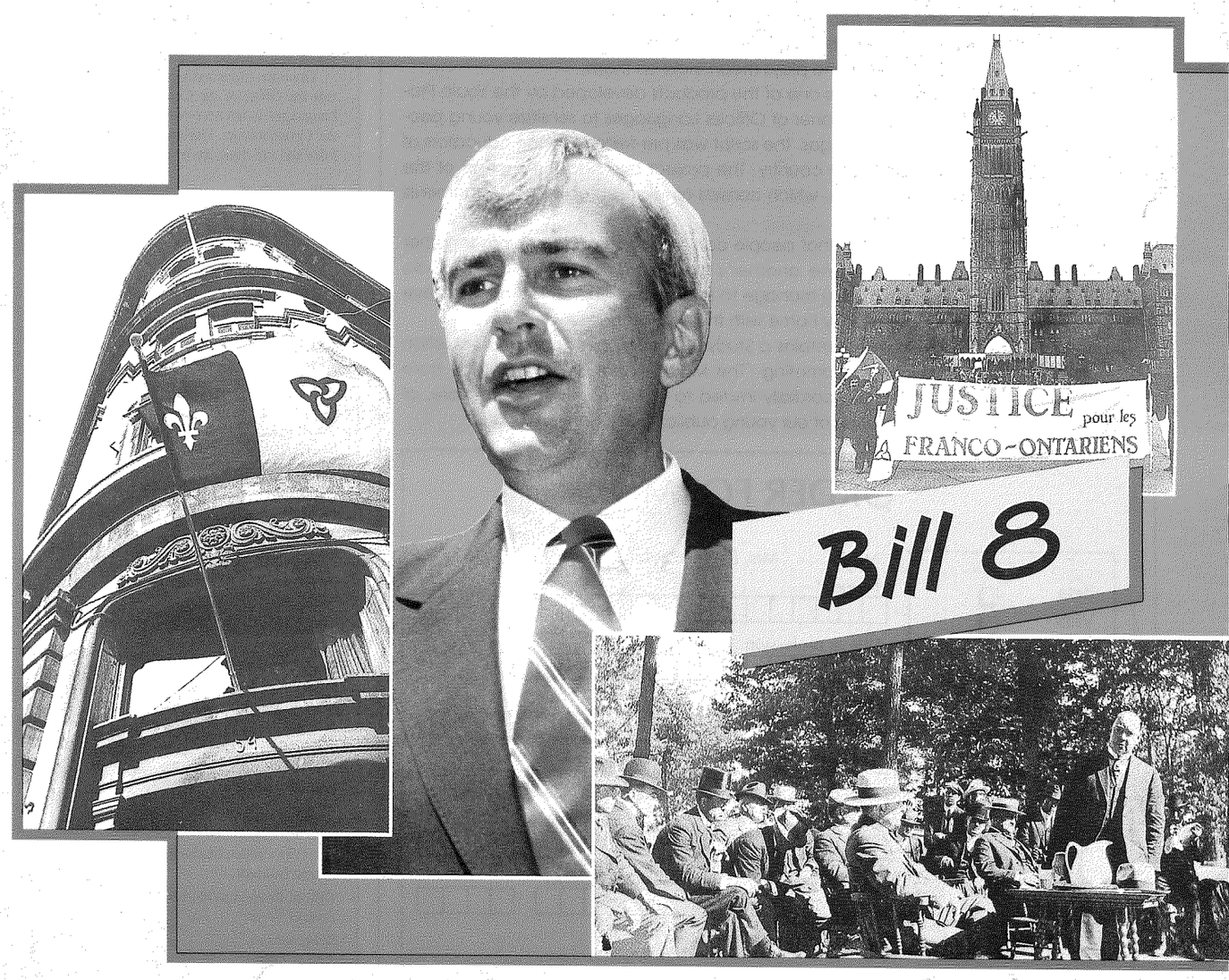
LANGUAGE AND SOCIETY



Number **30**, Spring 1990

Commissioner's Editorial:

WHO'S AFRAID OF THE BIG BAD WOLF?

Alliance Quebec:

THE PRESIDENT IS OPTIMISTIC

National Defence:

DEFENDING ONE'S COUNTRY IN ONE'S OWN LANGUAGE

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The videotape is part of a kit and is one of the products developed by the Youth Program of the Office of the Commissioner of Official Languages to sensitize young people to Canada's two official languages. The script was pre-tested among educators of this age group from all parts of the country. The project also had the support of the Youth Program Advisory Committee, which consists of representatives of departments of education from across Canada.

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LANGUAGE AND SOCIETY

This quarterly review is published by the Commissioner of Official Languages, D'Iberville Fortier, who is also head of the editorial committee, 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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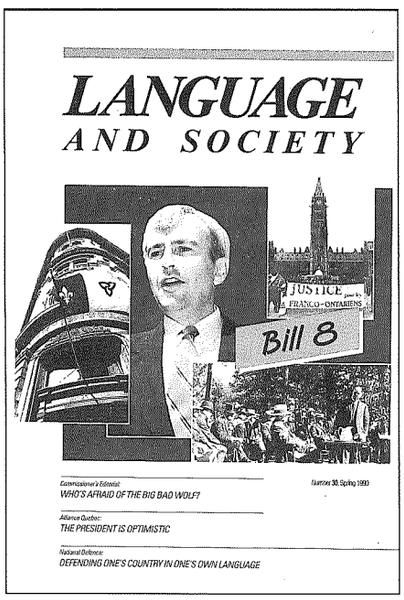


Cover:

In Ontario and across Canada Francophone language rights are in the news.

LANGUAGE AND SOCIETY

The Public Must Be Informed

Who's Afraid of the Big Bad Wolf?

D'Iberville Fortier

Sometimes it is necessary to see through other eyes to fully appreciate ourselves. It may come as a surprise to many Canadians to learn that they are held up as an example of how to deal democratically with language issues. But that is just what a recent article in the Communist party newspaper *Pravda* did. It highlighted how Canadians deal with language tensions, emphasizing the "polite way" these issues are handled and the degree of respect our citizens show each other. The article is also a timely reminder that we don't have a monopoly on language questions. Canadians sometimes think that language issues are a peculiarly Canadian pastime, indeed that the language debate has become our favourite indoor sport. Hardly a day goes by without some academic, politician or citizen feeling the need to extol, denounce or otherwise comment upon our language policies. I have always viewed debate as a healthy sign — it speaks to the democratic assumption that we can safely afford to bicker.

The assumption that the monolingual nation-state constitutes the norm is extraordinary.

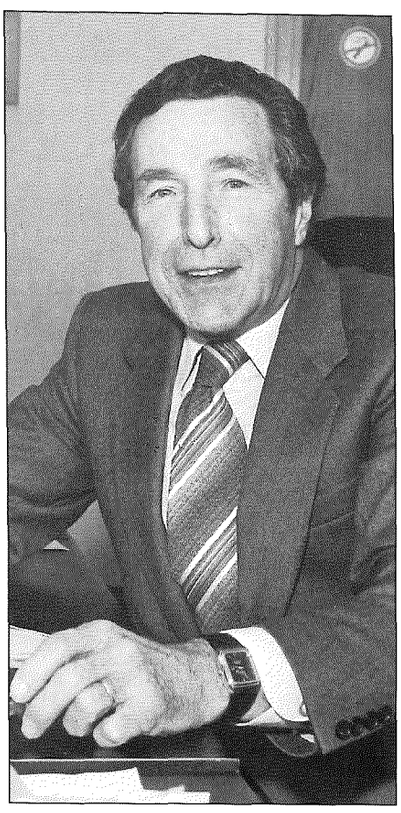
As a former diplomat I have had an opportunity to discover at first hand that language tensions are far closer to being the rule than the exception. In a world where an estimated 6,000 languages coexist in 160 states, the assumption in certain quarters that the monolingual nation-state constitutes the norm is truly extraordinary.

Recently, while reading an article in the *Harvard Civil Rights-Civil Liberties Law Review* by Antonio Califa, I was forcefully reminded that the world's other superpower is not immune from linguistic tension either.

The author argues that the English-only movement in the United States is the result of cultural insecurities which stem from the rising tide of Hispanic immigration. Califa notes that English-only laws promoted under the guise of national unity are themselves extremely divisive. And he identifies ethnic prejudice as a major element of the motivation behind the English-only movement. In his opinion, "English-only proponents are worried about a perceived Hispanic threat, not the threat of Spanish. Language is merely a proxy or signalling system, a convenient and more subtle way of identifying those who are unwanted." These are ultimately struggles by the majority to maintain political dominance.

A recent study of attitudes on language questions in Eastern Ontario by Prof. J.W. Berry and Diane Bourcier of Queen's University suggests that the same dynamics may be present in similar English-only groups in Canada. The study focused on the attitudes of members of the Alliance for the Preservation of English in Canada (APEC) and concludes, as is suggested in the American case, that both cultural and economic insecurities are significant factors in shaping opinion. It also highlights the presence and role of prejudice in attitudes towards official languages questions. The study notes: "Collectively, these findings suggest that the Kingston chapter of APEC, far from representing the general society, are extreme in character and highly vocal outlyers from the community on these issues. Given this profile, it can be suggested that the basis for their views on bilingualism resides not merely in a concern for its effect upon Ontario residents, but in a more fundamental prejudice; the current issue is perhaps a relatively socially acceptable opportunity to voice their views about French-Canadians."

Studies and public opinion surveys have repeatedly shown that opposition to official language policy comes disproportionately from those over 60 years of age and those with relatively less education. Some Canadians may be experiencing a form of linguistic nostalgia for a time when English-speaking Canadians dominated most positions of importance. It appears that the perception of relative deprivation, even in the context of substantial and equitable opportunities, is sufficient for the mobilization of protest groups. Young Canadians seem well adapted to the new realities and are prepared to accept the loss of previous privileges which lay at the root of inequalities identified by the B and B Commission. The often exaggerated claims regarding the impact of official language policies on opportunities for uniligual Anglophones have created genuine concerns in the public mind which must be understood and addressed. Efforts on the part of the federal government to respond seriously to these concerns of fair-minded Canadians are essential.



History shows that protest movements gradually disappear. Protest movements cannot long survive with only the support of those who think "status quo" is Latin for "the mess we're in". Groups opposed to language duality have attempted to legitimate their issues to a wider audience, often with implausible assertions and dubious conclusions. The evidence suggests that however active or vocal these groups have been, they have failed to make any headway within Canadian society in general. Recent polls suggest that the ultimate impact of the activities of these groups may be to enhance public support for a pluralistic and tolerant society.

Gallup indicated a majority of Canadians support bilingualism in their province while a similar question in a major survey in 1982 showed only 44% support. At the federal level the support of Canadians is unequivocal. Over several years a number of public opinion surveys have confirmed overwhelmingly (between 80% and 88%) support of the right to receive federal government services in either English or French. Measured by a number of indicators, it is clear that support for bilingualism in Canada has gained ground since the first Official Languages Act was adopted in 1969. It is no less clear that dissident groups have become better organized and more vocal, yet only a few political leaders appear prepared to meet the challenge.

Both cultural and economic insecurities are significant factors in shaping opinion.

But it should be remembered that civility cannot be mandated by law. A vigorous debate on the subject of linguistic equity and fairness will, I believe, in the end serve to reinforce public support. The quality of that debate would undoubtedly be greatly enhanced by a more vigorous and audible effort on the part of the federal authorities, ministers, MPs and others to explain the rationale and provide information on federal programs and initiatives. As the poet John Donne noted, it is necessary to "find what wind serves to advance an honest mind." In this area as in others, "les absents ont toujours tort". ■

National Defence: Defending One's Country in One's Own Language

Tom Sloan

The Chief of the Canadian Defence Staff is proud of the Armed Forces' official languages accomplishments and frank about challenges and difficulties.

"I must say, Mr. Minister, that your department has always been the black sheep in the eyes of our committee...." These words, addressed last December to the Canadian defence minister by Gabriel Desjardins, co-chair of the Parliamentary Joint Committee on Official Languages, sum up the challenge facing the Department of National Defence as it works to fulfil the mandate placed on it by the government's language policies in general and the 1988 Official Languages Act in particular.

With about 120,000 employees, almost 90,000 of them in the uniform of the armed services, the Department of National Defence is both the largest and one of the most visible branches of the federal government. It is also one that has traditionally been under close scrutiny for its own performance in the field of official languages.

At the centre of the operation is the minister responsible for the department. Since the 1988 election this has been William McKnight. In his opening statement to the committee last December, the Saskatchewan MP stated his objectives: "If members of both official language groups have a patriotic duty to contribute to the defence of the country...they should be able to do so in their own official language."

General de Chastelain

Another man at the centre was also there. He was the newly appointed Chief of the Canadian Defence Staff, General John de Chastelain, who has been in charge of Canada's 87,000-strong armed forces since September 1989.

In his own testimony before the parliamentarians, and later in a discussion with *Language and Society*, General de Chastelain was both proud of the things that had already been achieved and frank about the challenges and difficulties remaining in achieving real language equality in the armed forces.

There had been a certain impression that the armed forces had "an antediluvian attitude" in the matter of official languages. "But that attitude has changed." And if much of the credit for that must be given to successive ministers and senior officers, the new Chief of Staff has himself been closely involved in the change of climate, starting with his participation in a special French-language program for senior officials at Laval University in Quebec City in 1972. Following that exposure, which came 12 years after his graduation from Royal Military College, there were several senior postings in Quebec. When General de Chastelain was Commander of Royal Military College in the late 1970s, he made it a priority to improve the standards of French-language instruction at the college. His philosophy is simple and straightforward as far as the officer corps is concerned. "If your troops can't understand you, you have to make the effort to understand them."

Training and promotion

One indication of the present linguistic climate is that more than 5,000 personnel are now taking language training every year. According to DND estimates, this represents about one-third of the total for the federal government.

Another step is in the works. As of 1997 functional bilingualism will be required for all promotions to the rank of lieutenant-colonel and above — about 1,600 positions in all. Ideally, de Chastelain believes, the whole officer corps should have some knowledge of the other language. At present, all new officers are required to take language courses, amounting in total to 650 hours for those who successfully complete them.

The ideal, de Chastelain emphasizes, is not going to be achieved tomorrow.

General de Chastelain, D'Iberville Fortier

National Defence Headquarters, Ottawa

But it does illustrate the commitment of the armed forces to the goal of the equality of Canada's two official languages.

That recognition has come a considerable way. Some 8,000 French-speaking soldiers are now in French-language military units in central and eastern Canada. And bilingualism is a way of life for many among headquarters staff in Montreal, the National Capital Region, and at the Canadian Forces Base at Lahr, West Germany.

Despite the progress — and much good will — the road remains rocky. According to de Chastelain, there are several distinct difficulties to be addressed.

One stems from the simple but basic fact of the constant movement of people in and out of the service and around the country and abroad. There are no fewer than 20,000 paid personnel moves annually by men and women of all ranks, with the inevitable disruptions in language training programs. In addition, several thousand people move in and out of the services each year. The result is a constant outflow, often of bilingual people, and an inflow of mainly unilingual recruits. On this point, General de Chastelain has some thoughts about provincial governments which fail to provide reasonable second-language training to elementary and secondary school pupils.

A particularly serious trend, he notes, is the relatively large attrition rate of Francophones at the middle level of captain and major.

Basic training in their official language is still a problem for many Francophone recruits, with the same applying to courses in many of the trades taught by armed forces specialists. One reason is the shortage of French-language technical manuals. An impressive translation program is in place but a substantial backlog remains. In the meantime, Francophone soldiers are receiving help from French-speaking instructors where they are needed.

The very popularity of the language programs has created its own problems. "There's a good deal of pressure to provide more training for Anglophones," de Chastelain says. "The kids want that second language." But problems can arise when Anglophones want to continue to improve their French afterward. This is due to a policy that aims at limiting to 10% the number of any official language minority group in a unit that ordinarily operates in the other official language. The goal is to ensure that the unit concerned does indeed retain its own linguistic character and most particularly applies in practice to Francophone units, but it also tends to make the integration process more difficult. It can also have the effect of making it more difficult for Francophones to expand their own horizons by making it harder for them to move about within the forces.

Geographical facts

Ironically, in its early enthusiasm for the goals of the language laws, DND may have instituted too many bilingual positions in heavily unilingual areas such as Calgary and Quebec City. The idea was to ensure that families of personnel transferred for second-language training would receive services in their first language. But it has been difficult to find qualified people to fill many bilingual posts, which total about 17,000. "Perhaps we should accept the fact that, in some areas, the predominance of one language should simply be taken for granted," de Chastelain suggests.

There are also difficulties arising from the facts of geography. Headquarters for the Maritime Command are located in Halifax, Nova Scotia, and Victoria, British Columbia, both Anglophone areas a long way from Quebec. As a result, problems have arisen in convincing French-speakers to make career moves to these places. Despite the difficulties, two French-language units, the *Skeena* and the *Algonquin*, have been set up to take part in naval operations off the Atlantic Coast.

Plans and limitations

Beyond all the specific problems, however, primary emphasis is on the provision of basic training to recruits in their first language. "Our challenge is to find sufficient resources in men and money," de Chastelain says, noting that the Armed Forces have commitments involving heavy expenditures in fields other than the promotion of official languages.

While there is a new master implementation plan covering the next 12 to 15 years, de Chastelain is wary of setting a precise target for the accomplishment of his official language goals. "We have had too many plans," he comments. In reply to continuing criticism by politicians and others, he agrees that much of the criticism is valid in the sense of pointing out continuing shortcomings. "But, short of having two entirely different forces based on language, which would itself institutionalize unilingualism," there are limits to what can be accomplished. "The happy medium will take time to achieve. The will is there, but there is still progress to be made before we reach the point that we can stop looking at our own navels." ■

The Secretary of State's Annual Report

A portrait of the life of Canada's two official language minority communities emerges from the first annual report on the federal government's implementation of its commitment to promote both official languages in Canadian society.

