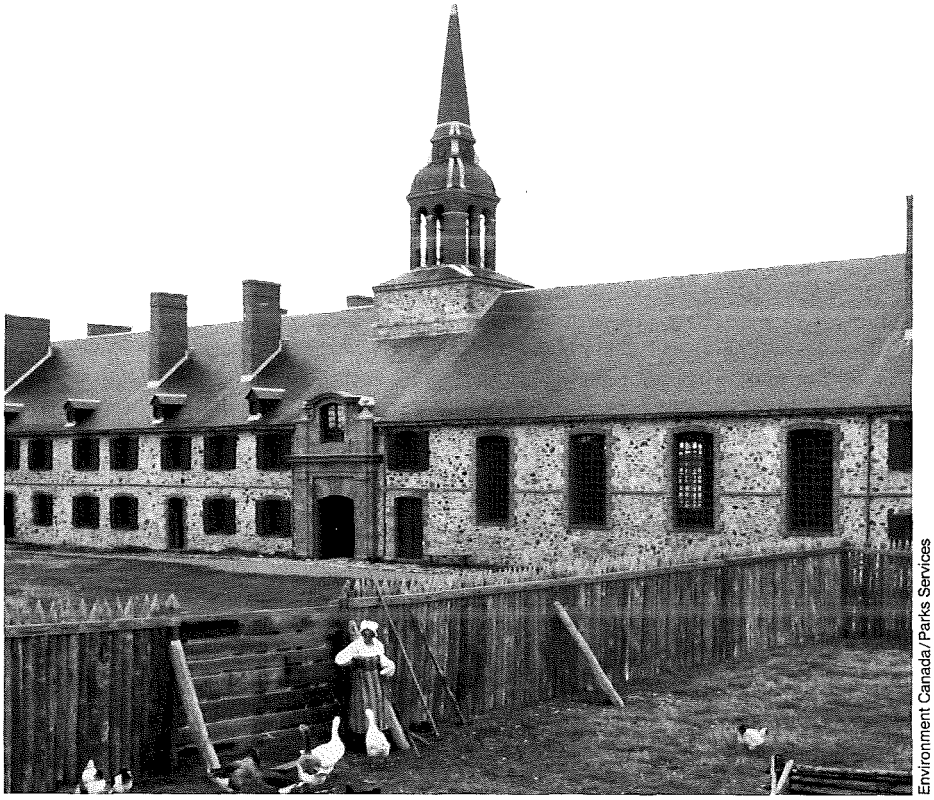
S.H.

Welcome to Grand Pré

*Muriel K. Roy**

Though half the parks and historic sites in the Maritimes commemorate the French and Acadian presence, the presence of Acadians in the National Parks system there is minimal.

In February 1987 the Société nationale des Acadiens and the Acadian Advisory Committee on National Parks in the Atlantic Region presented a brief to the Minister of the Environment calling for rectification of a situation which they considered unacceptable as far as the Acadian population was concerned. The brief documented the poor representation of Francophones and Acadians in the federal parks system in the Maritimes: no Acadians in administrative jobs at regional headquarters, none engaged in research or interpretation of Acadian history, and none serving as directors of any of the main Acadian historic parks.



Environment Canada/Parks Services

Fortress of Louisbourg, Cape Breton Island

***Muriel K. Roy is co-Chairperson of the Acadian Advisory Committee on Atlantic Parks.**

The Acadian presence

The brief also reminded the Minister that Acadians had participated in the founding of this country; colonized and populated the Maritimes for a century and a half before being sent into exile; and later returned to settle once again in the Maritimes. Their survival has been recognized by the Canadian government as a fact of national historic importance and today half the parks and historic sites in the Maritimes commemorate the French and Acadian presence. Finally, the brief pointed out, Acadians feel they should be directly involved in the decision-making process and in the promotion of their historical resources.

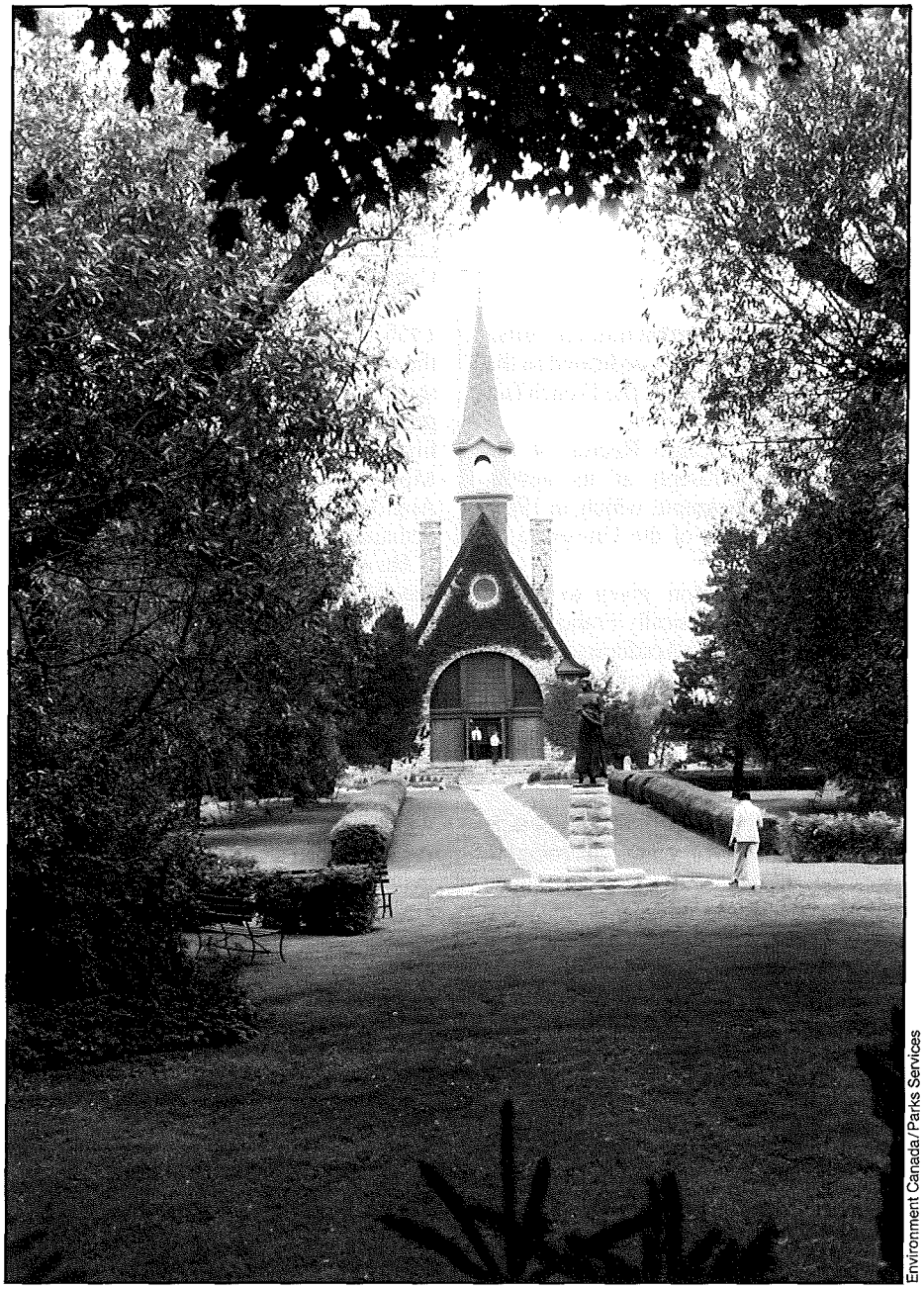
Grand Pré

What triggered the Acadian decision to present a brief to the Minister was the appointment of a new director of Grand Pré National Historic Park. The park is a reminder of the life of the early Acadian settlers and of the events leading up to the deportation and displacement of this people. It was not unreasonable to expect that management of this historic site would be entrusted to an individual whose language, cultural background and professional training ensured an intimate knowledge of the history and aspirations of the Acadian people. But this was not the way it worked out, despite the Committee's recommendations. The selection process brought home to Acadians once again that they have absolutely no say in decisions at the Parks Service on important matters of concern to them. The Department based its justification of this appointment on compliance with staffing procedures and the competence of the candidate selected, effectively diverting attention from the real issue: the need for equitable participation by Acadians and Francophones in the Atlantic parks system and the need to recognize the special requirements affecting management of a unique commemorative site.

Acadians participated in the founding of the country.

This is not the first time that there have been rumbles of dissatisfaction in the Acadian community nor is it the first time there have been complaints about the way parks are managed. The case of Grand Pré is one of a number of sore points. The memorial church erected there by the Acadians in the 1920s in memory of their ancestors was turned into a joint museum featuring not only the Acadians but also the Planters, who took over their homelands after they were expelled. Publicity material about Grand Pré and comments by ill-formed park guides contained interpretations of Acadian history that were simply unacceptable. There has been a long history of complaints about poor service in French in national parks throughout the Atlantic and at regional headquarters, which the Commissioner of Official Languages has also noted, commenting in his Annual Report as far back as 1980 that bilingualism is remarkable by its absence in the Atlantic regional operations of Environment Canada.

Considerable progress has been made since then. There have been improvements both in bilingual services for visitors to the national parks in the Maritimes and in the management of the memorial church at Grand Pré, which has been returned to its original role with décor and surroundings conducive to reflection on the fate of the Acadians.



Environment Canada/Parks Services

Grand Pré, Nova Scotia

Parks personnel

But there is still a long way to go to achieve an equitable Acadian and Francophone presence in the Parks Service's Atlantic region. The linguistic profile of Parks personnel reveals an organization that makes little room for Francophones. As of summer 1987 Francophones accounted for only 8.3 per cent of the 866 permanent and seasonal employees, concentrated mainly in New Brunswick and assigned primarily to support positions. At the regional office, the nerve centre of Maritime operations, the imbalance is even more blatant: only five Francophones out of a total of 127 employees, all relegated to the lowest levels. In the entire Atlantic region there are only two Francophones in the middle ranks: one manager of a conservation park and one district manager of historic sites in New Brunswick.

Acknowledging the validity of our demands, the Minister has called for a remedial action plan to increase the bilingual capacity of Atlantic regional staff, particularly those in the regional office. We can only endorse this step: adequate service in both official languages is an obvious necessity. But we also consider it important — and this is the crux of our demands — to achieve a more equitable level of participation by Francophones and Acadians in positions of responsibility in the regional office and in the Parks system as a whole.

We realize this will not be easy. The present state of the economy has led to staff cuts, a slow turnover of personnel and tight budgets that rule out the possibility of creating new positions. In these circumstances, the prospects of any significant change are dim even in the medium term. Clearly, there will be very few positions to be filled and the replacement of staff will proceed at no more than a snail's pace. The few Francophones who might be appointed in any category run the risk of being engulfed and assimilated in short order by the strongly anglicizing atmosphere of the Halifax regional office.

Grand Pré is a reminder of the life of Acadians before the Expulsion.

If the object is to ensure that Francophones and Acadians achieve a significant presence in the system, an environment will have to be created in which communication in French is the norm. To this end we recommended that an Acadian section be set up within the regional organization, where the language of work would be French. Creation of such a unit would meet a second equally important objective: it would focus professional resources — historians, interpretation and planning staff — on the goal of developing and promoting the Acadian sites. At the same time, it would guarantee genuine recognition of the Acadian and French facts in the Parks Service's Atlantic Region on a continuing basis.

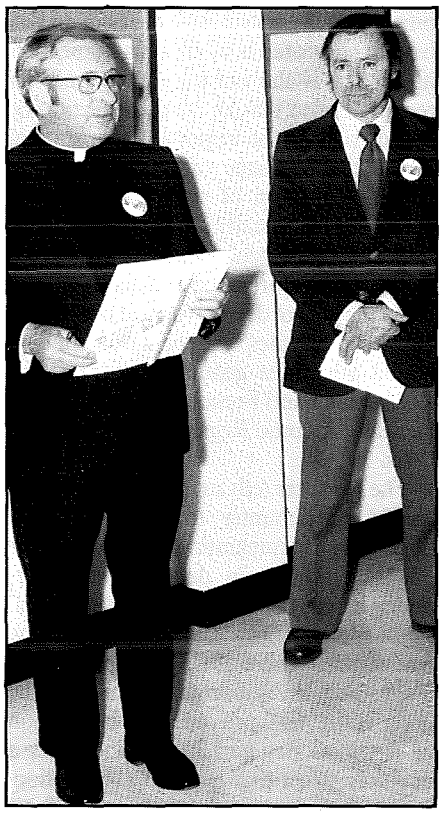
The Minister tells us, however, that this would run counter to the established objective of integrating Canada's two linguistic groups in departmental operations across the country. What a dream! The experience of Francophones in New Brunswick, where their strong numbers make them an important segment of the population, has proven that integration of Anglophones and Francophones is a one-way street that leads to assimilation. Evidently an approach based on duality is the only hope for a language that is fighting for its very life outside Quebec.

We will therefore continue to press our demands in keeping with the spirit of the words voiced last summer at Grand Pré by the president of the Société nationale des Acadiens, Father Léger Comeau: "Will we ever see the day in Canada when human rights are duly respected without interminable discussions, without countless procedures and complaints, without having to resort to legal proceedings like common criminals? A Canada worthy of the name should not oblige its citizens to rise up in arms to ensure their right to live in dignity." ■

Clément Cormier, Builder

*Jean Cadieux**

The Rev. Father Cormier, who died recently, was the initiator and heart and soul of the Université de Moncton, and its first rector. He has left behind him an imperishable memory, not only throughout Acadia but in the country as a whole, as is eloquently shown by testimony in every Canadian newspaper, Anglophone and Francophone.



Université de Moncton

Clément Cormier

He was born in Moncton in 1910 at a time when that city had only a small Acadian minority, one which as yet had no influence, nor any means of safeguarding its culture. In 1940, when he was 30, after studying social science at Laval University, he was appointed Vice-Principal of the Université Saint-Joseph, where he had obtained his B.A. From that time on, Father Cormier's life was totally dedicated to the survival and promotion of the French fact in New Brunswick.

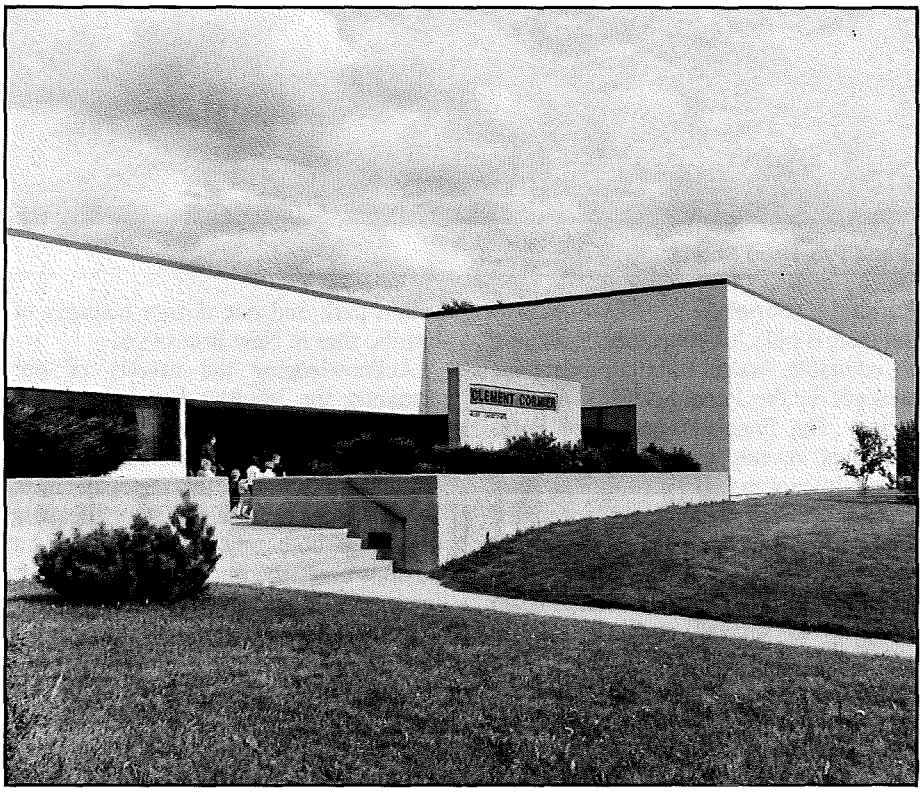
In 1953 he became Rector of the Université Saint-Joseph at its newly-created Moncton campus which, in 1963, became the nucleus of the Université de Moncton.

The name Moncton, given to a new university that was basically Francophone and intended to enable Acadians to partake of higher education, was controversial for some. Moncton was the name of an English General who made war on the Acadians at the time of the Deportation, but for Clément Cormier it was a symbol of the renaissance of the Acadian people. Setting up an institution of higher learning in Moncton, a city with an Anglophone majority, meant for him the possibility that the two linguistic groups could live in harmony and accept cultural duality, thus permitting the French population to emerge from a certain ghetto and receive its rights as citizens. In a way, the name Moncton took on a French flavour.

When the Laurendeau-Dunton Commission was created, the Prime Minister of Canada, Lester Pearson, invited Father Cormier to take part in it. Here again he put his distinctive mark on the undertaking: that of a man who has reflected long on the crucial problem of the Canadian adventure.

Clément Cormier was a diplomat. In 1956 he managed to win acceptance for the idea that the Moncton Public Library should become bilingual. He wrote the proposals which led to the building of the first Francophone secondary school in Moncton. The School Board, with its large Anglophone majority, acceded to the demands of the Acadian parents.

