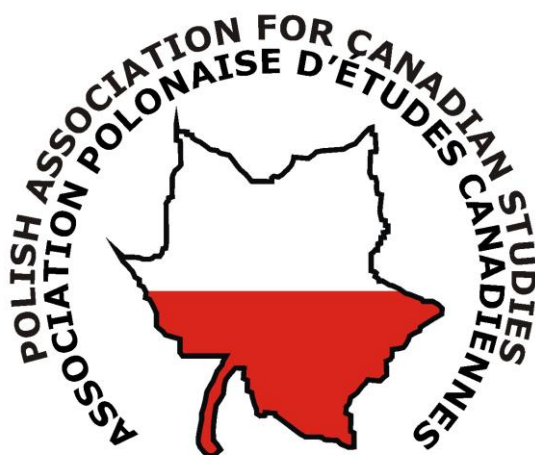


**Canadian Soft Power: Dimensions of Canada's
Influence on the Outside World /
Pouvoir de contraindre et pouvoir de convaincre
canadiens : de l'influence du Canada à travers le
monde**



TransCanadiana

Polish Journal of Canadian Studies / Revue Polonaise d'Études Canadiennes

**Canadian Soft Power: Dimensions of Canada's
Influence on the Outside World /
Pouvoir de contraindre et pouvoir de convaincre
canadiens : de l'influence du Canada à travers le
monde**

7. 2014-2015

Poznań 2015

Rada Wydawnicza / Advisory Board / Comité de Rédaction

Maciej Abramowicz (Université Marie Curie-Skłodowska, Lublin)
Klaus-Dieter Ertler (Université de Graz)
Yannick Gasquy-Resch (Université Aix-Marseille)
Jan Grabowski (University of Ottawa)
Sherrill Grace (University of British Columbia)
Thomson Highway (Writer, Distinguished Visiting Professor at Brandon University)
Serge Jaumain (Université Libre de Bruxelles)
Smaro Kambourelli (University of Guelph)
Józef Kwaterko (Université de Varsovie)
Peter Kylaoušek (Université Masaryk, Brno)
Larissa Lai (University of British Columbia)
Norman Ravvin (Concordia University; Concordia Institute for Canadian Jewish Studies, Montreal)
Anna Reczyńska (Jagiellonian University, Kraków)
Radosław Rybkowski (Jagiellonian University, Kraków)
Eugenia Sojka (University of Silesia)
Teresa Tomaszewicz (Université Adam Mickiewicz, Poznań)

Recenzenci naukowi / Reviewers / Rapporteurs

Luc Ampleman (Jagiellonian University in Kraków), Mateusz Bogdanowicz (University of Warmia and Mazury in Olsztyn), Anna Branach-Kallas (Nicolaus Copernicus University in Toruń), Susan Hodget (University of Ulster), Krzysztof Jarosz (University of Silesia), Wojciech Kajtoch (Jagiellonian University in Kraków), Wojciech Michnik (Jesuit University Ignatianum in Kraków), Anna Reczyńska (Jagiellonian University in Kraków), Agnieszka Rzepa (Adam Mickiewicz University in Poznań), Renata Jarzębowska-Sadkowska (Nicolaus Copernicus University in Toruń), Marzena Sokółowska-Paryż (University of Warsaw), Ewa Urbaniak-Rybicka (State University of Applied Sciences in Konin)

Redaktorzy naczelni / Editors-in-Chief / Rédacteurs-en-chef

Marcin Gabryś, Agnieszka Rzepa

Redaktorzy odpowiedzialni za numer / Guest Editors / Rédacteurs responsables du numéro

Marcin Gabryś, Tomasz Soroka

Redaktorzy odpowiedzialni za biuletyn / Newsletter editors / Rédacteurs du Bulletin

Ewelina Berek, Tomasz Soroka

Siedziba redakcji:

Rynek Główny 34, 31-010 Kraków

Polska

tel. +48 12 4325060

E-mail: ptbk@uj.edu.pl

Poznań 2015

Projekt okładki i stron tytułowych: Zenon Dyrzka, Agnieszka Frydrychewicz

Skład, łamanie i korekta: Pracownia Wydawnicza WA UAM

**TABLE DES MATIÈRES /
/ TABLE OF CONTENTS :**

Introduction 7

**DIMENSIONS OF POLITICS, POLICIES AND HISTORY /
ASPECTS POLITIQUES ET HISTORIQUES**

Frédéric Boily – The Harper Government: True Blue Conservative or Liberal Lite 13

Magdalena Marczuk-Karbownik – Canada as a Trading Partner and Ally of Europe – Current Problems and Challenges in Transatlantic Relations 32

Jarema Słowiak – Working with the Enemy: Polish Perception of the Canadian Delegation in the International Commission for Supervision and Control in Vietnam 49

Jean-Michel Turcotte – Les soldats d’Hitler détenus en terre canadienne : l’importance du Canada dans la détention de guerre durant la Seconde Guerre mondiale 62

**CULTURAL AND LINGUISTIC LANDSCAPES /
PAYSAGES CULTURELS ET LINGUISTIQUES**

Barbora Polachová, Magdalena Fiřtová – Canadian Identity: Issues of Cultural Diplomacy (1993-2012) 81

Rafał Kuś – Canadian Broadcasting Corporation and the Role of National Media Institutions in Creating Cultural Identity: A Historical Approach 104

Anna Chyla – Crossing Cultural Boundaries: The Concept of Canadianness in the Context of Franco-Ontarian Identity in Lola Lemire Tostevin’s *Frog Moon* 120

Józef Kwaterko – Conformismes et dissidences : idéologie et littérature québécoise (1830-1930) 132

Tomasz Soroka – Quebec’s Politics of Language: Uncommonly Restrictive Regime or Ill-Repute Undeserved? 151

**NANCY BURKE BEST M.A. THESIS AWARDS /
PRIX NANCY BURKE POUR LES MEILLEURES THÈSES
DE MAÎTRISE**

Sylvia Bezak – Zaangażowanie Inuitów na forum kanadyjskim i międzynarodowym w kwestii zmian klimatu i środowiska Arktyki w kontekście ochrony ich praw tubylczych	177
Kamila Scheithauer (Niemiec) – Rediscovering Indigenous Knowledge in Contemporary Canada	196
Jagoda Tuz – Hipsters and the City	215

Comptes rendus / Reviews

Józef Kwaterko: Janusz Przychodzeń, <i>De la simplicité comme mode d'emploi. Le minimalisme en littérature Québécoise</i>	235
Maria Palla: Molnár, Judit. <i>Narrating the Homeland: The Importance of Space and Place in Canadian Multicultural English-Language Fiction</i>	239
Magdalena Paluszkiewicz-Misiaczek: Anna Branach-Kallas, <i>Uraz przetrwania: Trauma i polemika z mitem pierwszej wojny światowej w powieści kanadyjskiej</i>	243
Karol Pluta: Jarosław Różański Omi, <i>Polscy Oblaci wśród Indian i Inuitów</i>	245

BULLETIN DE L'APEC / PACS NEWSLETTER

**CALL FOR CONTRIBUTIONS /
APPEL À CONTRIBUTIONS**

SUBMISSIONS / SOUMISSION D'ARTICLES

Marcin Gabryś

Jagiellonian University

Tomasz Soroka

Jagiellonian University

INTRODUCTION

How is Canada perceived abroad? Has it retained its capabilities to influence and inspire? What is the position of Canada in the complex global system? How does Canada construct the modern world and what constructs Canada's international image? These are the classical questions which Canadian international relations' scholars have asked since Canada became an independent actor on the global stage. In order to address these questions fully, however, one cannot focus merely on Canada's military and economic position. In the modern, globalized and interconnected world equally (if not more) relevant are factors of immaterial nature, which are collectively referred to as *soft power*. Joseph Samuel Nye, an American political scientist who coined the term 'soft power' in 1990, defines it as a country's "cultural and ideological attraction." This attraction may arise from (*inter alia*): "the openness of the culture to various ethnic minorities" and its popularity worldwide, "the values of democracy and human rights that exert international influence," "the openness to immigrants," political values, moral authority, the power of persuasion, diplomacy, an international reputation, intellectual achievements, or involvement in the creation of international institutions. In Nye's other words, *soft power* is exercised when "a country may obtain the outcomes it wants (...) because other countries – admiring its values, emulating its example, aspiring to its level of prosperity and openness – want to follow it" (5). *Soft power* is thus achieving goals by being attractive to others or exhibiting exemplary behaviour worth imitating.

Canada – "a Peaceful Kingdom" – has had a long history of using *soft power* elements in its foreign policy. Its positive image and fine international reputation in the world has been built by sticking to the rules of international law, membership in international organizations and commitment to international development agendas. Ottawa has a strong record of peacekeeping, promotion of human rights, multilateralism, and dispute

resolution. Canada has also been the foremost promoter of minority rights and gender equality and the first country in the world to proclaim multiculturalism as the state's official policy. Still leading in multiculturalism policy indexes, Canada attracts a large number of immigrants every year.

There is, however, a darker side of Canada's international image. Canada has recently been often criticized for squandering the reputation it has earned for decades as a promoter of climate change awareness and a global actor. Repeated criticism of Canada by the United Nations (for example for Quebec's language laws) has poisoned Canadian international image. Also, Canada's position as an environmentally sustainable country is being questioned due to its withdrawal from the Kyoto Protocol (Canada was the first country to do so), large-scale and controversial seal hunting, as well as massive extraction of oil and gas from Alberta's tar sands.

Given all the above, we decided to devote the 7th volume of *TransCanadiana* to a discussion and an evaluation of the soft power of Canada. The authors of the articles collected in this issue use a broad spectrum of perspectives to look at the role, influence and perceptions of Canada's cultures, literature, media, politics and policies or ideologies in the modern world. As a whole the collection tries to assess if and to what extent contemporary Canada can be inspiring, admired, emulated or culturally and ideologically attractive.

The volume is divided into three sections. The first one, "Dimensions of Politics, Policies and History," contains four articles. **Frédéric Boily**, the author of the opening article, examining the political ideas of Harper's Conservatives, analyzes Harper's conceptions of the government and state's role and compares Canadian conservatism to the conservative ideologies in the so-called "Anglosphere" countries. Boily's paper attempts to answer the question to what degree the Canadian ideological landscape has changed after the Conservatives took power in Canada in 2006.

Magdalena Marczuk-Karbownik analyzes selected problems in Canada's transatlantic relations (with the European Union in particular) and presents the key moments and milestones of Canadian-European cooperation since the beginning of the 21st century. **Marczuk-Karbownik's** article also addresses Canada's initiatives concerning the recent crisis in Ukraine.

The two subsequent articles by **Jarema Słowiak** and **Jean-Michel Turcotte** use historical perspectives to assess how Canada inspired and shaped international relations during the Second World War and the post-war period. The former author focuses on the Canadian involvement in the International Commission for Supervision and Control in Vietnam. He analyzes the issue from the perspective of Canadian-Polish cooperation within the Commission. Not only does the author show the peculiarities of Polish perceptions of Canada, but he also argues that despite the predictions made before the

start of the activities of the Commission and profound ideological and political differences, the delegates of both countries were able to go beyond divisions and cooperate in a friendly, sometimes even cordial, manner. Turcotte, on the other hand, proposes an innovative approach to assess Canada's position among the Allied nations during the World War Two by showing Canada's leadership on the issue of prisoners of war (POWs). Canadian involvement, according to the author, inspired the improvement of the conditions of detention of German POWs.

The second section titled "Cultural and Linguistic Landscapes" opens with the article by **Magdalena Fiřtová** and **Barbora Polachová** discussing the use of cultural diplomacy as a means of *soft power* by Canadian governments in the years 1993-2012. The paper compares two contrasting Canadian identity narratives – liberal and conservative – and presents the recent decline of traditional role of cultural domain as a tool in Canada's foreign policymaking.

Following is the article by **Rafal Kuś**, in which the author underlines the uniqueness of the Canadian electronic media, whose national Canadian character is guaranteed by the protective legal provisions and regulations.

The problem of Canadian identity is further discussed by **Anna Chyla**. The perspective offered in her text concentrates on the hybrid nature of Franco-Ontarian cultural, gender and linguistic identity as illustrated in Lola Lemire Tostevin's novel *Frog Moon*. The paper examines challenges connected with the nature of national and cultural identity – problems that are by Chyla presented from a Canadian perspective – but which in fact are (to a large extent) of a universal character. Such results of intercultural contacts like deterritorialization, hybridity, dominance, otherness and alienation are, however, problems known and experienced far beyond Canada.

Józef Kwaterko, in turn, analyses how political and social ideologies shape the evolution of literature. The author focuses on selected *Québécois* writings from 19th to early 20th century to prove how political thoughts, ideologies and programs of Canadian and non-Canadian origin influenced the growth of resistance and dissident sentiments among the Quebec poets and novelists.

The last text in Section Two by **Tomasz Soroka** evaluates the relevance, effectiveness and the perceptions of Quebec's language policies. The author examines the reasons of criticism and negative reactions towards Quebec's language law, both inside and outside Canada. The article gives an overview of Quebec's language regulations, presenting them in historical, contemporary and comparative contexts. The author argues that the criticism and ridicule that Quebec often receives for its language policy is often undeserved and largely unfair.

The volume also contains selected parts of three M.A. theses which in past years received the PACS Nancy Burke Best M.A. Thesis Award.

Sylvia Bezak's dissertation on the Inuit commitment to ecology and climate changes, written at Jagiellonian University under the supervision of Prof. Anna Reczyńska, was given the award in 2012. In 2014, two awards were granted – to **Kamila Scheithauer (Niemiec)** for her thesis on *Struggle Against the Colonial Educational Legacy and the Process of Rediscovering Aboriginal Knowledge in Contemporary Canada* (supervisor: Prof. Eugenia Sojka, University of Silesia) and to Agata Sieroń (not included in this volume) for the dissertation supervised by Prof. Krzysztof Jarosz (University of Silesia) titled *Traduire la littérature québécoise postmoderne: problèmes traductologiques dans la traduction du Vengeur masqué contre les hommes-perchaudes de la Lune de François Blais*". PACS also recognized by honourable mention **Jagoda Tuz**'s thesis titled *The Hipster in Three Contemporary Canadian Novels*, supervised by Prof. Joanna Durczak and defended at the Maria Curie-Skłodowska University in Lublin.

Canada's position in the global system and the Canadian abilities to affect and construct the modern world, as this volume intends to show, can be perceived, researched and debated from a wide spectrum of perspectives. Obviously, the fields where Canada manifests its global presence and influence are too plentiful and diverse to discuss them all in one volume of an academic journal. Nonetheless, the articles presented in this issue study Canadian attractiveness and potential in a number of crucial fields: politics, ideologies, culture, literature, education, media, language regulations, Aboriginal heritage, urban life. We thus believe that collectively the texts published here offer a fresh perspective in looking at how Canada has influenced (and has been influenced by) the outside world. We hope this issue will provide a reader with a broader image of the nature of and the challenges to Canada's *soft power*, and may open new ways of thinking about solutions not only to unique Canada's problems, but also to complex tensions the world has been facing in the recent years.

Works Cited :

Nye, Joseph S. *Soft Power: The Means to Success in World Politics*. New York: Public Affairs, 2004.

**DIMENSIONS OF POLITICS,
POLICIES AND HISTORY / ASPECTS
POLITIQUES ET HISTORIQUES**

Frédéric Boily

University of Alberta

THE HARPER GOVERNMENT: TRUE BLUE CONSERVATIVE OR LIBERAL LITE¹

Abstract

Has the Canadian ideological landscape changed dramatically since the first Conservative election in 2006? Recently, two distinguished commentators, Darrel Bricker (pollster for Ipsos) and John Ibbitson from *The Globe and Mail*, wrote a book with an evocative title: *The Big Shift* (2013). For them, the 2011 election revealed a great change in the ideological and political nature of Canada. After a Liberal Canada, these authors claim we are witnessing the dawn of a new conservative era, where the western Canadian provinces have become more important in the political economy. Yet, the precise nature of this political or ideological change is not clear. In the first part of this paper we examine the political ideas of Harper's conservatives, and we focus on their conception of the government's, or state's role. In the second part of the paper, we propose to examine these issues in the context of national identity. Finally, in the third part, we will consider the Conservative government against a larger backdrop, that is, the so-called "Anglosphere" countries, in order to better discern the particularities of the Canadian government's brand of conservatism. Finally, we conclude that it is too early to assert that Canada turned to the right.

Résumé

A le paysage idéologique canadienne a considérablement changé depuis la première élection des conservateurs en 2006? Récemment, deux éminents commentateurs, Darrel Bricker (sondeur Ipsos) et John Ibbitson, du *The Globe and Mail*, a écrit un livre avec un titre évocateur: *The Big Shift* (2013). Pour eux, l'élection de 2011 a révélé un grand changement dans la nature idéologique et politique du Canada. Après un Canada libéral, Ces auteurs affirment que nous sommes à l'aube d'une nouvelle

¹ I'm very grateful to Natalie Boisvert for her help to transform my French thoughts into real English.

ère conservatrice, où les provinces de l'Ouest sont devenues plus importantes dans l'économie politique. Pourtant, la nature précise de ce changement politique ou idéologique est pas claire. Dans la première partie de ce papier, nous examinons les idées politiques de conservateurs de Harper, et l'accent mis sur leur conception du État ou au rôle de l'État. Dans la deuxième partie du document, nous proposons que l'examen de ces questions dans le contexte de l'identité nationale. Enfin, dans la troisième partie, l'examinera le gouvernement conservateur dans un contexte plus large, qui est, les pays dits "Anglosphère", afin que mieux discerner les particularités de la marque de conservatisme du gouvernement canadien. Enfin, en concluent qu'il est trop tôt cet actif Que le Canada se tourne vers la droite.