The 200-page report, issued by Secretary of State Gerry Weiner in December and covering the year ending last March, is required under the 1988 Official Languages Act, which for the first time spelled out the government's commitment to promote both official languages across a wide range of governmental and community activities in all provinces and territories. The promotion program goes in tandem with the Official Languages in Education program that has been in operation for more than 20 years.

Since the passing of the 1988 Act, the Department says, it has intensified its efforts in both of its major official language programs. A few examples help tell the story.

Promotion and education

French-speaking Canadians living in Vancouver now have their own focal point for community activities in their own language. Funding for the building housing the Maison de la Francophonie came from four different sources — the federal government, British Columbia, Vancouver and Quebec.

In St. Boniface, Manitoba, the Francophone cultural centre has had a major face-lift to allow it better to serve the Franco-Manitoban community, while in Gravelbourg, Saskatchewan, reconstruction has been completed of Collège Mathieu, a private institution which remains the province's only French-language secondary institution (it also offers some post-secondary programs), following its destruction by fire in 1987.

In the eastern provinces, cultural centres combined with school facilities are under construction in Nova Scotia, Prince Edward Island and Newfoundland to join the three similar institutions already operating in New Brunswick.

In Ontario there is the new French-language college in Ottawa, which will involve the expenditure of $50 million by the federal government over an eight-year period, matching a similar amount put up by the government of Ontario.

While buildings are the most visible results of government initiatives, there are other ways that public money can contribute to minority activities.

The Department has intensified its efforts in both its major official language programs.

An example is the creation of the Collège de l'Acadie, a Nova Scotia-based open concept educational institution involving both satellite courses for home study and more traditional lecture courses in communities where there is a sufficient demand from Francophone students. "We hope this will be a model for other imaginative solutions to similar challenges in other parts of the country," says Hilaire Lemoine, Director General of the Official Languages in Education program of the Secretary of State's Department.

Another innovative development is the creation at the University of Moncton of an International Centre for Common Law Studies in French, the first such in the world.

Vital to the parents and children involved has been the setting up last fall in Yellowknife of the elements of the first French-language school system in the Northwest Territories. This consists of regular classes from kindergarten to grade 3, serving about 30 children and their parents.

In Saskatchewan federal assistance also helped achieve the conclusion last summer of an agreement between the province and the Francophone community for the development of a complete French-language school system within the general provincial educational structure.

Improving French-language educational opportunities is a matter of prime importance and has been for many years; the more recent commitment to the promotion of official languages and of the minority communities that embody them has broadened the scope of federal initiatives.

Communications

One of the most important areas of operations is communications. In addition to giving financial help both to English-language community papers in Quebec and the French-language press elsewhere in the country, the government has lately been taking an increasing interest in community radio projects. In 1989 it helped provide start-up funding for four such stations. Under the Official Languages Community Radio Program the financial help continues for five years, after which the stations are expected to become self-financing.

As well, the Secretary of State's Department gave small subsidies to six French-language theatre groups in Ontario and to the English-language Centaur Theatre in Montreal.

In accordance with its mandate under the new Act to help co-ordinate the efforts of all government departments, the Secretary of State's Department has taken what it calls important first steps in bringing together minority groups with officials and cabinet ministers of

other departments to allow the former to explain their needs.

Another first in the program was the special agreement signed early in June 1988 directly with representatives of Saskatchewan's Francophone community, as a complement to a federal-provincial accord, to give that community direct aid in developing its own programs for its own members.

Youth

Behind the panoply of apparently disparate programs, there is, says Mark Goldenberg, Director General of the Promotion of Official Languages Program, an emphasis on the use of funds to help minority groups develop their own plans and their own human resources. One of the most vital human resources is youth. "We're trying to find new methods to attract young people, to make them more conscious of the special problems of their communities," Goldenberg says. A closely related effort has involved increased aid to parents through the Commission nationale des parents francophones. The nucleus of the groups remains in Winnipeg, where it has been active for some time, but it is now increasingly carrying out activities on a national scale. Direct aid is also currently going to the Fédération des jeunes francophones for a study of the single most devastating phenomenon affecting French-speaking Canadians. The three-year project will look into the causes of and possible cures for the high rate of assimilation of young Francophones in most areas of the country.

Quebec

Nor has the other minority been forgotten. The English-speaking community in Quebec has been the recipient of both direct and indirect funding. In addition to regular aid Alliance Quebec has received a special two-year development grant to help it establish additional affiliated chapters and strengthen existing ones and to acquire telecommunications equipment to maintain closer touch with members across the province. A special grant was given this year following a fire which destroyed Alliance Quebec's headquarters in Montreal in December 1988. Indirect aid has taken the form of financial participation with the provincial government to help the latter to ensure full implementation of Bill 142, which guarantees Anglophones health and social services in English throughout Quebec. *T.S.*

The Treasury Board's First Annual Report

André Creusot

On December 20, 1989, the President of the Treasury Board, Robert de Cotret, fulfilling the requirements of the 1988 Official Languages Act, tabled in Parliament the first annual Treasury Board report "on the status of programs relating to the official languages of Canada in the various federal institutions."

Taking a Cartesian approach, the report proceeds from the general to the particular and has three parts: the Canadian approach and the requirements of the new Act, the current situation in federal institutions and the activities of the Treasury Board. Since this was its initial report, the Board takes a look back at the 20 years since the 1969 Act. It first describes the Canadian approach, characterized by the three components of service to the public, language of work and equitable participation, institutional as opposed to individual bilingualism, the existence of bilingual institutions rather than two parallel unilingual ones, flexible implementation and shared responsibility for implementation. This is followed by a summary of the Act: the rights of the public, the obligations of federal institutions, active offer of service, the principle of significant demand, regulations (including health, safety and security), the rights of employees, environments conducive to the use of both languages at work, the representation of both official language communities in the federal administration, court remedy and the role of the principal agencies concerned, including, of course, the Treasury Board itself.

The current situation in federal institutions is described in terms of service to the public, language of work and equitable participation, with the addition of program management. The findings are illustrated by numerous graphs, generally concerned with the past 10 or 15 years, but providing no comparison of recent changes from year to year. The third chapter is the annual part of the report, properly speaking. It is concerned with the activities of the Treasury Board in fiscal year 1988-89, the development of regulations on communications and services, distribution of a symbol indicating offices where there is active offer of service in both languages, publication of a new language training policy, negotiation of letters of understanding with the departments, auditing of the implementation of the official languages program and information for the public and employees.

In general the findings of the report are resolutely optimistic. There has, indeed, been real progress, especially when viewed from the perspective of the past 20 years but, with a few exceptions, only the positive aspects are mentioned, in keeping with the aim of the report, which is to give an account of significant advances.

Meech Lake: The Editorial Debate

Tom Sloan

The Meech Lake Accord: Dead, moribund, or simply seriously ill but with a chance of recovery before the deadline of its ratification by the provinces in June 1990? As of mid-January, this was the state of editorial opinion.

The media discussions took place against a backdrop of developments on the political front through late 1989 and early 1990 that continually seemed to be shifting the odds on the future of the 1987 Accord. These included the positions, critical of the agreement as it stood, taken by the governments of Manitoba, New Brunswick and Newfoundland last October, the harsh debates at the federal-provincial meeting in November, the continuing refusal of Ottawa and Quebec to discuss the possibility of amendments and the intervention of prominent individuals, most especially former prime minister Pierre Elliott Trudeau.

Provincial protests

It was following the three provincial government statements that the editorial prognosis for the Accord was the most dire. To be sure, each provincial statement differed from the others. But the common approach was that at least some changes were needed. The editorial reaction among French-language editorialists was swift and bitter — especially against Manitoba, which had called for a number of amendments, including the watering down of the clause in the agreement that explicitly recognized Quebec as a distinct society within Canada.

Typical was the response of Roch Bilodeau in Sherbrooke's *La Tribune*, who denounced as "unthinkable" a Manitoba suggestion that the distinct society clause be subject to the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms.

"Without an improbable last-minute change or a miracle, the Meech Lake Accord is now a thing of the past, a vanished dream." There could be no question of Quebec retreating when its place in Confederation is questioned.

"Certainly, Quebec will continue to progress, even if at Fredericton, Winnipeg or St. John's they finally go back on their word given in 1987. But it would be a profoundly humiliating failure for the Canadian federation."

In Quebec City's *Le Soleil*, in an editorial entitled "Manitoba the Gravedigger", J-J Samson took aim at suggestions that the rights of the provinces to opt out of national programs while receiving full compensation should be modified. If anything, he wrote, Ottawa still has too much power to initiate such programs. In this, as in other issues, Premier Robert Bourassa could not accept any changes. "It is much better for us to remain in the constitutional vacuum that has existed since 1982 rather than consent to the slightest weakening of Quebec."

Writing in Ottawa's *Le Droit*, Adrien Cantin bewailed "the blind intransigence" of some English-speaking politicians. "In trying to block, with a series of insignificant arguments, the possibility of Quebec being integrated, through the front door, with dignity and honour, into the Canadian Constitution of 1982, they confirm the doubts of a growing number of Francophones (and Anglophones of good will) as to the future of this country."

Equally stark was Claude Masson of Montreal's *La Presse*, who defined the Accord both as a necessary compromise and as a statement of Quebec's minimal demands. "If the Accord is not ratified next June, Canada will continue to exist and to function normally for a certain time. But the tensions between Francophones and Anglophones, between Quebecers and Canadians, will become still greater, more aggressive, perhaps even violent. Patience has its limits."

In Montreal's *Le Devoir*, editorialist Benoît Lauzière said it was up to English-speaking Canada, which was responsible for the 1982 constitutional agreement that excluded Quebec, to facilitate Quebec's inclusion today. "The real danger in case of failure is not the nothingness that would follow, but that the eternal tomorrows would still resemble our interminable yesterdays."

Taking a slightly more optimistic tone in *La Presse* was Alain Dubuc, who suggested that there might be some place for a parallel accord to that of Meech Lake itself to satisfy some of the concerns from English-speaking Canada. In the same paper, Pierre Vennat had words of praise for those English-speaking Quebecers who had expressed support for the agreement. "The Meech Lake Accord will perhaps be saved by the Anglophone Quebecers themselves or, more precisely, by their moderate wing, represented by Robert Keaton, the new president of Alliance Quebec."

Not in accord

A bleak Anglophone voice about the future was that of the *Globe and Mail*. After bluntly stating that "Meech Lake is likely to die", the editorialist continued: "there should be no illusions about the future of constitutional reform if Meech Lake dies. Certainly it will have none while Mr. Bourassa is in power, and those who imagine Mr. Bourassa will be followed by a more moderate leader are deluding themselves....Meech Lake's death would disillusion Quebec federalists who dared hope that the rest of Canada might welcome Quebec into the fold while respecting its nature....If the Accord's adoption requires compromise from all participants, its failure would carry a heavier price tag. Far from repairing the 1982 rift, it would lead this country closer to a state of two nations, each suspicious of the other and loath to co-operate. Jacques Parizeau would have a field day."

The Montreal *Gazette* was slightly more upbeat, but equally concerned about the price of failure. In an editorial entitled "No Obituaries Yet", the *Gazette* wrote: "The Accord will die only if Canada's first ministers...let it die." However, it warned: "If the Accord dies, it will be seen here as a breaking of English Canada's word to Quebec. The best opportunity in a generation to achieve constitutional peace will have been lost. The consequences will be grave."

The *Calgary Herald* hoped for the best: "The Accord is not perfect, but under trying circumstances, in a

fractious and contrary country, it represents the best hope we have for keeping Confederation intact and prosperous."

The Windsor, Ontario, *Star*, also saw the problem as an urgent one. "The goal is not simply saving a still unratified agreement. The great virtue of Meech Lake is that it can bring Quebec into full constitutional accord with Confederation. If we lose that, we are in danger of losing the momentum of years."

Negotiations?

A common threat running more or less explicitly through Anglophone press comments was the need for further negotiations.

Even the Montreal *Gazette*, one of the most fervent supporters of the Accord, urged the Quebec government to reconsider its adamant refusal to allow the agreement to be touched. "It is not a defeat or a weakening or a humiliation for Quebec to agree to fresh discussions. It is an act of statesmanship and self-interest. What is needed now is a large dose of political will and magnanimity on all sides."

While accepting the importance of the distinct society for Quebec, the *Ottawa Citizen* asked the province to accept the primacy of the Charter of Rights, as urged by Manitoba, among others. "Asking Quebec to accept the primacy of the Charter is asking a great deal. So is asking Manitoba to recognize Quebec's distinctness. We will see soon if it is asking too much."

A prominent Manitoba voice, the *Winnipeg Free Press*, also pleaded for compromise from all sides, even while praising the work of the province's legislative committee. "A readiness to discuss an issue means a readiness to change positions on it, and Manitoba must be as ready to change its position as anyone else....Manitoba has no right, either politically or morally, to tell Quebec how to behave as a distinct society. Certainly, it has no right to pose as the defender of Quebec's English-speaking minority. This province's treatment of its own linguistic minority provides no example for any other province."

Another western voice, the Vancouver *Province*, agreed that more discussions are essential. "Prime Minister Mulroney should stop being coy about it. The Meech Lake Accord has to be renegotiated." As for claims by supporters that there is not enough time before the June deadline, "Deadlines can always be modified by reformers of good will....The sensible course now is for Mulroney and Bourassa to agree to negotiate concerns such as Senate reform and aboriginal and women's rights. And surely they would not be averse to affirmation of Canada's federal identity in the Accord, as sought by Manitoba. We're still a united Canada — aren't we?"

As for the *Financial Post* of Toronto, it detected a strange psychological alliance between bigoted anti-Quebecers and those diehard supporters of the agreement who reject out of hand any idea of further amendments. "Those who would give Quebec nothing in hopes it would leave, as much as those who would give Quebec everything to persuade it to stay, are united by one desire: A Confederation without tears, a quiet life undisturbed by controversy. Those who wish for an English-only Canada, and those who want a French-only Quebec, are as one in their belief in a territorial solution to Canada's linguistic problems: that French and English can find no higher purpose in common than the contentment of huddling with their own kind. Neither side, not Meech Lakers nor their more thoughtless opponents, represent the reality of Canadian life nor, we are convinced, of the broad mainstream of Canadian opinion."

Following the November federal-provincial conference, marked both by tough debate and an agreement to keep on talking, editorial responses were only marginally more optimistic.

"All has not been lost, but nothing has been gained," wrote Benoît Lauzière in *Le Devoir*. "The faint spark of hope lit during the last hours of the meeting cannot allow us to forget the sad spectacle we have witnessed during the past few days....Decidedly, it will take powerful leadership at the centre and a strong renewal of political vision by the other partners to allow the country to remain together."

For Claude Bruneau, writing in *Le Nouvelliste* of Trois Rivières, "The worst has been avoided, but the best is far away....They simply didn't want to close the books in public."

An Anglophone point of view from the heartland came from the Peterborough, Ontario, *Examiner*. "The real work begins all over again." And that work will be painful. "Debate over the Meech Lake Accord has touched something deep in the Canadian soul — not all of it is pleasant. It is doubtful if Canada will break up if the Accord is not...ratified....But it is also doubtful that those touched by the clear anti-Quebec sentiments of many Meech dissenters will ever forget....It is awfully late in the process but there is still hope."

Interventions

The entry into the fray of prominent individuals, including retiring Governor General Jeanne Sauvé, former Progressive Conservative leader Robert Stanfield, former United Nations ambassador Stephen Lewis and former Prime Minister Trudeau, also stirred some comment.

Sauvé's indirect endorsement of the Accord in her final speech as Governor General was assailed by some commentators, but defended as appropriate by at least two papers — the *Ottawa Citizen* and *La Presse*. The formation of the Friends of Meech Lake, with Stanfield, Lewis and Senator Solange Chaput-Roland among its most prominent members, received mixed reviews. One of the more sardonic was from Southam News columnist Don McGillivray: "It's a well known fact that the formation of a 'friends-of' organization to support any cause is a sign that cause is in desperate trouble."

The entry into the fray on October 26 of former Prime Minister Trudeau touched some raw editorial nerves.

If, to the *Ottawa Citizen*, Trudeau's blunt attack on the Accord was an echo of "the feelings of many English-speaking Canadians that Quebec is trying to blackmail the rest of the country", to Alain Dubuc in *La Presse*, it was the last gasp of "a poor loser....Whether the Accord is signed or not, the great dream of Mr. Trudeau, that of a strong Canada with a powerful and unifying centre generously defending bilingualism from one ocean to the other, capable of keeping Quebec in its assigned slot, will not materialize." Along with Liberal leadership candidate Jean Chrétien, Trudeau has taken up a position "on the side of the Orangemen and the rednecks."

One word of optimism on the whole debate came from the *Vancouver Sun*, which noted that Trudeau in turn is opposed by prominent Anglophones, including present Liberal leader John Turner. "When a Quebecer like Mr. Trudeau scorns any suggestion of pussyfooting around Quebec, and a B.C. Anglophone like Mr. Turner passionately argues the case for Meech Lake and for Quebec, perhaps Canada's often strained but never-severed unity isn't in bad shape after all." ■

Kaleidoscope

Is this funny?

"For Quebec cartoonists, the words are the core of the art," wrote Anthony Jenkins in the Globe and Mail. *Anglophone and Francophone cartoonists are as different as cinema and theatre, he proposes, an analogy suggested to him by Bado (cartoonist for* Le Droit *and occasionally for* Language and Society*). "Quebecois cartoons are spare, stylized, with few props or elaborate backgrounds. Anglo cartoons are like frames out of a movie, with characters acting out a scene in a setting."*

Not the kids....

"In Eastern Ontario, it's not uncommon to hear redneck Anglophones screaming about language rights. But this time, the rednecks are Francophones," said the *Toronto Star*. The editorial was referring to a flare-up of tempers in Prescott-Russell about inter-school sports. It went on to quote 12-year-old Mary Henley who had said to the school board "It's the adults that are causing the problem, not the kids."