He was a born nationalist, but of a very special type. Above all he was a Canadian. In a Radio-Canada broadcast in 1970 he said: "I am in favour of Quebec separatism as long as there is no separation." President of the Association canadienne d'éducation en langue française, he always lived on good terms with the Anglophones of his region. He was director of an institution which was the key to the progress in Acadia, and at the same time was a militant in many Associations outside the province. An Acadian who was fiercely committed to the cause of the French language and French culture, Father Cormier's discreet nationalism matched the dimensions of the country. Above all he was a pacifist. ■



Dolores Breau

Université de Moncton

***Jean Cadieux, whose career brought him close to Father Cormier from 1948 onward, was Rector of the Université de Moncton from 1974 to 1980.**

Official Languages in Education: The Way Ahead

Stuart Beaty

In 1986 the Secretary of State asked a team of independent consultants to evaluate its Official Languages in Education Program (OLE). Originally known as Bilingualism in Education, OLE was created in 1970. Realizing that English and French in Canada could never be equal if access to education in those languages was very unequal, the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism had urged the federal government to bear the additional costs of enabling each province and territory to provide effective education in its minority official language and better instruction in English or French as a second language. In 15 years the program has transferred more than $2.5 billion to the provinces and territories.

It is impossible to provide adequate incentives for all aspects of official languages education with the present budget.

The program so far

The original intent was to help bring official languages education programs closer to the ideal. The principal means was a formula funding approach, with the federal government contributing an agreed portion of the average cost per student. The program also funded specific initiatives.

The original agreement ran from 1970-71 to 1973-74. It was renewed in 1974-75 for five years and then extended on an interim basis until 1982-83. In 1979 funding was reduced by 20 per cent and frozen at $140 million. In 1983 a new three-year protocol made it possible to better focus federal contributions on *additional* costs and to direct more of the money to provinces with greater needs. Provinces could choose to use the so-called "Basic Option" (enrolments formula) or negotiate a separate deal. In either case, the costs had to be demonstrated and justified. In 1985 this arrangement was extended to March 31, 1988, and is now being renegotiated.

Tale of the data

The report warns that the effects of the program are not statistically separable from the effects of other factors, but there is broad agreement that the overall impact has more than justified the investment.

The study considers the following statistical trends particularly relevant.

- School enrolments have fallen across Canada, but there has been a greater decline in minority than in majority enrolments in most provinces, including Quebec.
- Except in Ontario and Nova Scotia, the proportion of eligible minority children in minority language education is lower than that for the majority.
- The language retention rate for English-speaking Quebecers remained very high between 1971 and 1981, but the rate for French-speaking minorities declined in most provinces.
- From 1980 to 1984 enrolment in French immersion roughly doubled at the elementary level and tripled at the secondary level.
- Public support of minority language education appears to have grown since the late 70s, particularly among younger Canadians, and support for second language learning and the compulsory teaching of both official languages has remained high.

Other indications

The good news is that all provinces with Francophone minorities now provide some French programs for them. Mixed schools or classes are becoming fewer and the availability of appropriate curriculum materials and support services has also increased. The bad news is that the network of classes and schools for minority Francophones is incomplete and some children have no access to education in their own official language. Programs offered in nominally French schools are often taught only partially in French and some school jurisdictions still do not recognize or apply the distinction between minority French schooling and French immersion for Anglophones. Even the improvements in French second language teaching are offset by low participation rates. Nor has the availability of French immersion kept pace with demand. The average weekly quantity of second language instruction also remains quite low.

The availability of French immersion has not kept pace with demand.

Anomalies

The report describes a number of important anomalies in the program.

- For the first 12 years a disproportionate amount of federal money supported *established* minority and second language programs, notably in Quebec, rather than developing new opportunities for those more in need, particularly among the Francophone minorities.
- The 1983 protocol made it possible gradually to correct this imbalance, but the expansion in second language instruction has also increased its share of the total budget relative to that of minority language education, even though the needs of the latter are more urgent.
- Since 1978-79 real program dollars have dropped sharply while demands have been mounting.

User reactions

OLE users generally applauded the overall purpose of the program and tried to offer constructive suggestions, but there was dissatisfaction about the way in which both levels of government had listened and responded to needs and fear of what might happen if the federal commitment was further diluted.

Among others, the study underlines these problems.

- French minority language programs are sometimes seen as competing with second language programs.
- The relationship of core French to French immersion remains uncertain.
- The incomplete availability of appropriate French schooling is a handicap to Francophone minorities.
- French speakers outside Quebec do not participate adequately in post-secondary education.

It is rightly emphasized that the fruitfulness of the program first requires that "the two levels of government address seriously the issue of improving the effectiveness of their relationship."

Options

The OLE program has made an important contribution to the goals of federal bilin-

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gualism by enlarging opportunities, building up the educational infrastructure and increasing awareness of Canada's fundamental language duality. It has not always been efficient or responsive to changing public expectations and needs. This is apparent in uncertainties about how best to distribute federal support and in conflicts among program priorities.

A strong argument is made for increasing the federal investment in this critical component of Canada's nation building and for realigning funding to meet the most pressing needs first. How federal contributions are calculated and accounted for — in particular the difficulty of deciding what are or are not *additional* costs (for new schools, classes, teachers, programs, materials, etc.) — remains something of an irritant between governments and a source of scepticism among clients.

All our governments face tough choices. It is impossible to provide adequate incentives to all aspects of official languages education with the present budget; the urgency of Francophone needs would virtually dictate cuts in support to second language instruction, perhaps even to minority Anglophone education. On the other hand, federal incentives to meet Anglophone needs are widely seen as "shaping English-speaking opinion in favour of progress for the [Francophone] minority." The authors argue that: "The only apparent means to avoid such an unfortunate choice is for the Government of Canada to devote substantially greater support for the entire OLE program, increasing it to real levels of support greater than those of the period before the 1978-79 budget cuts."

The original intent was to help bring official languages education programs closer to the ideal.

It is clear from reading the report that money is not the only need. The context of federal-provincial negotiation has not always led to well co-ordinated educational planning. Key problems have now been identified, but they still have to be fully addressed. Interested parties should insist that governments use the present more enlightened climate to break out of the band-aid mould and design an OLE strategy for a new decade and a new century. The potential crises which this report describes demand more than periodic financial finagling; they call for a full-scale and continuing effort of projection and adjustment. A renegotiated agreement that disregards that need would seriously miss the boat. ■

Parents Join Forces

A "complete education system" conforming to the requirements of Section 23 of the Charter of Rights and Freedoms must be defined for each province.

By and large, the education provided to minority Francophone communities falls well below the requirements of Section 23 of the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms. This has just been confirmed — if any doubt existed — by a study entitled *Profil des systèmes éducatifs pour minoritaires* carried out by the Centre de recherche sur les minorités francophones, Collège de Saint-Boniface. This study was the major subject of discussion at a conference held in Montreal in November by the Commission national des parents francophones (CNPF).

Created in 1978 at a convention of the Association canadienne d'éducation de langue française, CNPF consists of parents' associations from all provinces with an Anglophone majority. These associations joined forces to struggle for an education in French for their children and for the right to administer their own educational institutions. The Fédération des comités de parents du Québec also belongs to CNPF and lends its moral support to the cause.

The study done by the Collège de Saint-Boniface gives an overall view of the Canadian educational system, and points out certain marked inconsistencies. Much remains to be done if Francophones outside Quebec are to enjoy an education in their own language comparable in quality to that provided for the English-speaking majority.

This study is the first in a decade to draw up an exhaustive inventory of educational resources — networks, equipment, staff — available to Francophone minorities. The last report of its kind, *Deux poids, deux mesures*, was published in 1978 by the Fédération des francophones hors Québec, which explains the importance this evaluation held for the leaders and militants who had come to the conference to bring their information up to date.

For the 130 delegates from the various federations, the study provided a basis for plans for action put forward by their workshops, allowing for the different conditions in each province. CNPF, for its part, has drawn up its annual national plan and has drafted a five-year plan. While member groups will act on the provincial scene, addressing the provincial authorities, CNPF will put pressure on representatives of the federal government. It will repeat the request made last year to the Prime Minister of Canada for a conference of provincial premiers on the application of constitutional rights in educational matters. According to CNPF, only a conference of this kind can induce governments to formally undertake the entrusting of Francophones with administration of their schools, or (as in many cases) to establish such schools where none exists. "Did our federal and provincial governments not undertake with one accord last June to protect us — the most threatened French-speaking groups?" Raymond Poirier, the chairman of CNPF, asked.

Poirier feels that CNPF should be able to provide better support and co-ordination for the legal battles of the parents' groups. But much more than that is needed, he stated, to overcome governmental inertia. For example, a "complete educational system" conforming to the requirements of Section 23 and to the needs of the minority official language must be defined for each province. Pointing out the urgency of the situation, Mr. Poirier noted that parents are at the same time beneficiaries of constitutional rights in educational matters and essential partners in their implementation, and that the Secretary of State Department should allot to Francophone parents' groups at least the equivalent of 2 per cent of the annual budget of its program dealing with the official languages in education.

Section 23 of the Charter of Rights and Freedoms expresses a constitutional undertaking by Canada and the provinces. Its implementation can be ensured only by a federal-provincial program designed to meet the challenges it creates and carried out in concert with those most closely involved. In the process of bringing about a renewal of the national program dealing with official languages in education, will our governments this time adopt the means that are necessary to allow them to carry out their undertakings in an honourable fashion? ■

Telephonic Higher Education

*Denis Carrier, Pierre Pelletier, Don McDonell and Sylvain Leduc**

The long distance telephone and related equipment can link teachers and students with classrooms far away.

The University of Ottawa has been providing regular extramural courses since the 1950s. In 1987-88 it expects to give more than 150 such courses, some of them for Francophones.

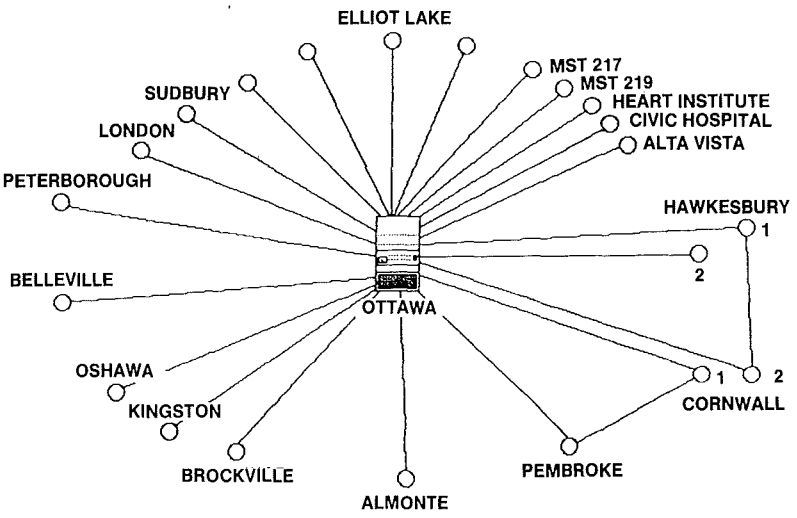
This sector began to make great strides in 1981, when a telephone network was set up to supplement correspondence courses and courses offered extramurally. More than 75 courses in many subjects — anatomy, microbiology, physiology, business administration, education, English literature, history, nursing, philosophy, psychology, sociology, religious knowledge — were offered by phone over this Ontario network of 23 reception and transmission stations.

The University of Ottawa has been co-ordinating an information exchange and training program by long distance phone.

A few years ago, the University of Ottawa, along with other Francophone institutions, launched the idea of a regular exchange of courses in order to create a national network of post-secondary studies via telephone for French-speaking Canadians. Under this pilot project, financed by the Secretary of State, four "live" courses were provided by the University of Ottawa to the Faculté Saint-Jean in Edmonton, the Collège Universitaire de Saint-Boniface, the Université de Moncton (in Moncton and Richibouctou), and the Université Sainte-Anne (in Pointe-de-l'Église and Dartmouth).

***Denis Carrier is a Vice-Rector of the University of Ottawa, where Pierre Pelletier, Don McDonell and Sylvain Leduc are the pillars of the Service for Continuing Education.**

UNIVERSITY OF OTTAWA NETWORK 1987



An international link

Since January 1987 the University of Ottawa has been co-ordinating an information exchange and training program by long distance phone, linking its university hospital, the Children's Hospital of Eastern Ontario and the Children's Hospital in Kingston, Jamaica. This linkage provides two-way technical or clinical information at times, at others, lectures and training courses. From the hospital in Jamaica, via the West Indies long distance teaching network, information is fed to five other islands in the region. The University of Ottawa also transmits programs from the Ontario telemedicine network (with over 200 stations) to the hospitals of the West Indies.

The University of Ottawa acts as well as a consultant for the Confederation of Central-American Universities, which will set up a similar network for training and for the exchange of scientific information by long distance. The Confederation at present consists of seven Central American universities.

The technology

For its telephone teaching network the University of Ottawa uses three pieces of equipment: telephone, switchboard and electronic display board.

The transformation of an ordinary phone receiver into loudspeaker and microphones makes it possible for groups in different locations to communicate with each other directly. The classroom originating the course and the receiving classroom are both equipped with a loudspeaker and several microphones — usually one for three students. A normal call is placed, the loudspeaker and microphones are connected, and the course can begin. To speak to the teacher or to another classroom a student need only press the microphone button.

When more than two locations are linked they must pass through a switchboard. This nerve-centre of the network connects all in and out calls to a single line. The switchboard at the University of Ottawa can link 40 classrooms at any time in any part of the world.

The electronic display board, its surface touch-sensitive, fulfills the function of a traditional blackboard.

The electronic display board, its surface touch-sensitive, fulfills the function of a traditional blackboard. When pressed, it simultaneously transmits a signal by phone to all receiving locations. Data written on it appear on all connected screens so that classrooms equipped with an electronic board and a screen can exchange written information.

This basic equipment can be complemented by devices that make teaching and learning more efficient, economical and attractive. Examples: slow-scan television, the computer-assisted electronic overhead projector for projecting on a wall, or the electronic graphics projector.

The basic concept

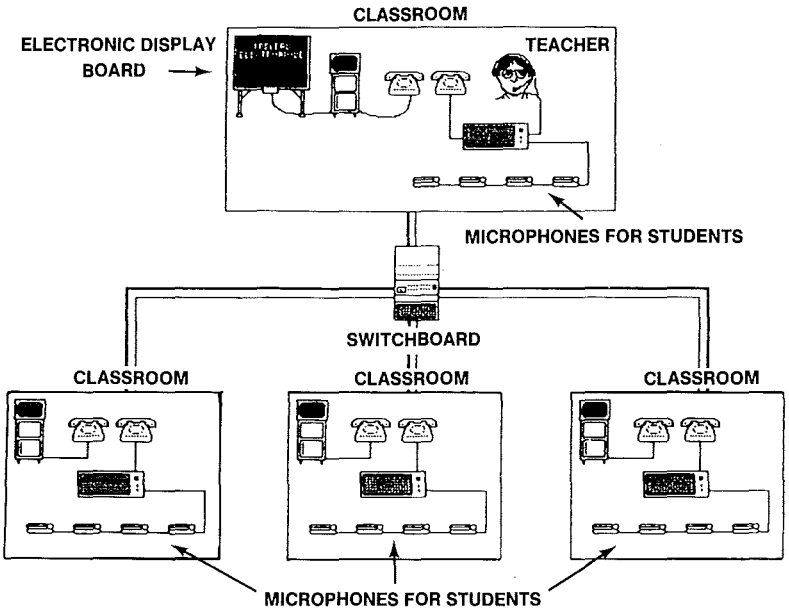
The conception and expansion of the telephone teaching network are conditional on fundamental considerations related to the organization and practice of the university, the degree of interest in the project, and the existing possibilities. Teaching by phone has undeniable advantages both for the professor and the student. Essentially, it reproduces the normal conditions in which the professor teaches, and it allows for instant communication between teacher and audience at any point in the course.

The equipment was chosen primarily to make teaching and learning easier, but it also facilitates participation by extramural students.

Most courses given over the network originate in classrooms with a group of students instead of a studio or office. While the professor cannot see the reactions of the distant group, there is an audience by which performance can be gauged. This approach ensures that students at the receiving station are getting a normal university course. Their learning is also stimulated by the fact that they "receive" as a group.

SYSTEM CONFIGURATION

AUDIO NETWORK AND ELECTRONIC DISPLAY BOARD — 2 TELEPHONE LINES



The equipment was chosen primarily to make teaching and learning easier, but it also facilitates participation by extramural students. The microphones and the electronic board are easy to manipulate, are simple to use, and their operation does not delay the progress of the course. They are light and can be installed quickly in many different kinds of location: community colleges, secondary schools, hospitals, and so on. This makes it possible for students to set up equipment themselves without the help of a technician, thus reducing the costs.

From one regional network to another

The telephone network lends itself to transmitting a course from one university to another. What has been accomplished to date gives us reason to believe that the various institutions of learning, Francophone and bilingual, will be able not only to exchange courses, complementing each other in a two-way process, but also to provide better access for the French-speaking minorities across the country to a greater number of university programs.

The University of Ottawa is working together with Laurentian University to set up a similar network. The former, in collaboration with the latter, would offer master's degrees in education and doctorates in psychology to northeastern Ontario. There will be an exchange of undergraduate courses in five subjects: psychology, history, mathematics, computer science and geography. The experiment is already under way and the master's degree in education has already been awarded in Sudbury and Elliott Lake (since September 1986), and in North Bay, Timmins and Kapuskasing (since September 1987). Achievement of the other phases of this project should be possible starting in 1987-88 if the necessary funding can found. Consideration is being given to admitting other institutions to the network and to expanding the activity to include other subjects.