Has the Canadian ideological landscape changed dramatically since the first Conservative election in 2006? In 2013, two distinguished commentators, Darrel Bricker (pollster for Ipsos) and John Ibbitson from *The Globe and Mail*, wrote a book with an evocative title: *The Big Shift* (2013). For them, the 2011 election revealed a great change in the ideological and political nature of Canada. "The 41st Canadian General Election is a fracture in time. Looking back, analysts will consider the years that came before it as part of one era, and the years that came after as part of another" (Bricker and Ibbitson 27). After a Liberal Canada, these authors claim that we are witnessing the dawn of a new conservative era, where the western Canadian provinces have become more important in the political economy. More than a "fracture in time," other political scientists see in this shift a "fracture" in the Canadian ideological spectrum because, in their view, Harper is not just a conservative but a neo-conservative who made "the country unrecognizable" (Gutstein 246). Yet, the precise nature of this political or ideological change is not clear. In this context, several questions surround the ideological orientation of Stephen Harper's Conservative government. Has he broken with traditional Canadian conservatism in favour of American-style neo-conservatism? To what extent does this Conservative government differ from its Liberal-era predecessors? For many intellectuals, the answer is very clear: the present government is the most conservative government in Canadian political history.

But these questions about the nature of the recent evolution of Canadian conservatism are complex; they present many dimensions and involve a wide range of topics. In this paper, we will examine three of them. In the first part, we examine the political ideas of Harper's Conservatives, and we focus on their conception of the government's, or state's role. In the second part of the paper, we propose to examine these issues in the context of national identity. Finally, in the third part, we will consider the Conservative government against a larger backdrop, that is, the so-called "Anglosphere" countries, in order to see how other British and American conservatives see and evaluate Canadian Conservatives, especially Stephen Harper

himself. Finally, we conclude that it is too early to assert that Canada has significantly turned to the right.

Harper and the Conservatives: Political Ideas and Conception of State

At first glance, Stephen Harper may seem little more than a technocrat when it comes to politics. But such an impression is a false one. If Harper is not necessarily an intellectual politician like Michael Ignatieff or Pierre Trudeau, he has appropriated a constellation of ideas that already had some currency around the world, especially those that nourished the conservative revolutions sweeping across the United States and Great Britain in the early eighties. In this regard, we must mention the influence of Friedrich Hayek on Harper's political ideas, as other have also done (Martin 124; Gutstein 13-14). For our purposes, we should establish that, for Hayek, society is a "spontaneous order". Briefly stated, this defines society as a very complex system resulting from the individual decisions of millions people, and this complexity explains why the government cannot regulate economic and social change, nor practice that which Hayek called "planism" in his famous *Road of Serfdom*. Hayek firmly believed that no government could possibly have a comprehensive and accurate view of its own economy. Arguing against Keynesian ideas, he defended free market economics as the only way to prevent unintended consequences of Government actions or, in the worst case, political tyranny (Wapshott).

Harper shares Hayek's rejection of "planism," the idea that society is too complex to be planned by a central government (Boily, Boisvert, and Kermeol). When Harper was the architect of economic policy for Preston Manning's Reform Party, a political entity that had a strong populist dimension, he represented, as we can say, the Hayek-influenced wing of the political movement. According to former *Gazette* journalist William Johnson, we can see Hayek's influence on Harper when he defined the Zero in Three plan, a central plank of the Reform Party's 1993 political platform (Johnson 190-191). The Hayekian and anti-Keynesian dimension of Harper's thought is made plain in the plan, which proposed to end the deficit and to have a balanced budget in the short span of three years. It is also significant that Hayek's influence is also very important for Tom Flanagan, a political scientist that Harper met at the beginning of the 1990s and who later became an important supporter. In his 2009 book, Flanagan recounts his history with Harper, and opens the first chapter by stating the importance of Hayek's thought for the Prime Minister (Flanagan 12-13). Both Harper and Flanagan wrote articles about the evolution of the Canadian body politic, and Flanagan was part of Harper's team when the latter

ran for the leadership of the Canadian Alliance, serving as his campaign manager from 2001 to 2006.

When Stephen Harper became Prime Minister, his own expectations were very high. “I would like to make some significant changes.” (Harper 5) In the first few weeks following his victory, however, Harper had no time to be a “transformational” leader. The new government did not proceed with major transformational initiatives, but there were noticeable changes (Wells 285). Relatively pragmatic, Harper first’s goal was to implement his priorities. Four of these five priorities were simple to sell at election time and easy to implement, as Harper told journalists in Toronto: “The first four of the five things I’ve talked about are things that (...) we can do fairly quickly. And they will all have longer-term impacts.” (282) If it is an exaggeration to say that these policies have led to long term changes, they have made an impact nonetheless. The Goods and Services Tax (GST) cut, for example, considerably reduced the future fiscal capacity of government.

Our first concern here is to determine whether the Conservative government has indeed reduced the size and role of the State, and if so, to what degree. The measure of a government’s “rightness” is all too often reduced to the amount of government spending (for more details, see Boily, *La droite* 190-194). In this regard, Harper’s Conservatives have not proven to be particularly parsimonious. From a purely macro-economic point of view, total expenditure has not been significantly reduced. On the contrary it has risen, as has the size of the public workforce, which has *increased* (by 13%) under their direction (Farney and Malloy 257). These two authors note that there is little evidence of a government plan to break decisively from the Canadian welfare state. Are we to conclude that the Conservative government is content to follow the path well-beaten by previous Liberal governments, especially in terms of public programs? Are the Conservatives nothing more than Liberals Lite, as some conservative pundits in the West like to claim? We must remember that for supporters of the former Reform Party, the now-Conservative Harper did not always appear to be an effective defender of Western interests, a complaint frequently read in the *Western Standard* magazine (see Doll).

Truth be told, the question is more complex than a cursory look at budgetary spending would suggest. In fact, knowing whether or not Western democracies are downsizing the State is still a cause for division among political scientists, many of them preferring to speak of “transformation” instead of “downsizing”. One must show reserve when it comes to interpreting gross numbers, for these may hide deep-rooted tendencies that are not always perceptible at first glance, especially since spending decisions often have long-term effects. A good example of this necessity for interpretive prudence is found in the liberal budget delivered by John Manley in 2003. This budget promised the most important rise in spending since the 1980s, in the order of 20% over 3 years, that is to say 25 billion dollars. Nevertheless, this

fairly considerable increase was drafted within a general dynamic of reduction, because spending represented only 12.2% of the Gross Domestic Product (GDP) in 2003-2004, whereas spending had reached 16.5% of GDP in 1993-1994 and 19.2% in 1983-1984 (Doern 6). In total, the budget's increase in 2003-2004 occurred within a strong current of diminishing state expenditure, lasting almost two decades. In similar fashion, Farney and Malloy point out that, under the Conservatives, the rise in government spending remained stable at 13% of GDP, albeit with a hike caused by the economic stimulus of 2009.

Also noteworthy (as Parliamentary Budget Officer Kevin Page justly points out in his February 2010 report), is that Conservatives reduced taxes to individuals, families and businesses by 220 billion dollars since 2006 (Chase). The trend toward lower taxes started under the Liberal government of the 1990s, but the conservatives exacerbated it. Starting with their first budget, the Conservatives made clear their intention to modify significantly the federal government's range of action. "Seldom, if ever, has a federal budget explicitly declared its determination to retreat from involvement in the lives of its citizens." (Ibbitson A9)

In the meantime, Canadian politics being what they are, moderation quickly imposes its constraints, and Harper had to show restraint on more than one occasion. For example, Stephen Harper and his team went against their economic orientations – to the dismay of a good number of conservatives – by intervening in the fall of 2010 to prevent Potash Corporation's purchase by BHP Billiton company. Indeed, raw conservative logic would dictate non-intervention on the part of the federal government, but when pressured by the Saskatchewan government (Brad Wall), political pragmatism dictated that the conservatives should appear to protect the Canadian economy against a takeover that could have been judged by a considerable portion of the electorate as a bad decision (Boily, *La droite*).

Another case relates to the 2008 financial crisis and the moderating effect it had on the Conservative's tendency to disengage the State. Casting away his Hayekian leanings, Harper embraced Keynesianism, as confirmed by a former advisor who maintained that, for a time, "we were all Keynesians" (Carson). Despite its obvious Keynesian inspiration, however, Harper insisted that his economic stimulus package was really quite moderate, mostly to reassure fiscal conservatives, and those who advocate the withdrawal of government more generally. He maintained that the increased expenditures, though at first glance considerable, were in fact only modest. In an interview, the Prime minister declared: "The way to do it is to exercise sustained discipline, not engage in radical approaches of program cuts or tax increases, but simply to try and do it within a disciplined, constrained spending growth pattern." (Campbell A9) After 2008, the Conservative Government's main goal, especially for former Finance minister Jim Flaherty, has been to balance the books. For the Conservative government, it has become critical to balance the budget in time for the next federal election (2015) because it will reaffirm the

Party's fundamental economic conservatism despite its brief Keynesian turn in 2008-2010.

There are other dimensions to the conception of the state, beyond economics, that should be touched upon. In philosophical terms, one might say that Prime Minister Stephen Harper has a Hobbesian concept of the State (Nadeau). Harper and other conservatives appear to share Hobbes's idea of the State as demonstrating a strong and inflexible will as it defends the collectivity against outside and inside "enemies". Firstly, at the national level, the Conservative Government has a strong agenda with regard to law and order. In this domain, the Government follows quite narrowly the Canadian conservative agenda and that of the former Reform Party (Lee 224). Secondly, at the international level, Harper has taken some strong positions, notably against Russian President Vladimir Putin. As for Israel, the Canadian Conservative Government remains an unwavering ally of the Jewish State (Barry).

Turning now to his style of leadership, Stephen Harper clearly favours firmness over compromise. For example, we know that Stephen Harper and the Conservatives think that leaders of the old Progressive Conservative Party (especially Robert Stanfield and Joe Clark) were "not tough enough" (Flanagan 12-13). Harper and his team want to project a different image, unlike that of former leaders, whom they perceive as weak. Many conservative activists, including Harper, believe that intense party discipline is an absolute necessity for electoral victory. Paradoxically, to obtain a parliamentary majority, they must demonstrate enough flexibility and moderation to attract at least some of the voters who have so far been unwilling to support them. This compromise has sometimes been a difficult exercise for Harper's team.

In this regard, the Conservatives have not slowed but rather accelerated a trend of Canadian politics, that of increased centralization of power within the Prime Minister's Office. Indeed, lack of government transparency has become an important problem. Movement toward centralization began in the 1970s (Savoie 129-130), so it is certainly not a creation of the Conservative government, but the Conservatives have done nothing to reverse this trend.

Transforming Identity: History and Religious Freedom

If our analysis looks beyond the conception or the importance of government, it becomes apparent that the Conservatives have, throughout their mandate, brought forward a number of measures bringing non-negligible changes to the overall architecture of the Canadian political system. This is particularly clear with some proposals that were meant to transform the conception of Canadian identity.

The conservatives have in fact begun work of a different nature with respect to defining national identity. In this regard, the changes made to immigration policy, though they are primarily economic, do possess a significant dimension concerning identity (Belkhdja). At the hands of Minister Jason Kenney, architect of immigration and citizenship initiatives, the Conservatives have been quite active in immigration policies. On the one hand, the Conservatives have successfully overcome the image, mostly inherited from the earlier Reform Party, that they were an anti-immigration party (Bradford and Andrew 273). This allowed them to court the ethnic-minority vote. Unlike to the Republican right of the U.S., Canada's Conservatives have established strong links with ethnic minorities. On the other hand, the Conservatives have sought to redefine the image of multiculturalism, insisting on its integrative character and on the necessary embrace of Canadian values by immigrants, thus leaving aside the promotion of diversity that had characterized Liberal policies. As Jason Kenney said in June 2010, "I want the newly arrived to integrate themselves into our proud and democratic Canadian society." (274) In doing so, the Conservatives can leave their mark by insisting on the necessary convergence of Canadians and the newly arrived. This addresses the concerns, oft-repeated in recent years, that Canadian citizenship has become "watered down," so to speak (Cohen, chapter 5). Immigration policy may in fact be the area where the Conservatives have most successfully addressed the concerns of their right-leaning supporters, of any and all stripes. Many have spoken of a "revolution" in matters of immigration, especially with regard to the minister's tightening of lax refugee legislation (Bissett A10).

The Conservatives have also brought forward a number of measures to champion a new, more conservative conception of Canada. Indeed, for several decades now, the Conservatives have denounced the Liberal conception of Canada, which, they say, gives birth to the country in the 1960s. Former Prime Minister John Diefenbaker was among those who, beginning in the 1970s, vigorously criticized Pierre Trudeau's Liberals for casting aside the country's past (24). Such a critique of Canada's amnesia toward its own past, especially its military history, was particularly forceful in conservative circles by the end of the 1990s, when well known historian Jack Granatstein sounded the alarm with his book *Who Killed Canadian History*, lamenting his fellow Canadians' apparent lack of a historical memory (Cohen 51).

It is within this context, that of a re-appropriation of Canada's more distant historical roots – going as far back as the 19th century – that the Conservatives have been most forceful in promoting their conception of national identity. Toward this goal, the Conservatives sought change through what some historians refer to as the "politics of memory" (Frenette). For instance, through measures such as adding the prefix *Royal* to the Navy and Air Force, replacing two paintings by artist Alfred Pellán with a portrait of the Queen in the Foreign Affairs offices, or the heavily

promoted commemoration of the War of 1812, the Conservative government has recalibrated Canada's national story with a more traditional character. As a result, the Conservatives have at once distanced their Canada from that of the Liberals, with its emphasis on the post-1945 era, and by invoking to Great Britain historical and contemporary ties parted ways with the United States.

This change in direction has been welcomed by the many who, as has been mentioned earlier, called for a new appreciation of Canadian history. Jack Granatstein, for instance, applauded the Prime Minister's increased regard for history: "More positively, the Harper government has taken some substantial interest in commemorations." (Granatstein 80) Although he disagrees with Harper's insistence on the "royal" dimension of Canada, Granatstein praises the prime minister's frequent appeals to history in his speeches, and was particularly impressed with the commemoration of the War of 1812, which, in his opinion, promoted patriotism while showing appropriate restraint in the "We beat the Americans!" department (80-81). Rudyard Griffith, a founding member of the Dominion Institute, shows the same appreciation. For many years, Griffith and the Dominion Institute have challenged "the prevailing social-history" (Gutstein 223), and have called for one that would deliberately move away from what Griffith disparagingly calls the Liberal's "three pillars" of Canadian identity: peacekeeping, healthcare, and the threat of Quebec separatism (Carlson A5). He seems to believe that these changes are the result a concerted effort from the Harper government, reporting conversations with ministers who were admittedly "very conscious" of a new direction taken by their government in terms of national identity. If the government's efforts seem to have been warmly received by a notable portion of the Anglo-Canadian intelligentsia, other historians have strongly denounced this attempt to create a "new" national identity (Frenette). Finally, it is worth mentioning that the emphasis on Canada's British character helps to silence the many critics who claim that Harper's conservatives align too closely with the United States. We shall return to this idea in the third section of the paper.

This perceived alignment with the United States brings forth another difficult challenge faced by the Conservatives under Harper, that is, the perceived affinities between a faction of the party and U.S.-style Christian Evangelical. The Conservatives have all too often been accused of associating themselves too closely with certain religious groups, especially the Evangelical Christians, who, while not the most demographically significant group, are known to be very active politically. In this regard, Marci MacDonald has been perhaps their fiercest critic. Her book, *The Armageddon Factor*, joins a growing chorus warning that Canadian conservatism is drifting toward a form of politics mired in religiosity, similar to that found in the United States (MacDonald).

Nevertheless, and without disputing the importance of social conservatives under Stephen Harper's mantle, the political scientist James Farney has shown that

this type of conservatism, on either side of the border, has not been effective in terms of actually influencing public policy, for instance with regard to same-sex marriage:

‘Social conservatives’ rise to prominence in the face of adverse social trends and policy defeats has been predicated on gaining respectability and visibility within party organizations and then using those organizations to promote their agenda. This they have achieved in Canada and the United States, but their limited ability to change public policy shows the limits of their influence in the bureaucracy and, often, the judiciary. (Farney 133)

In Canada, the ability of social conservatives to influence the direction of public policy is not strong. For example, the debate on abortion, while often invoked, has not been effectively reopened despite persistent efforts from certain corners. At the same time, the Conservative government has found other, less controversial ways to mollify their activist religious supporters, such as the Office of Religious Freedom, inaugurated on February 19th, 2013, two years after it was announced. According to John Baird, Minister of Foreign Affairs and International Trade Canada, this office is now a priority for Canadian foreign policy:

Opened on February 19, 2013, the Office has been created to promote freedom of religion or belief as a Canadian foreign policy priority. The Office will be an important vehicle through which Canada can advance fundamental Canadian values, including freedom, democracy, human rights and the rule of law worldwide. The Office will advance policies and programs that support, promote and defend the right to freedom of religion. Canada is uniquely placed to protect and promote religious freedom worldwide. Ours is a pluralistic country of many cultural heritages and religions. But Canadians and people around the world share a common humanity. As such, it is our common duty to defend the rights of the afflicted and give voice to the voiceless. (Baird)

In fact, the creation of this office (for a relatively modest 5 million dollars) fulfills a triple objective for the Conservative government: first, it orients foreign policy in a direction which is their own, second it promotes multiculturalism and Canadian values and third, it defend religious values abroad. It would appear as if the Conservatives have understood that religious issues are dangerously hot topics in the Canadian political arena, but protecting religious freedom abroad is much harder to criticize, especially if the office appears willing to defend every religion, as it has been suggested so far. Some observers, usually critical of the Conservatives, have actually applauded the government’s initiative in this matter (Den Tandt A19). The creation of this office shows how the Conservatives appropriate select symbols of Canadian identity, in this case the country’s role as an “honest broker” on the international scene, to re-cast these symbols in a Conservative light.

At this point, we have highlighted two broad areas where Stephen Harper's government has endeavoured to shift Canadian policies toward the right, but not without significant moderating influences. First, policies clearly intended to reduce the State's power to spend were enacted, yet these were slowed or even thwarted by economic and political realities. Second, decisive steps taken to reframe the national historical narrative seem not to have produced significant results, perhaps because this type of transformation can only happen over a long period of time (Frenette). As we have seen, it is difficult to ascertain to what degree profound transformations (political and identity-related) have actually taken place. To this end, additional insights may be obtained by examining how Stephen Harper's Conservatives are perceived from outside the country.

Stephen Harper and the *anglosphère*: some views from the US and the UK

Evaluating the actions of a Prime Minister or the nature of a political party is always difficult. In the present case, a comparative glance could prove useful, especially if we consider how other Conservatives view the Canadian conservative movement. This is not without some challenges, if only because Canada as a country is not frequently included in comparative studies, such that it can be difficult to determine how this country is viewed from without.