The *Ottawa Citizen*, dealing with the same story, suggested that "sensitivity about language rights is extreme even in areas where the two language groups have lived in peace for years."

Small "c" culture

Having scraped away the upper crust of capital "C" Culture, columnist Peter Stockland (*Calgary Sun*) concluded Quebec culture is "a carbon copy culture — albeit in French — of the larger North American horror show." To wit, he compares television fare and books offered in the shopping malls of "La belle province". "Alas," he writes, the only difference between Mitsou and Madonna is market share and the fact that the former sings the song lyrics with accent circumflex over certain letters."

That extra flavour

Canadian Ambassador to the United States, Derek Burney, read in *Woman's Wear Daily* that the bilingual labels required under Canadian law "add some extra flavour in the United States" and turned it into a quotation for his speech to the Empire Club in Toronto. His topic: doing business in America.

"On a game le foot"

"We played soccer" is what this would stand for in Cameroon, the only African country that recognizes both English and French as official languages. Youngsters have devised "Camfranglais", a street language mixing English, French and African expressions. Michael Roddy, reporting for Canadian Press from Yaounde, quotes Eugene Menounga as saying "Oui, on peut talk ça."

Judicial Restraint

Judge Thomas J. Lally dismissed the application for a French trial by an Anglophone inmate in Kingston, stating: "You have admitted that you don't speak or understand French and under those circumstances your trial will be held in English. Your application to have the trial conducted in French has failed because French is not your language." (*Whig-Standard*)

"Le grand dérangement" too costly now

According to the *Telegraph-Journal*, Caraquet MLA Bernard Thériault was clearly irritated by repeated questions on language issues from the CoR Party daily put to the New Brunswick legislature. So he rose to warn that deporting Acadians would be a costly affair this second time. He said "Acadians would not accept being deported by boat as they were the first time. The considerable progress we have made in the past few decades allows us to hope we could take such a trip by plane....Acadians would not accept being deported to San Francisco because of the earthquake and we would not accept going to Georgia or Louisiana either."

Vladimir Shelkov, *Pravda*'s Canadian correspondent wrote in the Communist party newspaper that "Both main groups of the Quebec population show respect for each other. One cannot hear in Quebec demands to deport the minority Anglophones."

"Métro, langue, boulot, dodo"

Madame Noelle Bouchard, a second-language teacher, has proposed to the Montreal Urban Community Transport Commission that it provide second language training facilities in its Metro trains. Commuters taking the Metro would find in dedicated sections of the trains cassettes and monitors which would provide them with a crash second-language course while travelling to and from work. Course duration would be three months, four lessons per week. Monitors would be university students paid by the Department of Education. The Commission is studying the proposal. *J.C.*

The Commissioner Goes Travelling

From a Call for Tolerance to a Bomb Scare

Jan Carbon

How to sum up the public statements made by the Commissioner in the last quarter of the year that ended the decade? Michel Venne of Canadian Press shows the way in a report on the speech that Mr. Fortier made to alumni of Laval University on December 5, 1989: "The uncertainty and sullenness that the debate on the Meech Lake Accord is creating should not obscure the progress toward the equality of the two languages that has been made." The Commissioner travelled the country during the final three months of 1989, tirelessly repeating this theme. His travels took him to Victoria, Edmonton and Northern Ontario, and he delivered the same message in speeches given in Kitchener-Waterloo and in Quebec.

Earlier, this was the main theme of the Commissioner's editorial, which appeared in *Language and Society* No. 29 and called for the ratification of the constitutional agreement. The editorial, in turn, evoked a wide response in the electronic and print media and certain newspapers even reproduced extensive excerpts from it.

In view of the sullen atmosphere, Mr. Fortier decided to step up the pace of his activities. For example, he increasingly wrote to correct or qualify the misinformation that frequently appears in letters to the editor columns and newspaper articles. In addition, on each trip, he made an effort to meet with journalists and editorial committees.

Real progress

Thus, in Victoria on October 11, he had a lengthy discussion with the editorial committee of the *Times-Colonist* about the real progress made in terms of linguistic equality, both at the federal level and in certain provinces such as Ontario, New Brunswick and — surprisingly — Quebec. With regard to the latter province, he attempted to place matters in the perspective of Quebec's internal situation and the treatment of minorities in that province and elsewhere. The Commissioner took advantage of his visit to Victoria to meet with Canadian Parents for French and the Société francophone de Victoria, both of which were concerned about the activities of groups opposed to official bilingualism.

Tony Brummet, Minister of Education (British Columbia) and Mr. Fortier.

There too he met, as is his custom in each provincial capital, with the Minister of Education, Tony Brummet. At all of these meetings the Commissioner urges progress with regard to minority language and second-language instruction while stressing specific measures and tried and proven methods. He repeated his efforts 24 hours later, on October 13, with the Deputy Minister of Education of Alberta, Roméo Bosetti.

In Edmonton the media were anticipating the Commissioner's visit, particularly the editorial committee of the *Edmonton Journal*. And, since his visit coincided with the annual meeting of the Association canadienne-française de l'Alberta, the Commissioner found himself closely involved in its deliberations as an informant and privileged observer. Finally, he met with the Multicultural Communications Foundation of Alberta, an organization that publishes the weekly *Prairie Link*. This publication seeks to build bridges between ethno-cultural groups, the Francophone minority, the majority, and government officials. The Office of the Commissioner will support its efforts.

Everyone has a role

On November 16, 1989, a few days before Bill 8 was to come into force in Ontario, Mr. Fortier addressed the Confederation Club of Kitchener-Waterloo on the subject of advances and setbacks in official languages. He admitted that there had been a certain backlash against linguistic duality in Canada and the rights of minorities, particularly in Ontario and New Brunswick. He attributed this largely to "courageous and far-sighted new laws and policies over the past few years." These negative reactions, which are more noisy than widespread, in the Commissioner's view, call for "a greater and better effort of communication of the aims of the laws passed in Ontario and New Brunswick and the fairness of their

⇨

implementation." In his address he called Bill 8 a major advance.

Speaking before a majority audience and in the knowledge that his message would be taken up by the local and national press, he suggested that his listeners had a role to play in the current debate — that of "getting and disseminating a sense of perspective." For, he said, "while people have the right to express their views, those who traffic in misinformation or who preach intolerance should not expect an unchallenged hearing." He then spoke of various myths that have been spread, citing as examples the exorbitant cost and the hidden aims that some attribute to language policies. The *Globe and Mail* reproduced the following excerpt from the speech:

"Has bilingualism failed? There is a persistent tendency by some people to pretend that the federal government aimed at universal individual bilingualism in the 1960s and that it failed. In truth, no such goal was established. Let's keep a sense of perspective. To quote from the 1967 report of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism, A bilingual country...is a country where the principal public and private institutions must provide services in two languages to citizens, the vast majority of whom may very well be unilingual."

"So the blueprint laid down by the B and B Commission did not imagine a nation of bilinguals — quite the opposite. What it did envision was service in both official languages from the major public and private institutions where there was significant demand. And, far from failing, the vision was largely a success. With some notable exceptions, Canadians can now get service in the official language of their choice. As Commissioner of Official Languages, I am naturally preoccupied with the failures to provide services in both languages. But let there be no mistake, enormous progress has been made."

Noisy opposition

Late in November 1989 the Commissioner was invited by the regional branch of the Association canadienne-française de l'Ontario to participate in "French Week" in Sudbury and to be guest of honour at a banquet at the new youth centre. He took advantage of his visit to the nickel capital of the world to meet with reporters from the English and French CBC stations and from several private radio stations and with the editor of *Le Voyageur*.

A group known as "Sudbury Dialogue", which includes members of both language communities convinced that the two must be brought together through tolerance and mutual respect, had asked to meet with Mr. Fortier in order to obtain his support. That there was clearly a need for such a group became apparent when a group of opponents of official languages policies held a noisy demonstration in front of the Carrefour francophone, which was celebrating its 40th anniversary. A bomb scare at the end of the evening's ceremonies ensured that no one in Sudbury would be unaware of the Commissioner's visit to the city that day.

Other myths

Invited by Laval University alumni to speak at their luncheon meeting in December, the Commissioner tackled another myth: that federal bilingualism policies have been detrimental to the advancement of French in Quebec. He pointed out that before the 1969 Official Languages Act the availability of service in French could not be taken for granted even in Quebec and that the language of work in the federal Public Service in the province was generally English.

"In Quebec, service in French is now available, although some problems remain, and French is the normal language of work in the departments," the Commissioner noted. He repeated his view that the Meech Lake Accord is crucial, stating nevertheless that "there are other aspects of Canadian linguistic duality that should receive attention, particularly at this stage, for it would be extremely dangerous to allow certain myths about what has been accomplished in this country with regard to...the French language to gain credence."

Thus, he sees no serious conflict between the needs of the French language in Quebec and the protection of minority rights outside Quebec: "The tardy recognition of the rights of Francophone minorities outside Quebec... has caught up with the rights of the Anglophone minority. This reciprocity appears to many to constitute a denial of the asymmetry which exists between the two groups because of the dangers faced by the French language in America." Mr. Fortier reiterated his views on Quebec's Bills 142 and 178 and drew attention to the 1988 Supreme Court decision on the language of signs, which acknowledged the legitimacy of a "marked predominance" of French on commercial signage in Quebec, while opposing a ban on other languages.

After listing the signs of hope — Ontario's French Language Services Act, progress in New Brunswick, a decline in the rate of assimilation in those provinces and generally more favourable attitudes in normal times on the part of most Canadians, the Commissioner concluded, "While there are still shortcomings, we should not let shadows, even deep ones, completely obscure the landscape. And we should certainly not allow the political situation, the protests of some or the well-founded but perhaps exaggerated concerns of others to make us forget that the progress we have made is significant and that it is lasting." ■

The Commissioner addressing the Confederation Club of Kitchener-Waterloo.

New Brunswick: 20 Years Later — The Dialogue Continues

Jean-Marie Nadeau, Jeanne Renault and Fred Hazel.

Our special report on New Brunswick attracted wide attention in that province. *L'Acadie Nouvelle* and the Saint John *Telegraph-Journal* reprinted the *Language and Society* stories. The editors of the two papers gave their reasons for doing so at a launching in Moncton on December 9.

For Jean-Marie Nadeau of *L'Acadie Nouvelle* "communication between the two communities is the only way to achieve understanding. Perhaps for the first time, there are Anglophones in the province who are really interested in speaking with and building bridges to the Acadians. I think they understand that if Acadians become richer, they will too."

Fred Hazel of the *Telegraph-Journal* explained with wit and conviction that a newspaper has the responsibility not only to inform and analyse the news but also to exercise leadership. "Our paper believes firmly in bilingualism," he said. "That is why we are going to help our readers learn about this issue."

The Commissioner's representative in the Atlantic Region, Jeanne Renault, read a message from him to the some 100 people who attended the launching in Moncton. The Commissioner emphasized that his chief aim was to further the dialogue between the communities and that, in this connection, the purpose of Tom Sloan's report and the accompanying articles was to paint a panoramic portrait of New Brunswick and the changes it has experienced. "The dialogue between Anglophones and Francophones in New Brunswick can and should be a source of inspiration to all Canadians," Mr. Fortier wrote.

Fred Hazel editorialized: "The stories you will read represent an extensive reporting job....These articles present a striking flashback on history, a reference to the economic factors which have shaped the present-day province and a generally detailed overview of why, how and with what degree of success New Brunswick is proceeding with its program to provide equality with fairness to its English- and French-speaking citizens....For anyone with a genuine wish to be better informed and to see ourselves as others see us, these articles are recommended reading."

L'Acadie Nouvelle, in the words of Michel Doucet, summarized the report from *Language and Society* that it had just published; "Twenty years later, there has been progress. Twenty years later, there is still much to be done and, we must hope, people who are learning to talk to one another about this." *J.C.*

As a tribute to Senator Robichaud, the Commissioner of Official Languages, D'Iberville Fortier, presented him with *Language and Society*'s special report, "New Brunswick: 20 Years Later" at a small ceremony held in the Senate. Louis Robichaud, the former premier and father of New Brunswick's Official Languages Act, stated that Tom Sloan's report constituted a lucid analysis of Anglo-Acadian relations. He expressed confidence in the future: "Our young people understand the situation and old prejudices do not sit well with them; the future belongs to them."

A Complainant Is Not a Complainer

Colette Duhaime

Too often, federal employees still forget that service to the public is their priority.

More and more Canadians, aware of their rights, are demanding federal services in the official language of their choice. While the quantity and quality of such services have improved over the years, there are still far too many shortcomings, as Jean-Claude Nadon, Director General of the Complaints and Audits Branch at the Office of the Commissioner of Official Languages, acknowledges.

Although bilingual services are provided courteously and effectively by the vast majority of federal managers and employees, there are, unfortunately, still too many others for whom the provision of services in the official languages of the taxpayer's choice does not have the necessary priority. Why would it when the system does not make them accountable for the effectiveness of the services they provide in the official language of the client's choice? Others are insensitive to the intimidating or coercive nature of their duties. They forget that the public sometimes feels vulnerable before them (Royal Canadian Mounted Police, Customs and Excise, Health and Welfare and various other agencies) and, in other cases, is seeking a service that it badly needs (Employment and Immigration, agencies that grant permits or scholarships, etc.). In short, too often federal employees do not put themselves in the shoes of the member of the public they are serving and forget that their essential role is to provide services to Canadians — in the official language of their choice.

Federal offices

As for federal offices, they now convey a bilingual image in the National Capital Region and everywhere else where there is significant demand. In too many cases, however, the offer of bilingual services is static. The Official Languages Act is not understood properly and, despite the availability of services in both languages as indicated by signs, needs are far from being met actively and concretely. Even today, we are surprised to hear federal employees say, "Why give service in the language of the minority when they are bilingual?"

"It is not enough to post signs offering bilingual services. It is also necessary to actually offer the service," says Nadon. He adds that for over a year federal departments and agencies have been invited to make an "active offer" of bilingual service. The Director General hopes that citizens will no longer be obliged to "beg" for a service that should be offered to them "generously and spontaneously".

A utopian wish? Not according to Nadon who, since taking up his duties at the Office of the Commissioner, has dealt with thousands of complaints from citizens whose rights were not respected. "It is not utopian, but we must admit that there is still much work to be done." Even though today 22% of managerial positions in the Public Service are filled by Francophones (the figure was 12-14% 20 years ago), many public servants still cannot work in the language of their choice. Naturally, they complain.

Some of them, however, are afraid to complain "for fear of reprisals," Nadon says. Others simply resign themselves to the situation and adopt their boss's language so as not to make waves.

Solving problems

Nevertheless, as the statistics show, since passage of the new Act, when the Complaints and Audits Branch takes action the problems are solved 75% of the time.

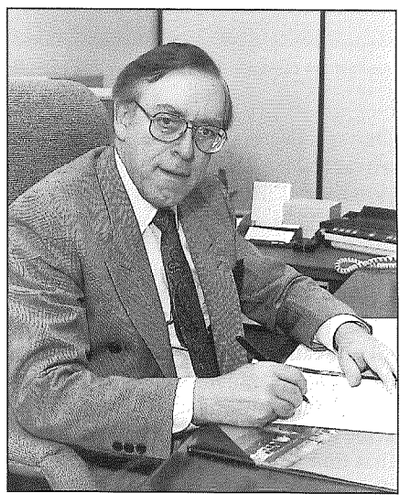
Half the time a simple telephone call is all it takes and the situation is rectified to the satisfaction of all concerned.

If this type of action is not enough the Branch goes on to what is known as the "formal phase" and the Office writes directly to the deputy minister in question. "More than 30% of the complaints are settled at this stage," Nadon points out. In fact, excluding the 10% of cases where the Office cannot take action because the problems brought to light are not within its jurisdiction, it meets with obstacles in only about 5% of the cases. "In those cases, there is still the Federal Court," Nadon commented. He noted, however, that the use of this ultimate weapon requires a willingness by the Office of the Commissioner to go to the limit as well as a commitment by the client not to waver.

This final recourse has not yet been used. In spite of everything, conditions are always changing. "For the better," Nadon comments, hastening to add that we must not, on that account, rest on our laurels.

"Citizens and government employees must continue to demand their rights," he says, adding that awareness has increased in recent years. "People are less afraid." The evidence is that the number of complaints has more than doubled in four years, rising from 1,100 in 1985 to more than 2,500 in 1989.

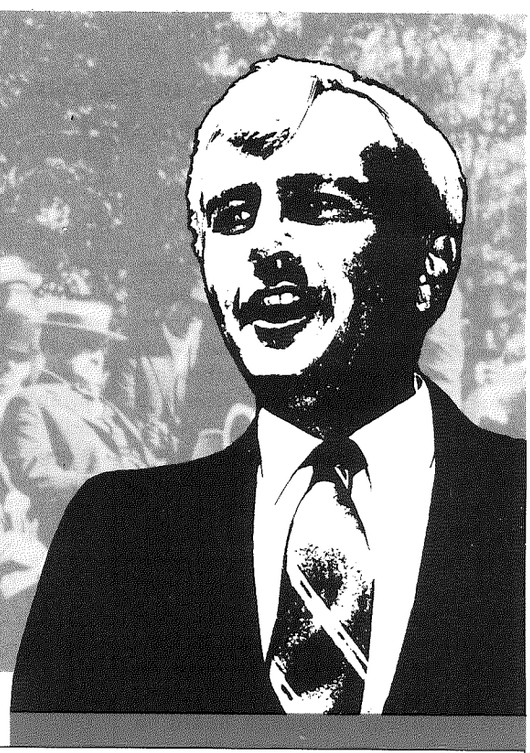
More than 87% of these complaints are filed by Francophones. Nadon readily admits "services in French are much less satisfactory than services in English." Yet the Anglophone minority experiences some problems in getting service in its language from federal institutions in Quebec, and Complaints and Audits is receiving a still small but growing number of complaints from the members of that community.