In the long term, the establishment of a network offering more complete and more numerous programs in French could help to bring about an increase in the registration rate of Franco-Ontarians for higher education.

Cross-Canada network for Francophones

The successes already achieved in this sector lead one to think of the creation of a cross-Canada network of post-secondary teaching via telephone, destined for French-speaking communities and based on local or regional networks that already exist. ■

From Student to Teacher

A new immersion teacher finds that her own experience in the language-learning system allows her to anticipate problems.

Shauna Petrie is the first graduate of the Carleton (Ontario) Board of Education's French immersion program to begin teaching French in one of the Board's schools. The 22-year-old graduate of the immersion system — she started in kindergarten — York University and teacher training at the University of Ottawa began teaching French to grade sixers at Dunning-Foubert School in Orleans, Ontario, this fall.

The pioneers

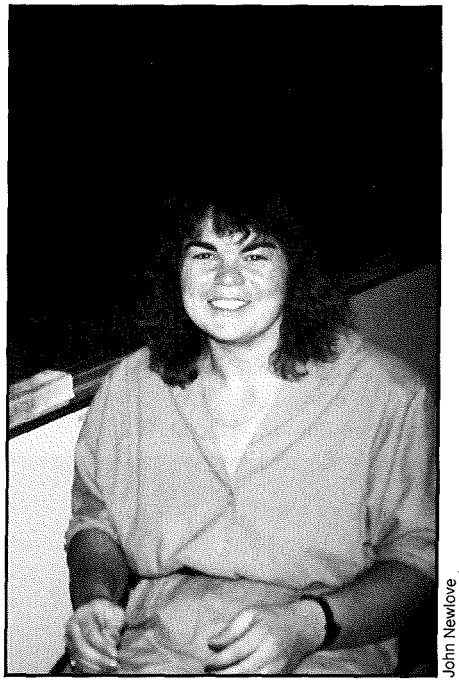
Petrie, of nearby Nepean, was a member of the first French immersion class given by the Carleton Board. "We were the pioneers," she says. "It was a really interesting experience because I went through public school and junior high with the same bunch of kids. It's interesting to see who continued with their French. I've a lot of friends who got summer jobs by having French skills, and my summer jobs were related to my French skills."

Parents were sceptical

When her parents enrolled her in the immersion class, Petrie says, many people feared the effect on pupils' ability to retain their native English. "When I started French immersion it was something new and there was a lot of talk that my English was going to suffer. Parents were sceptical. But now they've seen it work."

Shauna Petrie continued in the immersion program through grade ten when, at the age of 16, she had a skydiving accident that put her in hospital for the summer. She carried on her schooling with tutors until Christmas, after which she went to a school equipped with ramps and elevators. There she enrolled in the Core French program, since her original school was still the only one offering immersion French.

After graduation she attended York University in Downsview, Ontario. "It was my first time away from home. York has a campus with underground tunnels. In winter I never saw the sunlight. I was inside all the time." She majored in French, graduated with a B.A., took her year's teacher training at the University of



John Newlove

Ottawa, and began her career teaching French immersion.

Emphasis on communication

"There's a lot less emphasis on teaching grammar and the written part in the early grades. We're trying to put the emphasis on oral communication. We find it's important to get to the point where the students can communicate. The writing will come in time, but if they can't communicate, the writing's not going to be there. Then you have to continue, to get your grammar down pat."

"When I went, it was an all-English school and we were in a French class. This is a French immersion centre. It's better in a immersion school simply because the whole school speaks French, not just one class.

"Teaching French is harder than I expected. I'd done about two months of practice teaching. You go into a school for about two weeks at a time, and I did two of my sessions here. But practice teaching is an unreal situation because you've got a teacher there watching and the kids have been told to take it a little easy. When you're their teacher all year it's harder to keep their attention. Almost all the kids here are Anglophone, bused in from everywhere in the area. They start in kindergarten and by grade six they're quite fluent in French. In the beginning there's a lot more French. For the first few years they take almost everything in French, and then by the time they reach grade six it's more of a fifty-fifty split," Petrie says.

It's working

"We try to get away from the traditional way of teaching, sitting at the front of the room and giving step-by-step grammar lessons. We're trying to make it more of a hands-on experience and we use more visual aids. We try to integrate it with our other classes rather than have French as a separate class. I use French with my Science class. Why not learn the vocabulary that goes along with the science instead of learning words randomly? When the kids come in, they ask, 'Is this French or is this Science?' It's everything all together. It's working." ■

J.N.

Challenges

Brossard, Quebec

The often complex questions of language, geography and group cohesion have been exercising the minds of the members of the Catholic School Commission of the town of Brossard, near Montreal, over the past several months.

Problems began in the fall of 1986, when the Commission decided, after considerable shifts in population and rates of growth, that pupil redistribution was necessary.

According to the original plan, the Anglophone children, concentrated in one school — Good Shepherd — would have been particularly affected. Following strong protests from both Anglophone and some Francophone parents, the Commission ended by accepting recommendations made in a report by a provincially-appointed conciliator suggesting that the English-speaking pupils be divided between two schools and that both schools be divided into self-contained English- and French-language teaching units.

The English-speaking parents association, insisting that the Good Shepherd School was an integral part of community life, have asked for a declaratory judgment from the Quebec Superior Court.

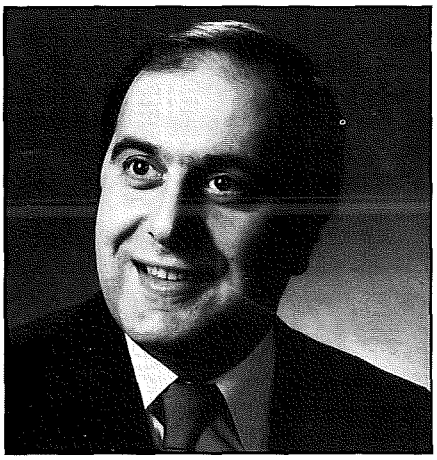
The Spirit of Meech Lake

Could it be that the spirit of Meech Lake is spreading across the country, as Michel Vastel of *Le Devoir* suggests? Certain improvements in the provision of French-language services at the provincial level appear to support his view.

Newfoundland — The Minister of Education has approved in principle the report of the Policy Advisory Committee on French programs, a comprehensive review of all aspects of such programs in Newfoundland, giving formal recognition to the right of Francophones to be taught in their own language and to its use in the administration of schools and of French teaching programs. The first French school will open in Newfoundland in the fall of 1988.

* * *

Prince Edward Island — In October, Premier Joe Ghiz instructed Léonce Bernard, Minister Responsible for Acadian Affairs, to conduct a detailed examination of the needs of the Island's Francophones with a view to developing a clear action plan.



Joe Ghiz

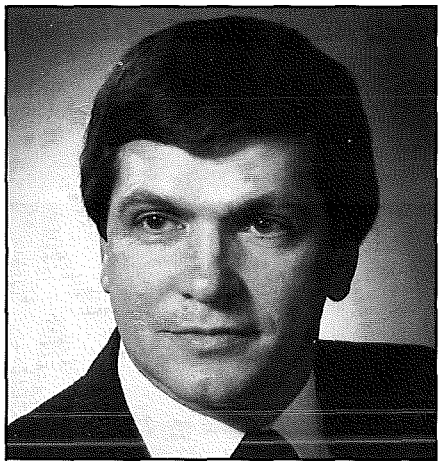
* * *

New Brunswick — Newly-elected Premier Frank McKenna will certainly wish to follow up on his campaign promises regarding official languages. Those concerned are expecting progress to be made on forming closer ties with Acadian representatives, regionalizing and improving the quality of provincial services, and on developing genuine equality for English and French and both language communities.

* * *

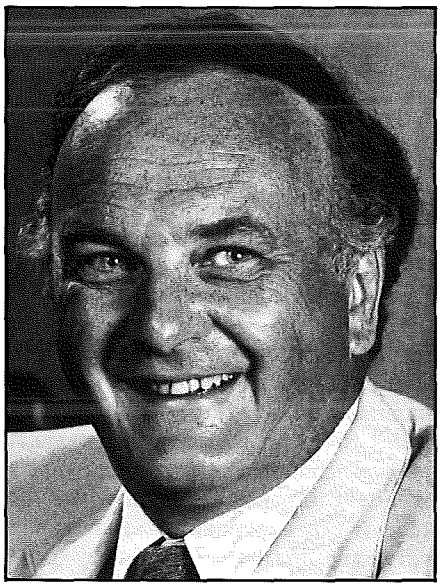
Manitoba — The Government of Manitoba appears firm in its resolve to extend and improve provincial French-language services. It has created an interdepartmental committee for this purpose and has appointed Gérard Lecuyer to head it.

* * *



Frank McKenna

Saskatchewan, Alberta — Only weeks apart, two criminal trials in French — a first for both provinces —were conducted in Saskatchewan and Alberta. ■



Howard Pawley

Community Centres

A decade after completion of the first French-language school and community centre (Centre scolaire communautaire) in the Atlantic region, the idea continues to spread. Based on the example of the Centre culturel franco-manitobain, the centres will provide facilities for regular school classes and for adult activities.

There are three school and community centres in the region at present, all in New Brunswick. The first was opened in 1978 in Fredericton, followed by similar facilities in St. John and Newcastle, the latter completed in 1986. Together they offer regular school courses for about 1,100 pupils as well as cultural and social activities for adults.

The next centre, to be completed in September 1988, will be in the village of Mainland (Grand'Terre) on Newfoundland's Port-au-Port peninsula — the original home of the province's Francophone community. Designed for about 100 pupils, the school will cost an estimated $2,283,000, 75 per cent paid for by the federal government, 25 per cent by the province.

A federal-provincial agreement has been signed to permit the construction in the Halifax-Dartmouth area of the first such complex in Nova Scotia, scheduled for completion in September 1989, and the Prince Edward Island Francophone community is pressing for a similar centre. ■

Challenges

Eastern Ontario

A dispute erupted earlier this year between parents in the eastern Ontario town of Russell over the character of a local separate school. The school is attended by both English- and French-speaking children in a community that is one of the most bilingual in the province.

The controversy arose from allegations by a group of French-speaking parents that too many English-speaking children were attending Saint-Joseph's School, a French-language institution in which all classes are given in that language. The presence of the Anglophone pupils was diluting the French character of the school, the parents claimed. Another much larger group of parents, including both English- and French-speaking residents of the town, rejected the allegations and asked that the status quo continue.

Caught in the middle was the Prescott-Russell Separate School Board, which at first decided to tighten up requirements for pupils attending the school and to correspond with parents in French only. It later reversed itself and, at last word, the school retained its mixed character insofar as the children attending it are concerned. One of the factors involved was a general impression in the community that by the time they arrive in grade one the children even of Anglophone parents are, as a rule, sufficiently bilingual to participate in the whole range of school activities at that level.

Corporate Language Policies

Bell Canada puts the emphasis on customer service — in both official languages.

Bell Canada in Ontario is putting a lot of effort into improving service for its French-speaking customers this year. It would be hard to name another private business in the province which has gone to such lengths to make sure that its customers — both English and French — are served in their preferred language.

Bell and the ACFO

Bell Canada has put together a committee with the Association canadienne-française de l'Ontario (ACFO), the provincial lobby group which defends the interests of French-speaking Ontarians. Three ACFO delegates and three Bell employees met for the first time in May 1987 to discuss ways in which Bell could expand its capacity to give Franco-Ontarians high-quality service in their own language. Committee members come from Ottawa, Sudbury and Toronto so that the particular needs of Francophones in different regions of the province will be taken into consideration.

ACFO is optimistic that Bell's move is a sign of a real improvement in the attitude of Ontario residents. "If private enterprise goes bilingual, then I think that the Francophone community has got it made," said an ACFO representative.

One of the events that brought about the committee idea was Bell's recent change in billing format. Individual customer accounts were produced in either English or French, instead of in the earlier, pre-printed bilingual format, but, due to coding errors, some customers were sent bills in the other language. Bell heard from its subscribers.

The company was quick to recognize the practicality of ACFO's suggestion of a joint consultative project which would cover not only billing, but the full range of services. The final report of the committee will examine all aspects of Bell's dealings with the public. Suggestions will be made for permanent changes which will take a number of years to implement, and short-term steps will be recommended to make sure customers don't have to wait too long.

One of the three Bell representatives is responsible for network services — the entire system of operators. The second handles client services, which include installation, repairs and billing. The co-ordinator of Bell's efforts, Denyse Houde, has been freed from other duties so she can work full-time on the French language services project.

Intentions and guidelines

"This is not new for us," says Houde. "Since we're a service company we decided back in 1978 that we should have a policy on language, in response to the federal Official Languages Act. It takes the form of a statement of intent, and says that subscribers should be able to receive services from Bell and communicate with us in their own official language, wherever there's sufficient demand."

She explains that, like those who administer federal language policy, Bell has tried to identify geographical areas where the demand for bilingual service is high. Of some 1,240 telephone exchanges in Ontario, about 170 are considered "bilingual" exchanges. Customers in these areas can request billing in English or French and telephone directories are bilingual.

"We see this as a review of our guidelines in the light of Bill 8," says Houde. "Because of the new French Language Services Act, we may decide to add some areas to our list." In fact, Bell's efforts to provide service in both languages have already drawn commendation. Bell's positive attitude and its official languages policy were mentioned in the report "Official Bilingualism and the Private Sector" issued by the Office of the Commissioner of Official Languages in March 1987.

The committee members are careful to keep their ideas solidly pragmatic, making sure their suggestions take into account constraints such as costs and human resources. Their report will probably be presented formally to ACFO in the spring of 1988, about a year after the committee's inception.

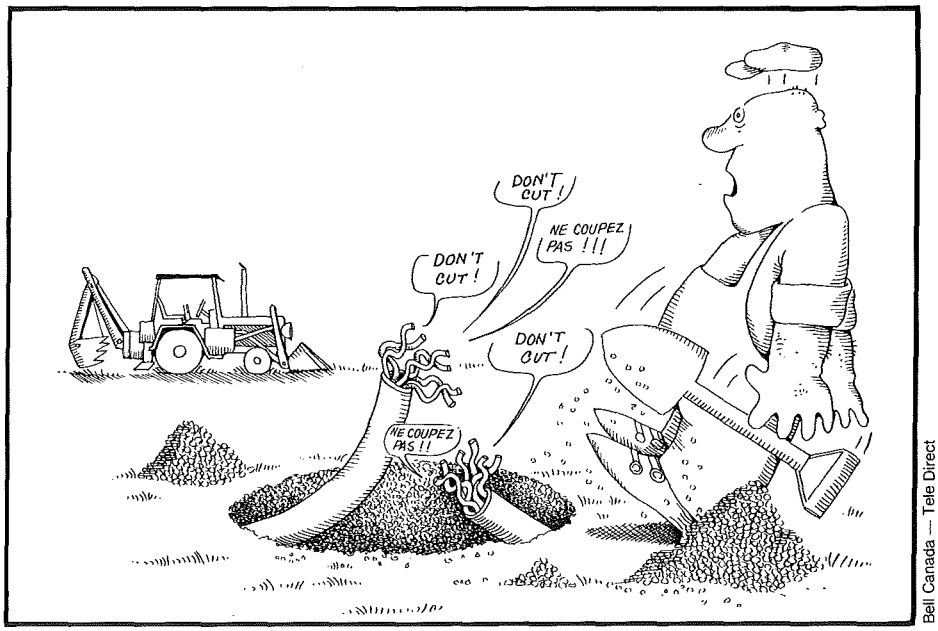
Follow the leader

Unfortunately, the program won't benefit all Ontario residents. Bell shares Ontario with Northern Telephone and Thunder Bay Telephone. However, a serious effort like this by a concern with Bell's prestige will certainly have effects in the business world beyond the services French-speaking customers receive. It will be evidence of the common sense inherent in recognizing the French-speaking market in Canada.

"Bell is known as a leader; other big companies that offer essential services will just have to follow suit," says ACFO's representative, adding that many members of the public believe that Bell Canada is a Crown corporation and so they automatically think they have a right to use either English or French in their regular dealings with the company.

It seems appropriate that the company whose business is putting people in touch with one another should be taking such positive action in the area of French language services. ■

S.H.



Bell Canada — Tele Direct

Press Review

While press opinions differed on the Quebec Summit of *la Francophonie*, there was general agreement that, on balance, the effort was both worthy and successful.

Among the more enthusiastic was the director of Montreal's *Le Devoir*, Paul-André Comeau, who commented: "As the heads of state and government return to their respective capitals, there are reasons for satisfaction that permit us already to draw up a clearly positive balance sheet." Nevertheless, there were still things to be done. "It remains now to bring together the Francophones from here and elsewhere for the building of a community, which, although it is not yet a blazing presence on the world scene, nevertheless allows us to glimpse an interesting future."

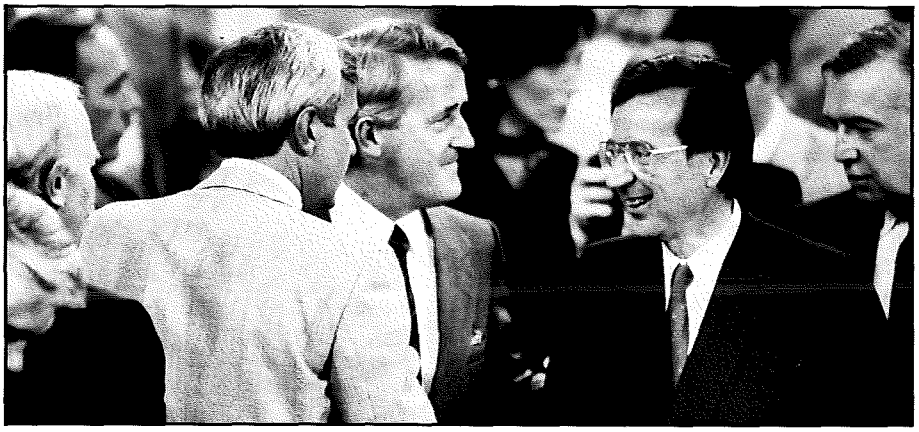
A similar note was struck by Michel Roy, associate editor of *La Presse*: "With a success that no dared predict, *la Francophonie* has met the formidable challenge of its second summit. This community of the countries that have in common the use of French, still somewhat fragile and uncertain at the beginning of the week, is now more assured, and ready to become an important international forum for co-operation, solidarity and political harmony."