For some conservative commentators in the UK, Stephen Harper is the best among leaders of the right. Michael Taube, a former speechwriter for Prime Minister Stephen Harper and a contributor to the *Washington Times*, writes: "When we think of Canada, I strongly doubt that the first thing to pop into most people's heads would be 'bastion of political conservatism.' Yet in this liberal country, Prime Minister Stephen Harper has carved out an impressive reputation as one of the world's most successful centre-right leaders" (Taube 28). Taube wrote this article for a British conservative journal, *Standpoint*, and we can reasonably assume that the author wrote this very positive article at the behest of the journal's editors. Taube explains that Harper was faced with the challenge of altering how conservative philosophy was perceived. "Harper's quest was therefore to shift conservatism from being perceived as a long-standing negative philosophy into a positive force for change" (29). More generally, the article presents Harper in a very positive light.

This was also the case when British Prime Minister David Cameron visited Canada in 2011. On this occasion, Cameron made an important speech before the Canadian Parliament. This speech bears closer analysis because it shows the political affinities of both leaders. Indeed, the British prime minister painted a very flattering portrait of both Canadian conservatism and the country's role in the

world. Opening with a quote by Brian Lee Crowley, a Canadian conservative, Cameron asserted that “there is a strong argument that the 21st Century could well be the Canadian Century. In the last few years, Canada has got every major decision right.” (Cameron) As a matter of fact, contrary to many other countries hit by the economic downturn of 2008 whose financial sectors were sorely tested, Canada emerged relatively unscathed thanks to its robust banking system and the soundness of its financial institutions. But, according to Cameron, Canada also serves a model to follow for its moral and political probity: “Canada displays moral clarity and political leadership.” Further, Cameron praised Canada for the role it played in both world wars, relating these to present-day conflicts such as the struggle against radical Islam: “We’ve all suffered from Islamist extremism.” Drawing on the examples of Afghanistan and Lybia, Cameron reminded his audience that Canada and the UK are fighting side by side: “In Afghanistan, Canadian and British forces have fought alongside each other in the South in the very toughest part of the country, where few other nations would follow.” From Cameron’s point of view, “Canada is as vital and influential a military partner as it has ever been.”

This commonality of visions is also shared, according to Cameron, when it comes to explaining the root cause of the grievous world recession, that is to say, that the fundamental problem of the world economy is a problem of debt. Cameron asserts that Harper, like him, has a correct view of this problem:

I believe that Prime Minister Harper and I share the same analysis of what is wrong and what needs to be put right. The world is recovering from a once in 70 years financial crisis and is suffering from debts not seen in decades. This is not a traditional, cyclical recession, it’s a debt crisis. When the fundamental problem is the level of debt and the fear of those levels, then the usual economic prescriptions cannot be applied. It is not simply a question of using conventional fiscal and monetary levers to stimulate growth until confidence and normal economic activity returns. When households have borrowed too much, when banks are shrinking their balance sheets and rebuilding their capital and when governments are accumulating huge stocks of debt, the power of those traditional levers is limited. The economic situation is much more dangerous and the solution for most countries cannot be simply to borrow more.

The speech expressed a political kinship between Canadian and British Conservatives, at least in terms of economic and foreign policy, that went far beyond the usual politeness accorded a visiting head of state. “The relationship between Britain and Canada is deep and strong. (...) We are two nations, but under one Queen and united by one set of values. Let us fear no foe as we work together for a safer, better world.”

Prime Minister David Cameron is not the only Englishman to have a good impression of his Canadian homologue. For some Britons, Harper, as the most

effective and successful among a new crop of political personalities, embodies the model conservative leader. As Richard Adams wrote, in his blog:

Canada escaped the worst of the crisis, thanks to its sensibly regulated banking sector and its natural resources. As a result, Harper just keeps getting lucky, the prototype of the current crop of charisma-free middle managers that dominate leadership in Anglo-Saxon democracies. Harper's workmates are Britain's David Cameron, New Zealand's John Key and Australia's Julia Gillard – all of whom are the heads of minority governments and all of whom stress managerial competence. But none of the quartet can deliver a speech worth crossing a road to hear.

Harper may not cast a particularly inspiring figure, but, among this new genre of political leaders, he has been one of the most successful; by default, perhaps, but also because of his electoral and economic achievements. The Canadian conservative movement thus becomes, in the eyes of many British conservatives, the model to emulate. Now, could we find the same kind of appreciation among Conservatives in the United States?

The U. S. situation is more complicated than the British case. First, in Canadian political discourse, the claim is often made that Harper's government embodies a variant of neo-conservatism fashioned after its American counterpart (Boily, "Un néoconservatisme"). Many critics seem to believe that Prime Minister Harper, like former American President Ronald Reagan, has "ice water for blood" (Teles 87). After six years of minority government and three of majority, many observers continue to view Harper as a secretive prime minister and a real threat to Canadian democracy (Smith). In this view, Harper's brand of neo-conservatism would in time destroy traditional Canadian conservatism. Surreptitiously, these critics maintain while hiding his true neoconservative colours, Harper hopes eradicate the influence of the venerable Conservative party from the Canadian political landscape. To be sure, accusations of this type have been less frequent in recent years. They have been replaced by other, no less virulent aspersions, mostly aimed at the allegedly authoritarian and anti-democratic character of Conservative Party policies (see the section 1 of this paper). Truth be told, it would appear that Stephen Harper has kept at a fair distance from American influence. For example, as mentioned in the previous section, we could argue that the 1812 commemorative ceremonies also signalled a symbolic disengagement from the United States. One must bear in mind that, at that time, the Conservative government promoted the idea that Canada had formed its own identity, distinct from that of the American "invader," when all Canadians, Anglophones, Francophones, and Natives, built a common front against the enemy.

While it would be wrong to speak of a break or a rupture, there has been a certain degree of withdrawal from the U.S., mostly due to evident disillusionment

with American capabilities. This is especially apparent with the Keystone XL pipeline. For Canadian Conservatives, particularly in Alberta where the oil sands or tar sands are fundamental to economic prosperity, building the Keystone XL pipeline is a top priority. In September 2013, before a New York audience, Prime Minister Harper said: “My view is that you don’t take no for an answer. (...) We haven’t had that [no from the U.S.], but if we were to get that, that won’t be final. This won’t be final until it’s approved and we will keep pushing forward” (Slater). For Harper and the Albertan economic establishment, these proceedings have been stressful, as Obama delayed again and again his decision about the future of Keystone XL. More fundamentally, the relationship between Stephen Harper and Barack Obama is far from the close connection that existed between former Conservative Prime Minister Brian Mulroney and President Ronald Reagan, and, if Obama were to nix the Keystone XL pipeline, the Canada-U.S. relationship could cool considerably.

Despite this difficult relationship, some American commentators believe the Republicans can and must take lessons from Harper, especially after the 2008 Canadian federal election: “The triumph of Stephen Harper and his Conservative Party in Canada’s general election offers some hope for conservatives in the United States. Harper is a very bright guy. He is also a relatively young and articulate fellow, like Eric Cantor and Bobby Jindal” (Walker). In other words, Harper’s electoral success provides, so to speak, a ray of hope for Republicans. More generally, Obama’s Republican adversaries view Harper quite positively.

Following his May, 2011 electoral victory, the *Wall Street Journal* wrote a very positive paper urging Republicans to take lessons from him: “The lesson of Mr. Harper’s victory is that well-implemented conservative economic policies can attract and keep a political majority. America’s Republicans might want to send a visiting delegation and study up” (Heaven). For more recent examples, we can point to some articles from the Conservative journal *Commentary*, where Jonathan S. Tobin wrote about Harper:

Under Harper’s leadership, Canada has assumed its rightful role as an American partner rather than a resentful smaller neighbor. Canadians tend to pride themselves on not being Americans, and Harper is often chided by his opponents for being too close to the United States as well as being Israel’s most faithful foreign friend. But one hopes that Canadians will recoil from a would-be prime minister who is more concerned with understanding the enemies of the West than in fighting them. (Tobin)

Another author, Michael Medved, wrote in November 2013 that the recipe for electoral success with the [American] Jewish electorate is to follow the Canadian Conservative model (Medved). The most recent example of this positive reaction to Harper comes from Chris Christie, Republican Governor of New Jersey, and

potential contender for the Presidential election (2016). During a trip to Ottawa (December 5, 2014), Christie said “I’ve admired him from afar and he’s even more impressive up close than he is from afar. (...) He’s done a very good job not only in Canada but abroad” (Associated Press). Of course, Christie’s trip was about much more than praise for Harper. For Christie, a visit to Canada and Alberta was a significant strategic move, because establishing a good relationship with the Tar Sands province poses a direct challenge to his Democratic adversaries.

We can say, therefore, that even though Canada is only a small blip on the American or British radar screen, we do find certain moments where Canadian Conservatives received good press for their success on the Canadian political scene.

Conclusion: The Conservative Turn: Has Canada Gone Right?

Much discussion has taken place on whether or not Canada has shifted “right,” notably with the recent book mentioned in the introduction (*The Big Shift*, 2013). For the moment, it is too early to answer categorically this question of a turning point to the right. Instead of claiming that Canada has shifted to the right, it is perhaps more appropriate to speak of the re-built and reunified conservative base that successfully rode its new-found coherence to the seat of power. Viewed in this way, Canada has shifted not so much to the right, but toward a newly-attractive Conservative party. We find, particularly among Stephen Harper’s Conservatives, a determination to stand out, or rather to set themselves apart from the Liberals and also from the Left, as well as to overcome what Harper and Tom Flanagan called, in the middle of the 1990s, “the conservative political disarray” (Flanagan and Harper 168). Given the rise of “Reform” regionalism and the fragmented state of the conservative movement following the defeat of Kim Campbell in 1993 (an electoral tsunami to 2 MPs down from 156), the fact that Harper successfully reunited the conservative camp is, in itself, quite a feat. This in itself must be counted as a significant achievement for the right-leaning politics in Canada. From this point of view, it is a political success, because the Conservatives could once again compete electorally with the Liberals, whose fabled dominance has been trending downward for three consecutive elections in the 2000s (Leduc 541-542).

Three years after the May 2011 general federal election, Harper’s Conservative coalition remains relatively solid and many electors appear at least to have embraced “Harperism”. In the meantime, it is too early to accept the *Big Shift* thesis, because since May 2013 trust in Government has been considerably weakened by a scandal involving the Senate. One pollster wrote: “What we know empirically is that 2013 was a very bad year for Stephen Harper and the Conservatives (...).” (Hannay) In addition, the arrival of a new leader for the Liberal Party, Justin

Trudeau, son of former Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau, has also diminished support for the Conservatives, who now poll consistently below the Liberals.

More significantly, we can argue that despite the Conservatives' economic and political accomplishments (section one) and their attempt to change national identity or history (section two), Canada is still a far cry from a Conservative Country. On the contrary, some polls suggest that Canadians remain resolutely "centrists." Such is the conclusion, for example, of a poll from the Manning Center, a think-tank with the mission to "Build Canada's Conservative Movement." Each year, the Manning Center publishes an annual poll or barometer indicating the political orientation of the Canadian population. The poll's most recent results confirm that Canadians are politically "centrists." More precisely, 52% describe themselves as centrist against 14% who align with the Left and 13% with the Right (*2014 Manning* 1). Should this poll be correct, it is a strong indication that Canada is not yet a new right country. In this context, we cannot quite assert that Canada has veered to the right, or at any rate, not as much as Harper and the Conservatives should hope. At the very least, we must wait until after the 2015 elections for a more accurate answer.

Works Cited :

- 2014 Manning Annual Public Opinion Survey Overall Results*. Manning Centre. 15 Dec. 2014.
<<http://manningcentre.ca/sites/default/files/docs2/014-Manning-Poll-Overall-Results.docx>>.
- Adams, Richard. "The Rise and Rise of Stephen Harper." 18 Feb. 2013.
<<http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/richard-adams-blog/2011/mar/25/canada-election-stephen-harper-conservatives>>.
- Associated Press. "Christie Meets Canada Prime Minister, Praises Bond." *The Washington Post* (Dec. 5 2014). 6 Dec. 2014.
<http://www.washingtonpost.com/world/the_americas/christie-meets-canada-prime-minister-praises-bond/2014/12/05/e868844c-7cdf-11e4-8241-8cc0a3670239_story.html>.
- Baird, John. "Message from the Minister." 20 Feb. 2013.
<http://www.international.gc.ca/religious_freedom-liberte_de_religion/minister_ministre.aspx>.
- Barry, Donald. "Canada and the Middle East today: Electoral Politics and Foreign Policy." *Arab Studies Quarterly* 32. 4 (2010): 191-217.
- Belkhdja, Chedly. "« Choisir le bon canadien ». Les politiques d'immigration depuis l'arrivée de Stephen Harper." *Le fédéralisme selon Harper. La place*

- du *Québec dans le Canada conservateur*. Ed. Julián Castro-Rea and Frédéric Boily. Québec : Les Presses de l'Université Laval, 2014. 171-197.
- Boily, Frédéric, Natalie Boisvert, and Nathalie Kermoal. "Aux origines intellectuelles de l'École de Calgary." *International Journal of Canadian Studies/Revue internationale d'études canadiennes* 32 (2005): 175-203.
- Boily, Frédéric. "Un néoconservatisme à la canadienne? Stephen Harper et l'école de Calgary." *Le conservatisme. Le Canada et le Québec en contexte*. Ed. Linda Cardinal and Jean-Michel Lacroix. Paris: Presses de la Sorbonne Nouvelle, 2009. 35-49.
- . *La droite en Alberta. D'Ernest Manning à Stephen Harper*. Québec: Les Presses de l'Université Laval, 2013.
- Bissett, James. "The Right Moves on Immigration." *National Post* (2 Jan. 2013): A10.
- Bradford, Neil and Caroline Andrew. "The Harper Immigration Agenda: Policy and Politics in Historical Context." *How Ottawa Spends. Trimming Fat or Slicing Pork?*. Ed. Christopher Stoney and G. Bruce Doern. Montréal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2011: 262-279.
- Bricker, Darrell and John Ibbitson. *The Big Shift. The Seismic Change in Canadian Politics, Business, and Culture and What It Means for Our Future*. Toronto: HarperCollins Publishers Ltd, 2013.
- Cameron, David. "Full Transcript, David Cameron, Speech to the Canadian Parliament, 22 september 2011." *NewStatesman*. 19 Feb. 2013. <<http://www.newstatesman.com/international-politics/2011/09/canada-world-canadian-britain>>.
- Clark, Campbell. "PM's Stimulus Exit Plan: Get Ready for Five Frugal Years." *The Globe and Mail* (22 Dec. 2010): A9.
- Carlson, Katryn Blaze. "Reworking National Identity, Rediscovering National Pride." *National Post* (29 Dec. 2012): A5.
- Carson, Bruce. "The Making of a Federal Budget: Pressures on the Finance Minister." *Policy Options / Options politiques* 33.5 (May 2012). 15 Dec. 2014. <<http://policyoptions.irpp.org/issues/budget-2012/the-making-of-a-federal-budget-pressures-on-the-finance-minister/>>.
- Chase, Steven. "Budget Must Tackle Rising Costs of Greying Population, Watchdogs Warns." *The Globe and Mail* (17 Feb. 2010). 15 Dec. 2014. <<http://www.theglobeandmail.com/news/politics/budget-must-tackle-rising-costs-of-greying-population-watchdog-warns/article4188653/>>.
- Cohen, Andrew *The Unfinished Canadian. The People We Are*. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 2007.
- Den Tandt, Michael. "Religious Freedom Role Worth a Try." *Edmonton Journal*, (February 20 2013): A19.
- Diefenbaker, John G. *Those Things We Treasure*. Toronto: Macmillan, 1972

- Doern, G. Bruce. "Governing Unnaturally: the Liberals, Regime Change, and Policy Shift." *How Ottawa spends, 2003-2004. Regime Change and Policy Shift*. Ed. G. Bruce Doern, Don Mills: Oxford University Press, 2003. 1-22.
- Cyril, Doll. "The Toryfication of Reform." *Western Standard* (23 Apr. 23 2007): 26-29.
- Farney, James and Jonathan Malloy. "Ideology and Discipline in the Conservative Party of Canada." *The Canadian Federal Election of 2011*. Ed. Jon H. Pammett and Christopher Dornan. Toronto: Dundurn, 2011. 247-269.
- Farney, James. *Social Conservatives and Party Politics in Canada and the United States*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2012.
- Flanagan, Tom and Stephen Harper, "Conservative Politics in Canada: Past, Present, and Future." *After Liberalism*. Ed. William D. Gairdner. Toronto: Stoddart, 1998.168-192.
- Flanagan, Tom. *Harper's Team. Behind the Scenes in the Conservative Rise to Power*. Montréal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2009.
- Frenette, Yves. "Conscripting the Canada's Past: The Harper Government and the Politics of Memory." *Canadian Journal of History/Annales canadiennes d'histoire* 49 (spring-summer 2014): 49-65.
- Granatstein, Jack. "Harper, History, and Historians." *The Dorchester Review* 2.2 (Autumn/Winter 2012): 80-82.
- Gutstein, Donald. *Harperism. How Stephen Harper and his think tank colleagues have transformed Canada*. Toronto: Lorimer, 2014.
- Hannay, Chris. "Canadians Not Happy with Tories or Direction of Country, Poll Suggests." *The Globe and Mail* (18 Dec. 2014). 18 Dec. 2014. <<http://www.theglobeandmail.com/news/politics/canadians-not-happy-with-tories-or-direction-of-country-poll-suggests/article22139000/>>.
- Harper, Stephen. "A Conversation with the Prime Minister." *Policy Options/Options politiques* (March 2006). 15 Dec. 2014. <<http://policyoptions.irpp.org/issues/the-prime-minister/a-conversation-with-the-prime-minister/>>.
- Heaven, Pamela. "WSJ Hails Harper as a Model Conservative." *Financial Post* (4 May 2011). 15 Dec. 2014. <<http://business.financialpost.com/2011/05/04/wall-street-journal-warms-to-harper/>>.
- Ibbitson, John. "A Big Bang to Rebalance Confederation." *The Globe and Mail* (2 May 2006): A9.
- Leduc, Lawrence and al. *Dynasties and Interludes. Past and Present in Canadian Electoral Politics*. Toronto: Dundurn Press, 2010.
- Lee, Ian. "Righting Wrongs: Locking Up Them Without Losing the Key Reforms of Crime and Punishment." *How Ottawa spends, The Harper Conservatives. Climate Change, 2007-2008*. Ed. Bruce G. Doern. Montréal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2007. 220-253.
- Johnson, William. *Stephen Harper and the Future of Canada*. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 2005.