Jean-Claude Nadon

To be a complainant is not to be a complainer but to contribute to the advancement of language reform and ensure the equality of status of the two official languages in federal institutions. ■

Ontario's Bill 8: The Facts



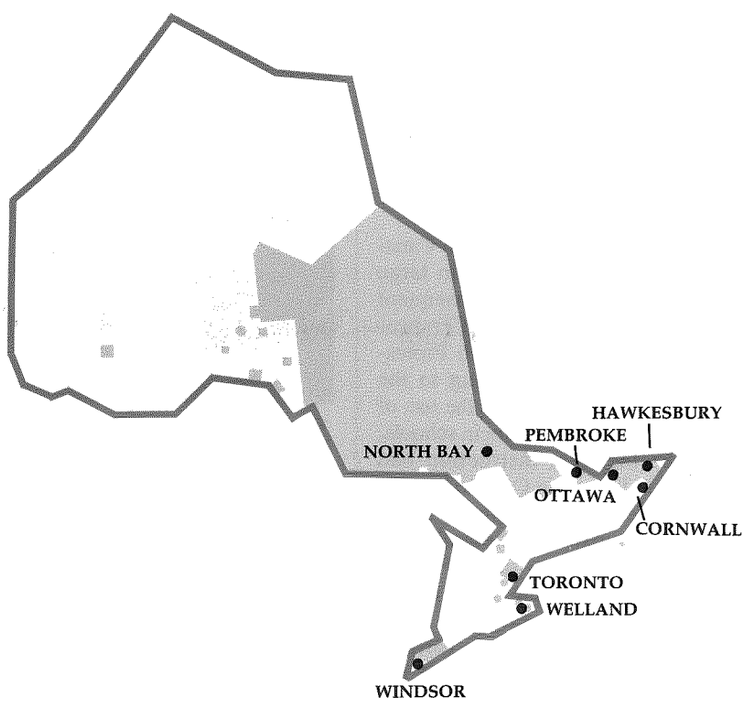
Ontario's French Language Services Act, better known as Bill 8, was passed in 1986 and came into effect November 19, 1989. It is a guarantee of access to public services in French from provincial government offices in or serving certain designated areas of Ontario.

As well, Ontario Francophones can now opt for service in their own language at central provincial government or ministry offices and in agencies such as the Ontario Municipal Board, the Ontario Human Rights Commission and Science North.

The law does not automatically cover some provincially funded institutions, such as psychiatric hospitals, residential facilities, or colleges of applied arts and technology, which serve the pubic. These must request designation under the Act.

Services offered by municipalities are not affected by Bill 8.

For more information on Bill 8, contact the Office of Francophone Affairs at 1-800-268-7507. In Toronto, call (416) 965-3865. In the northeast, phone 0-416-965-3865 collect.



DESIGNATED REGIONS

Bill 8: Rights Proclaimed

*Robert Choquette**

A fundamental stage in the restoration of the rights of Franco-Ontarians seems to have been reached.

In November 1989 the French Language Services Act, better known as Bill 8, which had been passed by the Ontario legislature three years earlier, came into force. For those with an interest in history, and in Franco-Ontarians in particular, this Act represents a major victory.

What is today Ontario was once — for 150 years — part of New France. After the English conquest, the same territory became part of the province of Quebec, then Upper Canada, and, finally, Canada West. Thus, French, the language of the explorers, coureurs de bois, traders and missionaries, was the first European language heard in Ontario. Beginning late in the 18th century, however, a tide of English-speaking immigrants from the United States and Great Britain submerged the original Ontario Francophones. As a result, from the middle of the 19th century on, when English Protestant chauvinism and exclusivity were on the ascendant in the Western world, Franco-Ontarians were unable to defend themselves against the repeated assaults on their age-old rights.

In the mid-19th century French Canadians from Quebec migrated in large numbers to Ontario. The consequent rapid increase in the number of Franco-Ontarians alarmed the English Protestant majority. Thus, beginning in the 1880s, Franco-Ontarians saw the use of their language banned in their schools, despite the fact that instruction had been given in French in Ontario for two centuries. The few Francophone members of the Legislative Assembly of Ontario rarely dared to speak French, although the first such body in the province (Upper Canada) had been bilingual. Large-circulation Toronto newspapers fanned the ardour of the opponents of French by maliciously pointing to the worst aspects of a caricature of Franco-Ontarian culture.

The battle for French rights in Ontario focused on the church and the school. Since government repression had prompted Franco-Ontarians to take refuge in the Catholic Church, it was always at the heart of the controversy. On the one hand, Francophone priests and religious were undoubtedly on the side of the Franco-Ontarian "cause". On the other, the Anglophone Catholic clergy, for the most part of Irish ethnic origin, took the side of the English-speaking majority in Ontario in its campaign to eradicate French. The Catholic clergy split in two.

When the Ontario government proclaimed Regulation 17 in 1912, Franco-Ontarians mounted the barricades. During 15 years of desperate struggle they refused to yield to government demands. This linguistic and cultural war was accompanied by strikes, processions, trials, threats and speeches without number — even by two papal encyclicals — while teachers and students lacked the essentials. In the end the government gave way. In 1927 it modified its school regulation to allow "bilingual" Franco-Ontarian schools to exist. A generation of consolidation followed in the schools until new legislation was passed in 1968 authorizing all-French schools at the secondary level. A second battle had been won.

The coming into force of Bill 8 in November 1989 marked a third great victory for Franco-Ontarians, after those of the repeal of Regulation 17 and of the creation of French-language secondary schools. Since 1968, now that the essentials have been won in the area of school legislation, Franco-Ontarians have been attempting to broaden the legislative horizons of their community to reflect overall societal concerns. By providing a full range of government services in French, Bill 8 marks a fundamental stage in the restoration of the basic rights of French-speaking Ontarians. These Franco-Ontarians are right to celebrate

Photo: Collection ACFO

November 12, 1917. In Belle River, Ontario, Gustave Lacasse protests the persecution of French-Canadians by Mgr. Fallon.

***Robert Choquette is a historian, a professor at the University of Ottawa and author of some 10 works on French Ontario.**

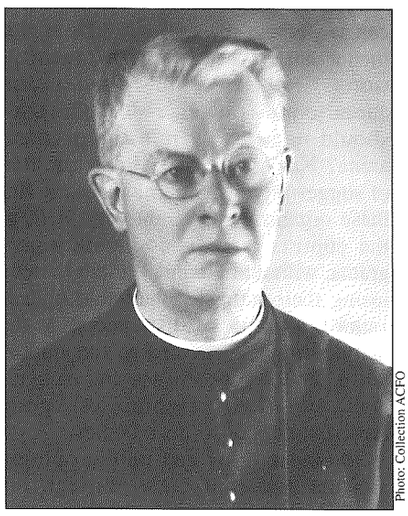


Photo: Collection ACFO

Oblate Charles Charlebois, secretary general of the Association canadienne-française de l'Ontario, 1916-34.

this hard-won victory. The government of David Peterson is also entitled to take pride in an achievement that does it credit and so are all Ontarians, for it shows an open-mindedness indicative of greater civility and a capacity for economic and political, as well as cultural, expression. It remains only to recognize French, along with English, as an official language of Ontario and we will have turned the page on a century of waiting in Ontario. ■

Entrapment

A Kingston *Whig-Standard* reader consulted a booklet explaining the French Language Services Act (Ontario) and envisaged the following scenario: "It is not unrealistic for a highway speeder (not necessarily French-speaking) to demand French language services from an OPP officer — if the officer cannot provide French to the speeder, it is then the officer who has broken the law. The arrestee then can become the arrestor and this will probably prove that two wrongs make French right."

Ontario's Francophone Community: The Narrow Road to the Year 2000

*Gérard Bertrand **

Euphoria reigns in French Ontario. In the space of two decades Franco-Ontarian society, which had suffered from low expectations, has become self-confident. Now aware of its collective strength, it does not hesitate to assert its rights vigorously whenever it feels they are challenged.

The 1986 French Language Services Act, passed unanimously by the Ontario legislature, officially came into force on November 19, 1989. This Act is the culmination of an extraordinary advance, marked by an impressive number of gains in the struggle for recognition of the rights of the official language minority in Ontario. These gains include the provision of government services in French, the status of official language granted to French in the field of education and in the courts and the legal challenges that have confirmed the right of Francophones in Ontario to administer their own schools. As well, there has been the creation of the French network of TVOntario and the establishment of the "Cité collégiale", the first French-language college of applied arts and technology; other colleges are to be established in the future. There has been a positive change of attitude on the part of the majority toward the French fact, thanks largely to Canadian Parents for French. All these achievements seemed impossible not very long ago.

The federal contribution

How does one explain this change from defeatism to effective and well-orchestrated demands? We must look at the period of ferment and — let us not mince words — of political and administrative creativity that followed the reports, conclusions and recommendations of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism. The Commission's members, who were well-informed and came from various cultures and disciplines from all parts of the country, had been charged by the federal government — the country then being on the point of breaking up — to "inquire into and report upon the existing state of bilingualism and biculturalism in Canada and recommend what steps should be taken to develop the Canadian Confederation on the basis of an equal partnership between the two founding races...."

Photo: Collection Édition l'Interligne

Demonstration on Parliament Hill.

As a result of the Commission's work, the government, through the Secretary of State's Department, launched the Social Action Program late in the 1960s. This program, perhaps modest at first compared to more controversial initiatives such as the Official Languages Act, was designed to instil new life in French-speaking communities outside Quebec

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***Gérard Bertrand is director of the French legislative drafting program, Graduate Studies and Research, in the Faculty of Law of the University of Ottawa. He was the first chairman of Ontario's French Language Services Commission.**

which, for various reasons, were at risk of losing their identity. As with any federal initiative, the program was addressed to both official language groups, but the Anglophone community in Quebec, at least at first, did not see the need for it. The accent was mainly on social animation, the creation of representative association in the communities and the further development of those that already existed. The aim was also to instil in the population the sense of solidarity and belonging which are essential to the survival of any minority. Over the years, minority groups, thanks to the organizations that were created or strengthened, such as the Fédération des francophones hors Québec, engaged — not without bitter discussions and confrontations — with the Secretary of State's Department in a genuine partnership with the government in an effort to develop policies for the official language minorities. Fortunately, this relationship still continues. During this turbulent but fruitful period, Franco-Ontarian groups have played a major role; this partly explains the progress made in Ontario.

A better use of democratic structures

As the decade begins, what should the motivating forces in Franco-Ontarian society be? What areas of activity should have priority? The consolidation of its gains? Certainly, but that is not enough. It would even be a mistake to restrict itself exclusively to that. There is, to be sure, the economic arena, but there, as everywhere else, significant

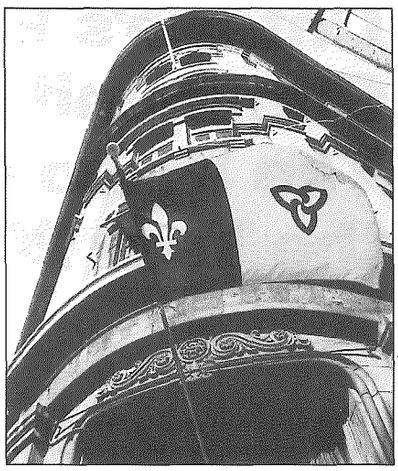

Photo: Collection Édition l'Interligne

The Franco-Ontarian flag at the entrance to the Francophone Secretariat in Quebec City.

progress has been made. Moreover, the community accepts and recognizes the concept of business peoples' associations. The success of the Regroupement des gens d'affaires in the National Capital Region testifies to this. There is talk of forming similar groups elsewhere in the province. In the end, the major weakness of the Franco-Ontarian community lies in the small number of its elected representatives in the three political parties who sit in the legislature or on municipal councils. Moreover, this weakness is unacceptable because there is nothing in the democratic process to prevent the election of a larger number of Franco-Ontarians in the regions — which are more numerous than one might at first suspect — where they form solid electoral blocs. How, in the circumstances, can we blame the majority? Does this mean that Franco-Ontarian organizations, led by the Association canadienne-française de l'Ontario, should rush madly into the political arena? Not at all. There is no question of suggesting this extreme measure. But these organizations might very well, in the context of their community programs, without bias and without thereby losing their status as charitable organizations, work to sensitize people to the democratic process and to the importance, for the maintenance and recognition of their rights, of good representation in political bodies.

Otherwise, how can public opinion and the decisions taken through the normal channels available to elected representatives be influenced? Those who belong to the party in power can also take part in caucus or committee discussions and meetings; they have the opportunity to ask questions of the members of the executive, to grant interviews to the media, to give speeches and to make visits. Do we not live in a free and democratic society?

This is matter for serious reflection, and not only with the aim of determining why, in Ottawa, for example, with a French-speaking population of approximately 20%, there is only one Francophone alderman out of 15, or why there are only seven Francophones in the Ontario legislature when there were eight before the general election of September 10, 1987.

It will be said that in many places the Franco-Ontarian population is well represented by non-Francophone elected

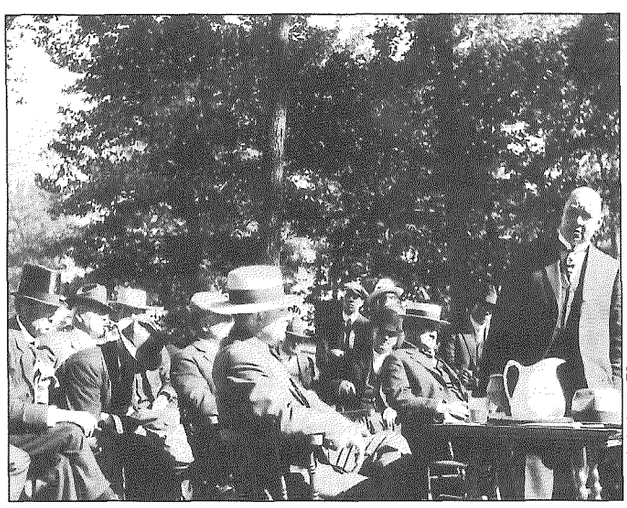

Photo: Collection ACFO

St-Jean Baptiste Day: Jos Archambault at St-Joachim, June 23, 1918.

Photo: Collection Union du Canada

Procession in honour of St. Joseph, Ottawa, May 31, 1925.

representatives. This is true, but, regardless of the good will of others, one is never as well served as by oneself, as the old adage goes.

Then, too, there is a political reality that minorities should bear in mind: they are instruments in the hands of governments, regardless of the political party to which they belong. Governments do not hesitate periodically to tell their minorities that they have done enough for them and that they should wait before asking for more. This is an attitude that they would never adopt toward the majority.

There is a real risk that the years of abundance in Ontario might be followed by lean years for the official language minority. It is therefore imperative that the Francophone community do everything possible to ensure that it has its best representatives, in sufficient numbers, among decision makers at the municipal and provincial levels. This will ensure that its interests do not take a back seat for political reasons or because the government of the day may have decided to shut off the tap or cut the current, as is done in the case of consumers who do not pay their water or electricity bills.

We must always be mindful of the harsh reality that for minority groups nothing is ever won outright or for all time. We must constantly begin again, as in a large garden needing constant care where the gardener is not completely in control. ■

Read a book, get a free pizza

To promote reading, the Gaston-Vincent primary school in the west end of Ottawa launched a unique promotional campaign: students reading a pre-determined number of books per month receive a free pizza, courtesy of *Pizza Hut*. According to the principal of the school, students have already acquired a taste for pizza; what they need to develop is the urge to read. In an interview with *Le Droit*, he said that parents were delighted with the promotion and that none of them had any negative comments about the pizzas.

Bill 8: Rumbles of Discontent

Ontario's French Language Services Act came into effect officially on November 19, 1989.

There may not literally have been dancing in the streets in Ontario last November 18, but there was a glittering gala evening in Toronto that night as some 1,200 Franco-Ontarians gathered at a televised ceremony to celebrate a red letter day for the Francophones of Canada's most populous province. At midnight, November 19, exactly three years after it was approved by the Ontario legislature, Bill 8, the French Language Services Act, would officially come into effect across the province.

But, while the 500,000 French-speaking Ontarians celebrated, there were continuing rumbles of discontent from some parts of the Anglophone majority in the province.

Protest movements

For several months before the law became operative, protest movements had been increasingly active, demanding the rescinding of the new law. The largest and most vociferous of the groups was undoubtedly the Alliance for the Preservation of English Rights in Canada (APEC), which organized rallies and demonstrations in several parts of the province. But it was not alone. There was also the National Association for English Rights (NAER), with several local offshoots. There was the Confederation of Regions party (CoR), and there was even one that called itself PEACE — Preserving English Among Canadians Everywhere.

The protests took different forms, including verbal harassment of Premier David Peterson as he visited various regions of the province, rallies and meetings opposing the law, and a spate of letter writing to newspapers. In some plays, the media joined in the fray with editorials and columns. Derek Nelson, the provincial political columnist for the Thomson Newspaper chain chided his own journalist colleagues for their liberal attitudes. "Hopefully, over time, even the mainstream media will understand how bilingualism is plowing the furrows of resentment among otherwise placid Ontarians," he wrote last fall.

Municipalities

The major thrust of the campaign, however, consisted of efforts to persuade municipal councils throughout Ontario to strike a pre-emptive blow and declare themselves unilingually English. Since almost all the municipalities concerned operated exclusively in English, such a decision would be purely symbolic; but both sides considered symbols important.

In this aspect of the campaign APEC and its allies won a few battles in some towns, villages and rural townships, including Orillia, Picton, Tilbury, Blenheim and Ridgetown, mainly in southern and western Ontario. Victories of a sort for APEC and its allies occurred in late January and early February in the northwestern Ontario cities of Sault Ste. Marie and Thunder Bay, when city council majorities voted to declare municipalities as unilingually English — even though neither was designated otherwise by the Ontario law. Both actions were deplored by federal and provincial political leaders. In most cases, however, despite some intense lobbying, they were beaten back, with some of the bitterest disputes occurring in the cities of Niagara Falls, Brockville and Kitchener. There was also a brief and bitter flurry in the eastern Ontario city of Cornwall before the city council reaffirmed its commitment to bilingual services for its considerable Francophone population.