For editorialist Pierre Tremblay in Ottawa's *Le Droit*, the meeting's importance was that "...slowly, before our eyes, a forum is being created in which important things are being said...*la Francophonie*? — a humble foundation on which to build a greater humanism, an almost infinite process." He also saw benefits closer to home. "Paradoxically, Canada is among those that can profit the most from this institution to enrich its international personality. With the Commonwealth, and thanks to *la Francophonie*, Canada can walk on two legs."

Another positive view came from Raymond Giroux, editorialist at *Le Soleil* in Quebec City. "Even the Anglo-Canadian élites, who were expecting the worst after the strange remarks of [French Prime Minister] Jacques Chirac on General de Gaulle and the NDP, had to admit that everything worked out well. Quebec committed no indiscretions, and...no one can now question its active participation in the new international scene. It has been awaiting this result for 25 years."

From New Brunswick came a similar conclusion. Writing in *L'Acadie Nouvelle*, Nelson Landry said that for Acadians their own process of "internationalism" was well under way. "The door is now wide open to Acadians. We've had our foot in the door for 10 years. But now the Quebec summit has opened it for good."

While they did not give the extensive coverage to the event that their Francophone colleagues did, the English-language commentators did not ignore it; and, in general, their coverage was sympathetic, if not uncritical.



David Peterson, Brian Mulroney, Robert Bourassa and Richard Hatfield

To the *Ottawa Citizen*, although there was "some Commonwealth-style blowing off of hot air," the results were positive. "Measured by its decisions and announcements, *la Francophonie* delivered about the usual mix of good works and swagger. Better still, the conference concentrated the minds of leaders from vastly different countries on the critical issues of poverty, debt and development."

While it saw membership of both *la Francophonie* and the Commonwealth as beneficial to Canada, the *Toronto Star* was worried about what it called "Confusion in Quebec" resulting from the high profile of Quebec at the conference: "...could anyone fail to be confused about the nature of Canada when Mulroney and Premier Robert Bourassa shared the host's spotlight, leaving the impression that Canada and Quebec are equal players on the international scene?"

Taking a slightly different approach was Montreal *Gazette* columnist William Johnson. "At this summit, Canada is proving that French-speaking Canadians can have more impact on the world — including the construction of a network of French-speaking nations — in association with Canada than through Quebec alone."

A minority view within the French-language press was presented by *La Presse* columnist Lysianne Gagnon. Her criticism was not directed towards the institution, but towards the conference itself, which she noted had not stirred a great deal of interest among ordinary Quebecers. "At the root of this lack of interest is what constitutes the principal failing of the summit: the lack of inspiration, the incapacity to move hearts and minds....This summit has been an affair mainly of civil servants....The only thing lacking was the most important: An idea, an inspiration."

Ms. Gagnon was joined in this criticism by Hubert Bauch of the Montreal *Gazette*, who referred to "...a fair of elitist sterility...". Both he and *Globe and Mail* columnist Jeffrey Simpson, while generally treating both the meeting and the institution with sympathy, remarked on what Mr. Simpson described as "an inevitable artificiality" involved in gatherings where there is such a disparity of wealth and development among the countries involved.

Mincing no words in its contempt for the whole event was the *Toronto Sun*. "We liked it better when we did not have Francophone summits because France balked belligerently at any meeting that did not treat Quebec as a nation....These summits are nothing more than ticking bombs since they flaunt special status for Quebec. It does not help when visiting firemen such as French Prime Minister Jacques Chirac fan rhetorical flames, following in the steps of that well known arsonist, Charles de Gaulle and his 'Vive le Québec libre' speech." The title of the *Sun* editorial was "Francophony".

Meech Lake

Since it was signed, subsequently revised, and then made the subject of hearings by a Parliamentary committee, the Meech Lake constitutional agreement has called forth a barrage of editorial opinion, ranging from strong support to fierce condemnation. The debate continues. ■

T.S.

Surveying the Francophone Summit

*Michel Roy**

La Francophonie *was not motivated by aspirations to cultural imperialism. Instead, it has the potential to serve as a prestigious channel for political action and a useful counterpoise to the present balance of world power.*

Years of patience, years of disappointment. Then a bright ray of promise. It is February 1986. The first conference of Francophone countries takes place in Paris, raising hopes that an international community of French-speaking peoples can one day become reality.

A second summit in September 1987 sees the heads of state and government from 30 countries meeting in Quebec City. Now this summit too is history. But it has left an impressive record of achievements, pointing to a conclusion that is a matter of fact rather than conjecture. Although *la Francophonie* is a fledgling organization that has yet to make its mark, the peoples of its member countries, through their leaders, have reaffirmed their will to create a community uniting them for mutual benefit, and are committed to pursuing the key objectives of co-operation, exchange, development and joint political action through solidarity and co-operation.

Abstract words, and ones that may prompt an indulgent smile. Yet they convey not just pious hopes but a reality that has been gaining substance since the Paris conference.

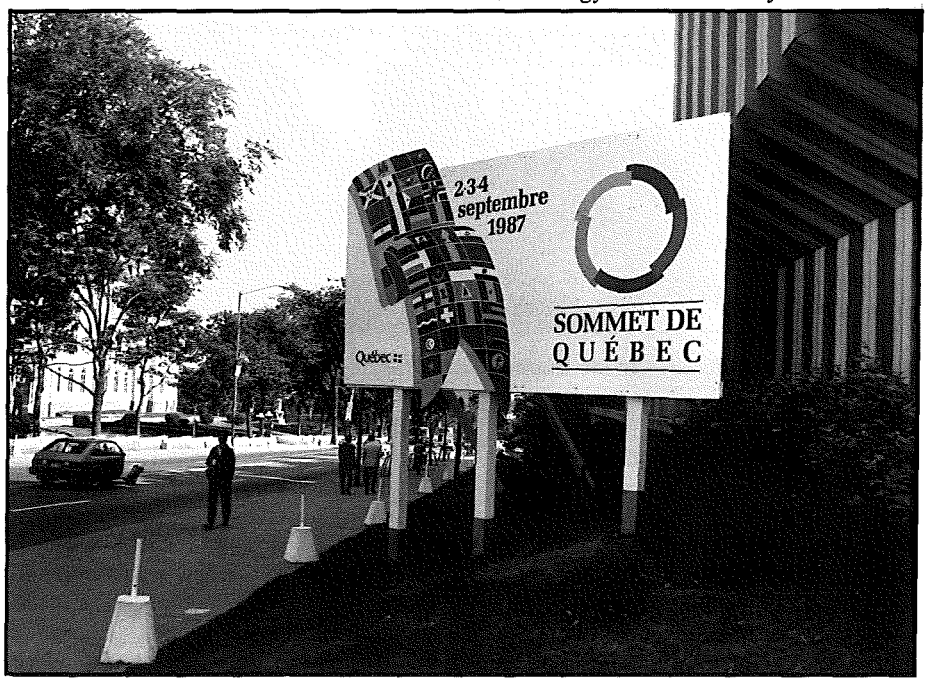
Dispelling misconceptions

It is time to dispel one misconception about that reality that clings like a burr. This new family of nations with its great diversity of cultures, languages, geography, resources and social conditions — differences even more pronounced than within the Commonwealth — was not created in order to defend the honour or promote the glory of the French language. Any such ambition would in fact be foreign to the spirit of the founders, the most famous of whom came from Africa — presidents Léopold Senghor, Habib Bourguiba and Hamani Diori. Those early leaders, humanists first and foremost, were concerned with fostering a dialogue of cultures, a free exchange of ideas, a marriage of technologies, the well-being of peoples.

Nonetheless, it is true that the use of French is the only common denominator in such a heterogeneous group that is capable of nourishing the new international community through the phases of growth and development.

The Francophone heads of state and government, in the Declaration of Solidarity they adopted (at the suggestion of Canada and Quebec) at the conclusion of the September summit, recognized that their common venture was "inspired by the use, to varying degrees, of the French language as a source of knowledge, dialogue, development and innovation". Later in the text they referred to the "consolidation of a sphere in which the use of a common language fosters the free circulation of cultural goods, the exchange of scientific knowledge, the transfer and adaptation of new technologies".

Having avoided any reference to the grandeur of French culture and the greatness of the French language — which would only have lent support to the unfounded supposition that *la Francophonie* was motivated by aspirations to cultural imperialism — the leaders of the Francophone community put the emphasis on co-operation and aid to development in their Declaration. At the same time, they were not unaware that the end result of using French for exchanges of knowledge, sharing of information and transfers of technology would inevitably be to enhance the status of this language, already understood and spoken by some 150 million people around the world.



Early organizations

Numerous specialized organizations and associations established since the Second World War have pursued this objective in their own areas and their own ways: the Union internationale des journalistes et de la presse de langue française (1950), the Association des universités partiellement ou entièrement de langue française (1961), the Association internationale des parlementaires de langue française (1967), and the Conseil international des radios-télévisions d'expression française (1964) among others. Then, in 1970 at Niamey, the intergovernmental Agence de coopération culturelle et technique was founded.

►

***Michel Roy is associate editor of Montreal's *La Presse*.**

The last press conference of the Quebec Summit: Abdou Diouf, François Mittérand, Brian Mulroney and Robert Bourassa.

Public opinion at that point, however, was preoccupied with the political squabbling between Ottawa and Quebec and its ramifications for Quebec's status within the new organization and did not pause to consider the higher ideals of Francophone solidarity.

From these examples it is evident that long before President Mitterand convened the first Francophone summit in 1986, the spirit of *la Francophonie* was abroad in the world and was taking concrete form in the work of various non-governmental associations and organizations, in ministerial conferences on cultural affairs, education and communications, and in a variety of international meetings. Niamey represented a critical stage in the early history of *la Francophonie*, 17 years ago. After that, it was just a matter of waiting for the right moment to hold the first summit and begin the task of building a real community with a wide range of programs that would be carried out in French.

Potential and prestige

This community in the making originally saw the light of day because the countries and peoples that comprise it had in common the use of French — an official language in some cases, a secondary or marginal language in others. But for all its member countries, especially those in the Third World, *la Francophonie* is proving that it has the potential, a potential increasingly realized since the Quebec Summit, to serve as a respectable and even prestigious channel for political action and a useful counterpoise to the present balance of world power. For the disadvantaged countries of Africa, it is another door to the northern hemisphere, giving them access to a share in the wealth of Europe and North America. This is the essential purpose of *la Francophonie.*

The implications for French

But what are the implications for the wider use of French? It is clear that solidarity among French-speaking countries will promote and foster use of the language, since French will be the language of technology transfer and the vehicle for cultural and technical exchange among the 40 countries and territories of *la Francophonie.*

What this means in concrete terms can best be understood from a few examples: creation of a Francophone agency for TV production to counter the world-wide predominance of American and British programming; extension of the TV5 network to the Middle East, North Africa and Europe; application of new technologies to the use and teaching of the French language; establishment of an open university or "university without walls", with headquarters in Montreal, to ensure a continuing exchange of Francophone researchers and professors between North and South; development of French-language software for use in distance learning, data banks and computers.

As an instrument of learning and development, French will thus permeate the French-speaking world and its use will gradually be extended to countries that have traditionally been locked into American technology and the language of their supplier in the absence of alternative French-language aid programs.

French is not really in retreat today, to borrow the words of Claude Hagège, it is just that English is forging ahead more quickly. The logical approach, Hagège suggests, is to maintain the international status of French, not to seek a victory over English.

The results of the September summit show clearly that *la Francophonie* can be counted on to do just this and to ensure that French will advance at a faster pace in future. ■

TO MARK THE SUMMIT OF THE COMMONWEALTH HEADS OF GOVERNMENT HELD IN VANCOUVER OCTOBER 13-17 1987:

SPECIAL REPORT

CANADA AND THE COMMONWEALTH OF ENGLISH

This special report was prepared under the direction of Stuart Beaty.

Message from the Commissioner

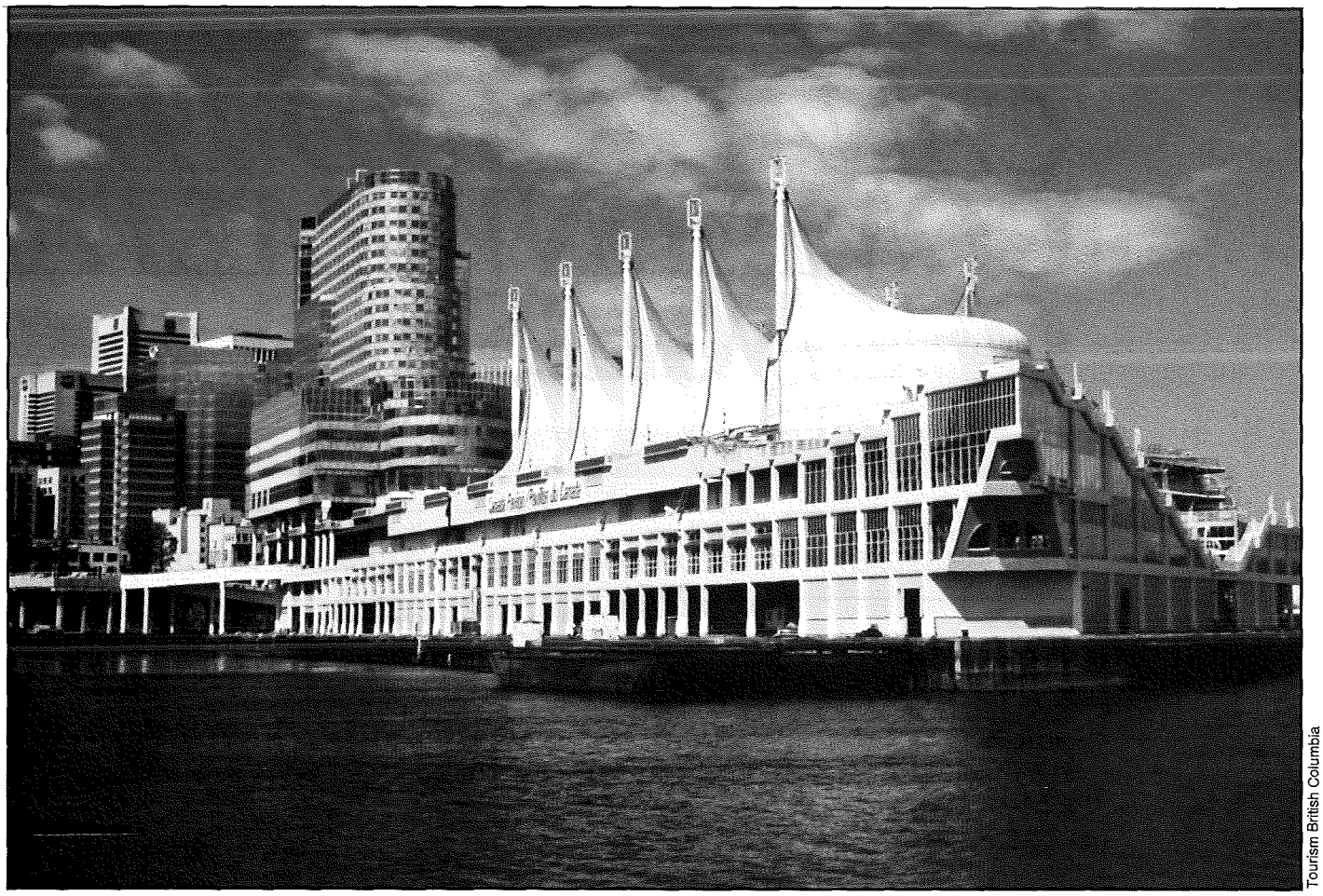
D'Iberville Fortier

Unlike *la Francophonie*, which celebrated its second summit in Quebec only last September, the more established Commonwealth club rarely puts its English language link front and centre. That it is something other than an association of countries where English is used is obvious. Not only is its membership list more limited, but one of the world's most prestigious English-speaking nations, the United States, has never been part of the Commonwealth company. But if it is not a collective love affair with the English tongue that explains the historical phenomenon that is the Commonwealth, nor indeed any other single thread from the Queen to the game of cricket, it is still possible to detect some subtle but important association between the English language, those nobler human values with which it is best associated and the principles of internationalism and negotiation which inspire the modern Commonwealth. Volumes have been written about "the genius of the French language" as an instrument of human civilization; the genius of the English language and its traditions is so pervasive in our world that we are in some danger of taking it for granted.

In our previous issue *Language and Society* published a special supplement on *la Francophonie* to coincide with the Quebec City Summit. While recognizing the differences between the two associations, we felt that the Vancouver meeting of Commonwealth leaders last October was another suitable occasion to reflect on the unique access which Canada's language duality gives us to these vital international networks, and on some of the other riches and opportunities which we have inherited through "The English Connection".

The new Official Languages Act speaks for the first time of the Government of Canada's commitment to "fostering the full recognition and use of both English and French in Canadian society." Foster means both cherish and encourage. Canadian society is therefore to be considered in the enviable position of being able to enjoy, if it chooses to, *both* English *and* French with all that those two great languages entail. In this special feature, we will be looking at the unparalleled position of English in today's world and at just a few of the many ways that enhances the enjoyment of Canadian society.