- Martin, Lawrence. *Harperland. The Politics of Control*. Toronto: Penguin Canada, 2011.
- MacDonald, Marci. *The Armageddon Factor: The Rise of Christian Nationalism in Canada*. Toronto: Random House, 2010.
- Medved, Michael. "Jews, Conservatives, and Canada." *Commentary* (November 2013). 17 Dec. 2014. <<http://www.commentarymagazine.com/article/jews-conservatives-and-canada/>>.
- Nadeau, Christian. *Rogue In Power. Why Stephen Harper is Remaking Canada by Stealth*. Toronto: Lorimer, 2011.
- Riley, Susan. "Red Tories Wander in the Wilderness, Looking for a Place to Hang Their Votes." *Edmonton Journal* (19 Oct. 2009): A18.
- Savoie, Donald J. *Power. Where is it?*. Montréal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2010.
- Slater, Joanna. "Harper 'Won't Take No for an Answer' from U.S. on Keystone XL." *The Globe and Mail* (26 Sep. 2013) 17 Dec. 2014. <<http://www.theglobeandmail.com/report-on-business/harper-wont-take-no-for-an-answer-from-us-on-keystone-xl/article14547474/>>.
- Smith, Jennifer. "Parliamentary Democracy versus Faux Populist Democracy." *Parliamentary Democracy in Crisis*. Ed. By Peter H. Russell and Lorne Sossin, Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2009. 175-188.
- Taube, Michael. "Canada's Crusader for Conservatism." *Standpoint* 47 (November 2012). 17 Dec. 2014. <<http://standpointmag.co.uk/dispatches-november-12-canadas-conservative-crusader-michael-taube-stephen-harper?page=0%2C0%2C0%2C0%2C0%2C0%2C0%2C0%2C0%2C2>>.
- Teles, Steven. "Incompetent Foes." *The American Interest* 5.1 (2010).
- Tobin, Jonathan S. "A Leader Who Wants to Understand Terror." *Commentary* (18 Apr. 2013). 17 Dec. 2014. <<http://www.commentarymagazine.com/2013/04/18/a-leader-who-wants-to-understand-terror/>>.
- Walker, Bruce. "Conservative Victory in Canada and Lessons for Republicans." 16 Dec. 2014. <http://www.americanthinker.com/articles/2008/10/conservative_victory_in_canada_1.html#ixzz3LjGO3BsT>.
- Wapshott, Nicholas. *Keynes, Hayek. The Clash That Defined Modern Economics*. New York: Norton, 2011.
- Wells, Paul. *Right Side Up: The Fall of Paul Martin and the Rise of Stephen Harper's New Conservatism*. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 2006.

Frédéric Boily, after earning his doctorate from Université Laval, became a professor of Political Science at Faculté St-Jean, University of Alberta. He serves as Director of Canadian Studies Institute, University of Alberta. His areas of specialization are Canadian

political ideologies, more specifically conservatism and populism. He is the author of many books, such as *Le conservatisme au Québec. Retour sur une tradition oubliée* (PUL, 2010). This book received the Donald Smiley award (2011), from the Canadian Political Science Association. His most recent work (with Julian Castro-Rea) is *Le fédéralisme selon Harper. La place du Québec dans le Canada conservateur*, PUL, 2014.

Magdalena Marczuk-Karbownik

University of Łódź

**CANADA AS A TRADING PARTNER AND ALLY OF
EUROPE: CURRENT PROBLEMS AND CHALLENGES IN
TRANSATLANTIC RELATIONS**

Abstract

Canada's link to Europe has always been very strong. It is based on historical developments such as demographics as well as cultural and language ties. Most events on the Old Continent had implications in Canada as Europe was a part of Canadian political space. Canada was among the initiators and founding countries of North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO) in 1949 and Canadian troops were present in Western Germany till the end of the Cold War. Since 1945 Europe has become progressively more institutionalized, and the government in Ottawa deals directly with the major European multilateral organizations instead of particular countries. The aim of the article is to analyse the main problems in the relations between Canada and Europe / European Union and to present the crucial moments and the most important fields of cooperation since the beginning of the 21st century. In the article a lot of attention is paid to several steps and initiatives taken by Ottawa since the beginning of the crisis in Ukraine. As more than 1 million people of Ukrainian roots live in Canada, the territorial sovereignty and freedom of Ukraine is fundamental not only for international security in Ottawa's understanding, but for other reasons, including political and humanitarian, as well.

Résumé

Le lien entre le Canada et l'Europe a toujours été très fort. Il est basé sur les développements historiques et démographiques ainsi que sur les liens culturels et linguistiques. La plupart des événements sur le Vieux Continent ont eu des répercussions au Canada vu que l'Europe était une partie de l'espace politique canadien. Le Canada a été parmi les initiateurs et les pays fondateurs de l'Organisation du Traité de l'Atlantique Nord (OTAN) en 1949 et les troupes canadiennes ont été présentes en Allemagne de l'Ouest jusqu'à la fin de la guerre froide. Depuis 1945, l'Europe est devenue de plus en plus institutionnalisée et le

gouvernement d'Ottawa s'adresse directement aux grandes organisations multilatérales européennes à la place des pays en question. Le but de l'article est d'analyser les principaux problèmes dans les relations entre le Canada et l'Europe / l'Union européenne et de présenter les moments cruciaux et les domaines les plus importants de la coopération depuis le début du XXI^e siècle. Dans l'article, on accorde beaucoup d'attention à des mesures et initiatives prises par Ottawa depuis le début de la crise en Ukraine. Comme plus d'un million de personnes d'origine ukrainienne vivent au Canada, la souveraineté territoriale et la liberté de l'Ukraine sont fondamentales non seulement pour la sécurité internationale dans la compréhension d'Ottawa, mais aussi pour d'autres raisons, aussi bien politiques qu'humanitaires.

Canada's link to Europe is based on historical developments including demographics, as well as cultural and language ties. In colonial times, the territory of present-day Canada was settled by the Europeans – first the French, then the British. After 1763, that land became a part of the British Empire. Today, though an independent state, Canada still has exceptionally close relations with the United Kingdom due to Canada's status as a Commonwealth nation and its recognition of a common head of state. Historically, most events in Europe had implications for Canada as Europe constituted part of Canadian political space. Canada's commitment to the Old Continent predates the formation of NATO in 1949, but was confirmed by Canadian participation in the two world wars and assistance in rebuilding the societies and economies of Europe after the World War II. In fact, Canadian troops were present in Western Germany until the end of the Cold War. Prior to the World War II, the Canadian link to Europe consisted mainly of bilateral relations with particular countries. However, since 1945, Europe has become progressively more institutionalized, and the government in Ottawa has more often dealt directly with the major European multilateral organizations.

The aim of this article is to characterize and analyse the relations between Canada and Europe / the European Union since the beginning of the 21st century. The complicated situation in Eastern Europe, in regard to the Ukrainian crisis and the conclusion of negotiations on the Comprehensive Economic and Trade Agreement (CETA) and the Strategic Partnership Agreement (SPA) by Canadian and EU leaders, have made recent times exceptionally challenging for transatlantic relations and have deeply engaged Ottawa in European matters.

CANADA AND EUROPE – HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

In 1976, the European Economic Community (EEC) and Canada signed a Framework Agreement for Commercial and Economic Cooperation, the first formal agreement of its kind between the EEC and an industrialized third country. The goal of the agreement was to strengthen relations and contribute to international economic cooperation (“Framework Agreement for Commercial and Economic Cooperation”). The same year the Delegation of the European Commission to Canada was opened in Ottawa. In 1990, Canadian leaders and their European partners adopted a Declaration on Transatlantic Relations, extending the scope of their contacts and establishing regular meetings at the Summit (with the Prime Minister of Canada and the President of the European Council and the President of the Commission), and Ministerial level. The most important common goal was to cooperate:

to support democracy, the rule of law, and respect for human rights and individual liberty; to safeguard peace and promote international security, especially by cooperating with other nations of the world against aggression and coercion and other forms of violence by strengthening the role of the United Nations and other international organizations (...), pursue policies aimed at achieving a sound world economy marked by sustained economic growth with low inflation, a high level of employment (...), to promote market principles, reject protectionism and expand, strengthen and further open the multilateral trading system (“Declaration on Transatlantic Relations”).

The event of a great importance was signing Joint Political Declaration on EU-Canada Relations at the Ottawa Summit in 1996, whereby a Joint Action Plan identifying supplementary particular areas for cooperation was adopted. In that document, collaboration on the former Yugoslavia and common assistance initiatives in support of the new democracies in Central and Eastern Europe were declared. Additionally, both parties expressed criticism of the United States policy towards Cuba, as Washington had imposed an economic embargo on Cuba: “In addition to the common approach between the European Union and Canada in combating secondary embargoes, we will work together under the Action Plan in order to avoid unilateralism” (“Joint Political Declaration”). It was the first time when the leaders of Canada and the European Union jointly opposed American unilateralism.

At the Ottawa Summit in December 2000, at the time of the implementation of the European Security and Defence Policy (ESDP), now named the Common Security and Defence Policy (CSDP), Canada supported the activities of the EU for the common defence and expressed its willingness to participate in the EU crisis management missions. The leading role of NATO in mutual defence was

confirmed and the development of the relationship between the two organizations was announced (“EU-Canada Summit, Ottawa, 2000”).

NEW CHALLENGES IN THE NEW MILLENNIUM

The terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001 prompted the collective condemnation of Canada and the EU. In the joint statement signed at the EU-Canada Summit in Ottawa in December 2001, the undersigned declared their determination “to work even more closely together in the fight against terrorism in all its aspects, in close contact with the United States and in support of multilateral efforts” (“EU-Canada Summit, Ottawa, 2001”).

As Canada was extremely critical of American unilateralism in the conflict in Iraq, and the transatlantic rift between Washington and so called “Old Europe” (Germany and France) was a fact, the relations between the EU and Canada became closer. At the Ottawa summit in 2004, the European and Canadian leaders agreed to new parameters for the relationship. The Partnership Agenda, which highlighted respect for multilateralism, as well as historical and cultural ties as the foundations of the partnership, committed the leaders to strengthening the contacts at the political level in order to:

- advance international security and effective multilateralism
- further global economic prosperity
- deepen cooperation on justice and home affairs
- address global and regional challenges
- foster closer links between the people of the EU and Canada (“EU-Canada Partnership Agenda”).

The following years brought other declarations specifying the program of cooperation. In 2005, an agreement establishing a framework for Canada’s participation in the EU crisis management operations was signed. Since then, Canada has been a regular contributor to the EU’s CSDP/ESDP missions: EU Police Missions in Afghanistan (EUPOL Afghanistan – Canadian troops left Afghanistan in March 2014), in the Palestinian Territories (EUPOL COPPS – Canadian participation since August 2008) and in Bosnia and Herzegovina (EUPM – the mission ended in June 2012), EU Election Observer Missions (EOMs) most recently in Pakistan in 2013, the Democratic Republic of Congo, the EU Rule of Law Mission (EULEX) in Kosovo, together with, inter alia, the United States. Canada has been asked to participate in some new missions, as well – in the Horn of Africa, Niger, South Sudan and EU Training Mission in Mali (“EU-Canada Relations”). The 2008 EU-Canada Summit declaration emphasized that cooperation in civilian and military crisis management is a key part of developing mutual approaches to regional issues.

That agreement mandated regular consultations between the EU Institutions and Canadian crisis management unit – the Stabilization and Reconstruction Task Force (START).

PROBLEMATIC ISSUES IN THE EU-CANADA RELATIONS

Kyoto Protocol

In 1997, at the Kyoto meeting, Jean Chrétien, the Liberal Party Prime Minister, negotiated an obligation to reduce Canada's annual emissions of greenhouse gases (GHG) by 6% below their 1990 levels. The goal was to be achieved by 2008-2012. From the very beginning, it was obvious that Canada had set itself a difficult task. When the United States abandoned Kyoto in 2001, Canada became the only nation in the Americas considering the adoption of a binding emissions-reduction obligation. Prime Minister Chrétien officially ratified the Kyoto Accord in December 2002. In two years, emissions of GHG like carbon dioxide, commonly considered as a cause of global warming, were 27% above 1990 levels, instead of 6% below. As the European Union has always been a strong enthusiast of the Kyoto Protocol, the relations with Canada became cooler and Ottawa cancelled EU-Canada Tampere Summit in 2006. In 2007, the Conservative Minister of the Environment, John Baird said that Kyoto target on greenhouse gases was unreachable (Palmer). And, on December 13, 2011 the Environment Minister of Conservative government, Peter Kent announced Canada's withdrawal from the Kyoto Protocol blaming his Liberal predecessors for not making attempts to reduce the pollution of the environment. He stressed there would be no success in that matter without India and China (responsible for the highest GHG emission rates) included in the Kyoto Protocol.

The Arctic

Another problematic question to the EU-Canadian relations is the Arctic. There is an ongoing tension over the EU ban on the import of seal products (announced in 2009). This was thought to be a motivating factor in Ottawa's efforts to block the EU's attempts to join the Arctic Council as a permanent observer. At the 2013 Ministerial Meeting in Kiruna, Sweden, the EU requested observer status but it was not granted. On May 15, 2013, after the beginning of Canada's chairmanship in the Arctic Council, *The Globe and Mail*, reported:

It was evident that Canada blocked admission of the European Union over its ban on imports of seal meat and fur. Ms. Aglukkaq makes no secret of the fact that that she regards the EU ban as an offensive bit of unfair interference by arrogant southerners in the lifestyle of her people, calling it a “huge, huge issue” (Koring).¹

Furthermore, Canada is against granting non-Arctic states permanent observer status in the Arctic Council. Ottawa is not willing to consider the opinions of so many players.

However, the European leaders are hoping to gain observer status soon as the EU-Canadian agreement which allow the Inuit to resume the exportation of seal products was announced on October 10, 2014. It is believed that the deal will “break the ice” in transatlantic relations.

NEGOTIATING CETA

The launch of negotiations

One of the most crucial moments in the relations between Canada and the European Union came when a declaration marking the conclusion of negotiations on the Comprehensive Economic and Trade Agreement (CETA) was signed on September 26, 2014.

The idea of closer economic partnership and the liberalization of the bilateral trade had appeared in 2007. The Canada Europe Roundtable for Business (CERT), founded in 1999, has been a principal backer for a free trade agreement and is supported by more than 100 Canadian and European chief executives (“Declaration in Support”). CERT is co-chaired by former Canadian trade minister Roy MacLaren, and Bill Emmott, former editor of *The Economist*. As a prelude, Canada signed a free trade agreement with the smaller European Free Trade Association (EFTA – Iceland, Norway, Switzerland and Lichtenstein) in Davos, in 2008. The agreement is aimed at eliminating all tariffs on goods.

At the EU-Canada Summit on May 6, 2009 in Prague, the leaders of the European Union and Canada “announced the launch of negotiations towards a comprehensive economic and trade agreement” (“EU-Canada Summit Declaration”). In October 2011 nine official rounds of negotiations were completed, with significant progress made in all sectors. Negotiations moved into a more intensive and focused phase. Both sides wanted a

¹ Leona Aglukkaq, the chair of the Arctic Council, then the Conservative Health Minister, Nunavut’s sole MP, the Environment Minister since July 15, 2013.

comprehensive agreement, with a highest degree of liberalization of trade in goods and services, that goes far beyond the World Trade Organisation commitments. In 2010, Finn Laursen forecast that if the negotiations “should fail, there is not only the danger that Canada will become more and more dependent on trade within NAFTA but it will increasingly turn its attention to East Asia and other emerging economies” (236).

Some statistics

To aid in understanding the present state of EU-Canadian trade relations, it is useful to examine certain statistics:

- In 2013, Canada was the EU’s 12th most important trading partner, accounting for 1.7% of the EU’s total external trade (to compare – the U.S. is on the top with 14.2%). The EU was Canada’s “number two” most important trading partner, after the U.S., with 9.8% of total external trade of Canada in the same year.
- The value of bilateral trade in goods between the EU and Canada was €58.8 billion in 2013. What dominates in the EU’s exports of goods to Canada and constitute an important part of the EU’s imports of goods from Canada are machinery, transport equipment and chemicals.
- The value of bilateral trade in services between the two partners amounted to €26.9 billion in 2012. Examples of often traded services between Canada and the EU are transportation, travel, insurance and communication.
- The investment relationship is very important as well. In 2011, European investors held investments worth more than €258 billion in Canada while Canadian direct investment stocks in the EU amounted to almost €142.6 billion (“Countries and regions: Canada”).

Expected effects of CETA

The agreement on the key elements of CETA was reached on October 18, 2013. The conclusion of the negotiations was announced, and the agreement was officially presented on September 25, 2014 by Canadian Prime Minister Stephen Harper, the President of European Commission Jose Manuel Barroso and the President of European Council Herman Van Rompuy during the EU-Canada Summit at the Royal York Hotel in Toronto. The next day the entire text of CETA was published on the EU’s official website.

In the declaration by the President of the European Commission and the Prime Minister of Canada one can read that the successful conclusion of

negotiations for CETA, “a 21st century, gold-standard agreement”, is the beginning of “a new era in EU-Canada relations” (“Declaration by the President”). This is the first agreement that the European Union signed with a G-7 country. Canadian Prime Minister Stephen Harper called the trade agreement “an historic win for Canada.” On his official website one can read:

The elimination of approximately 98 per cent of all EU tariff lines on the first day of when the Agreement comes into force will translate into increased profits and market opportunities for Canadian businesses of all sizes, in every part of the country. (...) The Agreement will provide Canada with preferential market access to the European Union’s more than 500 million consumers. Canadian workers in every region of the country – including in sectors such as fish and seafood; chemicals and plastics; metal and mineral products; technology; forestry and value-added wood products; automotive; advanced manufacturing; and agriculture and agri-food – stand to benefit significantly from increased access to this lucrative 28 country market which currently generates \$17 trillion in annual economic activity (“Canada reaches historic trade agreement”).