Despite some angry but usually short-lived local battles, in the context of the province as a whole the anti-Bill 8 campaign could not be considered a major political event. Nevertheless, it did happen, and the question arises as to why. What caused at least a considerable

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proportion of the Anglophone majority in Ontario to question the correctness of a law designed to provide basic provincial services for one of Canada's official language communities?

Confusion

One key factor was confusion in the mind of the public as to what the effects of the law would be on Ontario Anglophones. The debate in the city of Kitchener last October and November provided an example.

A city alderman, Jim Ziegler, led the fight against the law, suggesting that once Bill 8 went into operation, its effects could well be felt beyond the 22 designated areas around the province, including places such as Kitchener not covered by the legislation. In that case, Ziegler warned, the city would be forced to provide French-language services to its tiny Francophone minority.

A clear commitment in a reply by Premier Peterson that the law does not force anything on municipalities — even those that are designated as eligible for bilingual services — failed to sway Alderman Ziegler. The law, he said, had been passed arbitrarily. "And when is the next arbitrary change?" His supporters expressed their backing in letters to the local newspaper, the *Kitchener-Waterloo Record*, complaining that unilingual Anglophones were already suffering discrimination in the provincial public service and demanding a province-wide referendum on the whole subject. Finally, late in November, city council voted seven to four against Ziegler's motion to oppose the law; but the scars — and the confusion — still lingered.

Backlash

Beyond the confusion, and the fears generated by the fact that just over 6% of public service positions had been labelled bilingual, there seemed to be at least one other factor at work. This was a certain souring of the political climate caused by the furor over the Meech Lake Accord with its recognition of Quebec as a distinct society, and most especially the reaction to the severe limitations placed by Quebec on the use of English in external signs in that province.

Photo: The Brockville Recorder and Times

In the eyes of some observers the Ontario government had been deliberately downplaying the importance of Bill 8 precisely to minimize the backlash of fearful and resentful Anglophones. This was denied by government spokespersons, who nevertheless emphasized the continuity of provincial language policies over the past two decades and more.

Gradual change

In fact, both government and Francophone leaders agreed that the coming into effect of the law would not mean any spectacular changes precisely because these changes have been gradually implemented over a number of years. In other words, November 19 was essentially a symbolic date, none the less important, of course, for that.

For his part, Charles Beer, the minister responsible for Francophone affairs, pledged to work to destroy the "myths" surrounding the law in the minds of some English-speaking Ontarians. For Anglophones, he insisted, Bill 8 would have little or no effect. "With Bill 8, it is neither the beginning nor the end. It is above all simply the continuation of our policy of improving French language services."

Certainly the fact that there were no sudden, visible changes perceived by Ontarians the day after November 18, nor indeed at any time during the process, helped maintain calm and made APEC's job more difficult — something the Ontario government obviously hopes will continue to be the case. *T.S.*

As we go to press about

25-30 Ontario municipalities out of 800

have declared English their official language.

Language and Society will explore this topic in our Summer 1990 edition.

The President of Alliance Quebec: Optimistic about the Future

***Robert Keaton has been Alliance Quebec's president since October 21. Liette Vinet-Venne interviewed him for* Language and Society.**

Language and Society: *What were the factors that led you to become president of Alliance Quebec?*

Robert Keaton: Alliance Quebec has been in a very precarious position for a long time. But the calling of the provincial election last September completely reversed the situation. The position adopted by Alliance Quebec and its activities during the election campaign produced a very interesting situation. The influence of Alliance Quebec within the Anglophone community was clearly established and we saw the development of a climate conducive to the future success of Alliance Quebec and to the rapprochement of the two great language communities in Quebec.

Against this background, based on the fact that I am a man of action who is married to a Montreal Francophone, and considering also my experience in politics and community work, I believed I could make a useful contribution to the association. I then realized that the Quebec government, that is the Liberal Party, was indicating its intention, once the election was over, of drawing closer to Anglophones. I also saw, within the Francophone community, a desire for a change of attitude towards Alliance Quebec, especially after the fire on our premises. In addition, I met with various people to find out whether they thought I could contribute to improving the situation. Since they had no doubt, I decided to accept the position.

— What style do you plan to adopt?

— My style has always been characterized by dialogue in an effort to find common ground, to make compromises, but above all to approach issues rationally. That doesn't mean, of course, that I am unable to take a stand. However, before openly asserting my position, I try to consider every possible way of proceeding. I am not in favour of confrontation, but I recognize its usefulness when all the other methods used have not produced results. In this regard, I prefer to appeal to reason and to discuss common views. I am a team player.

— Do you hope to see a new political climate with the creation of the Equality Party?

— I think the election of the four members of this party has proved to be a constructive event for the Anglophone community. It in effect showed that Quebec Anglophones are able, when they wish, to participate fully in the political life of Quebec. It indicated that the electoral vote of the Anglophone community cannot be taken for granted. It must have a say in matters and be able to voice its political opinions. Since the election the Anglophone community has been taking a more official tone and this, in my opinion, simplifies the task of Alliance Quebec, which can now act as an interest group and can speak for the community.

A political party plays two different roles in the National Assembly. It opposes the party in power or the government. An interest group is unable to do this. But it must also co-operate with the government and the other parties. An interest group can deal with day-to-day problems and anything not related to politics, which, by definition, is the domain of the political party. So I believe very deeply that, in a way, the formation of the Equality Party will facilitate the task of Alliance Quebec, that is, its role as a community interest group. On the other hand, if we disagree with the positions taken by the Equality Party, that will complicate life for us and create division within the Anglophone community.

In my view, differences of opinion or divisions like these are not catastrophic but healthy, because they show that opinions can differ within the Anglophone community. It has an abundance of opinions and various points of view. The Francophone community must take cognizance of this situation, which also prevails within it. That is one of the great advantages of the democratic system, and such a state of affairs should be encouraged.

— What is your position on the Meech Lake Accord?

— In this regard, don't forget that my position on the Meech Lake Accord may differ from that of Alliance Quebec. Personally, I fully support the Accord, while Alliance Quebec is more guarded in its support. But here, too, a change is occurring. Since 1987 Alliance Quebec has always supported and continues to support the five requests — not demands — of the Quebec government, while expressing some reservations about interpretations and about the future of Quebec's Anglophone minority. We are very concerned about the effect the Meech Lake Accord might have on the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms. There are uncertainties about the rights granted by the Charter. Will they remain intact or will they be reduced? That is a matter of interpretation. We want this

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point to be clarified before endorsing the Accord as it is.

As for the distinct society, that is another contentious clause whose interpretation should be clarified. Is the Anglophone community an integral part of this concept, of this image of a distinct society that Quebec wants to convey? Or is the intention to signify that it embraces only Francophones and that Anglophones are excluded? Further clarification of these points is essential before the Accord is implemented.

With regard to the problem of minorities, whether they be Anglophones in Quebec or Francophones in the other provinces, it is not what is in the Meech Lake Accord that concerns us most but the "notwithstanding" clause, Section 33 of the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms, which has already been used by Saskatchewan and to which the government of Quebec resorted two years ago to pass Bill 178. That law takes away the rights of the Anglophone community — rights recognized by every judicial authority and even by the Supreme Court, and which concern the use of English for commercial signage. What we hope is that the issue of the notwithstanding clause will be settled, whether or not the Meech Lake Accord is endorsed by all the provinces. The government must agree to amend the notwithstanding clause, which endangers the fragile rights of the minorities, which are not threatened by the Accord. Note that if the Constitution is amended, these amendments will also have to be taken into account in the Accord.

— How would you define a still larger role that Alliance Quebec could play?

— It still has a large role to play in protecting the Anglophone community and the English language in Quebec. Our organization also ought to promote the French language within the Anglophone community. I often tell my Francophone friends that the bilingualism of Anglophones can only help to knit the ties between the two communities and also contribute to the advancement of French. With Anglophones bilingual we would hear much more French spoken in Quebec, while if they remain unilingual hardly any French will be heard in Pierrefonds or in the western part of Montreal Island. People are more and more inclined to become bilingual. The opportunities that bilingualism offers will, in addition, allow Anglophones to affirm their presence and ensure their future. For there is no future in Quebec for a young unilingual Anglophone, except perhaps in a small shop or a job of a similar nature. These are the reasons behind our demands for more funds and more resources from the Quebec government to enable the Anglophone community to become more bilingual. We plan to follow closely the implementation of Bill 142, which provides for English-language services in hospitals, social service centres and reception centres in the province. That, for Alliance Quebec, is an essential watchdog role.

But, obviously, Alliance Quebec has other roles to perform, such as leadership to promote the integration of the Anglophone community into Quebec society and the rapprochement of the two main ethnic groups. So we will talk together, and in French, about the environment and the economic future of Quebec — in other words, about subjects that concern all of us. Thus, as an improvement in relations between the two communities begins to be felt, Quebec and Quebec society will be able to go further and envisage a development and a flowering that we can only dream of.

Robert Keaton.

— What is your attitude toward Bill 178? Towards the signage issue?

— The law is abhorrent. It is the repression of one of Canada's languages, of one of the founding peoples of the country and of the Quebec minority. It is in fact a truly needless repression. If it were to ensure the survival and advancement of French, maybe then we could accept this restriction, this surrender. But, honestly, I have not met a single one of my Francophone friends who was able to convince me — and I can be convinced — of the need for this law. The general view is that the presence of English is an irritation rather than a threat to the French language.

Alliance Quebec favours any requirement for the predominance of French on signage and always has. But to go from that to forbidding, to prohibiting, the presence of another language, when it is not necessary, it's absolutely idiotic.

But we must not spend all our time on this question, because there are many other more important issues. Signage has become a symbolic issue that does not actually cause problems. It is a gesture of ill will towards the people of Canada and of Quebec. I hope to see the day, in three or four years, when this law will be repealed, because any law must come before the National Assembly again once every five years, under the Constitution. I would like to

see Quebec Francophones say, "Well, that's enough. We don't need this law. Everything is better between the two communities." That is my goal.

— Do you look favourably on the teaching of French as a second language in the English-speaking provinces of Canada?

— Absolutely. Moreover, a growing percentage of Anglophones outside Quebec do as well. You have only to look at the rate of immersion, of learning French, which is constantly increasing. The explanation for this is that Canadians increasingly realize that French is an advantage, an opening to the world, an asset in the business world and in many other areas.

There have, of course, been strong reactions against French. Any progressive social movement arouses a reaction. That is normal. In this regard, we might note what has happened in New Brunswick and the formation of the Reform Party in Western Canada; but, despite these reactions, there has been a change of attitude.

Personally, I favour the mandatory teaching of French at the elementary and secondary levels. However, in view of the reaction that this would arouse, for example in British Columbia, I prefer to leave the choice of instruction in French up to the parents.

— Would you say that English Quebec institutions enjoy great latitude?

— Actually, yes. For institutions, however, the problem lies in an invasive government bureaucracy. I don't understand why the Francophone minorities in the other provinces cannot obtain the same autonomy that our institutions enjoy in Quebec. Everything works well here: the hospitals, social service centres, universities, CEGEPs, schools, and so on. Their autonomy is quite impressive. It is impossible to believe that the same latitude could not exist elsewhere. I am convinced that Quebec Anglophone institutions can serve as models for the other provinces.

— Do you foresee the existence of school boards based on language instead of denominational school boards?

— Alliance Quebec has always favoured the existence of school boards based on language. In a modern pluralistic society, we must transform the school boards into a system based on the two official languages. In order to do so, however, it will be necessary to amend the Canadian constitution, specifically Section 93. Alliance Quebec will support this, provided that the same protection is accorded to school boards based on language, because of the bureaucratic problems. If the government of Quebec intends to create linguistic school boards granting the minority the same rights as those that the Constitution grants to denominational boards, then we can only support the movement in favour of linguistic school boards.

— What is your position with regard to bilingual towns such as Rosemere?

— We of course support the bilingual status of the town of Rosemere. Although the population is no longer majority Anglophone, we believe that this is a historically established right. Frankly, a law that would provide that a municipality can become unilingual simply because of a demographic fluctuation would be a little ridiculous, don't you agree?

— Could you cite other cases?

— Whether in regard to Pointe Claire or any of the other municipalities of Montreal West, I can only repeat that Alliance Quebec is in favour of bilingual status. But we would like to leave these municipalities the option of choosing. Let the majority and the minority come to terms with one another.

It's a complicated situation. We would like to see bilingualism prevail, especially in the Montreal area, where 75% of the Quebec Anglophone population resides. It therefore seems to me that, in all municipalities, whether Mont Royal or Westmount, which is now 20% Francophone, services should be provided in both languages. It is also to be expected that their municipal councils will have representatives of both language communities.

— What, in your opinion, are the problems that such a situation could create at the municipal level?

— The principle of common sense must be applied here. When numbers warrant, services should be offered in both official languages. That amounts basically to using the model of the bilingual districts created by the federal government. I am not speaking of Rouyn-Noranda or the Beauce, but here, in the Montreal area, they could easily be created. I believe, moreover, that that is the direction in which we are going.

— Do you foresee activities on a national scale for Alliance Quebec?

— We have always engaged in such activities. For the past eight years we have made numerous trips to Manitoba, Saskatchewan, New Brunswick and elsewhere to support the demands of the Francophone minorities and to defend their rights. We have always advocated national unity, which, in our view, is based on recognition of the linguistic duality of Canada. All our efforts have been directed towards the defence and acceptance of this linguistic duality. We have therefore travelled the country to protect the interests of Francophones outside Quebec. The activities of Alliance Quebec are thus not restricted to this province alone but extend to the whole country. If we defend the rights of the Anglophone minority in Quebec, in the other provinces of Canada, we defend those of the Francophone minorities. As we say in English, "What's good for the goose is good for the gander." ■

Manitoba's French-Language Policy: Topsy-Turvy

*Frances Russell**

The provincial government is granting privileges to Franco-Manitobans, but the Société franco-manitobaine thinks linguistic security lies in rights.

Last November 4 Manitoba Premier Gary Filmon received a standing ovation when he announced a major expansion in French language services to the annual meeting of the Société franco-manitobaine.

On December 30 Mr. Filmon confirmed that the province will not translate an estimated 25,000 unilingual cabinet orders whose validity was thrown into doubt by a court ruling.

On January 17 the SFM announced that it and representatives of the government were discussing terms for a joint reference to the Supreme Court of Canada which would decide the extent of the province's obligations with regard to orders in council.

The apparent contradiction can be explained by the governing Conservatives' approach to Manitoba's bilingual status.

The SFM, while appreciative of any improvements, thinks linguistic security lies in rights. The provincial government, ever-fearful of an anti-French backlash, believes more can be achieved by granting privileges only.

The government's stance

The Tory position avoids formal constitutional and legislative action. Discretionary cabinet policy is preferred.

The Conservatives are consistent. Six years ago they were engaged in a filibuster that eventually forced the NDP government of Howard Pawley to abandon its plans to declare Manitoba officially bilingual and to constitutionally entrench the right of Franco-Manitobans to services in their language where numbers warranted.

The Tories ruptured the legislative process with 263 hours of continuous bell-ringing in February 1984 over a watered down government proposal which would have seen bilingualism constitutionalized but the matter of French-language services addressed through legislation. The government finally recessed the House and allowed the matter to go to the Supreme Court of Canada.

The Court had already ruled once on Manitoba's obligations to its French-speaking citizens. In 1979 the Supreme Court found that the province's 1890 Act making English the only official language was *ultra vires* of the province's 1870 constitution, which declared that English and French were official languages of the legislature and courts.

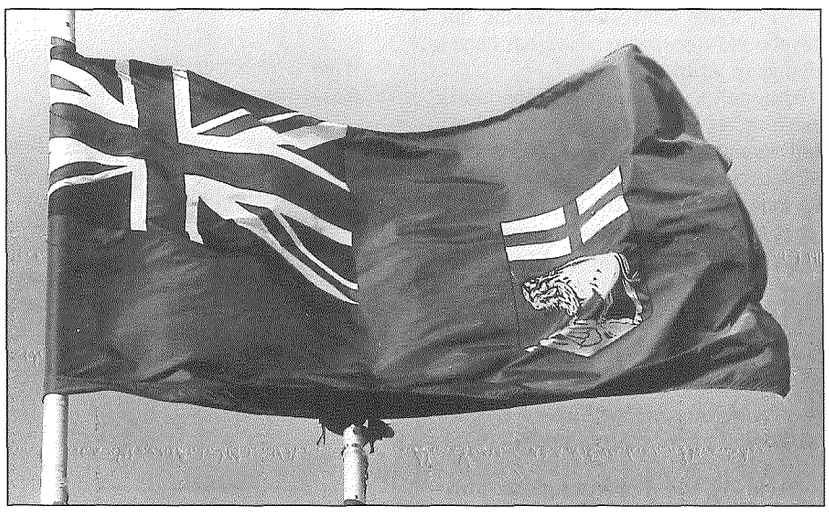
In 1985 the Supreme Court went further. It found Manitoba's entire body of English-only statutes invalid, saving them only to avoid chaos pending their translation.

The premier, who as leader of the Opposition in 1984 presided over his party's bell-ringing strategy, couldn't see any victory in the translation of "dusty" statutes. "Is that a right that anybody should be proud of and hold the province up for ransom for?" he asked.

But last November Mr. Filmon told the SFM that his government recognized that "the French-speaking population of Manitoba is a constituent part of one of the fundamental characteristics of Canada."

The aim of the premier's policy is to provide complete government services in both official languages in areas where the French-speaking population is concentrated. This was also the purpose of the NDP's 1983-84 constitutional initiative.

Mr. Filmon, however, underlined the difference between the NDP's constitutional and legislative route and his policy path by emphasizing that his guiding principle was "common sense", addressing the "real needs" without spending a lot of money. The price tag for Filmon's initiative is about $150,000.