As we salute the Commonwealth leaders in their endless task of reconciling human differences in an often violently divided world, we must give thanks that fortune has favoured our country with a language potential that is second to none and with enough wit to turn our good luck to account. As a French-speaking Quebecer, I am probably sticking my neck out in also avowing a lifelong admiration for the English language. But I have no such difficulty in proclaiming myself privileged to share in the work of national and international dialogue with which our official languages are unashamedly and inextricably linked. ■



Tourism British Columbia

Canada Place, where most of the Commonwealth meetings were held.

English, the New Lingua Franca

*David Dalby**

Webster thought American English would be to England's English what Dutch is to German. He did not reckon on modern telecommunications.

Language is not only a matter of practical communication. It is also a means of social and cultural identification. Each of us needs to relate to a specific community, and particularities of language form one of the most fundamental and emotive means by which this identification is achieved. When a language expands, there is pressure for local and social differences to be maintained or created, whether as different languages or as variations within the same language. The forces of linguistic divergence thus balance the forces of convergence, as in the colonial expansion of Latin, which left behind a network of differentiated Romance idioms, or in the world-wide spread of Western European languages, which gave birth to a rich variety of "pidgins" and "creoles". The forces of divergence are also evident in the survival against all odds of two Celtic languages, Welsh and Breton, only a few hundred miles from London and Paris.

Spoken English has never existed in a common unified form.

Of dialects and idioms

It is common to speak of "dialects" within a language, but the term has pejorative overtones. We can best redefine the subdivisions of a language in terms of its constituent "idioms", often more numerous than traditional "dialects". Each idiom of a language is distinguishable from the others by its particularities of pronunciation or "accent", and often of vocabulary and grammar. Our emotional attachment is commonly to the idiom spoken around us in our childhood, even in our mother's womb, and only subsequently to our native language as a whole.

In recent centuries, many languages have also evolved a more or less standardized *written* idiom, which is accepted as a norm for harmonizing existing spoken idioms. This process of harmonization has been furthered by mass education, and as a result many of the regional idioms of the British English are now converging, in terms of vocabulary and grammar, in the direction of written Standard English. There is still resistance, however, among speakers of some other regional and social idioms, to the so-called "received pronunciation" of Standard English.

An eclectic tradition

Spoken English, including British English, has *never* existed in a common unified form. The wide range of regional and social idioms of British English does not represent divergencies from some ancient norm, but results from the mingling of a variety of Germanic idioms brought across the North Sea, from the fifth century onwards, by the Saxons, Jutes and Angles, and later by the Danes and Norwegians. Subsequently, the French-speaking invasion after 1066 had two effects which were to prove useful in preparing English for its future role as a world language. By hastening the end of an early written tradition in the idiom of Wessex, it paved the way for the development of a new written idiom, based especially on the spoken idioms of London and the adjacent Midlands. In the process, English was freed of many of its former grammatical complexities. The second advantage was that the English language was opened to massive influence from French, a linguistic gateway to the civilisations of France and the Mediterranean. This led not only to a great enlargement of English vocabulary, but also created an important eclectic tradition. The English language, spoken and written, has since continued to borrow words without constraint, and now has the largest recorded vocabulary of any language in the world.

How has it come about that this language, once limited to an archipelago off the coast of Europe, should now be the principal medium of world-wide communication? It is obvious that *one* language was bound to find itself increasingly in this role as barriers to international communication were progressively eliminated. The processes determining which language has been like a game of chance, however, and the rise of English is to be analysed in terms of a long sequence of disparate historical events, from the martyrdom of Joan of Arc in 1431 to the victory of the Allies in 1945.

Colonizing languages

Five centuries ago, historical and geographical factors placed world-wide exploration, colonization and trade in the hands of the maritime peoples of Western Europe. Their languages went with them. Spanish, Portuguese and Dutch were each carried to three or four "new" continents, but by the eighteenth century it was English and French which found themselves most widely distributed in the world. The long-standing rivalry between England and France led to their pursuing each other in every continent. Ironically, the factor which tipped the balance most decisively in favour of England (and of English) in the world was its exclusion from the mainland of Europe. Events at the end of the fifteenth century were of particular significance for the future of the English language. Joan of Arc's life and death accelerated the final exclusion of the English from France (apart from Calais) in 1475; the first printing-press in England was set up by Caxton in 1476; English replaced French as the language of parliamentary record in England in 1489; and the New World was "discovered" in 1492. So it was that the vast opportunities opened up in the Americas came at the very moment when the energies of England were turned away from Europe, after France had completed its liberation from the English, and after England had completed its own liberation from the domination of the French language.

Vast opportunities in the Americas came just when the energies of England had turned away from Europe.

The major world language

The main outlines of the subsequent expansion of English are well known — its extension as a native language to North America, Australasia and South Africa, its establishment as an official and/or second language in Southern Asia and in many parts of Africa and the Pacific, and its adoption as the first foreign language studied in most other countries of the world. Also obvious is the dual base which ➤

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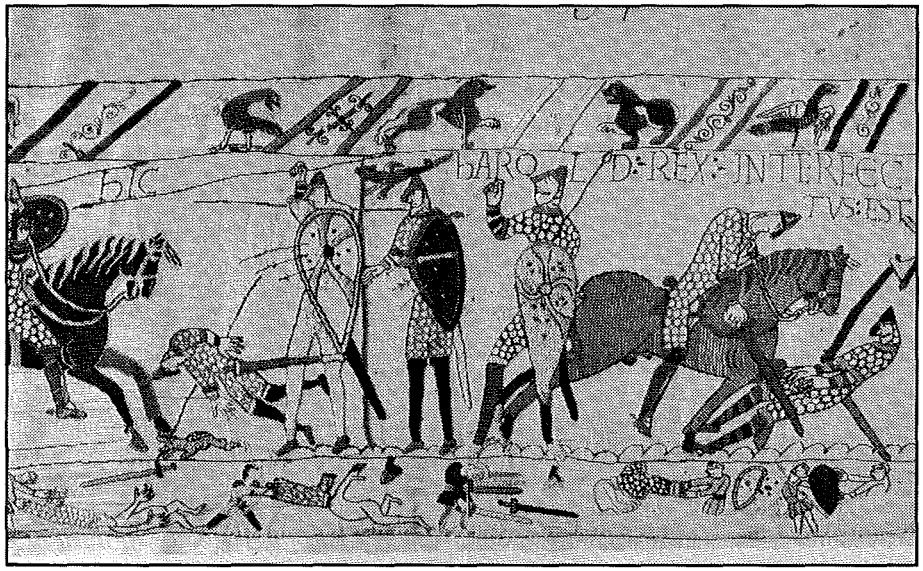


The death of King Harold at the Battle of Hastings, 1066. From the Bayeux Tapestry.

the English language acquired for its expansion throughout the world: the British Empire and the United States. By the early twentieth century, the English language was already rivalling French as the language of international diplomacy, and since the Second World War its position as the major language of world-wide communication has not been seriously challenged.

After 1945, some believed that the English language might decline with the British Empire. In India, it was hoped after independence that English would cease to act as an official language by the 1970s but rivalries between Indian languages rendered that forecast unrealistic. The role of English has in fact been reinforced since independence in many multilingual, formerly British-ruled countries in Southern Asia and Africa. The latter continent — with its multitude of languages — is now largely covered by a patchwork of states using either English or French as their official language. In the Philippines, English has actually replaced the former colonial language, Spanish, as a means of inter-ethnic communication, and it is clear that the attraction of English to many multilingual states is its unrivalled use for international communication.

In considering the forces which have projected English into the lead we should not overlook the counter-forces encouraging divergence among its far-flung idioms. Their implantation around the world reflects the regional idioms, or combinations of idioms, brought by speakers from different parts of the British Isles. For example, the spoken idioms of Newfoundland still have clear links with those of Ireland and southwest England, whereas those of Australia are linguistically close to the idioms of southeast England.

A revolution which unites

But for the revolution in telecommunications and air travel, distinctive idioms of English already established around the world would have continued to draw apart. Books, letters and sea travel might have slowed the process, but early last century it was still realistic for the American lexicographer, Noah Webster, to anticipate the day when the languages of North America and England would be as different from each other as Dutch, Danish or Swedish are from German. Radio, the cinema, television, the telephone and the airplane have arrested this process, and the forces of convergence among the idioms of English in the world now outweigh the forces of divergence. Americanisms once unfamiliar elsewhere are now commonly used throughout the English-speaking world, and North America is currently the most prolific source of new vocabulary for the English language.

Formal Standard English, as written and studied throughout the world, can thus be regarded today as a single written idiom, with a huge stock of common vocabulary and with relatively minor divergencies between its epicentres in Britain and North America. Colloquial Standard English, on the other hand, is still represented by different spoken idioms in different countries, each distinguished by its own accent, colloquialisms and local vocabulary. So-called "Oxford English", which served to identify members of an élite, has been losing some of its more "affected" features and been merging into an idiom not only widely spoken by the British middle classes, particularly in southeast England, but also frequently used in the world as a model for the pronunciation of Standard English. Although a generalized American idiom ("Network Standard") is also often used for this purpose, the distance between these alternative models is decreasing. We are witnessing the emergence of an internationalized *spoken* idiom of Standard English.

But there is still a centrifugal force away from Standard English, especially at the social level. Examples of popular idioms thriving alongside local idioms of Standard English are provided by Cockney in the London area, Glaswegian in Scotland, Strine in Australia, and by Singlish in Singapore. During this century, the working-class Cockney idiom has been spreading outwards from London almost in defiance to the parallel spread of Standard English. Another rich source of continuing variation is in the idioms evolved by speakers from Africa, or of African descent. Influenced by the languages which so many Africans were forced to abandon in slavery, the idioms of Black English share much in common, especially among the so-called "pidgins" and "creoles" on both sides of the Atlantic. Jamaican and Nigerian idioms are likely to be the most influential of these in the future, particularly through the medium of popular music.

Planning creatively

Language evolves naturally, and language-planning should be a sympathetic response to observed trends and situations. No language, and no idiom of any language, is inherently superior to any other, even if it may offer different opportunities. In the case of English, we should encourage a healthy balance and mutual respect among its diverse idioms. It is in the interests of world-wide communication to support the trend towards a more harmonized and internationalized Standard English, spoken as well as written. But it is in the interests of communal identity and individual creativity, and of cultural and ethnic expression, to support also the less conventional idioms of English, to encourage that vigorous outer fringe of the language we might best describe as "Free English". For the purposes of education, especially in communities where Standard and Free English idioms are in contact, it is important that teachers and pupils should be aware of — and able to operate — both forms.

Finally, a word about the relationship between English and other languages in the world. If the rest of the world has decided to give priority to the learning of English, then it is more important than ever that English-speaking countries and communities should place the study of other languages high on their own educational agenda. Here as elsewhere, Canada's complex linguistic heritage equips it well to encourage a creative balance between the convergent and divergent forces which are constantly at work in the field of language. ■

The Commonwealth Idea

*Stuart Beaty**

The Commonwealth has emerged out of shared experience and interests. Today it is a loosely structured, voluntary organization of 49 independent states.

The Commonwealth has come into being through a succession of compromises and adjustments which sometimes made it easier to say what it was *not* than what it was. At the turn of the century, barely 12 per cent of the subjects of the British Empire were European, let alone English-speaking. It contained such largely self-governing white settlements as Australia, Canada and the Cape, the Indian sub-continent, largely under direct rule by Britain, and a long and exotic list of other colonies and possessions acquired over several centuries.

The Commonwealth's membership represents about a quarter of the world's population and about the third of the membership of the United Nations.

In the twentieth century, the Commonwealth has emerged, albeit in fits and starts, out of a shared experience and shared interests. As the new century progressed, dreams of an ongoing imperial federation gradually gave way to the realities of mutual defence and trade preferences. Indian Prime Minister Nehru once pointed out that the Commonwealth "seems to prosper most in adversity", and it must be granted that some of the bonds that have held the Commonwealth together were forged in two world wars in which Africans and Australians, Indians, Canadians and Fiji Islanders fought and died for the same cause.

It was at the height of the Second World War that Winston Churchill took the opportunity when receiving an Honorary Degree from Harvard University to muse about the shared heritage of law, language and literature which, for him, underlay the Anglo-American alliance and the entire "fraternal association" of the emerging Commonwealth. He saw 'basic English' (on which much work was then being done at Harvard) as "the head-stream of what might well be a mighty fertilizing and health-giving river...an advantage to many races, an aid to the building up of our new structure for preserving peace." Churchill had long anticipated a time when the need for world security would call for new forms of international co-operation and a greater readiness to subordinate national interests to those of "a larger synthesis". The Commonwealth is one such synthesis.

***Stuart Beaty is an adviser, special projects, in the Office of the Commissioner of Official Languages, and editor of this special report.**

The modern Commonwealth

The Commonwealth today is a loosely structured, voluntary association of 49 independent states, consulting and co-operating through largely informal governmental and non-governmental networks. These are based on the use of English as a common working language and on similar administrative, legal, governmental, educational and other practices. The Statute of Westminster of 1931 gave legal expression to the independence of Canada, Australia and New Zealand

Dreams of an imperial federation gave way to the realities of mutual defence and trade preference.

and to their equal status with Britain within the "British Commonwealth". In 1949, on achieving independence, India chose to become a republic but nevertheless to retain the Commonwealth link. This marked the beginning of the modern Commonwealth, and the number of member states grew ►

Canada and the Commonwealth

Development of the Commonwealth has been a vital part of the Canadian experience. It has eased the change in our post-imperial relationship with Britain; it has given Canada partners in Asia and Africa with whom it shares a heritage of British political and legal traditions and with whom it can communicate through the English language; and it has strengthened our historical ties with the English-speaking Caribbean and the Pacific. Above all, perhaps, the Commonwealth has introduced Canada to the problems of developing countries and has given it the opportunity to make an important contribution to technical and development assistance. Most recently, it has provided inspiration for Canada to seek similar institutional ties with the French-speaking world.

Canada and Canadians have played a major role in Commonwealth affairs from the beginning, and what the Commonwealth has become owes much to the policies of Canadian decision-makers. The evolution of the association and of Canada's own political independence are closely related. It has even been suggested that the fountainhead of the Commonwealth idea lies in Lord Durham's 1839 Report on the causes of discontent in the Canadian colonies. Canada certainly set the example in the nineteenth century in achieving representative government and widening colonial autonomy. Of particular note were Robert Borden's successful bid, in 1919, for separate representation at the Versailles Treaty negotiations and Mackenzie King's insistence on a declaration of full autonomy, which resulted in the Statute of Westminster in 1931.

Canada welcomed the development of the modern Commonwealth. Prime Minister John Diefenbaker's condemnation of apartheid in South Africa in 1961, which prompted that country's withdrawal from the Commonwealth, encouraged other African members to remain in the Commonwealth or to join it as new states. Canada gave strong support to the creation of the Secretariat in 1965 and nominated one of our diplomats, Arnold Smith, to be its first Secretary-General. It was Canada, too, which proposed important transformations of the style and format of Heads of Government meetings in the 1970s, to help keep them informal yet relevant, while making sure they were well backed up by meetings of senior officials.

The Commonwealth

1	Antigua & Barbuda	8	Britain	15	Ghana	22	Lesotho	29	New Zealand	36	Sierra Leone	43	Trinidad & Tobago
2	Australia	9	Brunei	16	Grenada	23	Malawi	30	Nigeria	37	Singapore	44	Tulavu
3	Bahamas	10	Canada	17	Guyana	24	Malaysia	31	Papua New Guinea	38	Solomon Islands	45	Uganda
4	Bangladesh	11	Cyprus	18	India	25	Maldives	32	St Christopher-Nevis	39	Sri Lanka	46	Vanuatu
5	Barbados	12	Dominica	19	Jamaica	26	Malta	33	St Lucia	40	Swaziland	47	Western Samoa
6	Belize	13	Fiji	20	Kenya	27	Mauritius	34	St Vincent and The Grenadines	41	Tanzania	48	Zambia
7	Botswana	14	The Gambia	21	Kiribati	28	Nauru	35	Seychelles	42	Tonga	49	Zimbabwe

quickly from the late 1940s into the 1960s as many Asian and African countries also became independent. In more recent years, many small Caribbean, Indian Ocean and Pacific Island countries have taken their place in the association. About half the present members are small states with populations of under one million, but total membership represents about a quarter of the world's population and about a third of the membership of the United Nations.

Jawaharlal Nehru pointed out that the Commonwealth "seems to prosper most in adversity".

The biennial meeting of Heads of Government is at the pinnacle of the group's consultative process, but there are many programs of ongoing co-operation which are assisted by the Commonwealth Secretariat. Unlike the United Nations, the Commonwealth has no written charter or constitution and does not conduct its business by means of votes or binding decisions. Views are exchanged between equals, freely, informally and confidentially, to avoid as much as possible the kind of posturing which can hamper dialogue on the international scene.

Above all, the Commonwealth is a means of pooling experience and arguing divergent viewpoints. A Commonwealth consensus can provide both moral and practical leadership on some of the major issues of the day: the condemnation of racism; a more equitable sharing of economic resources; the security of small states; and the integration of women as full partners in the social and developmental process. The Commonwealth contributed to large scale decolonization into the 1960s and today it is at the forefront of international efforts to end apartheid and to bring about non-racial, representative government in South Africa.