CETA is “expected to increase two-way bilateral trade in goods and services by 23% or €26 billion, fostering growth and employment on both sides of the Atlantic” (“Declaration by the President”).

Problematic issues

However, there have been some controversies since the beginning of the CETA negotiations which delayed the conclusion of the agreement. Generally speaking, agriculture has been a challenging and problematic area, especially regarding Canada’s access to the European markets for beef and pork, and Europe’s access to Canadian markets for cheese. The EU expected the import of Canadian meat, but wanted only hormone-free which would mean the higher costs of the production. Further, the deal allows European cheese producers to more than double their shipments into Canada. The dairy industry, concentrated in Quebec and Ontario, had a near-monopoly on cheese sales (more than 90%). Thus, Canadian meat producers and the dairy farmers were in opposition (Iverson).

With regard to another trade sector, some provinces served notice they would seek compensation for changes to patent rules on brand-name pharmaceuticals that would delay the introduction of less expensive generic versions by up to two years. Prime Minister Harper promised that the government would provide compensation for the cheese producers and Canadian health care sector (Fekete).

Additional concerns and criticism appeared in Canadian provinces during CETA negotiations. There was a threat that “(...) the Canada-EU agreement will have far greater impacts on provincial sovereignty, as well as on policy flexibility at all levels, including municipally.” (Trew) There are many questions in public debates about how the pact will change Canadians’ lives in the future which remain unanswered. A good example can be found in an article by Yves Engler who argues that CETA gives multinational corporations much power and the government did not “consult the people about their priorities in trade agreements.” (Engler) This is probably the consequence of a lack of transparency, which have undermined CETA project. The Canadian government does its best to reduce criticism towards CETA by disseminating informational brochures and countering myths about CETA on a dedicated website. Both the brochures and the website outline the benefits of the deal for Canadian citizens, business and provinces (“Canada-European Union”). The agreement is expected to come into force in 2016, after translation of CETA text into all EU languages and ratification by 28 EU members and all Canadian provinces (“EU-Canada Comprehensive and Economic Trade Agreement”).

CETA BENEFITS

Undoubtedly there are many CETA benefits for both sides. Canada is among the most advanced non-European partners with which the EU has ever negotiated a trade agreement. With CETA, Canada will be the only G-7 country and one of the few developed countries in the world to have preferential access to the world’s two largest markets, the EU and the United States – comprising more than 800 million of the world’s most affluent consumers. For the EU, Canada – being “a like-minded partner” with a sizeable market and its natural resources – is a good destination for European investments (“EU-Canada Comprehensive and Economic Trade Agreement (CETA)”). This country has economic stability with GDP of \$1,788 billion in 2014 (“Report for Selected Countries”) which gives 11th place in the world (“World Development Indicators”).

In October 2013 the most influential American news sources, after the Associated Press, informed that: “Harper has said that a free trade deal between his country and the European Union could help the EU establish a beachhead as they embark on separate free trade talks with the U.S. If the U.S.-EU trade deal is reached, it could be the world’s largest free trade pact.” (“Europe hopes to conclude”) CETA is a precursor for another major trade deal – the Transatlantic Trade and Investment Partnership (TTIP), which is currently being negotiated between the European Union and the United States. Trade negotiations with the U.S. are in an early stage but the fact of the CETA

talks have concluded will probably accelerate their progress. Although Steve Verheul, Canada's Chief Negotiator for CETA, says that TTIP negotiations will be more difficult regarding the huge size of American economy, and its potential impact on Europe's industry and agriculture.² As Maya Rostowska from the Polish Institute of International Affairs observes, CETA can be a good lesson for TTIP, in both positive and negative meanings (Rostowska 6). It is also suggested for Brussels to "pursue the CETA strategy of including « hooks » [that will allow the two transatlantic deals to be linked – M.M-K] in its other trade agreements with North America." (Brudzińska and Rostowska 2) For Canada, the agreement gives an alternative and a hope that it can diversify its trade away from the United States.

CANADA-EU STRATEGIC PARTNERSHIP AGREEMENT

In 2014, another agreement was struck which would strengthen bilateral relations between Canada and the European Union. On September 8, 2014, John Baird, the Canadian Minister of Foreign Affairs and Catherine Ashton, the Vice-President of the European Commission, announced the end of the negotiations on the Canada-EU Strategic Partnership Agreement (SPA). In the Joint Statement by Canada and the European Union one can read that the agreement

outlines our many shared and long-standing values, and the objectives which we are working towards together – such as freedom, democracy, human rights and the rule of law, international peace and security and effective multilateralism. It consolidates our cooperation on energy, sustainable development and the environment, and opens new opportunities on research and innovation ("Joint Statement by Canada and the European Union").

The SPA is a background for stronger future relations and cooperation between Canada and EU members at the bilateral and multilateral levels. As European Council President Van Rompuy indicated, closer collaboration would be significant and beneficial in facing the pressing challenges, including the situation in Ukraine.

CANADA'S SUPPORT FOR UKRAINE

It is a difficult task to analyse in detail all the steps and initiatives which Ottawa has taken since the beginning of the crisis in Ukraine. Canada is

² Steve Verheul gave a public lecture at the Polish Institute of International Affairs, in Warsaw, Poland on January 27, 2014 (Rostowska, "Umowa handlowa").

deeply engaged in supporting Ukraine to restore political and economic stability and to implement democratic reforms. The Canadian government condemned aggressive Russian policy and the illegal military occupation of Crimea. As more than 1 million people of Ukrainian roots live in Canada, the territorial sovereignty and freedom of Ukraine is fundamental not only for international security in Ottawa's understanding, but for other reasons, including political and humanitarian, as well.

Sanctions

After Russia was isolated politically by its expulsion from the G-8 (the G-7 Summit took place in Brussels in June 2014 instead of the G-8 Summit in Sochi), other reactions to the situation in Ukraine have included the imposition of economic sanctions and travel bans against Russian and Ukrainian individuals responsible for the ongoing crisis. In spring and summer 2014, Canada, in close coordination with partners in the United States and Europe, introduced economic sanctions against a broad range of entities of various Russian sectors such as arms, energy and finance (Russian banks). New export restrictions on technologies used in Russia's oil exploration and extractive sector were announced on December 19, 2014. All those measures caused economic instability in Russia, including high interest rates and a sharp drop in the value of the rouble, giving the Western leaders hope that the Russians soon would demand a shift in foreign policy of the Kremlin. As Canadian Minister of Foreign Affairs, John Baird said:

Russians are paying for their leader's reckless aggression (...) The rouble's dive should be enough to give President Putin and his backers pause. If he wants to turn his economy around, he must pull out of Ukraine and he must return Crimea, and he must respect the international order that makes us a family of nations (qtd. in Galloway).

Canada's commitment to NATO

Facing the crisis in Ukraine, Ottawa is providing reassurance to NATO members in Central and Eastern Europe by deploying Canadian Armed Forces (CAF) units and staff to promote security and stability in that region. After Russia's aggression against Ukraine Canada suspended all planned actions together with the Russian military. Twenty Canadian operational planners have been sent to NATO's Supreme Headquarters Allied Powers Europe in Belgium to plan functions and monitor events in Eastern Europe. In May

2014, Canada deployed six CF-18 Hornet fighter aircraft together with 200 support staff to Campia Turzii, Romania to conduct multinational training exercises as part of Canada's commitment to its NATO Allies ("Canada supports NATO"). In the same month, 50 Canadian soldiers were sent to Poland to conduct training together with the American and Polish allies and, in June, 125 Canadian soldiers participated in Saber Strike 2014, an exercise led by the U.S. in Poland and the Baltic Republics. In October 2014, HMCS *Toronto* joined Reassurance NATO Operation to conduct training exercises and force integration activities in the Eastern Atlantic Ocean and Mediterranean Sea region. Of great importance is the fact that Canada is providing \$1 million to the NATO Trust Funds to support Ukraine in modernizing its armed forces. What is more, the NATO Centres of Excellence: Cyber Security, Energy Security and Strategic Communications were provided with \$3 million (\$1 million for each) from Canada to help deter Russian operations in Eastern Europe ("NATO security initiatives").

Canada's direct support for Ukraine

During the first official visit to Canada of Ukrainian President Petro Poroshenko, on September 17, 2014, the agreement on the provision of Canada's \$200 million loan to Ukraine to promote economic and financial reforms was reached. Additionally, then Prime Minister Harper declared \$3 million to support international partners in providing medical attention, food, safe drinking water, sanitation and hygiene, shelter, emergency child protection, and emergency response and preparedness to help the Ukrainians living in areas affected by violence ("PM welcomes successful visit"). It is worth mentioning that in July 2014, Minister of International Trade Ed Fast announced \$19.6 million in Canadian support for a seven-year project Horticultural Business Development to train horticultural farmers to improve agricultural practices and help to develop Ukraine's agricultural sector ("Minister Fast").

Beyond its actions within NATO, Canada provides military assistance to support the Ukrainian Armed Forces. In August 2014, non-lethal military supplies were sent to Ukraine, such as: helmets, ballistic eyewear, protective vests, first aid kits, tents and sleeping bags. In November 2014, Canada donated further military gear which included tactical communications systems, ordnance-disposal equipment, tactical medical kits as well as winter coats and boots. On December 8, 2014, during his official visit in Kiev, the Canadian Minister of National Defence Rob Nicholson, announced that Canada would send soldiers to Ukraine to train the military police there (Chase).

Canada's cooperation with Poland

Due to the country's geopolitical location, the situation in Ukraine is very important for Poland and its security. Facing the crisis in Ukraine Canada and Poland began to cooperate closely and the good bilateral relations became even better. In 2014, the highest Canadian officials visited Poland: Prime Minister Stephen Harper in June, Governor General David Lloyd Johnston in October, Minister of Foreign Affairs John Baird in April and Minister of National Defence Rob Nicholson in December. Most of the official statements during those visits concerned the situation in Ukraine and the perspectives of Polish-Canadian cooperation towards the events in the region ("Governor General's first official visit to Poland"). In this context, the fact of great importance is the Canada-Poland Statement of Principles for Coordinated Engagement on Ukraine, signed by John Baird and his Polish counterpart, Radosław Sikorski, on April 24, 2014. This agreement is to guide cooperation in Canadian and Polish efforts to support democracy, human rights, economic growth and the rule of law in Ukraine. Moreover, Baird declared that Canada would contribute \$9.2 million to joint Canadian and Polish projects that strengthen democratic development in Ukraine such as the Poland-Canada Democracy Support Program for Ukraine for the years 2014-2017 which will work with Solidarity Fund, and Support for Grassroots Democracy project of the European Endowment for Democracy for the years 2014-2019. At the press conference in Warsaw Baird stressed that "Canada and Poland stand shoulder to shoulder in the face of Russia's cynical aggression" and emphasized the importance of the partnership with Poland "on a coordinated approach in support of Ukraine's future as a sovereign, unified and prosperous European state, free of Russian interference and threats." ("Canada and Poland") After a call for NATO to establish a greater presence in Eastern Europe by the Polish Prime Minister Donald Tusk during the meeting with Stephen Harper on June 4, 2014, the Canadian Prime Minister announced "the increased military cooperation between Poland and Canada", which meant his country's plans to send more soldiers to that region which would be executed e.g. in Saber Strike 2014 joint exercise in June ("PM delivers remarks").

It is clear that Canada is going to intensify its actions if the Kremlin would not change its aggressive policy. As Stephen Harper stated in an opinion-editorial, entitled "Our duty is to stand firm in the face of Russian aggression," published in *The Globe and Mail* on July 25:

Russia's aggressive militarism and expansionism are a threat to more than just Ukraine; they are a threat to Europe, to the rule of law and to the values that bind Western nations. Canada will not stand idly by in the face of this threat. (Harper)

CONCLUSION

Having such a powerful neighbour as the United States, Canadian leaders see that the cooperation with the European Union provides an alternative for the Canadian economy and trade. Supporting NATO measures regarding the crisis in Ukraine seems to be a kind of continuation of Canada's traditional peacekeeping policy. On the other hand, through showing respect for multilateralism and the principles of international law, as well as by having its economic stability, Canada impresses many European leaders as an attractive trading partner and trustworthy ally.

Works Cited :

- Brudzińska, Kinga and Maya Rostowska. "North America's New Trade Deals: From NAFTA to TTP and TTIP." *Bulletin. The Polish Institute of International Affairs* 22 (18 February 2014). 1 Oct. 2014. <http://www.pism.pl/files/?id_plik=16484>.
- "Canada and Poland Strengthen Coordinated Engagement in Ukraine." *Government of Canada. News Release* (24 April 2014). 1 Oct. 2014. <<http://news.gc.ca/web/article-en.do?nid=841939>>.
- "Canada-European Union: Comprehensive Economic and Trade Agreement (CETA)." *Government of Canada. Foreign Affairs, Trade and Development Canada*. 1 Oct. 2014. <<http://www.international.gc.ca/trade-agreements-accords-commerciaux/agr-acc/ceta-aecg/index.aspx?lang=eng>>.
- "Canada Reaches Historic Trade Agreement with the European Union." *Prime Minister of Canada. Stephen Harper* (18 Oct. 2013). 1 Oct. 2014. <<http://www.pm.gc.ca/eng/node/34394>>.
- "Canada Supports NATO in Promoting Security and Stability in Central and Eastern Europe." *NATO. Allied Command Operations* (16 May 2014). 1 Oct. 2014. <<http://www.aco.nato.int/canada-supports-nato-in-promoting-security-and-stability-in-central-and-eastern-europe.aspx>>.
- Chase, Steven. "Canada to Offer Ukraine Military Aid Outside of NATO." *The Globe and Mail* (8 Dec. 2014). 22 Dec. 2014. <<http://www.theglobeandmail.com/news/politics/canadian-soldiers-to-train-ukrainian-military-police-nicholson/article21988518/>>.
- "Declaration by the President of the European Commission and the Prime Minister of Canada." *European Commission. Press Release Database* (18 Oct. 2013). 1 Oct. 2014. <http://europa.eu/rapid/press-release-MEMO-13-914_en.htm>.
- "Declaration in Support of a Canada-EU Trade and Investment Agreement." *The Canada Europe Roundtable for Business*. 1 Oct. 2014.

- <<http://www.canada-europe.org/en/pdf/CERT.Canada-EU-Trade-Investment-Declaration.pdf>>.
- “Declaration on Transatlantic Relations, 1990.” *Delegation of the European Union to Canada*. 1 Oct. 2014.
<http://eeas.europa.eu/delegations/canada/eu_canada/political_relations/bilateral_agreements/1990_declaration/index_en.htm>.
- Engler, Yves. “Canada-European Union Free Trade Agreement (CETA): A ‘Corporate Bill of Rights.’” *Global Research* (12 Nov. 2013). 22 Dec. 2014.
<<http://www.globalresearch.ca/canada-european-union-free-trade-agreement-ceta-a-corporate-bill-of-rights/5357807>>.
- “Europe Hopes to Conclude Canada Trade Deal.” *The Herald Business Journal* (17 Oct. 2013). 1 Oct. 2014.
<<http://www.theheraldbusinessjournal.com/apps/pbcs.dll/article?aid=/20131017/BIZ/710179977/Europe-hopes-to-conclude-Canada-trade-deal&template=bizmobileart>>.
- “EU-Canada Comprehensive and Economic Trade Agreement (CETA)” (26 Sept. 2014). *EUbusiness.com*. 1 Oct. 2014.
<<http://www.eubusiness.com/topics/trade/canada-ceta>>.
- Fekete, Jason. “Compromises on Both Sides Led to ‘Excellent Deal’ on European Trade, Stephen Harper Says.” *Canada.com* (18 Oct. 2013). 1 Oct. 2014. <<http://o.canada.com/news/harper-announces-agreement-in-principle-on-european-free-trade>>.
- “Framework Agreement for Commercial and Economic Cooperation between the European Communities and Canada.” *Official Journal of European Communities* L 260/2 (24 Sept. 1976). 1 Oct. 2014.
<<http://ec.europa.eu/world/agreements/downloadFile.do?fullText=yes&treatyTransId=709>>.
- Galloway, Gloria. “Canada to Impose More Economic Sanctions, Travel Bans Against Russia.” *The Globe and Mail* (19 Dec. 2014). 22 Dec. 2014.
<<http://www.theglobeandmail.com/news/politics/canada-to-impose-more-sanctions-travel-bans-against-russians/article22162907/>>.
- “Governor General’s First Official Visit to Poland: Polishing and Historic Friendship.” *Government of Canada. Poland*. 22 Dec. 2014.
<<http://www.canadainternational.gc.ca/poland-pologne/highlights-faits/2014/2014-11-GG-Visit-visite.aspx?lang=eng>>.
- Harper, Stephen. “Our Duty is to Stand Firm in the Face of Russian Aggression.” *The Globe and Mail* (25 July 2014). 1 Oct. 2014.
<<http://www.theglobeandmail.com/globe-debate/our-duty-is-to-stand-firm-in-the-face-of-russian-aggression/article19767742/>>.
- Iverson, John. “Conservatives Open Door to Free Trade with EU After Reaching Cheese Import Deal.” *National Post* (16 Oct. 2013). 1 Oct. 2014.
<<http://news.nationalpost.com/news/canada/canadian-politics/conservatives-open-door-to-free-trade-with-eu-after-reaching-cheese-import-deal>>.