Pluses

Manitoba has made strides since 1985. Its official road map is bilingual as are its driver's licences, birth certificates and other government forms and publications. Within the provincial public service 570 jobs, 10% of the total, are designated bilingual and 60% of them are filled. As a result of the premier's

***Frances Russell writes for the *Winnipeg Free Press*.**

November policy statement highway signs will be bilingual and bilingual services will extend beyond the government to its Crown corporations. The legislature is equipped for simultaneous translation but members wishing to speak in French have to give notice so a translator is present. (Only St. Boniface Liberal MLA Neil Gaudry and House Speaker Denis Rocan are French-speaking.) Unilingual English cabinet ministers struggle to pronounce the French titles of their bills as they shepherd them through first, second and third readings.

Minuses

On the negative side Winnipeg, which contains over half the population of the province and the historic cathedral city of St. Boniface, has been dragging its feet on a French services policy at the civic level. The government is awaiting a Manitoba Court of Appeal judgment before doing anything about the right of French parents to school boards. And the cabinet conducts its business in English only.

The government's position avoids formal contitutional and legislative action

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This practice caused acute embarrassment to the province last summer when the Court of Appeal ruled unilingual English cabinet order establishing the aboriginal justice inquiry was invalid. Remedying legislation had to be rushed through the House. Other major pieces of provincial business, including a $13 billion hydro sale to Ontario, were similarly authorized by unilingual cabinet orders in council.

Mr. Filmon says his government, with its limited resources, would rather do things for Franco-Manitobans in the future than spend time and money on translation.

But to Robert Mathieu, the Winnipeg lawyer investigating the constitutional challenge for the SFM, such an attitude signifies lack of goodwill.

As one SFM official puts it: "Policy is not law." ■

West of Hull and Opposite Ottawa: Aylmer, Quebec

There is a long tradition of linguistic peace and tolerance in this Outaouais town, but there is tension as well.

When a historic building known as the "Old Farley House" was moved almost three kilometres down the road two years ago to save it from destruction, it marked the culmination of a successful effort by two associations representing two quite different facets of life in the west Quebec city of Aylmer. One was the Aylmer Heritage Association, a predominately Anglophone group devoted to the preservation of the historical heritage of the city and the surrounding area, first mainly settled by immigrants from the British Isles in the early 19th century. The other was Impératif français, dedicated to protecting and expanding the place of French in that same area today.

Together, the two groups persuaded the provincial Ministry of Transport, which had expropriated the property on which the building had stood since 1827, not to tear it down. With the help of the province and a very large truck, the former Methodist chapel was moved to safety west down Aylmer Road. Plans call for its refitting as a local cultural centre.

While this instance of co-operation is far from unique in the city of 33,000, there is, perhaps inevitably, some degree of tension between the Anglophone community, some members of which are in their fifth generation in the area, and an active group of Francophones determined to reinforce the position of French in the whole Outaouais region. To many Anglophones the real thrust of the campaign is to deprive them of privileges they have long taken for granted in an area they first settled and where they now routinely meet on a daily basis as in few other parts of Quebec.

Although there is a long tradition of peace and tolerance between the English- and French-speaking communities in the area, cemented by a great deal of inter-marriage, it is not inconceivable that, due to its language mix, geographic position and symbolic importance, Aylmer could some day become a flashpoint for tensions in west Quebec. What happens there is of considerable interest to the people most directly involved and to others concerned with the whole language question as well.

Impératif français

To Baudoin Allard, the president of Impératif français, the situation is clear and straightforward. Although well over a third of the population of Aylmer is English-speaking, the city does not qualify as a bilingual municipality under Quebec law. Public signs should therefore be in French only and there is no reason for continuing the practice of translating municipal documents for the benefit of the estimated 20% of Anglophones who are unilingual. Neither should the city continue to require some degree of bilingualism from its Francophone employees. Allard is willing to accept some compromise. "Of course, bilingual service at the counter is legitimate," he concedes, and written information in English should be available on request. But the cost of systematically translating official documents for a small unilingual minority is too great and it should be discontinued.

The fact that Aylmer, just west of Hull and opposite Ottawa, is part of the National Capital Region makes the defence of French even more urgent, Allard contends. "For both cultural and psychological reasons, we must strongly affirm our French character." Otherwise, the bilingual character of the whole capital region would be a sham. "We need two consistent linguistic blocs. And certainly it isn't English that is threatened around here." On the

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Ontario side of the Ottawa River, Allard sees "a bilingualism of façade", where signs in the two official languages are often not backed up by effective service in French. He cites the Ottawa International Airport as an example of the phenomenon.

Not surprisingly, Aylmer Anglophones do not agree with the approach of Impératif français. Two decades ago they formed at least half the population of the city and many like the feeling of still being able to live a large portion of their daily lives in their native tongue.

Even if the former "Main Street" through the original town of Aylmer is now the unilingual "Rue Principale", the city of Aylmer makes things relatively easy. While Mayor Constance Provost and all nine city councillors have French as their first language, all are bilingual and city residents receive their services in English if they so desire. "We respect the law," Mayor Provost says. "But we also respect our minority," and so municipal documents, including the city information publication, the *Municipal Bulletin*, appear in both languages.

Aylmer Mayor Constance Provost

Preserving Aylmer

Aylmer today is a rather spread-out place, incorporating, in addition to the old town, the neighbouring municipalities of Lucerne and Deschênes (formerly South Hull). Geographically diffuse, the city remains largely a middle-class enclave and a bedroom community for federal public servants working in Ottawa and Hull. If that is its present, its past is seen in some 150 buildings, mostly residences, built before the turn of the century and concentrated in the old town of Aylmer.

It is their preservation that is the major interest of the Heritage Association and its current president, Jean Gilbert. She and her husband, Fred, himself a former city councillor, have lived in Aylmer for more than 25 years. "We came here for the children," Mrs. Gilbert says. "In the mid-1970s, we had to fight to get French immersion schooling." They did get it and now several hundred elementary and secondary school pupils are enrolled in immersion programs in both the Protestant and Catholic school systems. While she does not describe herself as fully bilingual, "I can make do," Mrs. Gilbert says. Life in Aylmer is comfortable, but if there is one problem it is a feeling of lack of consultation and remoteness from the provincial government. "Quebec is so far away, sometimes it feels here a bit like being in upper New York state." However, neither she nor her husband find much to criticize regarding availability of services. There was some confusion over recent changes in Quebec health regulations but today good bilingual care is to be had at the city's health clinics. As for English-French relations, "There's a splendid spirit of tolerance and working together," in the words of Fred Gilbert, a retired federal public servant.

Given the fact that so much of Aylmer's early history involved English, Scots and Irish settlers, it is not surprising that the Heritage Association is still predominantly Anglophone in character. However, about one-third of the membership is now Francophone and general meetings are now held in both languages. The association offices, provided by the city's recreation department, are located in a heritage building which, ironically but appropriately, also houses the office of Impératif français. In addition to saving the former chapel, the two groups have co-operated on other projects, including most recently the blocking of proposals to extend commercial zoning in an area surrounding an old monastery near the downtown area.

Diane Aldred is the author of what might be called the bible of the Heritage Association, 199-page bilingual publication titled *Aylmer, Quebec — Its Heritage, Son Patrimoine.*

Mrs. Aldred represents continuity. Her mother's family arrived from Northern Ireland in 1818. Her view of the present situation is a long one. "Those who have lived here a long time really have the least problem dealing with the cultural changes today, because they have lived through other changes, for example the disappearance of farmland." Mrs. Aldred's philosophy is that once it is realized that changes are inevitable it's easier to adapt.

Despite occasional moments of tension Mrs. Aldred's attachment to Quebec is profound. "I feel there's some niche for old Anglophone families. Eventually we may be accepted again." In the meantime, she is more than happy to be living in Aylmer. She is delighted by the attitude of the present city administration towards the city's own past. "Aylmer was rapidly going the way of small towns across the country," but lately Mrs. Aldred has been especially impressed by the willingness of a Francophone city council to act to protect the heritage of what was a largely Anglophone past. Many effective measures have been taken, she says.

A cautionary note comes from Margaret Virany, former editor of the *Aylmer Bulletin.* Burdened with a tax base that is overwhelmingly residential, Aylmer is trying to expand its commercial and industrial base — a course made more difficult by the closing last year of the only large industry, a plant of Northern Telecom. To Mrs. Virany there is a real danger that, as a regional master plan takes hold, much of the charm as well as the history will disappear. "We are a beleagured community. Outside forces may be too powerful to allow us to keep our character," she warns.

The Outaouais Alliance

A big part of that character can still be defined in terms of bilingualism. Among those groups fighting to preserve it is the Outaouais Alliance, affiliated with the English-language rights group, Alliance Quebec, based in Montreal. Its executive director, Carol Pritchard, lived several years in Aylmer, which she describes as "a solidly bilingual community." It is precisely this characteristic, she claims, that is a major selling point in the quest for new commerce and industry.

Graham Greig, the Alliance director from Aylmer, also praises "the traditionally good relations" between the two language groups. However, like many other Anglophones, he says that the use by the Quebec government of the "notwithstanding" clause of the Constitution to overrule a Supreme Court decision in favour of bilingual

external signs, followed by the passing of Bill 178 to curtail such signs, was a dark watershed. Subsequent demonstrations in the city against English signs and more rigid language policing by the province has created a new, more negative tone, Greig says.

A comfortable life to live

And yet bilingualism apparently continues to flourish in commercial as well as municipal life. Micheline Varrette is an optometrist and the recently elected president of the Association des professionnels, industriels et commerçants d'Aylmer. Language is no problem, she insists. "The most important thing is to serve your clients. We're so used to bilingualism here that we don't even think of it." Jim Moore, a fluently bilingual public servant who has lived in Aylmer for several years, concurs. "I feel no sense of threat to English here. If you go into a store in Aylmer, no one cares what language you use."

One thing appears certain. The Anglophone community of Aylmer is not about to disappear. In fact, some observers see signs of its growing, due to the considerable disproportion between house prices in the area and the much higher ones prevailing across the river in Ottawa.

In that sense, whatever industrial and commercial developments may occur, Aylmer seems destined to retain to a large extent its traditional role as a bedroom community for the national capital. The truth is it does remain an essentially comfortable place to live for English-speaking families — all the more so because it is well within the range of the English-language media based in Ottawa.

In the final analysis, much will depend on future political developments in the country and, most specifically, in Quebec itself. But whatever happens, there are a good many Aylmer Anglophones who would find it a wrenching experience to leave their homes.

One of them is a New Zeland-born unilingual federal public servant, Charles Friend, who has lived in the area for almost 20 years and insists he will remain whatever may happen politically. Despite his lack of French, he says, he has never experienced anything but full co-operation from Quebecers, including government authorities. "I like Quebec. Without the French, Canada would be a humourless place. There's an ambience here like nowhere else." *T.S.*

The Public Service Commission's Language Training Program

Michael Johnston

The government will maintain generous access to language training for public servants; it still has an important role to play in ensuring that Anglophones contribute equitably to official bilingualism.

The Language Bureau was set up 25 years ago primarily to teach French to English-speaking public servants in order that federal institutions might develop the capability to provide services to the public and public servants in both official languages. The 1969 Official Languages Act underlined these needs and stimulated further expansion of language training as an essential element of institutional bilingualism. If unilinguals were not to be discriminated against and were to have access to positions requiring bilingual activities, there was and still is an absolute need to help them. Many hoped, however, that the next generation would learn enough of the second language at school to be spared learning a second language in mid-career.

The bilingual pool

There has been a great improvement in language teaching in the schools and the pool of bilingual people in the Public Service has risen to 65,000; in fact, nine out of 10 candidates appointed to bilingual permanent positions already meet the language requirements.[1]

The Public Service Commission's Language Training Program, although greatly reduced in size, is still busy. In 1988, 1,116 public servants took continuous basic training in French, 193 took continuous basic training in English, and about 18,000 registered for various short courses and evening classes. In addition, the Canadian Armed Forces, which has its own language training establishment, provided continuous training to 2,700 and part-time training to about 1,900 military personnel.

Much has been achieved in the official languages field but more has to be done to meet the high standards which the 1988 Official Languages Act calls for. We expect to see language training for public servants continue for many years to come. In order that the Public Service may continue to be representative of Canadian society, a significant proportion of bilingual positions will remain open to unilingual candidates who meet the professional requirements and are willing, and have the aptitude, to learn the other official language.

Sink or swim?

No magic potion or teaching technique has been discovered which would eliminate the need for hard work and long hours to master a language. Aptitude tests show that about 5% of English-speaking public servants tested have a real gift for languages and can learn quickly. Approximately 80% can expect to reach their target level, provided they work reasonably hard. About 15% are likely to experience great difficulty, and many of them will never become fluent in another language.

Motivation is of paramount importance. Some public servants are self-starters: they seek out opportunities to meet people who speak the language they are learning, read books and newspapers, and take great pains over classwork and assignments. Others are motivated because the second language is essential for them to reach their career goals. For many, however, motivation depends on whether they will have to use the language in the immediate future. The new Official Languages Act requires departments to make quite sure that there is a real need for both languages when they staff bilingual positions. It is also requires departments to give employees returning from language training the support they need and insist that they use their new knowledge.

Basic training

More than half the continuous basic language training (to reach level A, B or C) is given at the Public Service Commission's Carson Centre in the National Capital Region. There are also

centres in each region where local public servants may take their training. The maximum hours allowed are 1,000 to reach level A, 1,300 to reach level B from zero and 1,860 to reach level C from zero. Targets for individuals are set within these limits and are based on aptitude and prior experience. There are typically between six and 10 students in a class, a very favourable student-teacher ratio. Students aiming for level C also receive individual tuition once or twice a week.

Anticipating a continuing need for basic training, the Public Service Commission has created a new course for the elementary and intermediate levels (A and B), the Programme de base du français au travail, which will be introduced in 1990. It is built around the kind of tasks which public servants habitually perform and consists of a common element taught in class, "Le Français pour nous", and material for individual study, "Le français pour moi". We had a preview and were very impressed. The Public Service Commission already offers a comparable program to French-speakers learning English. Work has now begun in applying the new approach to the superior level.

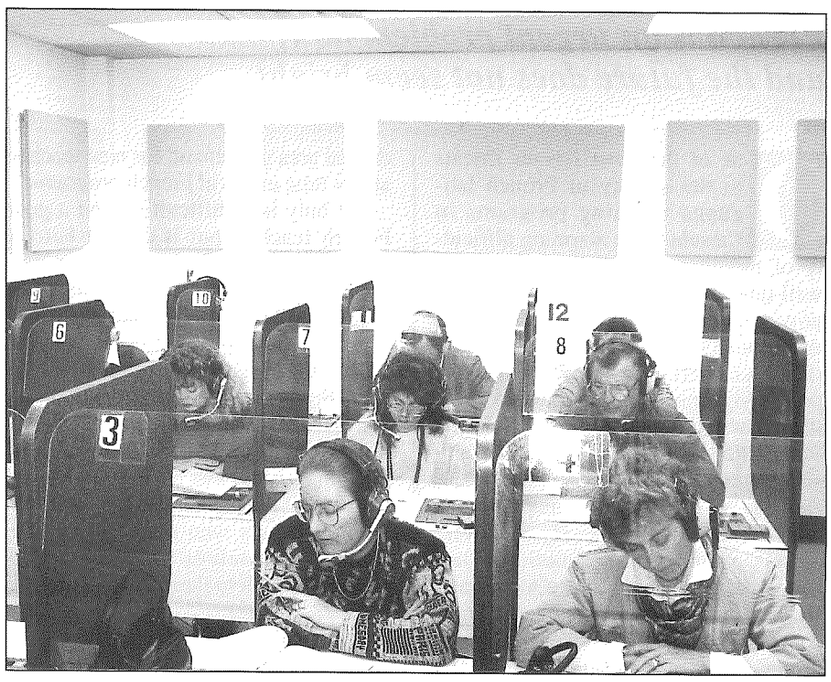
Other programs

In addition to continuous basic training, there are programs to meet various other needs. For example, a limited number of immersion courses are available in Quebec and Halifax. Level B is a prerequisite. The courses involve intensive training (45 hours a week) and living with a local family. They are very productive and popular.

A special program for the executive group was launched in 1988 to bring the second-language skills of 1,000 executives in bilingual regions[2] up from level B to level C. The program will run for 10 years. Almost all the executives who will take this course are English-speakers; almost all French-speaking executives have already become competent in English.

The Public Service Commission also offers six- and 12-week refresher courses for public servants who no longer meet the language requirements of their positions, a one-time opportunity for those who have lost their bilingualism bonus. In light of the disappointing results, several hypotheses come to mind: departments have managed their official languages programs badly and public servants have let their second-language skills deteriorate too far for lack of opportunities to use them or from lack of personal initiative.

Besides the courses we have mentioned, the Public Service Commission offers a wide range of short courses to improve particular skills, from telephone answering and improvement of pronunciation to administrative writing. It also provides specialized training for judges, air traffic controllers and others.



Finally, the Public Service Commission organizes evening classes at some 80 locations across the country which use a compressed version of the continuous course. These classes are available to public servants who want to get a head start, those who are not otherwise eligible for training, and those in bilingual positions who want to brush up their language skills. Unfortunately, there is a high drop-out rate (as indeed there is with most evening classes). Of almost 10,000 public servants who signed up in 1988, only 3,600 were still attending classes at the end of the year. Stricter control is obviously needed. Because these classes provide a valuable introduction to learning a second language, we hope that they will continue.

Changes

The next few years will see significant changes in the arrangements for providing language training to public servants. Government policy is to reduce the Public Service Commission's permanent teaching staff and to increase the private sector's role in language training. Training for statutory and corporate reasons (mainly training related to the basic requirements of bilingual positions) will continue to be given by the Public Service Commission and paid for out of central funds. Departments will pay for any other training themselves. To compete for this business, the Public Service Commission will have to be competitive in price as well as quality. We expect that departments will monitor the results of language training more carefully. The government has, however, undertaken to maintain generous access to language training for public servants. Indeed, language training still has an important role to play in ensuring that Anglophones contribute equitably to official bilingualism. ■

Notes

1 Language requirements of bilingual positions are designated elementary (A), intermediate (B) or superior (C). The majority of bilingual positions now require level B.