Even where concerted Commonwealth action has not been possible, however, consultations often have a moderating influence. The Commonwealth has been described by its Secretary-General, Mr. Shridath Ramphal, as "a facility for harmonizing differences, even contrariness, within the framework of community". Through the accident of history, Commonwealth members have enough in common for dialogue to be fruitful, but enough diversity to reflect many points of view and to set up a creative quest for solutions. It is this capacity for "bridge-building" which gives the Commonwealth its importance and its continuing potential.

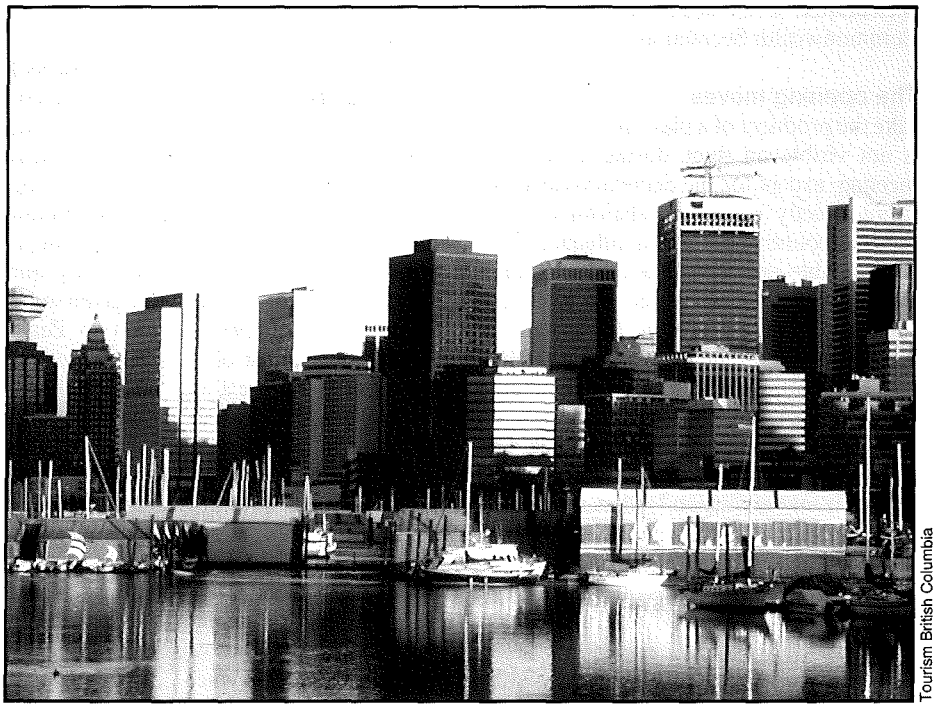
The Commonwealth of peoples

Beyond the official organization is the very active "unofficial" Commonwealth of non-governmental organizations, a vast international network of professional, service and cultural organizations, the real lifeblood of the Commonwealth. There are some 200 of them associated with the Commonwealth. They include the Commonwealth Association of Architects, the Commonwealth Engineers Council, the Commonwealth Legal Bureau, and so on, covering virtually every field of human endeavour. The Association of Commonwealth Universities and the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association provide obvious institutional links. The Commonwealth Foundation encourages and supports these professional and other associations with bursaries and grants. No less importantly, the Commonwealth Games, held every four years, and the Commonwealth Arts Festivals which accompany them demonstrate the spirit of Commonwealth friendship and multi-racialism in ways that are visible, popular and entertaining. In fact, the Commonwealth idea takes many useful forms and its less than formal ties can be a powerful force for cohesion when the whole structure shows signs of becoming politically unglued. ■

The Commonwealth in Canada

Member states of the Commonwealth met in Vancouver from October 13-17. **Clyde Sanger,** ***former Director of the Commonwealth's Information Division and now an Ottawa-based writer and journalist, surveys the results and explains the workings of the organization.***

More than Politics



Tourism British Columbia

Vancouver skyline

From the newspaper accounts, one would have thought the issue of sanctions on South Africa preoccupied the Commonwealth leaders in Vancouver to the virtual exclusion of all other business. In fact, they debated the subject for only four and a half hours in their executive sessions, even if journalists concentrated on this question during many press conferences. Likewise, the unique case of Fiji's membership — or, as it was eventually agreed, lapsed membership — was discussed and decided mostly in small groups and with senior Secretariat staff.

A glance at the 118 paragraphs in the conference communiqué gives a better idea of the extraordinarily wide range of activities in which the 49 countries have co-operated and some inkling of the many issues on which they have tried (with success in most cases) to find common ground.

Four issues

It is interesting to look at four examples from the Vancouver Summit.

First, the Commonwealth leaders agreed on a crisp one-page Declaration on World Trade, which indicates a close identity of views as they move into the first stages of the "Uruguay Round" of GATT negotiations. It deplores the rising spiral of protectionist measures and, in particular, calls for the "reform of all trade-distorting agricultural policies, both domestic and international". The leaders want early action on agriculture in the GATT negotiations, which is not the sort of criticism aimed at Europe's Common Agricultural Policy which France would find it easy to approve.

Second, they decided to set up an expert group to study the Impact of Structural Adjustment on Women. The Commonwealth now holds meetings every three years of Ministers Responsible for Women's Affairs. These ministers have felt that the stern measures which many developing countries are having to take, under pressure from the International Monetary Fund, to devalue their money and to cut social services will fall especially heavily on women. The expert group will circulate its findings, first to these ministers and then to Finance Ministers, for comment before a report comes back to the Heads of Government when they meet in Kuala Lumpur in 1989. It is likely to be a thorough investigation which will carry weight.

They also looked at developments since 119 countries signed the Law of the Sea Convention five years ago. Progress has certainly been made on the remaining problem area of seabed mining, India has registered its stake as a "pioneer investor" in a seabed site, and "most Heads of Government [appealed] to all states to sign the Convention and proceed with the ratification process without delay". It requires ratification by 60 states before the Convention comes into force, and so far only 32 states have done so. Canada, after playing a leading role in the negotiations up to 1982, has been less vigorous in completing the process, even though we gain tremendous benefits from the treaty, which covers everything from Arctic pollution to the management of East Coast fisheries and special arrangements for salmon.

The final example is the enthusiastic reception the Commonwealth leaders gave to the Briggs Report (see page 41), proposing a small agency to organize co-operation between the many groups engaged in distance education (in Canada, TVOntario, Athasbaska University and the British Columbia Knowledge Network). They found it, in Rajiv Gandhi's phrase, "both imaginative and far-sighted". Commonwealth Education Ministers had already called the Briggs proposal "practical and likely to be effective"; and the Canadian government suggested refinements and offered $12 million seed-money for the network's first five years. At least nine other countries (including Brunei, whose Sultan is the world's richest individual) promised to contribute; so money is no problem. The Canadian plan for five regional units was adopted, and Vancouver was picked as headquarters for the central co-ordination unit. A cheerful Flora ➤

MacDonald said she hoped the network would produce materials not only in English — but also in French for the half-dozen Commonwealth states with large French-speaking populations.

Beyond language

A joyful innovation at Vancouver was the series of cultural events that was organized around the conference. Journalists and visitors were cheered that the customary hour of waiting in their seats for the Heads of Government to arrive for opening ceremonies was softened with a recital by the Vancouver Chamber Choir.

Some of these events went beyond any spoken language. In the glorious setting of the Museum of Anthropology a Commonwealth photographic exhibition — *Images* — was hung. The theme of the 260 photographs was "Life in the Commonwealth" and, perhaps typical of the crosscultural contributions, the winner was an Englishman, Paul Trevor, with a set of black-and-white photographs of pilgrims at a Hindu shrine in Tamil Nadu.

But the most remarkable, most joyous, event was the Drum Festival with some 75 master drummers and percussionists, dancers and singers from 10 countries. The inspired idea of the Canadian artistic director, John Wyre, was to avoid a series of separate performances and to have the music flow continuously between all the groups who remained on stage for two memorable hours. To see Colin Offord of Australia, ingenious maker of mouthbows, move forward with anklets jingling for a shuffle dance opposite the fluid figure of the Ghanaian drummer Abraham Adzinyah; above all, to hear the Indian tabla player Pandit Sharma Sahai "talking" back and forth to two Sri Lankan drummers, and then have the beat picked up and enlarged by steel drums from St. Lucia and Antigua, was an unforgettable sun-burst of cultural harmony.

Finally, there was the Small States Exposition, in which two dozen countries filled booths with samples of their export products and held two days of conferences on investment and on tourism. There was a technological gap between, say, Vanuatu with only its pink sea shells and Jamaica with fashionable garments and pewter moulded after the 300-year-old style retrieved from the Port Royal earthquake; but bonhomie helped to bridge it.

This exposition, the Drum Festival, a Commonwealth film festival and the Briggs Report did not capture the headlines during the Vancouver Summit. But they tell you more quietly what, despite the frustrating differences over South Africa, helps to hold this quarter of humanity together in pleasing friendship. ■

The Commonwealth Way

The Vancouver meeting was another illustration of how, even in politically trying times, the Commonwealth continues to work. In part this is because Commonwealth summits have a well-established structure. After an open plenary meeting and the preliminary courtesies, the leaders begin a series of closed sessions to discuss the world political situation. This is followed on another day by a discussion of the economic situation. Talks then move on to the bread-and-butter subjects of various Commonwealth programs. Meanwhile, senior officials are meeting to expand, delete or clean up phrases in a comprehensive communique which has been drafted in advance by old hands at the Commonwealth Secretariat.

The opening moves

Like the producer of a play, the Secretariat is not visible on stage during a summit meeting, except for the Secretary-General sitting quietly beside the chairman from the host country. But it can influence to a considerable extent the line of discussion, although not determine the precise lines spoken. It matters greatly, for instance, which leaders are invited to make public speeches during the plenary session on the opening day, because these will be reported fully in the newspapers and can set the agenda and the tone for later discussion. Again, it matters which leaders are asked to make opening statements in the political and economic debates, because

"blest is he who has his quarrel just,
but twice blest he who gets his blow
in fust."

Months before a Commonwealth Summit, earnest consultations go on in Marlborough House, the London headquarters of the Secretariat, about the list of opening speakers. In 1979 at the Lusaka Summit, when the Rhodesian issue came to a climax, Malcolm Fraser, the Australian prime minister, was chosen to be among the four speakers at the open plenary. He not only made an influential speech but became a pivotal figure in the negotiations that followed. Again, Michael Manley of Jamaica was asked to speak at the start of the economic debate that year, and his eloquent exposition of the problems of a developing country dependent on a few products for foreign exchange had a real impact on the discussion.

If this sounds like manipulation, it is certainly kept within limits. The list of opening speakers has to be agreed with the chairman and in practice is mostly restricted to veterans, unless a newcomer hails from one of the larger countries. Vancouver saw 12 new heads of government, compared with the Nassau Summit in 1985; but they all came from smaller countries and were not expected to play major roles on this occasion.

A permanent Secretariat marks the Commonwealth as a different structure from la Francophonie.

The Secretariat

The existence of a permanent Secretariat marks the Commonwealth out as a quite different structure from *la Francophonie.* Canada and Quebec (or Canada-Quebec) provided the secretariat for the Francophone Summit in Quebec City this year, and presumably the Senegal government will do the same for the next meeting of Francophone states. Between summit meetings co-operation among Francophone countries has been achieved by four "network groups", which were given some 90 tasks at the 1986 Summit in Paris. Significantly, most of these tasks were in the areas of culture and communications, language industries, and scientific and technical information.

In contrast, the Commonwealth Secretariat contains several divisions, dealing with health, law, education, rural development and half-a-dozen more subjects in which member states have a mutual interest in functional co-operation. The basic structure of these divisions was built during the 10 years from 1965 when Canada's Arnold Smith was Secretary-General, and the Commonwealth Fund for Technical Co-operation (CFTC) was also launched. Another Canadian, Jean-Marc Léger, was the first Secretary-General of l'Agence de coopération culturelle et technique (ACCT), created in 1970. There were good relations between the two, but their organizations took different directions: l'Agence focused on cultural and linguistic subjects, while the Commonwealth Secretariat and CFTC concentrated on functional co-operation and technical assistance.

In the Legal Division, for example, a small staff under New Zealander Jeremy Pope has tackled many tasks. A far-reaching one has been the program, started in 1974, of training drafters of legislation in many Commonwealth countries. Over the years more than 300 have been trained, often at regional courses in Africa, Asia and the

South Pacific. For the smallest countries, as in the eastern Caribbean, a regional legal unit has been set up to give expert advice. It is an area where a common language and shared traditions open the way for co-operation. The Legal Division also has its own Commercial Crime Unit, to help in the fight against international fraud. The growing problem of the abduction from one country to another of children by a parent is another of its concerns.

The Secretariat, with a staff of about 420 drawn from some 30 countries, is a small body to carry out all the jobs assigned to it by the Heads of Government and the Health, Law, Finance, Agriculture and Industry Ministers at their periodic meetings. The practice has grown of bringing in experts from various countries to study current problems and to write, by the standards of other international organizations, very frank reports. The candour, as well as the consensus, in these reports is possible because of familiarity with a common working language and similar ways of thinking. I have never heard of semantic arguments over definitions.

Under the present Secretary-General, Shridath Ramphal, the Commonwealth has come together to produce some imaginative reports on economic issues. One of the earliest was on the feasibility of a Common Fund to support buffer stocks of a number of primary products. Another team under Dudley Seers mapped out plans for the rehabilitation of Uganda after Idi Amin's horrific era. In 1983 Professor Gerald Helleiner of Toronto, who had also been on the Seers mission, headed a group which recommended ways to reform the international financial and trading system in its report *Towards a New Bretton Woods*. And in 1984 a group under Lord Lever produced a well-regarded document on debt problems a year or more before the subject was being widely discussed.

There is a particular emphasis on the young people who will determine the future.

The Kirby Report

This useful work, exploiting some of the best brains and most relevant experience in the Commonwealth, puts a particular emphasis on youth. For a year an expert group under Australian Peter Kirby studied the problems of youth unemployment. Two Canadians, André Juneau and Carl Wright, were on his team. Their report, recommending structural adjustment in developing countries to remove, for example, the urban imbalance that has discouraged young people from staying in farming, was discussed at Vancouver.

The Briggs Report

In arguing that practical education — literacy, numeracy and problem-solving — is as crucial as life-skills are to making young workers more adaptable, the Kirby Report complements a report dealing with the needs of students at a higher level, which is the work of a team under Lord Asa Briggs. As I already noted, the Briggs Report recommends an ambitious scheme of co-operation in distance learning and suggests creating a University of the Commonwealth for this purpose. It stops short of recommending a university which would enrol and teach individual students, and proposes only a small professional and administrative staff of about 60 after five years and a budget of about $17 million.

A common working language and similar ways of thinking make for candour and consensus in reports.

With what may sound a modest proposal, it may seem odd that Mr. Ramphal in his introduction is fired "with a sense of excitement" and exclaims: "Seldom has a group of the great and the wise produced a Report which is so visionary as well as practical." The reason is that the Briggs Report builds on so much solid experience in Commonwealth countries. It gives plenty of examples, including Britain's Open University, Canada's Athabaska University, the satellite work done in the Caribbean and South Pacific and the radio schools of Australia. It argues convincingly that the various media — printed modules, audiotapes, video techniques (TVOntario gets a good mention) — are converging. And it recommends a partnership between universities, since they know local needs best, rather than a large central institution.

Young leaders

Canada made its own contribution to the preparations with the Young Leaders conference that took place in Ottawa for a week in September. It was an original idea to invite a group of under-35s who had already shown leadership qualities in every sector from business to religion from 36 Commonwealth countries. The proof of success will only be seen if such a network survives and expands, but it was clearly a lively attempt to make the Commonwealth attractive and relevant to the young people who will determine its future. ■

Commonwealth Principles

On the Fortieth Anniversary of the United Nations in 1985, the Commonwealth leaders meeting in Nassau issued a declaration based on the following principles.

- We commit ourselves and our nations to work tirelessly in the pursuit of a world marked not by disorder and the use of competitive power but one governed by the principles of collective international co-operation and respect for the rights of all nations and peoples as the necessary foundation for lasting peace and assured economic and social development.
- We reaffirm our commitment to the principles and precepts of the Charter of the United Nations and to the goal of strengthening the United Nations system as the central instrument of peace, security and co-operation among nations. As we ourselves categorically reject the use or threat of force as a means of settling disputes, we appeal to all governments to work to strengthen the institutions which contribute to orderly resolution of differences between nations and which sustain peace.
- We rededicate ourselves to the principles of self-determination, non-racialism, human freedom and equality, and co-operation between nations in the service of international understanding, development and world peace, which have guided the Commonwealth throughout its evolution.
- We pledge ourselves to play a full part in revitalizing international co-operation for development and concerted action to confront the crucial issues of international economic inequality.
- We call upon the world community to construct a framework of collective security based on mutual trust and shared interest. All nations have a stake in disarmament. We therefore look for urgent agreement in reversing the arms race and on significant reductions, and eventual destruction.
- We invite all peoples and nations to join in a universal effort to fulfil these objectives.

Do We Know Something?

*T.K. Pratt**

Canadian English will persist and even flourish, though some regional dialects may go under.

Recently I had to move my office. "What's this?" said the friend who was helping me. He picked up Avis and Kinloch's bibliography, *Writings on Canadian English*, and then Ruth McConnell's textbook, *Our Own Voice: Canadian English and How It Is Studied.* "Canadian English?" he said as he dropped these and other such books into a box. "There's no such thing!"

I knew what he meant. Other English speakers in the Commonwealth — hearing our "r" after vowels and our flat "a" in words like *dance, half* — usually take us for Americans. Americans themselves only occasionally spot the tight Canadian vowel of *out, shout, house* and similar words. Mostly, though, they assume we're from another state.