- “Joint Political Declaration on EU-Canada Relations 1996.” *European Council. Council of the European Union*. 1 Oct. 2014.
<http://www.consilium.europa.eu/uedocs/cmsUpload/3_JointPoliticalDeclaration_onEU_CanadaRelations_1996.pdf>.
- “Joint Statement by Canada and the European Union, Ottawa, September 8, 2014.” *European Union External Action*. 1 Oct. 2014.
<http://eeas.europa.eu/statements/docs/2014/140908_01_en.pdf>.
- Koring, Paul. “Canada Signals New Era for Arctic Council.” *The Globe and Mail* (15 May 2013). 1 Oct. 2014.
<<http://www.theglobeandmail.com/news/politics/canada-signals-new-era-for-arctic-council/article11951388/>>.
- Laursen, Finn. “EU-Canada Relations: A Case of Mutual Neglect?” *The Foreign Policy of the European Union. Assessing Europe’s Role in the World*. Ed. Federiga Bindi. Washington: Brookings Institution Press, 2010: 230-239.
- “Minister Fast Concludes Successful Trade and Development Mission to Ukraine.” *Government of Canada. Foreign Affairs, Trade and Development Canada* (11 July 2014). 1 Oct. 2014.
<<http://www.international.gc.ca/media/comm/news-communiqués/2014/07/11b.aspx?lang=eng>>.
- “NATO Security Initiatives in Ukraine and Eastern Europe.” *Prime Minister of Canada. Stephen Harper* (4 Sept. 2014). 1 Oct. 2014.
<<http://pm.gc.ca/eng/news/2014/09/04/nato-security-initiatives-ukraine-and-eastern-europe>>.
- Palmer, Randall. “Canada Move Toward Kyoto.” *Reuters.com* (17 March 2007). 1 Oct. 2014.
<<http://www.reuters.com/article/2007/03/17/environment-group-canada-enviropack-dc-idUSN1746367920070317>>.
- “PM Delivers Remarks at a Joint Press Conference with Prime Minister Donald Tusk of Poland.” *Prime Minister of Canada. Stephen Harper* (4 June 2014). 1 Oct. 2014. <<http://pm.gc.ca/eng/news/2014/06/04/pm-delivers-remarks-joint-press-conference-prime-minister-donald-tusk-poland>>.
- “PM Welcomes Successful Visit of Ukrainian President Petro Poroshenko to Canada.” *Prime Minister of Canada. Stephen Harper* (17 Sept. 2014). 1 Oct. 2014. <<http://pm.gc.ca/eng/news/2014/09/17/pm-welcomes-successful-visit-ukrainian-president-petro-poroshenko-canada>>.
- “Report for Selected Countries and Subjects.” *International Monetary Fund*. 22 Dec. 2014.
<<http://www.imf.org/external/pubs/ft/weo/2015/01/weodata/weorept.aspx?pr.x=30&pr.y=9&sy=2014&ey=2014&scsm=1&ssd=1&sort=country&ds=.&br=1&c=156&s=NGDPD%2CNGDPDPC%2CPPPGDP%2CPPPPC&grp=0&a=>>.
- Rostowska, Maya. “Trade Agreements Cross the Atlantic: What Lessons from CETA for TTIP?” *Strategic File. The Polish Institute of International Affairs* 9 (Dec. 2013). 1 Oct. 2014.
<http://www.pism.pl/files/?id_plik=15901>.

- . “Umowa handlowa UE-Kanada będzie zawarta w ciągu miesiąca”. Polski Instytut Spraw Międzynarodowych (27 Jan. 2014). 22 Dec. 2014. <<http://www.pism.pl/wydarzenia/konferencje/Gosc-PISM/Steve-Verheul-glowny-negocjator-umowy-o-strefie-wolnego-handlu-miedzy-Kanada-a-UE-CETA#>>.
- Trew, Stuart. “CETA Critics Urge Premiers to Consult Widely on Canada-EU Deal Before It Is Signed.” *The Council of Canadians* (22 Jul. 2013). 1 Oct. 2014. <<http://www.canadians.org/content/ceta-critics-urge-premiers-consult-widely-canada%E2%80%93eu-deal-it-signed>>.
- “EU-Canada Relations.” *European Union External Action*. 1 Oct. 2014. <http://eeas.europa.eu/canada/docs/index_en.pdf>.
- “EU-Canada Summit, Ottawa, 19 December 2000.” *European Union External Action*. 1 Oct. 2014. <http://eeas.europa.eu/canada/docs/summit_2000_ottawa_en.pdf>.
- “EU-Canada Summit, Ottawa, December 18, 2001.” *European Union External Action*. 1 Oct. 2014. <http://eeas.europa.eu/canada/docs/2001_ottawa_en.pdf>.
- “EU-Canada Summit Declaration, Prague, 6 May 2009.” *European Council. Council of the European Union*. 1 Oct. 2014. <http://www.consilium.europa.eu/uedocs/cms_data/docs/pressdata/en/er/107542.pdf>.
- “Countries and Regions: Canada.” *European Commission*. 1 Oct. 2014.
- “World Development Indicators.” *World Bank*. 22 Dec. 2014. <<http://databank.worldbank.org/data/download/GDP.pdf>>.
- “EU-Canada Partnership Agenda. EU-Canada Summit (Ottawa, March 18, 2004).” *European Union External Action*. 1 Oct. 2014. <http://eeas.europa.eu/canada/docs/partnership-agenda_en.pdf>.

Magdalena Marczuk-Karbownik, Ph.D. works as an Assistant Professor at the Department of Transatlantic and Media Studies, University of Łódź, Poland. Among her interests are: history of the United States and Canada, U.S.-Canadian relations, Transatlantic relations, and history of foreign relations. In 2008, she defended her Ph.D. dissertation titled “British-American Negotiations in Ghent in 1814. European and American Contexts”. She teaches courses on: U.S. history, Canadian history and politics, history of foreign relations, American diplomacy. She has written several articles in Polish and English on American diplomacy, U.S. history and the U.S.-Canadian relations. She participated in various conferences and seminars on American and Canadian studies. She is a member of the Polish Association for Canadian Studies, the British Association for Canadian Studies, and the Polish Association for American Studies. She is a director of the Canadian Studies Resource Center at the Faculty of International and Political Studies, University of Łódź, Poland.

Jarema Słowiak

Jagiellonian University

**WORKING WITH THE ENEMY:
POLISH PERCEPTION OF THE CANADIAN
DELEGATION IN THE INTERNATIONAL COMMISSION
FOR SUPERVISION AND CONTROL IN VIETNAM**

Abstract

The article describes the relations between the Canadian delegation and their Polish counterparts in the International Commission for Supervision and Control (ICSC) in Vietnam. The commission was established in July 1954 at the Geneva Conference, to guard the implementation of agreements that ended the First Indochina War. Led by India, self-declared *neutral nation*, the ICSC also included Poland and Canada, two countries representing opposing military and political blocs that defined the shape of the world at that time. In the article I present both the official relations between the delegations of Poland and Canada, and the day-to-day reality of the rank and file from ideologically hostile countries working together. The latter was quite interesting, since beside the problem of political differences, most of the Polish officers assigned to the ICSC could not speak neither French nor English. Still, they had to somehow interact with their Canadian counterparts both on the professional and personal level.

Résumé

L'article décrit les relations entre la délégation canadienne et leurs homologues polonais dans la Commission internationale de surveillance et de contrôle (CISC) au Vietnam. La commission a été créée en juillet 1954 pendant la Conférence de Genève, pour garantir la mise en œuvre des accords qui ont mis fin à la Première Guerre d'Indochine. Menée par l'Inde, nation se déclarant comme neutre, CISC a également incorporé la Pologne et le Canada, deux pays représentant des blocs militaires et politiques opposés qui ont façonné le monde à l'époque. Dans l'article, nous présentons à la fois les relations officielles entre les délégations de Pologne et du Canada et la réalité quotidienne des simples militaires des pays idéologiquement hostiles qui travaillent ensemble. Ce qui était très intéressant, car à côté du problème

des différences politiques, la plupart des officiers polonais affectés à la CISC ne parlaient ni le français ni l'anglais. Pourtant, ils ont en quelque sorte à interagir avec leurs homologues canadiens tant sur le plan professionnel que personnel.

On the night of 20th-21st July, 1954, agreements ending the First Indochina War were signed in Geneva. To supervise their observance, attending countries established the International Commission for Supervision and Control in Indochina (ICSC), composed by India, Poland and Canada. In Vietnam, it established fourteen permanent inspection groups and a smaller number of mobile groups. They were tasked with supervising the redeployment of troops of the parties involved in the conflict, ensuring the freedom of movement of the civilian population, preventing military equipment being brought into the territory of Vietnam, and overseeing the elections scheduled by the Geneva Agreements in next two years. The Commission ultimately worked until 1973, but since 1960, when the Americans ceased worrying about the ICSC in Vietnam, its actual role was marginalized. To this point, however, it was an important element of the political puzzle in Vietnam and in the whole region.

Indian diplomacy was from the very beginning heavily involved in the course of the Geneva negotiations, forcing their role of *neutral power* that was supposed to help the two hostile blocs in coming to an agreement. India's participation in the Supervisory Commission was therefore a logical continuation of this policy. For Indians it was a part of building the prestige of their young country, the *only real neutral power*, as they liked to think of themselves. However, at the same time they had very specific interests in Southeast Asia, and they wanted to safeguard them. Motives of the Polish and the Canadian participation in the work of the Commission were more complex. This article will focus on the Polish-Canadian relations in the framework of the ICSC and delegations of the two countries themselves. Thus, the Indian delegation will appear only in the most important cases, mainly as a background or the reason for the interaction between the other two delegations.

Canadians came to Vietnam as representatives of the Western World. They did not have any vital interests in Southeast Asia at that time. The proposal to participate in the work of the ICSC was greeted in Ottawa without much enthusiasm. While the participation in the work of the Commission was undoubtedly very prestigious, it was also associated with significant problems and risks, and meant the need to send a highly specialized and large delegation of several hundred people, which would be a significant burden on the military and diplomatic personnel resources of Canada. However, what was feared most was the reaction of the United States. Close ally and guarantor of the

security of Canadians openly showed dissatisfaction with the results of the Geneva Conference. In a certain sense Canada fell victim of her own existing diplomatic activity and as High Commissioner in London wrote to his superior in Ottawa, "Task suggested is certainly ungrateful but I do not see how we can do other than accept it" (Donaghy 1677). Americans also assured Canadians that they would by no means hold their participation in the work of the ICSC against them, and that they were even happier that it was Canada and not any other country, that would be the representative of the West in the Commission. Eventually, on July 28, 1954, Ottawa decided to respond affirmatively to the invitation, considering participation in the work of the Commission as her "stern international duty" (Donaghy 1686) and acknowledging that "(...) there was probably no other Western country in a better position than Canada to work harmoniously and effectively with India." (Donaghy 1696)

Polish People's Republic was not a truly independent state in 1954. Stalin had died just a year earlier, and smaller communist states were only tentatively beginning to develop their own foreign policies in the framework imposed by their USSR overseers. Poland was no exception from this rule. However, as the biggest and strongest of the Soviet satellite states, Polish People's Republic had ambitions to play a much larger role in the world than fellow *fraternal states* from the *progressive bloc*. Participation in internationally recognized bodies, like the ICSC, was seen as a good way of gaining prestige and recognition on the world stage. In addition, Warsaw felt that their participation in the work of the Commission was strengthening the Polish position in the Eastern Bloc itself, since it meant in a way that Poland was delegated to help and protect the newly-born communist state of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. Last but not least, Poles already had some international experience in the matter, since they had already sent a delegation to participate in the Neutral Commission in Korea. Both countries had their share of various problems.

Canada did not have any knowledge about the area of the world into which it was to send its representatives. Help was requested from the U.S. State Department, which promised to provide the necessary materials. The biggest problem, however, was the personal composition of the delegation. Canadians were aware that in the course of the Commission's work they would most likely have to regularly struggle with the Poles, but the key for the success would be pulling the Indian delegate on their side, or at least shielding him from the Polish representative's influence. Thus, it was crucial to send the best people available to Vietnam. Given the considerable size of the delegation, it was a significant problem. The main priority of the Canadian delegation was judicial impartiality, which was aimed at convincing other parties of the sincerity of Canada's intentions. In addition, the general assumptions of Canadian policy towards Southeast Asia were to be followed:

1. Maintaining peace achieved in Geneva.
2. Support for the creation of a regional security pact, similar to NATO and at the same time convincing *neutral states* that it is not a neo-colonial project as presented in communist propaganda.
3. Economic and social support for countries in the region to reduce the impact of communism in their society.
4. Encouragement to the creation of strong, independent, anti-communist regimes in the region, even at the expense of the ambitions of France (Donaghy 1719-1720).

Ottawa was very reluctant about Polish participation in the work of the Commission. Canadians were afraid that Poles will use all available means to delay, drag, or even prevent the ICSC activity. Generally, they expected the worst from their future coworkers, including offensive vocabulary and personal insults, and anticipated manual control of the Polish Ambassador by the communist powers (Donaghy 1721). They were also concerned that the Commission would be used for espionage in South Vietnam.

Perplexities over the sense of participation in the work of the Commission, comparable to the Canadian ones, are hard to find in Polish archives. The command sent from Moscow had to be carried out and the authorities in Warsaw responded to the message of Molotov and Eden affirmative already on July 23, only a day after receiving the invitation. Organizational work began even earlier, on July 20, so even before the official announcement of the results of the Geneva Conference. Being suddenly faced with the task of sending a large delegation to the other side of the world, Poland had to face a number of challenges of diverse nature, such as transport, uniform sorts and health issues. However, a key challenge for the Polish delegation was to find an adequate number of English and/or French speakers. At the same time, beside some rare and special occurrences, only politically reliable persons were allowed to leave the country. In the reality of the first half of the 1950s in Poland, where the simple knowledge of the languages of the *enemy camp* alone could be the cause of interest from the security apparatus, and very few spoke it anyway, the task of finding such people was not easy. This problem was especially affecting the officers of the Polish Army, critical for the work of the Commission, whose knowledge of foreign languages other than Russian was simply vestigial. The political line of the Polish delegation, which was not surprising and was in line with the expectations of the Canadians, was based on the defense of the interests of the communist side. Canadian thesis about the *remote control* of the Polish delegate proved not to be true. Although Przemysław Ogrodziński obviously had fairly clear instructions, the archives of the Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs lack any documents suggesting that he had to consult each (or even most) of his decisions with Warsaw, Beijing or Moscow. It seems that in this regard, decision

was made to leave the ambassador with greater discretion to make decisions on the spot, trusting that he would know better how to support *the people's side*. This level of freedom probably also resulted from the fact that, especially in the initial period, the Polish delegation had highly improvised character. It should be noted, however, that before the Kennedy administration engaged in Indochina on a larger scale, Moscow perceived this region as an insignificant periphery of its global struggle against capitalism. Thus, the Polish Ambassador could be left without direct oversight, as long as he complied with the general communist line of interests. Interestingly, one of the main priorities of the Polish delegation was “defense of democratic freedoms” throughout Vietnam, since in the evaluation of the Communists, “even the existence of a formal democracy (in the bourgeois sense) ensures the victory of the popular forces” (*Raport nr 2*).¹

With regard to contacts with other members of the Commission, the Poles, just like the Canadians, assumed that the key to success would be to gain the recognition of the delegate of India. It can be clearly seen in the Polish instructions issued prior to the first joint conference of ICSC members, which clearly told that “tactics requires that the Indians should not be antagonized” (*Towarzysz Minister*).² Communists hoped that by applauding the openly declared neutrality and anti-colonialism of India, they would pull them to their anti-American positions.

As for the delegation of Canada, the Poles, just like the Canadians towards them, feared everything worst. Ottawa envoys were directly considered being the representatives of the “agencies of the US” (*Raport nr 2*) and the agents of influence of Washington in Indochina. Polish Foreign Ministry’s attention was drawn to the Canadian attempts to minimize the size of their delegations. The biggest concern for the Polish diplomacy was a large number of common points between the Indian and Canadian military men, ranging from the language, to the common service under the British banner, which meant that in a social setting the Poles could find themselves in a highly disadvantageous position.

As can be seen, both the Poles and the Canadians embarked for work in the Commission in a fighting mood against each other, and with a similar objective in relation to the third delegation.

The first opportunity for mutual contact came with the preliminary technical conference in New Delhi, which was held on 1-6 August 1954. However, contrary to the expectations, it did not bring any spectacular clashes of ideology or verbal fencing between the delegations. It turned out that Poles and Canadians had more common points than they thought. As it was already mentioned, both delegations were not interested in going into disputes with

¹ Report by Przemysław Ogrodziński from 19 September 1954, coming from the Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs Archives.

² Internal memorandum of Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs from 20 August 1954.

their hosts. In addition, it turned out that the Indians, constantly emphasizing the fact that their country was chairing the Commission, were interested in taking on themselves the majority of technical and administrative duties in the ICSC. For Canada, that wished to limit its delegation as much as possible, it was great news. It was a similar story for Poland. In face of mounting difficulties involved with forming of their delegation, the Poles were interested in decreasing its size. Thus, the conference had an exceptionally peaceful and smooth conduct.

The only short-circuit happening was a dispute between the Poles and the Indians on the issue of an independent radio communication with Warsaw. Ultimately, however, the Poles backed down, not wanting to aggravate their relations with the hosts. Representatives of Ottawa were recognized as aloof and cool, although polite. Canadians assessed the Polish delegation in a similar fashion, although their attention was caught by Przemysław Ogrodziński, the chief of the Polish delegation to Vietnam: "He impressed us as able and forceful, and he also has charm, a dangerous combination." (Donaghy 1706)

The Commission started to work in Vietnam on August 18 and the first months of proper cooperation passed very peacefully. Without a doubt, it was influenced by the fact that the two delegations were still in a state of organizing and devising the procedures for the work itself in the Commission, as well as their mutual relationship.

In their reports for Ottawa Canadians admittedly pointed out that the Poles cooperated with the authorities of North Vietnam, but they did it discreetly enough to avoid being openly accused of being biased. For example, they tried in various ways to slow down or block the Commission's activities in the areas where this could have negative consequences for the Communists (Donaghy 1741). This applied especially to the rapid trips of the inspection groups to places where the Catholic population concentrated wishing to go south of Vietnam, and where local authorities sought to make it impossible, thus breaking Geneva Agreements. If the inspection could reveal violations of the Geneva by the communists, the Polish delegation tried to multiply procedural issues and delay the trip, so that the Communists could *set the stage* for the arrival of the inspection group. To counter this, Canadians tried to convince the Indian representative to the need of a rapid trip. When the latter accommodated to Canadian demands, the Poles generally backed down, not wanting to be the ones who oppose the majority opinion of the Commission (*Prace Komisji*).³ The freedom of movement – by implication it meant the journey from North to South Vietnam – was the main axis of the Canadian

³ Examples of such measures can be found for example in a periodic report sent to Warsaw in February and March of 1955.

policy inside ICSC, both because of the pressure from the United States, and as well as their own public opinion, concerned about the fate of Christians in the communist country (Donaghy 1753-56).