2 The 1988 Official Languages Act designates the following regions as bilingual for language of work purposes: the National Capital Region, Montreal, parts of the Eastern Townships of Quebec and the Gaspé, parts of eastern and northeastern Ontario and the entire province of New Brunswick.

Teacher Shortages Threaten the Quality of French Programs

Sarah Hood

The shortfall in the numbers of teachers of French is an urgent problem now, and the future does not seem bright.

One of the most serious threats to the quality of French language teaching programs in Canada is the alarming difficulty of recruiting, training and keeping well-qualified teachers. Although most provinces have at least one institution that trains French as a second language (FSL) teachers, very few seem to be producing enough graduates to meet their own needs. Laverne Smith's study, "Perspectives on Teacher Supply and Demand in Ontario, 1988-2008", explains that in Ontario "many boards report that they are actively recruiting outside of Ontario with particular targeting of provinces such as Quebec and New Brunswick which have large Francophone populations. However, Ontario is not alone in its search for French teachers. Other provinces...are actively recruiting." It is unrealistic to expect two provinces to be able to supply the rest of the country with French teachers, and New Brunswick in particular is already feeling the pinch, losing many of its own graduates to other provinces.

Overwhelming demand

Over the last 10 years the overwhelming demand for French in elementary and secondary schools has not been matched by a corresponding increase in the number of French teachers available to the school boards. The shortage is described as already having reached "crisis proportions". For example, in British Columbia there are now 218,000 students in French immersion classes, as opposed to 1,301 in 1977. The provincial faculties of education have not been able to keep up with the growth in enrolments, even when the numbers of their newly-trained teachers are augmented with "imports" from the rest of Canada. Laverne Smith, speaking of Ontario, states that "It is quite apparent that the single most urgent and critical area of demand for new teachers at this time exists in French programs."

Not only is it difficult to find a good French teacher, but it can be hard to keep one, especially in remote or rural communities. New teachers are often young and single, or just starting a family; few want to move out of the big cities. Also, a young Francophone from New Brunswick or Quebec can quickly feel isolated in even the most welcoming Prairie town. "Six-week syndrome" is the name that has been wryly coined to describe the phenomenon of unhappy young teachers who ask to leave after finding themselves unable to adapt quickly enough to their new posting.

A two-part problem

The French teacher shortage has two aspects: the problem that already exists and the projected shortage for the future. In 1989 the total school population in Canada grew by .38%, or about 18,000 students. Meanwhile enrolment in second-language classes increased by 2.4%, with almost 60,000 more students enrolled in second-language classes than the year before. School boards across the country are already in difficulties, but, according to Carmeta Abbott, a French professor at the University of Waterloo and a founding member of Canadian Parents for French, "there's no clear way of solving the short-term crisis. Nobody has any really useful ideas."

One of the possibilities that has been suggested is to entice retired teachers back into the workforce — especially those who taught for a few years and then changed careers. The other main option is to intensively train or retrain teachers who are already working; but, as Abbott says, "There's no enthusiasm for 'quick-fix' training. That's not going to work." There is also little hope of a sudden increase in the annual number of graduates from the teachers' colleges. Even if the faculties of education could somehow create a large number of new places, Abbott points out, there just aren't a lot of people already fluent in French who have the personality, the experience and the desire to become French teachers. In the meantime, the boards have only two choices: hire no teacher at all or else bring in someone whose qualifications are less than ideal. In Ontario in 1988, for instance, Laverne Smith found that "French was by far the most frequently identified area for which unqualified teachers had been hired."

Sadly, this situation has led in the past to diverting some of the most fluent teachers away from core French programs (regular, non-intensive French classes) and into French immersion. As Carmeta Abbott stresses, "We should not be distinguishing between the linguistic competency of core and immersion teachers. But when you have a limited supply of highly qualified people some of those with less high qualifications are inevitably asked to teach core classes." Schools for children whose mother tongue is French also have an urgent and legitimate need for well-qualified Francophone teachers.

Long-term planning

It is in trying to solve the long-term problem that educators may have more success, but this will not come without a concerted and co-ordinated effort by specialists all over the country. For this reason D'Iberville Fortier recommended in his 1988 Annual Report that "planning at the national level be undertaken to overcome current and projected shortages of teachers of French as a second language."

The first step is to try to estimate the number of teachers that will be needed over the next few decades; then to develop strategies to match supply to demand. The first task alone is more difficult than it sounds. Various studies have come up with estimates of the projected needs, but, Carmeta Abbott explains, "It's not easy. It was not very long ago when they saw an oversupply of unilingual English teachers. There is no crisis now; in fact they foresee a teacher shortage everywhere in the mid-1990s."

Trying to estimate the growth in the school population, the likely increase in the demand for French, movement from province to province and school to school, and the popularity of teaching as a professional, can be like trying to

Imaginative Solutions

There are no perfect answers to the second-language teacher shortage problem in Canada. However, some creative and innovative projects now in operation will help relieve the pressure in certain areas and provide useful groundwork for similar undertakings in other settings.

Many of these make use of technological developments that are relatively new. For instance, computer-assisted instruction and telephone links can now augment traditional classroom methods. In fact, personal computer software that can be used in conjunction with an audiocassette to teach French without a teacher is now available. Bell Canada has been using such a program to teach its employees French, apparently with great success.

Distance education is an important field, and one which is producing some interesting results. Since 1986 the Manitoba Department of Education has been increasing its involvement in the field and has been teaching science courses in French to Francophone students who would not otherwise have had a chance to take these subjects. The courses use a combination of print-based material, electronic mail (through computers), video and teleconferencing. For the moment these are the main ways of transmitting instruction over long distances, but it may not be long before video links allow students to see, hear and even answer an instructor in another part of the province. The possibilities of Fax systems for interactive distance education are just beginning to be explored. Henri Grimard of the Bureau de l'Éducation française in Manitoba points out that, whereas electronic mail is not a practical way to send drawings and tables, Fax machines can transmit them instantly.

None of these tools will ever preclude the need for dedicated, qualified second-language teachers, but they are already helping educators make the most of the limited supply now available to our schools. *S.H.*

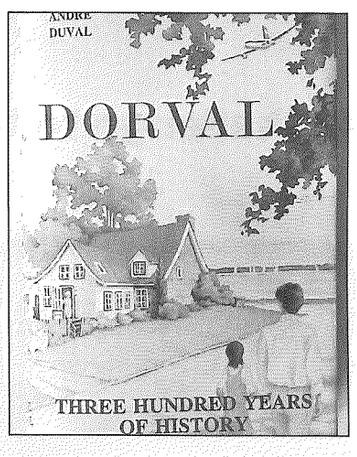
predict the speed and direction of a butterfly. Laverne Smith explains that "for the most part, board teacher personnel records are not established in such a way as to readily provide reports to answer the array of questions that bear on the issue of teacher supply and demand." Smith mentions some of the required information; besides retirements, one must examine "other withdrawals, enrolment growth, program changes or extensions and...improvements in teacher/pupil ratios."

Laverne Smith recommends that the Ontario government assign a high priority to teacher education, including "targeted French language teacher education". She also recommends that the province "commission a study on the status of French language instruction." In 1989 the Ontario Ministry of Education allocated $5.1 million for teacher education, including French teacher education, but there is still a shortage of ideas about the best way to use the money.

Among the few specific suggestions that have been offered is that faculties of education should re-examine their admissions criteria. Grades are the primary criterion for accepting new candidates. By not paying more attention to other factors like experience, communication skills and motivation, the faculties may be screening out some well-qualified candidates. The "Final Report of the Teacher Education Review Steering Committee, September 1988" of the Ontario Ministries of Education and Colleges and Universities has recommended that a study should be made of "instruments to measure aptitude for teaching for both Anglophone and Francophone candidates. If the results of these projects prove positive then the instruments will be recommended to the faculties of education for use as part of the selection process." The aim of this research would be to "accommodate the needs in high demand and growth areas such as French as a Second Language (FSL) and French as a First Language (FFL) at all levels."

Pierre Calvé of the Faculty of Education at the University of Ottawa encourages students to choose a career teaching French as a second language while they are at the undergraduate level. By deciding early they can develop their language skills to a high level before beginning their teacher training. In Toronto and some other systems teaching students have the valuable chance to work two or three days a week in the schools while they are studying. This gives overworked teachers some much-needed assistance and makes early use of the French skills of the young teachers. "Imported" French teachers in Alberta can participate in orientation sessions that help them prepare to move into their new communities. Newfoundland and Prince Edward Island allow working teachers to take sabbaticals for the purpose of language training, a sensible idea that is not yet available in many other provinces.

It is probably through simple steps like these that the teacher shortage can be overcome. Nonetheless, "We still have a long way to go in finding those imaginative ways of solving the problem," says Carmeta Abbott. Only a determined and sustained effort by provincial ministries and faculties of education will eventually ensure that young students in all parts of the Canada have access to good, consistent French instruction. ■

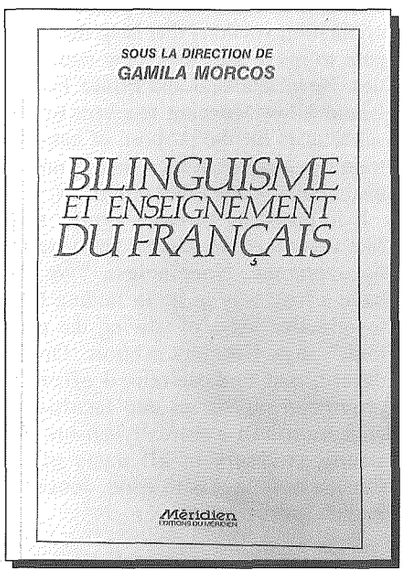


Duval on Dorval

Dorval is not only an airport. It is an Indian mission; it is the typical rural life of the St. Lawrence River Valley; it is a Mecca for summer holidayers; it is the Second World War "ferry command"; it is a cultural centre and a truly modern city. Now the city has its own history. *Dorval: Three Hundred Years of History*, by André Duval, has been published by the city in both an English and a French edition. For information on how to obtain your copy, contact City Hall, 60, Avenue Martin, Dorval, Quebec H9S 3R4.

What Is Learned, What Is Taught?

Colette Duhaime



Are our ways of learning influenced by our belonging to a multilingual society? The answer is yes and, in this sense, *Bilinguisme et enseignement du français* by Gamila Morcos and her colleagues at the Faculté St-Jean of the University of Alberta is addressed not only to teachers but to a much wider audience.

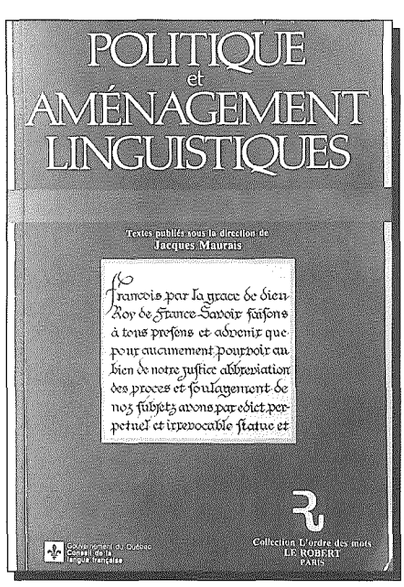
The work begins by attempting to place multilingualism in its context, a context that is first of all political. It continues with a description of the sociological characteristics of multilingual subjects and discusses the attraction of the dominant language for the one that is dominated. Finally, it takes up the psychological impact of belonging to a multilingual society on ways of learning.

The second section of the book analyses the impact of bilingualism on identity and self image and then considers the requirements for training a teacher of either a native or a foreign language. The author stresses training in linguistics so as to be able to see in local "errors" compared to the standard as not absolute errors to be stamped out but indications of a store of cultural assets whose riches must in turn be revealed to students.

In the final section the question of what literature is to be taught is considered. In addition to the necessity to adapt to the reading and writing pace of the bilingual student, the need to adapt the choice of texts and authors to the interests of the students and to break down the barriers between the study of French literature and of the national literature or literatures is stressed.

This is a work of more than theoretical interest. ■

A Challenge to the Tower of Babel



The authors of *Politique et aménagement linguistiques* take us on a veritable Cook's tour of the world: Belgium, Catalonia, the Basque country, Finland, Israel, Mexico, Quebec, Yugoslavia and Czechoslovakia are seen from a new angle, that of language policy and linguistic arrangements.

All over the world, the coexistence of more than one language in the same territory results in a need to devise linguistic arrangements. When this coexistence turns into competition, political action with regard to language matters becomes necessary. Action is also required when the various languages are used symbolically to point up tensions of some other kind — ethnic, economic, religious, cultural or political — or when the speakers of each language simply wish to preserve the use of their own tongue and to assert its functional value.

The book describes the efforts made in various countries to treat language as a true resource of a "societal" nature. Regarded from the standpoint of policy, sociolinguistics and domestic arrangements, a language may see its use forbidden, tolerated or encouraged and its nature changed or enriched in a given direction.

The articles, written by a wide variety of specialists, explain the linguistic problems that exist in many countries and how people of different cultures attempt to solve them.

The authors place these attempts in the historical, sociological and political context that makes each country's situation unique. And in fact, among the nations of the world, countries with only one language constitute the exception, *de facto* multilinguialism being the general rule.

This book presages the emergence of a new approach to sociolinguistic problems — an approach that is more sociological than linguistic in terms of the status of languages, but more linguistic than sociological as regards language policy itself.

It is — several millenia later — a new challenge to the Tower of Babel. *C.D.*

A New Linguistic Policy for France?

Maurice Allais, Nobel laureate in economics, rethinks the question. He proposes, for instance, that France ought to develop scientific journals and publishing houses that publish in English.

The spectre of the decline of French in Canada haunts the conscious and the subconscious mind of French-speaking Canadians. Until now, a confident France was little concerned about a similar phenomenon in Europe. But, as we report in these pages (see next story) the "defence of French" has taken on a degree of urgency in France as well with the approach of the fateful date of 1992, when Europe will be fully integrated.

Is the future place of French in Canada in the era of Canadian-American free trade comparable to that of French in a strengthened and expanded Europe? French reigns supreme in its homeland, but elsewhere the language takes its place in a multilingual context where first of all English and then each of the other European languages has its special niche. In Canada the preservation and promotion of French must be seen against the background of the 200-year-old ascendancy of English on this continent, and our policy of multiculturalism and the promotion of so-called heritage languages has no counterpart in the European geolinguistic context.

The expansion of French in Africa cannot compensate for its losses in Western Europe and Latin America.

The contribution of Maurice Allais, Nobel Prize winner in economics for 1988 and a well-known iconoclast and non-conformist, who published a long article in *Le Monde* on July 12 and 13, 1989, to the debate in France has attracted the attention of few commentators in Canada. We therefore thought it useful to summarize Mr. Allais' remarks and to comment on them.

French a handicap?

Although it was reported just recently in *L'Actualité*, a Montreal publication, that French is still preferred slightly to English and German by European businessmen, Mr. Allais takes note of its historic decline as a diplomatic language and second language in Europe, the entire Mediterranean basin and Latin America. He believes that the expansion of French in Africa "cannot compensate for its extraordinary recession in Western Europe and Latin America." He makes no reference to Canada.

The first condition for the survival of French is to preserve its complexity and subtlety.

"The defenders of French," he says, "do not have a clear awareness of the current situation and of what should be done." He believes that it is a mistake to attempt to promote the use of French by simplifying it or modernizing it. "The first condition for its survival is to preserve its complexity and subtlety," he writes. In his view, French has its special genius, like any other language, but the fact is that economic or political factors determine the ascendancy of a language to a far greater extent than its special genius.

He draws a parallel between the recommendation, "Publish in French; if your work is good, it will be read," made by Professor Pomerleau to an audience of French researchers in Montreal, and the comment made about him by the famous economist Paul Samuelson: "If Allais' first works had been published in English, the economic theories of a generation would have taken a different turn."

After reviewing the new policy of the Institut Pasteur to publish in English only, he concludes that, however appalling this may appear, the Institut's decision acknowledges "an undeniable reality, which holds true for all scientific disciplines: to publish in French is without doubt a serious handicap."

The solution: publish in English

Maurice Allais proposes, if French scientific production is to enjoy its place in the sun, that France develop scientific journals and publishing houses that publish in English, as is already the case in the Scandinavian countries and the Netherlands. "Let France subsidize the translation into English of the best works published in French." Let French journals, contrary to their current policies, agree to publish articles that have already appeared elsewhere or will appear at the same time in English-language journals. Finally, "so as not to penalize Francophones," he writes, "these journals should be published in both English and French....That is the price to be paid to defend the French language while also safeguarding French thought." And so Mr. Allais discovers, shortly after us, the virtues of bilingualism!

The safeguarding of French in the new European context will not be assured by bilingualism.

All this, according to Keith Spicer (*Ottawa Citizen*, July 13), is enough to give "apoplexies" to the French Academy and the many committees and boards responsible for promoting the French language, which have always believed that this promotion can only be done in French.

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Maurice Allais

As for Michel Roy (*Édimédia*, July 15), he agrees that we must distinguish "between the thought and the language in which it is expressed." A capital distinction, he says, "for understanding that the French language, to which Quebec is busy demonstrating its attachment, is not the only vector of this thought — far from it. By insisting on defending the form (the language) in which French thought and French discoveries and theories in all areas of knowledge are conveyed, we end by obstructing the diffusion of French thought itself."

"Publish or perish"

As was seen at the most recent Francophone Summit, Canada and Quebec seek by various means to create and maintain a scientific niche for the French language. The journals *Sciences de l'eau* and *Médecine Science* (both published in French) and the latest one, on the environment, which was established in Dakar last summer and is bilingual, are examples of this.