Wouldn't it be truer to the facts just to talk about "North American English"? Within which, we could say, there are regional dialects — whether from the Deep South, or Boston or Newfoundland. Actually, I don't think it would. Because Canadians themselves know that, in this as in other matters, they are not American. The differences between Canadian and American English are subtle, but they add up. The total will vary, naturally: not every Canadian has every feature. But Americans must live in this country for many years before they stop drawing attention to the way they speak. Which means we Canadians *know* something.

Canadian raising

A prominent piece of knowledge, though usually unconscious, concerns that vowel "ou" that Americans do sometimes recognize in our speech, along with its sister, "i". Most Canadians will make a tighter sound for the "i" of *wife* than for the "i" of *wives*. The tendency is so widespread in this country that even though it is found elsewhere, scholars call it "Canadian Raising", a reference to the raised position of the tongue needed to produce the more constricted vowel.

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Another vowel sound that very often sets Canadian English apart is "ah". Neither Commonwealth nor American speakers rhyme *pod* and *pawed, cot* and *caught, coffee* (first syllable) and *cough*. We do — and this especially contrasts with the more open American sound in the first word of each pair.

This is nooz to us.

Then again, for Americans but not most Canadians, the "y" sound is missing in some words before "u", so that *news* sounds like *nooz*. In this respect we talk like the British. Which we also prefer to do in *-ile* words like *sterile* (not "sterill") and *-ti* words like *anti* and *multi* (the last syllable is "ee" not "ay"). And in some individual words too — *lieutenant, lever, ration, route, zebra* — Canadians prefer the British over the American model.

In vocabulary too Canadians show that their link to the British Isles is stronger than that of their southern neighbours. We take out a *bag*, not a *sack*, of apples, wash the fruit under the *tap*, not the *faucet*, sit down to eat it with the *blinds*, not the *shades*, up, and reflect how nice it is that this is *Boxing Day*, not *the day after Christmas*. Of course we have sometimes changed British usage to suit our own purposes, which is the case with a number of political terms like *reeve, riding* and by *acclamation.*

The English language in this hemisphere went to America first.

Still other words and phrases — like *baby bonus* and *sleeper pass*, a football term — are Canadian inventions. The *Dictionary of Canadianisms* is a hefty collection of these. It includes Canadian-born words that are now world English, like *portage* and *cache*, both of which, of course, reflect the French influence in Canadian life. That influence can give quite a different flavour at times to our native English. Names like *Revenue Canada* and *Theatre New Brunswick*, for example, are deliberately constructed to produce a kind of bilingual sound.

Down the Trans-Canada

If we can call *eh* a word — as in "Nice day eh?" — then it, too, readily distinguishes the Canuck. Not that the Americans or the Commonwealth don't use this handy interjection. They do, but not so often, especially

Can we call 'eh' a word?

to punctuate narratives: "We was bootin' 'er down the Trans-Canada, eh, when I look in the mirror, eh, and I sees this flashing red light, eh, and she was gainin', eh?" In this last example and others, we see it is not so much that Canadians do this while Americans do that, it is a case of more versus less. *Pop* is a universal drink in this country, but only a regional one in the United States. Similarly, *cupboards* has a wider range here, often including what Americans would only call a *closet.* There is no doubt about it, the English language in Canada *is* basically American. But it has something added to change the flavour.

A lot of people assume that English came to Canada in much the same way that it came to the rest of the Commonwealth, directly through British conquest and settlement. In fact it was usually an indirect, two-stage process. The English language in this hemisphere went to America first, to the east coast colonies of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. There it started at once to diverge from its parent, becoming both innovative (creations like *backwoods*) and conservative (failing to participate in pending British innovations like the dropping of "r" after vowels). It was also greedy. Indiscriminately it soaked up words from other languages: *moose* from the Indians, *prairie* from the French, *mosquito* from the Spanish, *cookie* from the Dutch, *semester* from the Germans. In this melting pot the various British dialects of the settlers swirled into a new amalgam, one that gradually split to form three broad new American dialects, now called Northern, Midland and Southern.

Loyalists

It is the general Northern and north Midland dialect of American English that interests Canadians, for this is the speech that is the foundation of English in this country. It came here in the late eighteenth century with the many Loyalists who did not want to be part of the American Revolution. This was the second stage in the production of Canadian English. These Loyalists, about 30,000 in all, settled both in the Maritimes and in what is now

My bunk was next to Gerald Gidge's and it was built of board and one end fastened to the wall of the camp.

canada n also **canady**. Cp *DC* ~ n 1–5 for sense 1.

1 The areas of mainland North America located esp near the St Lawrence River; the Dominion of Canada excluding Newfoundland and Labrador; the MAINLAND.

[1583] 1940 *Gilbert's Voyages & Enterprises* ii, 404 [Hayes' narrative] That which we doe call the Newfound land, and the Frenchmen Bacalaos, is an Iland, or rather (after the opinion of some) it consisteth of sundry Ilands and broken lands, situate in the North regions of America, upon the gulfe and entrance of the great river called S Laurence in Canada. 1708 OLDMIXON 6 Thus they who are Intruders, by their Industry, and the Convenience of their Neighbourhood with *Canada*, the Counry, such as it is, of the French Dominions in *America*, have got the better Part of this Island, and have a more numerous Colony and better

hibition of export from Cana Prince Edward's Island. 1850 ernment is divided from that stream. . .which I [as Bishop] 1933 GREENLEAF (ed) 314 M Canady; / Love Sally, we mus leave my blue-eyed girl, / All face cold-hearted strangers / 1916 GRENFELL 44 They say Canady to get his sight cured *Introduction* 3 On December of Canada and Newfoundlan in the Senate Chamber at Ott of Union between the two co *Telegram* 12 Jan, p. 3 And th a 'frigid air mass' was moving Canada—leaving us to wond cal weather we've been havin weeks.

2 Attrib **canada board**: rial made of compacted ch

1973 WADEL 62 Inside the

The Dictionary of Newfoundland English

Ontario and Quebec. Either they founded new settlements or tended to become leading citizens of the old ones. A generation or two later, at least 80,000 "Late Loyalists" moved into Ontario.

These loyal speakers of English had strong political and economic ties with their British "home", and standard British English was for them the prestige form. But in fact their speech was already *basically American*; it was the northern American English of the late eighteenth century. Later immigrants assimilated to this model, even the large new waves from the British Isles, whose numbers soon swamped those of Loyalist stock. It was a remarkable example of "When in Rome, do as the Romans do."

The differences between Canadian and American English are subtle.

When, still later, the West began to be opened, the settlers were in the first instance speakers from Ontario and the northern United States. Once again there was a base line, the *same* base line, to which later immigrants would conform. Hence the extraordinary uniformity of Canada's standard English, over the vast distance from Quebec to Vancouver Island. It is a homogeneity of a size unparalleled by any dialect or language in the world.

Sugar and spoice

In the Maritimes the tale has a different twist. Although Loyalists came here too, they were not so many and they were different. They came mainly from New England, where the original dialect mix from Britain contained more of the southeast than did the mix that went to Quebec, Ontario, and the West. Above all, Scotch and, to a lesser extent, Irish dialects entered the Maritimes in greater proportion, and so remained less diluted.

The Maritimes dialect is not, in fact, nearly as divergent from the national standard as some English dialects can go around the world. In the cities it is hardly to be found. On the other hand, there are still interesting things to watch for. There are common Scottish words like *stormstayed* 'forced to stay at home by a snowstorm' and unusual Irish ones like *clart* 'a bad housewife'. There are words from the Micmacs (*pung* 'a kind of horse-drawn sleigh'), from the Acadian French (*aboiteau* 'dike with a sluice gate') and from the Loyalists (*double runner*: variously a child's sleigh, a bobsled, a sled for hauling logs). As one might expect, there are many dialect words to do with fishing: *fiddler* 'a small salmon', *flake* 'drying platform', *lolly* 'mushy ice'. The folk speech of the Maritimes is often colourful and earthy, with phrases like *flying axehandles* 'diarrhea', and *poor man's fertilizer* 'late spring snow'.

Special pronunciations, meanwhile, would include *aunt* as "ont", *calm* as "cam", *vase* rhyming with "face", *wash* as "warsh", and the letter *H* as "haitch". And a hint of a real accent can be found running through words with *o* said like the "oo" in "good" (*once, lovely, does*), or with a sort of double "ss" sound in *present, result, position.* On Prince Edward Island, and Cape Breton, a prevalent vowel is "oi" for "i": "A good woife is sugar and spoice."

Some of these features are also shared by Newfoundland. But here the story must be retold from the beginning. Newfoundland speech is fed by a unique confluence of two streams, one from Ireland and one from southwest England, both different from the London standard. Add to that almost 400 years of relative isolation, and we truly have a regional speech that differs markedly from general Canadian.

Even Newfoundland grammar stands out. It includes older past tense forms (*clom* for *climbed*), possessives with *n* (like *hisn*), the verb *be* for continuous activity (*I be watching*), and the Irish *after* to indicate completion (*I'm just after finishing my dinner*). But chiefly it is the Irish and West Country sounds that catch the ear. As for Newfoundland words, they can be very old — like *bavin* 'kindling' — or quite recent, like the well-known *screech.*

Compared to Newfoundland and the Maritimes, then, there is not a lot of what could be called "regional" dialect in Canada. It is often tied solely to different regional occupations rather than to linguistic history: lumbering in British Columbia gives *highrigger*; farming on the prairies gives *to sodbust.* But in any language there are *other* kinds of variation. Scholars are looking at these now in Canadian English with increasing interest.

They have found, for example, that there is a much greater difference between female and male speech than was previously supposed. Several researchers are examining the prevailing hypothesis that, faced with a choice between standard and non-standard Canadian English, women choose the standard much more than men do. Similarly, a recent study of Ottawa speakers has thrown into relief the relationship between several speech habits and the speaker's social class. Matching studies in Toronto and Vancouver, meanwhile, reveal that "Canadian Raising" is increasingly unstable among young people. In other words, Canadian English is changing.

Will our regional dialects persist?

What will happen next? Will our regional dialects persist? I suspect that most of Maritimes English will go under, while even that of Newfoundland will be greatly diluted. I will not say *when*, but every study of the language in these regions points to the remorseless encroachment of general Canadian. And how will the national dialect itself fare against American? My guess is that Canadian English will, in fact, persist and even flourish, though not in the same form, beyond the foreseeable future. Why? Simply because English-speaking Canadians do not wish to be any more American than they already are. And speech follows attitude, consciously or unconsciously. It always has. ■

O Canada Revisited: A Cultural Update

*Norman Snider**

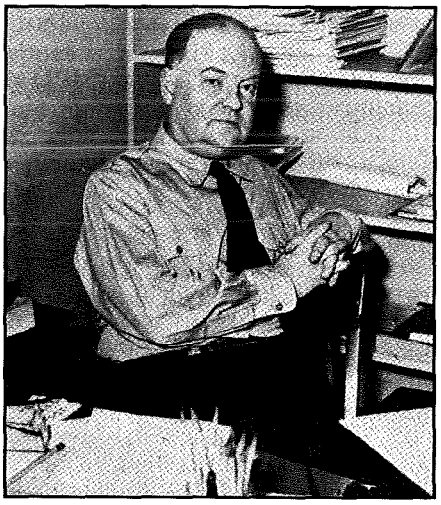
English Canadian literature: the local has found an international audience. Cinema and television production may lag a little, but it's never over if those interested in English Canadian culture work to ensure that there is no return to the wilderness.

English Canada as an international cultural entity was "discovered" by Edmund Wilson in 1965. At the time, Wilson was perhaps the foremost American man of letters and arbiter of taste, working a vein of criticism that made strong connections between literature and society. It also happened that Wilson had for some years neglected to file income tax returns and was in severe difficulties with the IRS, a situation which necessitated his taking refuge in Canada.

The result was a classic work titled *O Canada: An American's Notes on Canadian Culture*. The book not only served to present what Wilson considered an impressive cultural achievement to the rest of the English-speaking world, it analyzed it in terms of the society from which it sprang. Wilson concentrated almost entirely on the literary scene, ignoring film, theatre, the visual arts and dance. It is interesting to compare what Wilson found here in 1965, in terms of Anglophone literary culture, with what has developed since. (This essay will also touch on developments in the English Canadian cinema and television.)

Strange fugitives

Although Wilson found much to admire in this country, it seemed to him that Canada's cultural growth faced a considerable difficulty. There was, for one, a peculiar social climate that, despite the achievement of writers like Stephen Leacock and Bliss Carman, discouraged artistic expression. What's more, Canada was culturally remote from the rest of the world: for English-speaking readers of other countries the Canadian background was not just indifferent to the arts; it was hostile. In the estimation of the Calvinist burghers of English Canada, according to Wilson, the chief aim in life was to work very hard and make money; the artist was a weakling and a trifler — a man without a regular job. Nor was he the only outside observer to detect a grim cultural landscape: that ferocious soul, Wyndham Lewis, painted an equally bleak picture in *Self-Condemned*, his account of artistic Toronto in the 1940s.



Edmund Wilson

However, against this unpromising backdrop Wilson found many encouraging signs. There were two major novelists: Morley Callaghan and Hugh MacLennan; on the criticism front there was Northrop Frye; in poetry there were Irving Layton, F.R. Scott and Douglas LePan. (Wilson, for all his perspicacity, seems to have missed such accomplished poets as Earle Birney and A.M. Klein.) His enthusiastic appreciation of Callaghan, whom he compared to Chekhov and Turgenev, served to reintroduce that author to the United States, where he had been read in the 20s and 30s, and to re-establish his reputation here at home.

A fine and private place

There can be little doubt that Morley Callaghan was the first modern Canadian novelist in English, but his true position, despite its relevance to the development of literary culture in this country, is sorely misunderstood. A friend of Ernest Hemingway and Scott Fitzgerald, and belonging stylistically to the 1920s, he is mistakenly compared to those more cosmopolitan authors. Seen on his native ground, Callaghan more closely resembles a novelist like Theodore Dreiser, the lonely talent erecting a considerable body of work in an uncomprehending wilderness. Although Callaghan's novels and stories are leaner and more austere than Dreiser's, they share a similar raw quality, a sense that their work has been torn from the untutored provincial life around them. Although their own books are very different from Callaghan's, Canadian novelists of succeeding generations like Mordecai Richler and Margaret Atwood have paid tribute to his example as proving it was possible to remain in this country, write about Canadians and still enjoy a wider readership.

Close to the sun again

The situation described by Wilson in 1965 has changed: English Canada has a literary scene that is notable for its vitality and, given the relatively small size of the country's population, exceptional in its accomplishment. Novelists like Richler and Atwood, Timothy Findley, Robertson Davies, Robert Kroetsch, W.P. Kinsella, Brian Moore and the late Margaret Laurence; short story writers like Alice Munro, Norman Levine and John Metcalf; poets like Leonard Cohen, Michael Ondaatje and Susan Musgrave. The best Canadian writers, like Callaghan, tend to be robust and individualistic artists.

These writers are avidly read in New York and London — not to mention Rome, Tokyo or Stockholm — not because they are Canadian but because their way of writing about the human condition is compelling in itself. Marshall McLuhan's concept of the global village might seem to have been tailored to Canada's cultural self-interest: if, by virtue of electronic communications, we are living in a smaller planet, English Canada has become that much less remote from the rest of the world.

Yet, paradoxically, the work of these writers is also intensely local. The small town Ontario of Alice Munro, the Montreal of Mordecai Richler, the West of W.P. Kinsella or the Toronto of Margaret Atwood are minutely particularized. Where the work of Morley Callaghan, concentrating on personal individual destinies, often seemed to take place in an undifferentiated North American setting, Davies, Richler, Atwood and Munro sometimes seem to indulge in orgies of local colour.

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It is probably no accident that these authors emerged at a time when Canada was coming of age in a political sense. Stimulated by the ebullient rise of cultural nationalism in Quebec, English Canadian writers gained more confidence in the artistic validity of their own experience. It is a testament to the maturing of Canada that so many good books by so many authors have emerged. English Canadian literature no longer requires Wilson to come here and make his "discovery": the books speak for themselves. Richler's *Joshua Then and Now*, Kroetsch's *Studhorse Man*, Moore's *Black Robe*, Atwood's *Life Before Man*, all are unique individual achievements of the highest calibre.

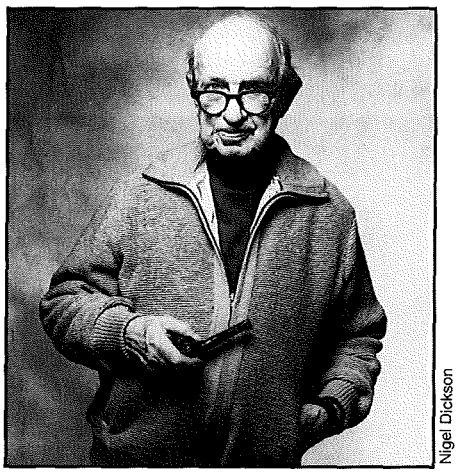
They shall inherit the earth

The climate has changed too. With the support of the Canada Council, provincial arts councils, creative writing programs in an expanded university system, a burgeoning publishing scene, and a greatly expanded media world, a literary milieu has arisen which is far more hospitable. One reason for this more satisfactory state of affairs is undoubtedly a publishing industry subsidized by the state. For critical observers it may be a question of writerly honour that no credit for this progress be given to governments, no matter how many millions they pump into the arts, and despite the fact that many a talented scribbler has been encouraged with the taxpayer's cold cash. In reality, except for the occasional blunder by ministers or bureaucrats, the "arms-length" relationship between writers and the state has been observed with exacting scrupulousness. While the achievement of Canadian writers is all their own, and while it is clear that writers of such calibre would have emerged in any event, the state has undeniably provided a nourishing milieu. Blessed with thousands of readers, the English Canadian writer of accomplishment is no longer an oddball but a national hero, at least on a par with other professional celebrities.