Most of the Canadian-Polish struggles for influence on the decisions of the Commission took place in the form of fencing with legal arguments. Personal, ideological rhetoric that Canadians so feared from the Poles did not appear or at least it was not common enough to mention it in their reports to Ottawa.

From the point of view of the Polish delegation, the first months of collaboration with the Canadians proceeded remarkably smooth and efficient. Przemysław Ogrodziński recalled that, when at the beginning of August spearhead of Commission arrived in Vietnam, the ICSC had no rooms for its use, and the chiefs of the delegations had to deliberate together in their own hotel bedrooms, but in his opinion, such circumstances “improved the atmosphere.” However, the Polish Ambassador struggled with a variety of problems. The most important and potentially crippling one was the lack of an adequate number of people with knowledge of the working languages of the Commission. But it was only the tip of the iceberg of issues confronting the Polish delegation in the initial period and, as Ogrodziński wrote in his report, his delegation’s activity was only possible “at the expense of simply unbelievable improvisations” (*Raport nr 2*). Uniforms made in Poland proved unsuitable, disintegrating after a few washes in tropical climate – from the point of view of the prestige of the delegation it was an important issue, especially considering the large number of official speeches and meetings. From the very beginning there were problems with money, the Ambassador had to borrow from the Vietnamese Friends (i.e. Viet Minh Government) at the start of his activities, and the members of the delegation received a salary several times smaller than their Canadian and Indian counterparts. In addition to the problems with the lack of language skills, ranks of officers sent to the delegation were another headache for Ogrodziński. By the decision of the Ministry of National Defence (or to be more precise, the decision of marshal Konstantin Rokossovsky) officers sent to Vietnam were one-two ranks lower than their foreign colleagues performing the same functions. Thus, for example, in the inspection team, a Polish captain had to deal with a Canadian major and an Indian colonel. The result was a frequent “high docility to the senior officers” (*Uwagi i wnioski*)⁴, which from the point of view of the political goals of the Polish delegation was unacceptable. Some officers were even sent back to the country after “signing politically incorrect reports” (*Sprawozdanie*)⁵ despite precise instructions from the Polish Ambassador. Some personnel that arrived in Vietnam did not have competences

⁴ Comments and conclusions to the report of the Polish inspection that took place from 21 November to 13 December 1954.

⁵ Main part of the report mentioned above.

attributed to them or simply did not fit into the positions designated for them. Describing his teams in the report sent to Warsaw Ogrodziński wrote: "Saigon (...) our strongest team. Still too weak for Saigon, and lacks the translator" (*Załącznik do raportu nr 2*).⁶

The delegation was also shaken by personal disputes. An inspection carried out in late November and early December of 1954 revealed for example that the chief of staff of the delegation, Colonel Aszkenazy, and the political advisor, comrade Bibrowski, had an ongoing heated controversy about who of them was the deputy to Ambassador Ogrodziński (who, in turn, could not stand Bibrowski). Furthermore, it was pointed out that Colonel Aszkenazy's relations with his subordinates were "standoffish, (...) even flagrant" and that the leadership of the delegation had no time for ideological-political work with the common members due to the enormous amount of duties. There was even a statement in the report that there was a "total separation of the executives from the rest of the representation" (*Sprawozdanie*).⁷

As it was already mentioned, contrary to the predictions of the Canadians, the Polish Ambassador had quite a degree of flexibility in his activities. This can be assessed by a very *hot* exchange of messages concerning Ogrodziński's too excessive (according to Ministry) expectations of the staff sent out of the country to Vietnam. The Ambassador did not mince his words when he complained about his fate and hardships, and Warsaw had to admonish him for his excessive emotions, still at the same time ensuring him about their continuous support and understanding of his difficulties (*List do ambasadora*).⁸ It is worth mentioning that when it came to light that Ogrodziński had arbitrarily given titular military ranks to civilians and had increased the ranks of some of his officers – which in his opinion was necessary for the smooth functioning of the delegation – he received only a soft reminder to cease these practices and not to break the regulations of the Ministry of National Defense (although an interdepartmental strife between the Defense and Foreign Affairs ministries probably played some part in this mild treatment).

The fact that is really interesting is that all these problems of the Polish delegation remained invisible to the Canadians or at least did not appear in the reports sent to Ottawa. Thus, it seems that the "simply unbelievable improvisation" was more effective than it seemed to be to the Ambassador Ogrodziński himself.

With regard to the relations with the the Canadian delegation, the Poles were surprised, if not downright suspicious about the lack of pro-American

⁶ Annex to the report about staff situation on 20 September 1954.

⁷ Inspection report mentioned above.

⁸ The Letter from Warsaw addressed to Ambassador Ogrodziński from October 1954.

tendencies and the good cooperation with the Canadians. As Ogrodziński wrote in one of his reports, "(...) you cannot see pro-American tendencies in the Canadians (which is extremely interesting)." The Ambassador added immediately afterwards, however, that "Agencies of the US in these delegations so far have the operating in secret." Eventually, he concluded that "Canadians clearly lined up with the line of Anglo-French policy. Hence, the blow of the US policy is likely to be directed against the Commission as such" (*Raport nr 2*). Especially in the first months of collaboration with the Canadians, Ogrodziński stated that due to the many converging points of both delegations, he had to submit only minor changes, and that the "Idyll of unanimity continues in the Commission" (*Raport nr 2*).

The idyll did not last long, however. With the solidification of both delegations – and especially the arrival of more Polish translators, which allowed the Poles to be more active within the Commission – the number of disputes and tensions between the two delegations grew. As it was already mentioned, the Poles tried to protect the communist side in North Vietnam by all possible means. The flashpoint there was the freedom of movement of the population, guaranteed by the Geneva Agreements. It was the biggest problem for the Vietnamese Communists, who wanted to prevent the mass exodus of the Catholic population to the South, encouraged to do so by an extensive propaganda campaign organized by the American Colonel Edward Lansdale (Moyar 38-40). As it was already mentioned, the Poles clung to every possible legal and procedural measure to prevent the inspection group from finding out about the violations of the Geneva provisions by the communist side.

The rhetoric of Polish reports at the turn of 1954 and 1955 is significantly more acute and reminiscent of an armed conflict than of cooperation and diplomatic negotiations. In text messages sent to Warsaw, for example, appears wording such as "growth of Canadian aggressiveness" and that the "main war machine of Canadian delegation" is the freedom of movement in the North, which is at the same time "the weakest link in the system of political fortifications of DRV". Expected accusation of Communists of violating the Geneva Agreements by Canadians is in turn referred to as their "final assault" (*Raport z działalności*).⁹

The Polish change in attitude was also noted by the Canadian side. In a personal letter to Secretary of State for External Relations, Lester Pearson, Canadian Ambassador, Sherwood Lett, confided:

⁹ Quotations from a periodic Polish report about the delegation's activities for February and March 1955.

A month's close association daily with the Polish Ambassador, and his subordinates, has convinced me that whatever his attitude and instructions may have been in the early stages of the Commission's work, he is definitely now playing the Communist game of obstruction, evasion, stalling, double talk, legalistic and technical objections and any other tactic he can employ to assist the D.R. authorities to carry out the provisions of the Geneva Agreement to the exclusive advantage of Communist policy. I would go so far at the moment to say that I think that he or someone of his political views is either directly or indirectly consulting with and advising the new D.R. regime (...) (Donaghy 1767-68).

As can be seen by the previously mentioned information from the Polish archives, the Canadian diplomat hit the mark. It should be noted, however, that simultaneously Lett wrote: "I am not so concerned with Polish moves which can now be predicted quite easily in most cases as with the Indian attitude." (Donaghy 1790)

On the other hand, despite tightening rhetoric, at a press conference in May 1956 the Polish Foreign Ministry highly praised the cooperation with Canadians despite the fact that in many cases both delegations did not agree. Most of the issues, however, were settled on the social level, so that the Commission was able to maintain unanimity in the issued documents (*Stenogram z konferencji*).¹⁰ For all parties working in the Commission preservation of the appearance of unanimity was essential for prestige reasons. Both Poles and Canadians tried very hard so their disputes inside the ICSC would not turn into a scandal visible on the outside. The desire to maintain the image of high importance and prestige of the Commission pushed both sides to cooperate from time to time, as was in the case when television crews from Canada and Poland arrived almost simultaneously in Indochina to shoot materials devoted to the work of the ICSC (Donaghy 1780).

With time, however, the number of disputes grew. Canadians, at the suggestion of the Americans, tried to push for establishing an effective control on the Sino-Vietnamese border to prevent the import of weapons, forbidden by the Geneva Agreements. On the other hand, Poles demanded a similarly effective control in the ports and airports of South Vietnam.

As the date of the general elections scheduled for summer 1956 approached, the tension associated with this event also grew. Ottawa also probed the option of disbanding the ICSC in Vietnam. The Canadians' standing argument was that since the Commission managed to successfully end the issues of regrouping of troops and movement of the population, and since the Ngo Dinh Diem government was boycotting the Geneva Agreements, the continuous functioning of the ICSC in Vietnam had lost

¹⁰ Record of the press conference held by Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs on 30 May 1956.

sense. However, the Poles and Indians vigorously protested, and eventually it was decided that the Commission would reduce its size and scale of operations.

In an increasingly stripped down composition and being increasingly ignored on both sides of the demarcation line, it would finally end its operations in 1973. With the exacerbation of the situation in Indochina and the increasing involvement of Americans in this region of the world, Canadians and Poles in the course of their work in the Commission found themselves in a growing opposition. Polish officers claimed, for example, that they were not able to assess the country of origin of the ammunition and guns found in Viet Cong weapons caches. In turn, their Canadian counterparts stationing in the demilitarized zone claimed that they could not identify the jets flying north as American, because the planes were too high and they could not see their signs (Śledź 132).

It should be noted, however, that all kinds of disputes in the ICSC almost never reflected the social relationships between the members of the delegation. While particularly in the initial period Canadians are described as polite but aloof, over the years the relations seemed to be getting better. In the memoirs of Polish officers their Canadian colleagues are appearing almost always as nice and polite persons, not shunning from social contact. After work hours, the members of the two delegations visited each other without any resistance in order to watch movies, listen to music and lead long discussions enriched with alcohol brought by the members of both teams. There were also no problems with helping each other with small favors, such as drop-off to the doctor or lending a film projector. As can be seen, the visions of *fire breathing Communists* and *wicked capitalist exploiters* quickly departed into oblivion in the face of daily contacts. The interactions also allowed verifying the more banal stereotypes and perceptions. For example, in the 1968, the Canadian officer could not believe that the stylish shoes of his Polish colleague were made in Poland (Zasadziński 160).

In summary, the interaction between the Canadian and Polish delegation in the ICSC turned out to be quite different from the predictions made before the start of the activities of the Commission. Despite the ideological and political differences, which grew especially after the increase of the American involvement in Vietnam, the two delegations were able to work together. Of course, the effect of this work is debatable, since on the one hand Poles explicitly ignored the actions of the communist side, and on the other Canadians turned a blind eye to the American activities. The question of the effectiveness of the ICSC in Vietnam was, however, a matter more dependent on the will of the parties of the ongoing conflict, and not the members of the Commission itself, ready to perform their duties, but having no conditions for doing so, neither in the North nor in the South.

While both delegations eventually took the position expected by each other, there was that initial period in which there was the aforementioned “idyll of unanimity.” It stemmed from a variety of causes. On the Polish side, the initial weakness of the delegation plagued by a range of problems, which significantly weakened the *striking power* of Poles in the Commission, seemed decisive. At the same time, however, these problems were masked sufficiently enough so that Canadians remained with an unsolved mystery of why the Poles cooperated so easily in the first few months. On the other side, the emphasis of Canadians on the judicial impartiality during the initial period their activities, and uncertainty about the direction of the US policy, gave the Polish Communists a riddle of their own, and left them wondering why co-operation with a country representing a hostile political bloc ran so smoothly and seamlessly.

Joint participation of Polish and Canadian delegation in ICSC in Vietnam also showed that, despite ideological differences, their members were not only able to work, but also to maintain cordial relations on the interpersonal level, often probably far beyond the level comfortable for the authorities in Ottawa and Warsaw.

Works Cited :

- Donaghy, Greg (ed.). *Documents on Canadian External Relations. Volume 20 1954*, Ottawa, Canada Communication Group – Publishing 1997.
- List do ambasadora Ogrodzińskiego*, zespół 12, wiązka 62, teczka 1226, MKNiK w Wietnamie [*Sprawy organizacyjno-kadrowe w Komisji*] 1954, Archiwum Ministerstwa Spraw Zagranicznych, Warszawa. 3 Nov. 2014.
- Moyar, Mark. *Triumph Forsaken. The Vietnam War, 1945-1965*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 2006.
- Prace Komisji: ważniejsze zagadnienia w okresie luty-marzec 1955*, z. 12, w. 77, t. 1333, MKNiK w Wietnamie (*Raporty okresowe delegacji polskiej*) 1955, Archiwum Ministerstwa Spraw Zagranicznych, Warszawa. Access: 3 Nov. 2014.
- Raport nr 2*, z. 12, w. 77, t. 1327, MKNiK w Wietnamie (*Raporty delegacji polskiej*) 1954, Archiwum Ministerstwa Spraw Zagranicznych, Warszawa. Access: 3 Nov. 2014.
- Raport z działalności delegacji polskiej w Komisji Międzynarodowej Nadzoru i Kontroli w Wietnamie za luty-marzec 1955*, z. 12, w. 77, t. 1333, MKNiK w Wietnamie (*Raporty okresowe delegacji polskiej*) 1955, Archiwum Ministerstwa Spraw Zagranicznych, Warszawa. Access: 3 Nov. 2014.
- Sprawozdanie*, z. 12, w. 62, t. 1230, MKNiK w Wietnamie [*Sprawozdanie z inspekcji Przedstawicielstw PRL do MKNiK w Wietnamie, Laosie*]

- i Kambodży] 1955*, Archiwum Ministerstwa Spraw Zagranicznych, Warszawa. Access: 3 Nov. 2014.
- Stenogram z konferencji prasowej odbytej dnia 30 maja 1956 roku w Ministerstwie Spraw Zagranicznych*, z. 12, w. 63, t. 1235, *MKNiK w Indochinach [Stanowisko Polski w komisjach indochińskich] 1955-56*, Archiwum Ministerstwa Spraw Zagranicznych, Warszawa. Access: 3 Nov. 2014.
- Śledź, Stanisław. "Po obu stronach rzeki Ben Hai. Wietnam – strefa zdemilitaryzowana na 17 równoleżniku." *Przegląd Historyczno-Wojskowy* (Rok XII [LXIII], Nr 5 [238] 2011): 127-134.
- Towarzysz Minister Dr. St. Skrzyszewski, w gmachu*, z. 12, w. 62, t. 1226, *MKNiK w Wietnamie [Sprawy organizacyjno-kadrowe w Komisji] 1954*, Archiwum Ministerstwa Spraw Zagranicznych, Warszawa. Access: 3 Nov. 2014.
- Uwagi i wnioski odnośnie sprawozdania z inspekcji ppłk. M. Bugaja w MKNK w Wietnamie, Laosie i Kambodży*, z. 12, w. 62, t. 1230, *MKNiK w Wietnamie [Sprawozdanie z inspekcji Przedstawicielstw PRL do MKNiK w Wietnamie, Laosie i Kambodży] 1955*, Archiwum Ministerstwa Spraw Zagranicznych, Warszawa. Access: 3 Nov. 2014.
- Załącznik do raportu nr 2*, z. 12, w. 77, t. 1327, *MKNiK w Wietnamie (Raporty delegacji polskiej) 1954*, Archiwum Ministerstwa Spraw Zagranicznych, Warszawa. Access: 3 Nov. 2014.
- Zasadziński, Jan. "Wspomnienia członka polskiej delegacji w Międzynarodowej Komisji Nadzoru i Kontroli w Wietnamie w latach 1967-1968." *Przegląd Historyczno-Wojskowy* (Rok XII [LXIII], Nr 5 [238] 2011): 135-162.

Jarema Słowiak is a Ph.D. Student at the Faculty of History at Jagiellonian University. His main research interests are the Vietnam War, military history and Polish foreign policy in Southeast Asia. He is currently working on his Ph.D. thesis about the Polish delegation in the International Commission for Supervision and Control in Vietnam, and a book about the battle of Khe Sanh.

Jean-Michel Turcotte

Université Laval, Québec

**LES SOLDATS D'HITLER DÉTENUS EN TERRE
CANADIENNE : L'IMPORTANCE DU CANADA DANS LA
DÉTENTION DE GUERRE DURANT LA SECONDE
GUERRE MONDIALE¹**

Résumé

Entre 1939 et 1945, le Canada, à la demande de la Grande-Bretagne, accepte la détention de près de 40 000 prisonniers de guerre allemands sur son territoire. De par leur nombre, leur statut de « soldat d'Hitler » et de par la convention de Genève de 1929, la prise en charge de ces soldats ennemis devient un enjeu important pour chacun des Alliés. D'une part, pour la gestion de ces prisonniers « nazis », et d'autre part, pour les négociations entre les pays geôliers et les instances internationales se consacrant aux prisonniers de guerre. Dans ce contexte, le Canada, la Grande-Bretagne et les États-Unis appliquent chacun leurs politiques de détention selon leur interprétation de la convention de Genève en fonction de leurs propres intérêts, tout en tenant compte des politiques de chaque Allié, des politiques interalliées ainsi que de la Suisse et des ONG (CICR, YMCA, etc.) venant en aide aux prisonniers. Malgré son rôle de geôlier, le Canada occupe souvent une place effacée dans l'histoire de la détention de guerre durant la Seconde Guerre mondiale au profit des États-Unis et de la Grande-Bretagne. Souvent perçu comme une puissance secondaire face à Londres et Washington dans le processus décisionnel allié, le Canada joue pourtant un rôle prépondérant sur la question des prisonniers de guerre. Le présent article propose donc un nouvel apport à la place du Canada dans cette alliance en répondant à plusieurs questionnements; Quelles sont les interactions entre la Grande-Bretagne, des États-Unis et le Canada au sujet des prisonniers allemands? En quoi ces interactions et les positions du Canada influencent les politiques de détention à fois interalliées et celles de chaque Allié? De quelle manière le Canada influence les conditions de détention des prisonniers de guerre allemands entre les mains alliées?