In our opinion, we must distinguish between the language of work, which should by and large be that of the researcher, publications of a relatively popular nature (or, for want of a better term, ordinary research publications), which should be in the language of their readers, and those which are authoritative by virtue of the position they hold in advanced research. Only the third category, in our view, seems to meet the criteria set forth by the French Nobel laureate. The other two should provide the stimulus needed to carve out a niche for French in the realm of research and scientific and technical knowledge. This is a distinction not made by Mr. Allais but which seems vital to us because it fully justifies the new orientations of the French-speaking scientific community. As he says, advanced research is addressed to a limited and highly specialized audience. The *Annales* of the Institut Pasteur have only 1,000 subscribers, including 35 in Canada, 8 of them in Quebec. *Médecine Science* has 4,200 paying subscribers.

Multilingualism, trilingualism, bilingualism

In a more general sense, the safeguarding and indeed the promotion of French in the new European context will not be assured, in Allais' view, by bilingualism. This would automatically create French-English, German-English and Spanish-English pairs. We are already familiar with the well-established Dutch-English, Danish-English and other pairs that are portents of the post-1992 period. What Allais proposes for Europe therefore is multilingualism or at least trilingualism. He assumes that French will automatically be involved, for, he writes, "in any event, in each European country, French would generally have a good chance of being chosen as the third language."

"French," Mr. Spicer therefore concludes, "would forget being anybody's second language and settle for being an honourable third." For it to achieve this status, Mr. Allais proposes a reform of higher education throughout Europe. A third of the courses in each discipline would be given in another Community language and each student would have to take courses, in addition to those in his own language, in two other Community languages. This would involve reciprocal obligations on the part of Community members and hence a treaty. The treaty would also contain other provisions, "designed to promote the development of a European cultural community," concerning: scientific research, scientific and literary publications, scholarships and exchanges, and so forth.

While the Canadian situation is quite different, and some of us are drawn through our multiculturalism policy to bilingualism, we cannot remain indifferent to the debate or to the measures that will be taken to safeguard French in its very cradle. *J.C.*

Circumflexes on the way out?

An appeal by French linguists to "modernize" written French — dropping circumflexes, reducing double consonants and simplifying past participles — provoked a torrent of letters to *Le Monde*, the Parisian daily. One writer likened the proposal to "tearing down a cathedral on the pretext that different arts date from different centuries."

France Braces Itself for the Expected Tidal Wave of English in the European Community

On May 31, 1989, French Prime Minister Rocard replaced the Comité consultatif and the Commissariat général de la langue française by a Conseil supérieur de la langue française. The Conseil, under the chairmanship of the Prime Minister, includes members, who were named last June, from various groups and countries. Quebec novelist Anne Hébert is one of them, as are Bernard Pivot (*Apostrophes*) and Jean-Luc Godard (*Breathless*). Language and Society interviewed Bernard Quemada, the Vice-President of the Conseil, on his visit to Ottawa last September 7

Language and Society: *What is the role of the Conseil supérieur de la langue française?*

Bernard Quemada: It is a new tool in the hands of the Prime Minister. First of all, it is responsible for promoting the French language by making proposals and giving direction to all the linguistic measures that the French government plans to take. Second, it co-ordinates the activities of agencies responsible for or likely to be involved in language matters. For example, the Ministry of Education, among others, is responsible for language, but other agencies may also be involved, such as the Ministry of Defence or the Ministry of Foreign Trade.

— Does this represent a change of direction?

— No, it's a strengthening of an apparatus deemed too ineffective to date. However, the political authorities also plan to assign it additional mandates for taking action and subsequently provide it with greater resources.

The Conseil will be able to do more than had been envisaged under the previous structure. Instead of being concerned solely with terminology and neology, for example, it is now interested in spelling reform. In addition, it will also be concerned with language quality, the use of language by the media and the use of French in scientific discourse. That is the range of problems.

— What are the major priorities?

— There are three. The first is to enhance and reassess the language. This involves reassessing the image of the language and gaining acceptance for the idea that it is possible to take action with respect to it. Many French think that it is possible only to preserve the language rather than trying to promote it, so to speak.

The second is the development of the language. It is clear that French must be modernized. A major effort is required with regard to scientific and technical neologisms and neologisms in ordinary language and to making French more functional. For example, our spelling is problematic in many respects; an effort must therefore be made to simplify it somewhat to make it more attractive.

Finally, the third priority is the spread of French. This can be accomplished by various means, but above all by instruction. Moreover, we must re-examine the teaching of French, both as a mother tongue and as a foreign language. Its teaching must be improved not only quantitatively but also qualitatively. In this regard, new questions arise. We are going to teach in the world. But what is the world? For us, it is primarily two communities, the Francophone community and the European community. We must therefore ask what French is to be taught and how to teach it.

— Do you have a sense of urgency regarding French in France?

— Definitely, for it is Europe that will assure the survival of French within its confines. If after 1992 there really is a tidal wave of English, managerial, administrative and political exchanges will be conducted in only one language. It is even conceivable that, considering the exchange of teachers and certificates, all important courses in France, in the most advanced fields, will be taught in English in 30 years' time. This is not acceptable to us.

— Do you see analogies between the Canadian situation and the situation in France?

— At the community level, your problem is simply one of bilingualism. Ours is one of multilingualism. If we do not wish to lose the cultural capital that these cultures and languages represent — for language and culture go hand in hand — we must call for the preservation and defence of all these languages. And in this regard, in my opinion, Canada and Quebec may represent miniature and, as it were, individual laboratories.

— Is there a Canadian member of the Conseil supérieur?

— Among the non-French members, we have the film director Jean-Luc Godard from Switzerland and a grammarian from Belgium, André Goosse. We wanted artisans of the French language rather than technicians or experts in order to highlight the contribution of culture and reflect that of sister cultures. That is why we named Tahar Ben Jelloun (from the Maghreb) and Anne Hébert. ■

Meanwhile....

The Prime Minister of Sri Lanka, which is a strong supporter of the Commonwealth, told his country's parliament in October 1989 that he intended to create an agency similar to our Office of the Commissioner of Official Languages in order to put relations between the two national languages on a firmer footing.

National Voluntary Organizations: A Desire for Bilingualism

*Peter Cowan**

An equitable language policy goes hand-in-hand with effective volunteer work.

According to Andrew Cohen, Chairman of the Coalition of National Voluntary Organizations, the right policy means that national volunteer organizations can concentrate resources and energy on their goals and not on internal debates about language.

The coalition's membership has worked out a broad language policy which says that national voluntary organizations should reflect Canada's language duality and Canadians should be able to deal with such organizations in the official language of their choice. The policy took effect two years ago. Each organization decides how to meet that goal.

A natural issue

Cohen says that these leading national voluntary organizations realize that a healthy attitude to language issues is vital to organizational well-being. "I mean, they can't afford to spend all their board meeting discussing why the minutes were not sent out in both languages at the last meeting."

Cohen says that while needs vary from organization to organization, certain standards must be upheld. For example, when someone phones an organizations's national head office, that person should be able to do so in English or French.

"The person who answers the phone, at a minimum, should be able to figure out which language is being spoken and ensure that someone can take the call. We are not saying that everybody has to be bilingual. That's not realistic. But we are saying that people who phone up should feel that they didn't get a wrong number...."

Language is a natural issue for the coalition. While each member organization conducts its own government relations, the coalition handles matters affecting the volunteer sector generally, such as tax laws.

Economics

The coalition is made up of 150 national voluntary organizations which, with their affiliates, represent four of every six of the country's voluntary organizations. Their economic impact goes far beyond the millions of hours of volunteer work done by Canadians who provide time and expertise for the causes of their choice. Cohen says that recent data show that the cash flow from national voluntary organizations — excluding universities and hospitals which also are registered charities — represents about $6 billion annually. That is money spent for everything from office supplies to phone bills.

Cohen, an Ottawa-based consultant, is himself a volunteer.

It is vital to provide the language services basic to any organization that is national in scope.

He says the coalition's language policy takes into consideration that different organizations are at different stages of development and have different financial means.

Cohen points out how developed language policy is within the federal bureaucracy. But such developed language policies can be expensive and "might not be the way to go for some organizations." Thus, it is vital to provide the language services basic to any organization that is national in scope.

Philosophy

That, Cohen explains, is not hard to do since those involved with national voluntary organizations have been dealing with the realities of Canadian life for the past century. "They talk to people and they know what the problems of the cultural and linguistic communities have been. They're philosophically way out ahead of everybody."

Looking towards the future, Cohen hopes that "emerging technology" will make it possible to reduce certain kinds of translation costs.

And he hopes the general political situation will settle down to the point where it doesn't affect discussion within national voluntary organizations.

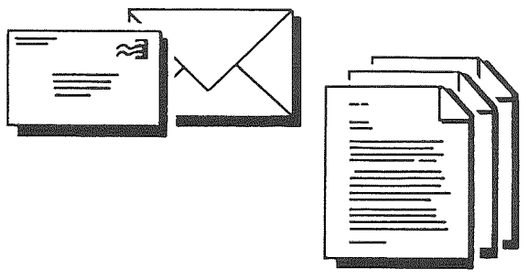
Cohen says that the board members of national voluntary organizations tend to be "community leaders". Consequently, they are concerned about such issues as the Meech Lake Accord. "So these debates about where the country is going in terms of its biculturalism and bilingualism are affecting what people think they should do about bilingualism. And to the extent that they are heated up about Meech Lake, they are more heated up than, from an administrator's point of view, would be desirable on these issues."

Views on both sides of the Meech Lake issue are honestly held, says Cohen. But there is a lot of emotion in the debate and it is hard to administer emotion. Within organizations, such concerns can mean that "it's quite difficult to arrive at conclusions about what you should do if you have people in your organization who believe it will be a symbol of your view of the national policy, especially if they disagree with the symbol."

But no matter how caught up in the constitutional debate some volunteer leaders may get, the coalition's language policy demonstrates the determination of organizations in Canada's national volunteer sector to reflect Canada's linguistic duality. ■

***Peter Cowan is an Ottawa-based media relations consultant. As a journalist, he has followed the evolution of bilingualism since the early 1960s.**

Letters



Meech Lake: A Bad Agreement?

Your winter issue with editorial and several articles on the Meech Lake agreement, together with the invitation entitled "Let's Talk", finally persuaded me to submit a few comments....Let me say briefly why I think the agreement is just as bad for Quebec as it is for the rest of the country.

When the politicians recognized Quebec as a "distinct society" they did not reveal in the text what distinctions they were recognizing. In other words, they shifted the entire responsibility for defining Quebec to the Supreme Court of Canada, not only for the juridical aspects, which would have been proper, but also for the political aspects, which was really the politicians' responsibility to define. The consequence of their silence could be much greater than most of us imagine. If, for example, the Supreme Court decides that one of the distinctions is to be a bilingual society, this might justify striking down whatever is left of Bill 101. On the other hand, if it decides that the distinction is to be an essentially Francophone society, this might justify restoration of the sections of Bill 101 that have already been struck down. Even though neither extreme is probable, the range of uncertainty injected into the Constitution under the guise of facilitating its interpretation is staggering.

It is not for me to espouse one or the other of these possibilities. All I ask is that the politicians write more clearly. They obviously agreed on the words, but there is no evidence that they agreed on the ideas, if any, behind the words. Quite the contrary, if one reads the contradictory interpretations they offer to the public.

This is not the worst of it. Judges of the present Supreme Court are chosen by the federal government, which must answer to Members of Parliament from all over the country. With the present Supreme Court, it would probably be safe enough to let the judges handle the definitions, even if they are political. According to the Meech Lake agreement, however, a majority of the judges in the new Supreme Court will be chosen solely from a list prepared by the provinces other than Quebec. Is it not foreseeable that they will submit names of candidates who share the aspirations and prejudices of their own regions?

Without pointing fingers specifically, one can say that certain provinces have not had an enviable track record in handling linguistic questions. It is therefore surprising that the radical change in Supreme Court appointments seems to have escaped the attention of many editors and politicians, most of whom seem to have jumped to the conclusion that the agreement must be good for Quebec because Mr. Bourassa got all the noble words he asked for. Noble words for one province and excessive power for the others are a strange combination. There is a distinct risk that the new Supreme Court will usually define Quebec to the satisfaction of the other provinces and rarely to the satisfaction of Quebec.

Even those who are not so-called "Quebec nationalists" have a right to be apprehensive. The threatened or actual instability will be bad for everyone.

The final text of the agreement was apparently hammered out during an all-night session, where Mr. Bourassa seems to have been the only one who knew how he wanted to describe his own province. What the well-meaning but mediocre agreement tells the world is that Canada consists of one distinct society and, by implication, nine indistinct societies, and we hope the world will understand. If they do, perhaps they will explain it to us. In the meantime one gets the impression that by the end of their meeting our politicians were too sleepy to know what they were signing and too proud to admit it. I, for one, would have no compunction about telling them to go back and work harder.

David H. Wood
St-Lambert, Quebec

A Culture at Stake

I am writing to you to express my opinions about Canada's official languages, being only 16 years of age. I do not believe many youths share the same opinions as I do but I believe that what I have to say is very important.

I have very deep feelings and concerns for the future of the French language in Canada. I believe that the existence of this beautiful language and its distinct culture is being threatened every day. Canadian Francophones are a small minority in a sea of Anglophones. Assimilation is sure to occur, unless protective measures are taken to save French-Canadianism. I shudder at the thought of a Canada without French.

Often, I read in the newspapers or I hear on television quite disturbing information. Let's start with English rights groups protesting French services in Ontario. I have never heard of anything more ridiculous than an "English Rights Group" in a country where the English-speaking are the majority. Don't these people understand that American and Anglo-Canadian culture will never disappear? The French are just in trying to protect their culture for them; it is life or death. I also recently read a letter in the paper, a letter where someone gave their opinions of the Meech Lake Accord. They stated that to suggest that Quebec was a distinct society was insulting to the English. Other letters have stated things like, "Why should Quebec be labelled superior" or "Isn't it against the Constitution

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to infer that one province is better than another?" I cannot believe that such ignorance and insensitivity could be displayed by Canadians. When will it be made clear that for the French Canadians it is their culture at stake?

Perhaps you are wondering why a middle-class Anglophone teenager would bother taking the time to write a letter about something that doesn't greatly affect him. Well, let's just say that I'm a concerned Canadian doing my best to make my country a better place to live. With everything else going on in the world, such as famine, poverty, global warming, nuclear waste, crime and garbage up to everyone's ears, one would think that something as simple as being considerate to the French minority in Canada would have been long solved. Looks like someone made a severe mistake.

Troy Davidson
West Hill, Ontario

New Brunswick

Our small neighbourhood association — 12 persons — read and followed with interest your recent series of articles in the *Telegraph-Journal* dealing with the history of bilingualism in New Brunswick.

Overall, with some exceptions, we believe you presented a reasonably balanced report.

We noted, however, you quoted several representatives of CBC Radio, Moncton University, etc., in support of some conclusions and viewpoints and these, primarily being French-speaking, would represent, to a marked degree, the Acadian reaction.

Also you say "there exists a tide of Anglophone bitterness — there are however, other indications that suggest other answers — one has been continued Anglophone support over two decades for political parties that support the language policy." That is true only due to the fact that both Liberals and Conservatives shared the same language policy. There was no other option but that is not true today with the emergence of what is called the CoR Party and the widespread and growing support for this group throughout the province is a matter of record. Obviously many supporters of the old-line parties, now having an alternative, have joined this new party and, from all indications, will be a force, to some degree, in the next provincial election.

Another informative fact brought out in your report was the surprising proportion of English-speaking children attending French-language immersion classes — 14%. This prompts the question which you did not address — to what extent, in terms of numbers and percentages, are French-speaking students in the province of Quebec attending English-language immersion courses in that province? What role, in Quebec, does the Commissioner of Official Languages carry out regarding immersion courses for French-speaking students and others? What funds are expended annually in this regard?

As stated, we found your articles most interesting and informative and we look forward to your response to the questions raised.

C.J. Farrell
Riverview, New Brunswick

Statistics

On page 26 and 27 of *Language and Society* (the 1989 Winter edition) it states that in New Brunswick the Public Service is made up of 32.7% Francophones, an almost exact reflection of the population. In 1988 Statistics Canada listed the Francophone population of New Brunswick as 23%. Where did the extra 10% come from in less than a year? I know for a fact that Francophones have been and will be brought in from other French-speaking countries, such as Europe and Africa, to fill positions within the provincial and federal governments throughout Canada. I would appreciate clarification and your views on this matter.

Helen Busch
Powassan, Ontario

Editorial Note: According to the 1986 census Francophones make up 33.5% of the population of New Brunswick.

Dialogue Strengthens

I am extremely pleased with the Special Report issue of *Language and Society*. I teach English as a Second Language for the Public Service Commission and would like permission to reproduce parts of some articles for our clients at the senior management and executive levels. I am looking for well written texts on relevant topics in order to use them for oral readings, dictations and discussions.

I had the privilege of hearing the three Commissioners speak several weeks ago at the Congress Centre and I believe that continuing dialogue on the issues of bilingualism can only strengthen us as a people, as a nation and as a government.

Fran Schiller
English Program Development
Public Service Commission
of Canada
Hull, Quebec

The Original Languages

I am pleased to see that *Language and Society* is published in a bilingual format. Notwithstanding this, however, it is at times important to know the original language of a story or article. For this reason, I was dismayed that the original languages of the interviews from *Language and Society* are not stated anywhere in the journal. In the Winter 89 issue, for example, a reader could not know if the interview with Prime Minister Mulroney or Antonine Maillet took place in French or in English.

In the future, would you please state the original language of all interviews?

Thank you.

Chris Denholm
Toronto, Ontario

Could you indicate which of your articles are published in their original language and which are translations?

This would enable your readers to consult the original communication to verify nuances and, in a few cases, even matters of fact.

Richard J. Joy
Ottawa, Ontario

Editorial Note: Thanks. We'll put your suggestion into practice whenever possible.