A broken journey

The English Canadian cinema was still in its infancy in 1965. It has since grown apace. It may still suffer today in comparison with its Australian counterpart, but it has succeeded in producing many talented directors — Don Owen, Allan King, Ted Kotcheff, Don Shebib, Norman Jewison, Philip Borsos — and one film *auteur* of international stature, David Cronenberg. Films such as *The Fly*, as well as Borsos' *Grey Fox* and Kotcheff's *The Apprenticeship of Duddy Kravitz*, have played around the world to enormous critical and commercial acclaim. What is unique about Cronenberg's career is that it flourished almost in spite of an official Canadian Film Development Corporation and Telefilm policy which initially resisted the conventions of cinematic science fiction (a staple from *Nosferatu* to *2001*) in favour of a parochial reliance on the Canadian documentary tradition and the embalming of literary classics such as MacLennan's *Two Solitudes*.

Instead, Cronenberg, in films like *Scanners*, *Videodrome* and *Rabid*, has elaborated a vision that combines the shock tactics of a dark romantic like William Burroughs with the detachment of a director like Stanley Kubrick. Acceptance of Cronenberg's films was slow in Canada. Establishment critics were unwilling to believe in the legitimacy of science fiction as a cinematic genre or countenance



Nigel Dickson

Morley Callaghan

Cronenberg's near-medical investigations of disease. If he at first seems to be a sport of nature in the realistic, documentary milieu of English Canadian cinema, his work too bears a distinctive local stamp. His concerns with electronic technology directly parallel those of McLuhan, Gould, Innis and Grant. His cities are clearly northern; the light in his work is not the Italianate glow that bathes the work of contemporary Americans from Coppola to Cimino, but hard, clear, crisp: observably Canadian.

The loved and the lost

The documentary tradition, a part of the Canadian scene since John Grierson's founding days at the Film Board, has continued strong at the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation. With its special mandate to present Canadian subjects to a Canadian audience, CBC's cinematic achievements tend to be limited, but its co-production of Robert Collison's television film about the charismatic union leader Bob White was in the best tradition of King's *Warrendale* and Beryl Fox's *Mills of the Gods* — full-length documentaries — a tradition that in recent years had been badly neglected. In drama, the successes of the CBC have often used historical subject matter: Martin Lavut's film, *Charlie Grant's War*, about a Canadian's involvement in the European holocaust, or the Canadian-English co-production, *Going Home*, about disturbances among Canadian troops stationed in Wales after the First World War.

Cronenberg is a film auteur *of international stature.*

If the promise that Edmund Wilson saw in English Canada in 1965 has to a large degree been fulfilled, difficulties remain. The climate for literary and cinematic culture is more hospitable. Successful festivals and readings lend excitement to the life of many cities. But the continued existence of a vital literary and cinematic culture depends not only on the emergence of talented artists and continued government support but also on enthusiastic country-wide involvement.

The language barrier between Quebec and English Canada can sometimes seem insuperable. While the rest of the country has been responsive to Quebec films like *Decline of the American Empire* and Quebec novels like *The Alley Cat*, Quebecers seem largely impervious to the achievements of English Canada. Now that Quebec has emerged from its period of introspection and is looking less to Europe and more to the United States for cultural models, it would be ironic beyond measure if what it discovered there was the art of English Canada.

Of things to come

The arts in English Canada, as elsewhere, depend on a committed audience. Progress since 1965 is easily measurable and must be considered one of our national achievements. However, the Money Society of the 1980s at times threatens a throwback to the hostile conditions of which Edmund Wilson complained. The early years of this decade, with their cutbacks in public support, were bad for the arts in this country. The achievement of English Canada in literature, film and television has been hard won, the result of many solitary struggles and heroic individual victories. In the Information Culture of the industrialized West a great deal of a country's prestige depends on the stature of its artists. It is up to those with a committed interest in the culture of English Canada to ensure there is no return to the wilderness of the past. ■

Antic Fantasticoes

*Charles Haines**

Clarity of language is essential if we are to express our thoughts and feelings accurately and truly. If we love our language, we will want to use it well.

There are a number of possible replies to the purists that say English is not going to the dogs any more because it is already there. One is that there is simply more English around, spoken and written, its warts, scars and swollen joints plainly in evidence. Radio and television spew language 24 hours a day. Public announcements in airports and supermarkets are constant and inevitable. Magazines, newspapers and books are big business. A greater percentage of the population today than a century ago has a chance to use language publicly. More people, more mistakes.

Some mistakes — if they are mistakes — seem more offensive than others. "Between you and I", "there's four people in the room" and "if he would have told me" are detested by all good purists; but a few of even the exigent have given up the struggle against "hopefully".

Ours is not the first generation of language vipers.

Some of the jargon, endlessly repeated, is depressing at first and finally numbing; for instance: *bottom line, scenarios, closure, prestigious, shelf-life, state of the art* and "Don't pit bull me!". Only foolish purists, though, think mistakes and ugliness of this kind are new, that ours is the first generation of language vipers. Romeo's friend Mercutio, the day before he died, inveighed against Tybalt for his flowery jargon:

> The pox of such antic, lisping, affecting fantasticoes, these new tuners of accent! "By Jesu, a very good blade! a very tall man! a very good whore!" Why, is this not a lamentable thing... we should be thus afflicted with these strange flies, these fashion-mongers....

***Charles Haines, the author of a book on usage, *English Is Chaos*, lectures on English literature at Carleton University in Ottawa. For two years he was the 'language judge' on CBC's "Morningside".**

A chair is not a table

A useful over-simplification suggests two broad divisions of language: vocabulary, or choice of word, and syntax, or arrangement of words. People that want to campaign against language misuse can then decide whether the chief enemy is *infer* for *imply*, *flaunt* for *flout*, *whose* for *who's*, *it's* for *its*; or *is different than*, *the reason is because*, and *to boldly go*.

Carleton University Information Services

Charles Haines

Perhaps the division ought to be expanded immediately to take note separately of spoken and of written English. There are, after all, offensive mispronunciations that are heard but rarely written: *nucular*, *Febuary*, *libary*, and *twelf* are particularly annoying, but many discriminating ears prefer *applicable*, *despicable*, *exquisite*, and a few more, with the accent on the first syllable. Worse, though, than even mispronunciation is the aimless interjection of useless sounds and information, most often these days of "you know" and "like": "How's the weather?" "It's you know like raining."

If it can be agreed that there is finally good language and bad, wrong English and right (and finally there must be: a chair is not a table, a cow is not a bull, though Orwell's war-is-peace, freedom-is-slavery idea touches the point where political policy, psychology, philosophy and language meet), not only the purists, but teachers, journalists, students and people who write airport announcements must be interested in finding out where the bad and the wrong have come from and how they can be banished or corrected.

Description, prescription

It is not essential for immediate corrective purposes to look very far for the sources of language weakness. In North America, at least, 1961 was for some people the first year of the current decline. That was the year *Webster's New International Dictionary* (Unabridged), Third Edition, came out, published by G. & C. Merriam, edited by Philip Gove, and compiled as a descriptive rather than a prescriptive work of lexicography. People cannot turn to Webster's 3rd to find out infallibly what is right in English and what is wrong, and they are not supposed to be able to. They go to it to find out what is being said and written by the majority — or was about 1960. Webster's 3rd does not declare by any means that whatever is, is right, but many users of it have inferred that it does.

"Speak — that I may see thee!"
Ben Jonson

The descriptive dictionary may have helped to open the gates to "It's better to speak and write badly than to keep yourself bottled up"; and, partly because one of the five Gove dictionary-making principles was "The spoken language *is* the language" — a principle that seems to make short unpleasant work of much of literature, not to mention most memos — grammar, in the sense of Latin grammar, and Latin too ("Who speaks Latin?"), was dropped from the curricula of many schools and universities. Now, 25 years later, it is not unusual for a university instructor who suggests to a student "Cut down on the number of your adjectives" to be asked "What's an adjective?"

To defend the release from Latin and prescriptive grammar by saying that languages are living things and will grow as they will grow is all very well, and the parallel with plants and beasts and humans is a pretty one and not unrefreshing; but there is the question, too, of pruning branches, smoothing fur, trimming nails and hair. It is one thing to read and hear in Europe about "Passport Control". It is quite another to say seriously, "If he'd pulled the trigger, he may have killed me."

That is not growth. It is pernicious sprawl.

Growth and change must be watched and regulated. The questions are "How much?" and "By whom?" Which is not to argue covertly in favour of a language academy masquerading as a prescriptive dictionary. It is perhaps to heed Confucius:

> If language is not correct, then what is said is not what is meant; if what is said is not what is meant then what ought to be done remains undone; if this remains undone, morals and art will deteriorate; if morals and art deteriorate, justice will go astray; if justice goes astray, people will stand about in helpless confusion.

When people love language, they will use it well.

The well-turned phrase

How is language to be made correct? The short, simple, effective answer to that question comes in two words: Love language.

If users of English loved it, loved the feel and the sound of a well-turned phrase, loved fine speech in the mouth as they love the consistency of a good steak, the coldness of a good glass of beer on a hot day; loved English and took care of it as some people love and care for their cars, wardrobes, coin collections, their health, the problem would not be hard to solve. The thing to do is to induce love. Language use, it must be taught from elementary school to Ph.D. exams, is more a matter of pleasure and beauty than it is of rules and strictures.

Language use is more a matter of pleasure and beauty than it is of rules and structures.

In any English-speaking nation there can grow up a healthy form of national pride that centres on language. *Fair dinkum*, *metal surface*, *good as gold* are phrases the meaning of which may at first escape Canadians. That does not make them wrong or bad English. New Zealanders and Australians may have trouble with *screech*, *grits* and *reserve*, none of them bad English.

Eh?

The competition set up by different flavours of these kinds in a language is a healthy one. Flavours are not right or wrong, but only appropriate or not, or, to risk a pun, in good or bad taste. As a chair is not a table, a Canadian is not an Australian. To complain about the constant "—eh?" in parts of Canada is perhaps justifiable but also not pedagogically welcome, or even necessary. "Eh?" is a sort of badge, while the "like" in "like raining" is a wart.

It is partly a question of pride, and of not only national pride. Ben Jonson said, "Nothing so shows a man as language." (The whole question of sexism in English is a large one not susceptible of quick and easy answering). "It is a glass wherein he stands revealed. Speak — that I may see thee!"

Not to be giddy about this thing, but finally people do what they want to do. They go to war and fight and kill because they want to go to war and fight and kill. Otherwise, they would not. When people, encouraged, induced, taught to do so, love language, they will use it well, express their feelings and thoughts exactly and truly, and go a long way toward clearing up the helpless confusion we are standing about in right now. The true arbiters of usage are people who love language, because most often what people love they know and understand. Love has its rights and privileges, and its obligations.

If we really want to use language well, we will.

It's as simple as that. ■

D is for Dictionary

Sarah Hood

In a few small offices at the University of Toronto one man's vision is producing a research tool to affect the work of scholars around the world.

In the late 1960s Angus Cameron, then an assistant professor of English, became frustrated with the reference books available and organized two international conferences to discuss the feasibility of producing a completely new dictionary of Old English. In addition to consulting older dictionaries, Cameron used microfilm and photocopies to assemble the entire canon of Old English texts and entered it all into a computer.

"Because computer time was so expensive, we couldn't key in our material directly. We therefore had to choose between optical scanning and punch cards, which gives you an idea of how early we got started," said Antonette Healey, the present co-editor. "As we were entering the material, the three optical scanning companies we used went out of business one after another — but we got it finished in time." Computer sorting produced a concordance, published on microfiche. The packet of fiches, small enough to fit in a desktop file box, is equivalent to 126,876 pages, and illustrates each word with a full sentence.

The first part of the dictionary itself, Fascicle D, has just appeared, also on microfiche, and C will soon follow. The whole collection, which will contain some 40,000 head words, will take about 15 more years' work. The final paper version will incorporate comments and corrections from scholars around the world. "The beauty of microfiche," says Healey, "is that we can make corrections and republish as we proceed. Besides, even a student can easily afford it."

Unfortunately, Angus Cameron died young in 1983, but he has left his project in good hands. The Dictionary of Old English now employs 11 staff members at the University of Toronto, including Healey and co-editor Ashley Amos, and is funded by, among others, the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council, the University, the Andrew W. Mellon Foundation (U.S.A.) and the Xerox Corporation. An international advisory board and the contributions of specialist readers keep the project firmly in touch with the rest of the academic world.

Scholars from as far away as New Zealand visit to consult the world's only complete collection of Old English texts. Linguists and computer specialists are as much interested in the project as are students of Old English; furthermore, since the dictionary extends to 1150 A.D., it dovetails with the Oxford English Dictionary, which excludes all words that fell out of use before then. This date is important in the history of English, since it took about a hundred years for the effects of the Norman Conquest to become evident in the recorded language.

(*The Microfiche Concordance to Old English* and Fascicle D of *The Dictionary of Old English* are available from the Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, Toronto.)

English for Export, Canadian Style

*Lyn Howes**

If it is true that our world is a global village, then the language of the village market place is largely English. As more countries participate in international exchanges, so the demand for good teachers of English as a foreign language (EFL) increases. For over a century Canada has contributed to the supply of English teachers abroad, and Canadian teachers have earned a reputation much greater than their numbers would suggest.

Missionaries

The story began in the mid-nineteenth century when advances in transportation made foreign travel easier. Canadian missionaries found their way into all corners of the world. Many of them took on the role of teachers, and language was often the first thing they taught. These were the first Canadians to be involved in EFL. A decline in missionary work has coincided with the rise of international aid. Since 1945, aid to developing countries has become policy for most industrialized nations, and organizations such as the American Peace Corps, the British Volunteer Service Overseas and Canadian University Services Overseas (CUSO) owe their origins to this concern. The Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA) manages Canadian aid resources both directly through its own projects and indirectly by subsidizing non-government organizations involved in development. Whether the projects are in agriculture, sanitation, education, resource development, environmental protection or medical assistance, to be most effective they will often require some preliminary instruction in English. Today many Canadian EFL teachers are involved in one way or another with an aid or development project.

Convolutions

Happily, as the demand for well trained teachers has increased, so has the supply. Immediately after the Second World War, Canada faced a crisis in the area of language training. This was due to increased immigration and to an awakening of our responsibility to teach our official languages well and thus live up to the vision of a bilingual Canada. Universities as well as local and federal government agencies met the challenge and developed excellent training for teachers and language programs designed to meet Canadian needs. Indeed these initiatives have proved so successful that now, 20 years later, we have more qualified EFL teachers than we need, which leaves an ample surplus to meet the increasing demand from abroad.

Less happily, the current network of Canadian EFL programs abroad is so complex it is difficult to understand. CIDA, for instance, provides large sums to support projects in developing countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America. But CIDA officers tend to be assigned to a country for a specific developmental purpose and work on their projects in relative isolation. This results in projects that are sensitive to local cultures but, as far as language programs are concerned, to almost no sharing of expertise and knowledge across projects. There is no centralized assessment of CIDA's language training needs. For each new country targeted for large human development projects the training process is reinvented: the expense of developing teaching materials, the setting up and planning of teaching centres, the recruitment of teachers, the evaluation of the project and placement of trainees in Canadian institutions — all tend to be duplicated.

Many such projects are subcontracted to non-government organizations such as CUSO, World University Services of Canada, the Canadian Bureau of International Education, the Association of Canadian Community Colleges and refugee organizations such as Oxfam and Save the Children Fund. It is difficult to know for sure exactly what goes on in these organizations when it comes to language training. What is known is that lack of co-ordination results in periods of inferior service as each project learns anew how to establish and conduct suitable language programs.

A lot of Canadians have simply answered advertisements in newspapers to teach at universities or language schools in the People's Republic of China or for private schools in Japan and the Arabian Gulf states. The teaching situations they encounter may range from basic blackboards and overcrowded classrooms to air-conditioned facilities, small enrolments and all the latest in equipment and materials. Salaries too vary from bare survival rates to fees which actually allow for savings. There are also opportunities for the wandering teacher who arrives in a country and answers local ads. Most of these jobs pay poorly because the teachers are often working without professional credentials and employers can take advantage of them. This is particularly true in Europe where Canadians do not have the benefits of Common Market status and corresponding work permits.

The demand abroad for good EFL teachers has increased.

But wherever the Canadian EFL teachers teach, they will find that their government provides too little in the way of support services. American and British missions and offices quite often offer libraries with everything from instructional material to audio-visual aids. Canadians must rely on the material they bring with them or on the generosity of their British and American cousins. Students may not even realize that their teacher is a Canadian. Many a Canadian teacher abroad could find a ready use for National Film Board films, CBC videos and a wealth of other fine Canadian materials, but no one is minding the shop. A commercial as well as cultural opportunity is being missed.

EFL Canadians

When Canadians go abroad to teach English, they bring an expertise enhanced by cultural sensitivities that increase their effectiveness. Canada has lived the colonial experience, but not as the imperial power. To that extent Canadians can avoid some of the stigma which may attach to citizens of other countries. They generally also know firsthand how difficult it is to learn another language. They understand this problem intimately from their own plurilingual situations and in the light of the country's officially bilingual status. It helps them to carry both empathy and an informed respect into the classroom.

Canadians do not make up a large proportion of EFL teachers abroad, but the quality of their contribution is significant. It is twofold: a contribution to world development certainly, but no less to the image of Canada in that world. It is, alas, a resource that is under-utilized. It brings neither the cultural nor the commercial rewards it could in a world hungry for English-language instruction and increasingly geared to service industries. ■

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