¹ L'auteur tient à remercier chaleureusement Marilynne Brisebois et Damien Huntzinger pour leurs commentaires et suggestions dans la préparation de cet article.

Abstract

Between 1939 and 1945, Canada, at the request of Britain, accepted the detention of almost 40,000 German prisoners of war in its territory. By their number, their status as “soldiers of Hitler” and by the Geneva Convention of 1929, the administration of these enemy soldiers became an important issue for each of the Allies, both in terms of the management of these “Nazi” prisoners and for the negotiations between the captor countries and international bodies dedicated to POWs. In this context, Canada, Britain and the United States applied their detention policies basing on their interpretation of the Geneva Convention according to their own interests, while taking into account the policies of one another, the Allied policies as well as the policies of Switzerland and NGOs (Red Cross, YMCA, etc.) offering assistance to the prisoners. Despite its role as a captor, Canada often occupied a withdrawn position in the history of war detention during World War II compared to the United States and Britain. Although often seen as a secondary power by London and Washington in the decision making process, Canada played a leading role on the issue of POWs. This article looks at Canada’s place in this alliance from a new perspective by answering several questions: What were the interactions between Britain, the United States and Canada on the issue of German prisoners? How did these interactions and Canadian positions influence the individual and collective detention policies of the Allied nations? How did Canada inspire the change of the conditions of detention of German POWs captured by the Allies?

Le 29 juin 1940, après une longue et périlleuse traversée de l’Atlantique Nord, le *Duchess of York* accoste à Québec en provenance de Liverpool en Angleterre avec à son bord 2 647 passagers, dont 535 soldats de l’armée allemande (Kelly 52). Il s’agit du premier transfert de prisonniers de guerre allemands entre la Grande-Bretagne et le Canada. Au cours des cinq années suivantes, le Canada en détient plus de 35 000 pour le compte de son allié britannique (Auger 43), sans compter les civils internés et les prisonniers de guerre italiens. De leur côté, les États-Unis acceptent la détention de 425 000 prisonniers de guerre allemands sur leur territoire (Krammer 29), alors que la Grande-Bretagne en accueillera environ 300 000, principalement à partir des derniers mois du conflit et ce, jusqu’en 1948 (Held 241).

La présence et le traitement de ces soldats d’Hitler n’est pas sans provoquer des tensions chez les trois Alliés. De par leur nombre et leur statut de prisonnier de guerre lié à la convention de Genève de 1929 règlementant la détention de guerre et dont le Canada, la Grande-Bretagne et les États-Unis (ainsi que l’Allemagne) sont signataires, ces détenus deviennent un enjeu important pour les trois États. D’une part, la gestion locale de ces prisonniers « nazis » pose certains problèmes, et d’autre part, elle amène des négociations entre les pays géoliers ainsi qu’avec les instances internationales se consacrant

aux prisonniers de guerre (Suisse, Comité international de la Croix-Rouge (CIRC), Young Man's Christian Association (YMCA), etc.). Dans ce contexte, le Canada, la Grande-Bretagne et les États-Unis appliquent chacun leurs politiques de détention selon leur interprétation de la convention de Genève en fonction de leurs propres intérêts, tout en tenant compte des politiques de chaque allié, des politiques interalliées ainsi que de la Suisse et des ONG aidant les prisonniers. La mise en place des politiques à l'égard des détenus allemands dans chaque pays est donc issue d'un processus complexe d'échanges, d'influences et d'intérêts nationaux et internationaux entre les différents acteurs impliqués.

Malgré son rôle de geôlier, le Canada occupe souvent un rôle de second plan dans l'histoire de la détention de guerre durant la Seconde Guerre mondiale, au profit des États-Unis et de la Grande-Bretagne (Overman 501). Souvent présentée dans l'historiographie comme une puissance secondaire, *as middle power in Anglo-American relations* (Smart 2-7), face à Londres et à Washington dans le processus décisionnel allié, Ottawa joue pourtant un rôle prépondérant sur la question des prisonniers de guerre. À travers l'étude des archives canadiennes, le présent article propose donc un nouvel apport à la compréhension de la place et du rôle du Canada au sein des négociations interalliées durant la Seconde Guerre mondiale. Cette analyse s'intéresse surtout à ses positions sur la question des prisonniers de guerre allemands qui font l'objet de tractations avec la Grande-Bretagne dans le cadre du Commonwealth. En ce sens, les politiques canadiennes à l'égard des prisonniers de guerre constituent des éléments majeurs pour une compréhension globale de la détention de guerre à l'Ouest entre 1939 et 1945. Par le fait même, cet article propose des pistes de réponse à plusieurs questionnements sur les interactions entre la Grande-Bretagne et le Canada au sujet des prisonniers allemands, sur la manière dont ces interactions et les positions du Canada influencent les politiques de détention des Alliés, de même que l'influence du Canada sur les conditions de détention des prisonniers de guerre.

Bien qu'il existe plusieurs études majeures sur la détention de guerre durant la Deuxième Guerre mondiale (Pathé et Théofilakis, Moore et Fedorowitch), le rôle de l'allié canadien sur la scène internationale reste peu abordé sur cette question. Les travaux de Jonathan Vance (1994 et 1995) et de S.P. Mackenzie (1994) sur la *Shackling Crisis* et ceux d'Arieh Kochavie (2005) sur les prisonniers alliés demeurent les plus connus. Le rôle du Canada sur les prisonniers de guerre a aussi été abordé récemment par Neville Wylie au sujet des négociations britanno-allemandes (2010), par Kiera Bridley (2014) sur l'enchaînement des prisonniers et par Martha Smart (2010) sur les échanges américano-britanniques. Toutefois, la dynamique entre les *policymakers* est complexe et la place d'Ottawa dans le processus décisionnel,

policy-making process ou *decision-making process*, demeure ambigu dans l'historiographie. Les travaux existants accordent peu d'espace au Canada en acceptant le premier constat immédiat : Ottawa acquiesce aux demandes de Londres et accepte les prisonniers de guerre allemands (Bernard et Bergeron 6; Carter 12) selon la politique impériale de Londres (Steward 27-59; Jackson 53-73). Pourtant, les études récentes sur la politique extérieure canadienne remettent en question cette place « restreinte » du Canada sur la scène internationale entre 1939 et 1945 (Thompson et Randall; Granatstein, *Canada Foreign Policy*).

Plusieurs exemples probants peuvent être utilisés pour démontrer l'importance de l'action canadienne sur la question des prisonniers de guerre. La présente étude se concentre particulièrement sur les échanges entre le Canada et la Grande-Bretagne, notamment au sein de l'*Imperial Prisoners of War Committee*, l'un des principaux organes où s'opèrent les négociations sur la détention de guerre. Plus précisément, l'analyse porte sur le rôle du Canada au sujet des transferts de prisonniers et des conditions de détention en lien avec le respect de la Convention de Genève. Par ailleurs, elle se penche sur les positions des autorités canadiennes sur la scène internationale notamment ses relations avec la Suisse et le CICR. Dans ces deux aspects, l'épisode de la Crise des menottes en 1942, *Schackling Crisis*, constitue l'exemple central de cette « diplomatie des prisonniers de guerre », *Barbed Wired Diplomacy*, qui s'articule entre le Canada et la Grande-Bretagne. Ces éléments sont particulièrement utiles pour comprendre la dynamique, la structure et les mécanismes de cette *Barbed Wired Diplomacy* entre les Alliés de l'Ouest. Processus dans lequel le Canada, comme le souligne Jonathan Vance, est tout de même plus qu'un simple spectateur : « (...) Bref, le gouvernement à Ottawa demeurait un peu plus qu'un spectateur dans la formulation des politiques alliées sur les prisonniers de guerre » (« Men in Manacles »).

Le Canada devient un geôlier

Le 10 septembre 1939, le Canada entre en guerre aux côtés de la Grande-Bretagne. Toutefois, outre les internés civils d'origine allemande, les premiers mois du conflit sont caractérisés par un nombre restreint de prisonniers de guerre (Auger 18). La situation évolue au printemps 1940 avec les bombardements allemands sur la Grande-Bretagne, la Bataille de l'Angleterre et les combats maritimes dans l'Atlantique Nord, ce qui se traduit par une augmentation considérable du nombre de prisonniers allemands. Parallèlement, dans le contexte dramatique de Dunkerke et devant la menace sérieuse d'invasion de l'Angleterre, les autorités britanniques décident d'évacuer les détenus allemands, puisque ceux-ci représentent une menace

sérieuse pour la sécurité intérieure (Moore et Fedorowich 12). Ils doivent donc être évacués rapidement du territoire britannique, d'où le choix du Canada, principal allié de la Grande-Bretagne à cette époque, comme lieu de détention (Held 12).

C'est donc dans le contexte précaire de 1940 que s'effectuent les premiers transferts de prisonniers de guerre allemands vers le Canada. Plus précisément, en mai 1940, les autorités britanniques demandent à leurs homologues canadiens de prendre en charge quelques milliers de détenus pour leur compte, ce qui signifie que la Grande-Bretagne demeure la puissance détentric, *detaining power*, en respect avec la définition de la convention de Genève. En d'autres mots, Londres est responsable de ces prisonniers au sens du droit international, c'est-à-dire face à la Suisse, puissance protectrice, *protecting power*, et dans les négociations avec l'Allemagne. D'ailleurs, les Britanniques définissent leurs politiques de détention en fonction de Genève afin d'éviter les critiques et les représailles de l'Allemagne sur le non-respect du droit international (Wylie, *Barbed Wired* 132), notamment le transfert des prisonniers vers des territoires outre-mer, en prétextant l'évacuation des détenus d'une localisation dangereuse.

Le Canada, en tant que signataire de la convention de Genève, accepte les prisonniers allemands et s'engage à respecter cette dernière. Toutefois, il accepte avec une certaine réticence son rôle de geôlier en soulignant son manque de préparation, d'équipements et de bâtiments adéquats disponibles, ce qui se répercute par des difficultés à respecter les normes de Genève. Cette réticence témoigne de la volonté du Canada de respecter la convention. D'un autre côté, devant l'insistance des Britanniques et désireux de soutenir ses Alliés face à la précarité du conflit, Ottawa acquiesce, le 19 juin 1940, à la demande de Londres en acceptant la détention de prisonniers de guerre (*Telegram from the High Commissioner*, 5 juillet 1940). Les premiers détenus arrivent à l'été 1940 via le *Duchess of York*, le *Sobieski* et l'*Ettrick*. Au total 3000 prisonniers allemands sont transférés au Canada au cours de l'année 1940 et 7000 de plus l'année suivante.

Toutefois, les premiers transferts de prisonniers mettent en lumière plusieurs problèmes d'organisation et de logistique entre les deux Alliés, conséquences de l'évacuation précipitée des prisonniers. Les autorités canadiennes relèvent à leurs homologues britanniques plusieurs problèmes lors des transports. D'abord, les listes de prisonniers contiennent plusieurs erreurs sur le nombre de prisonniers allemands transférés, souvent plus grand que celui proposé par Londres, ainsi que sur des renseignements inexacts ou absents sur les prisonniers (*Telegram from the High Commissioner*, 1 juillet 1940). D'ailleurs, la classification des prisonniers pose aussi problème. À travers les détenus transférés, les autorités canadiennes notent plusieurs internés civils qu'ils jugent non-dangereux, mais qu'Ottawa se voit obligé de

garder pour Londres sans raison ou justification de leur dangerosité (Auger 21). Par ailleurs, le Canada demande un délai de six semaines avant chaque opération afin de préparer le transport et les camps, ce qui est refusé par la Grande-Bretagne pour des raisons d'empressement et de sécurité. Autre point, la responsabilité pour les transferts, c'est-à-dire la sécurité, les conditions, le traitement et le partage des frais pour la réquisition des navires, est demandée à la Grande-Bretagne, ce qu'elle accepte d'assumer (Kelly 136). Les autorités canadiennes remarquent en ce sens que plusieurs détenus se plaignent de la perte d'effets personnels lors de leur embarcation en Angleterre ou durant leur transport. Le Canada refuse le blâme pour ces pertes et demande de définir clairement les responsabilités de chaque partie (*Telegram from the High Commissioner*, 30 mai 1940). Finalement, Ottawa, qui a la responsabilité du paiement des prisonniers, déplore que ce dernier, en particulier celui des officiers, soit fixé et négocié entre Londres et Berlin en livres Sterling et ne tienne pas compte du contexte économique canadien ainsi que du salaire des officiers canadiens (*Telegram from the High Commissioner*, 30 juillet 1940).

Les conditions de détention soulèvent les critiques chez les deux Alliés. D'abord, Londres reçoit les plaintes de Berlin via la Suisse pour les camps canadiens et craint des représailles envers les prisonniers britanniques détenus en Allemagne. Du côté allemand, tous les prisonniers alliés sont traités sous la même bannière afin de faire pression, non seulement sur Londres, mais sur l'ensemble des Alliés. Par conséquent, les autorités britanniques critiquent à leur tour le Canada pour ces plaintes. Par exemple, à la suite de plaintes d'officiers allemands au camp de *Fort Henry* en 1940, bâtiment militaire désuet du XIX^e siècle jugé inadéquat et ne respectant pas Genève selon Berlin, les autorités allemandes répliquent en transférant des prisonniers britanniques dans une ancienne forteresse polonaise jusqu'à ce que la situation s'améliore à *Fort Henry* (Vance, « Men in Manacles » 485). Par ailleurs, afin de pallier au problème d'identification des prisonniers causé par les listes incomplètes, nuisant au contrôle des prisonniers, notamment lors des évasions, le Canada propose la prise de photo et d'empreintes digitales des détenus. Cette demande est refusée par Londres par crainte de représailles puisque cette pratique va à l'encontre de Genève selon Berlin. En ce sens, le *War Office* demande d'éviter les disparités entre les pratiques canadiennes et britanniques (*Telegram from the High Commissioner*, 2 septembre 1940).

Les plaintes à l'endroit des camps canadiens s'expliquent par le fait qu'Ottawa est contraint d'agir rapidement à l'été 1940 devant l'insistance de Londres et malgré son manque de préparation (Auger 20). Toutefois, en réponse aux problèmes soulevés, le Canada demande à être davantage informé des objectifs et des politiques britanniques afin de régulariser les transferts et la détention des prisonniers selon les normes internationales. D'ailleurs, les autorités canadiennes soutiennent qu'elles sont tenues à l'écart des décisions

de Londres. En exemple, elles critiquent la demande de Londres pour le transfert de 1000 prisonniers allemands vers Terre-Neuve pour laquelle le Canada n'a pas été consulté, ni même avisé (*Telegram from the High Commissioner*, 12 octobre 1940). La présence de ces « soldats d'Hitler » est perçue comme une menace imminente et sérieuse à la sécurité intérieure canadienne de par le manque d'installations militaires à Terre-Neuve et montre du même coup que Londres ne dévoile pas l'ensemble de ses politiques à ses Alliés, même si ces derniers sont concernés. Ottawa finit par accepter la charge de ces prisonniers afin d'éviter leur présence à Terre-Neuve. Par ailleurs, les propositions de Londres sur les choix des localisations et des politiques d'internement au Canada, vues comme de l'ingérence sur les politiques intérieures canadiennes, sont critiquées. En tant que responsable des prisonniers sur son territoire et signataire de Genève, le gouvernement canadien considère qu'il a l'autonomie, la souveraineté et l'autorité nécessaires pour appliquer ses propres politiques de détention (Kelly 110-112).

Parallèlement, bien que le Canada accepte que la Grande-Bretagne soit la puissance détentrice, il réclame une plus grande place au sein des négociations en soulignant sa volonté de communiquer directement avec la Suisse et le CICR plutôt que de laisser le *Foreign Office* se charger de l'ensemble des échanges diplomatiques sur les prisonniers de guerre. Cela peut avoir un impact positif sur les prisonniers à la fois ennemis et alliés en Allemagne, en accélérant et facilitant les communications et l'échange d'information :

Le gouvernement canadien déclare ne pas être en mesure d'accepter la proposition que toutes les communications avec gouvernements ennemis concernant des Canadiens entre les mains ennemies, ou des prisonniers de guerre ennemis, pour qui le Canada agit comme autorité de détention, devraient être transmises via le *Foreign Office*. Ils indiquent que la pratique de communication directe avec la puissance protectrice pour les intérêts canadiens, le Comité International de la Croix-Rouge à Genève, ainsi que les représentants de la puissance protectrice pour les intérêts ennemis, est déjà bien établie et fonctionne d'une manière satisfaisante. (*Imperial Prisoner of War Committee*)

Toutefois, il ne s'agit pas de critiques publiques de la part du gouvernement canadien, mais plutôt de demandes privées effectuées dans le cadre des relations interalliées. D'ailleurs, Ottawa n'exige pas son autonomie complète sur la question des prisonniers de guerre. Au contraire, le Canada accepte que la Grande-Bretagne demeure la puissance détentrice et est en accord avec le principe d'une politique commune de la part du Commonwealth quant à l'interprétation et l'application de Genève. Cela peut faciliter les négociations avec l'Allemagne tout en évitant que l'ennemi ne profite des divergences entre les Alliés pour créer une crise internationale ou interalliée. Dans ce cadre, le

Canada se dit satisfait de tenir informé et de consulter Londres sur l'établissement de ses politiques de détention :

D'un autre côté, la désirabilité d'une interprétation uniforme de la Convention de Genève et l'uniformité d'action par les gouvernements alliés vis-à-vis les gouvernements ennemis, est entièrement reconnue par le gouvernement canadien, qui est content de garder le Gouvernement du Royaume-Uni entièrement informé de toute action prise et qui consultera ce dernier sur toutes questions d'intérêt général avant d'entreprendre une action. (*Imperial Prisoner of War Committee*)

La détention des prisonniers de guerre allemands au Canada entre 1940 et 1941 met en évidence le manque de communication entre les deux Alliés et suscite plusieurs problématiques demandant des discussions et des négociations plus régulières et structurées entre les geôliers. Par conséquent, afin de faciliter la communication entre les parties, de coordonner les politiques de détention, mais aussi en réponse aux demandes d'Ottawa qui réclame davantage d'espace dans la structure décisionnelle est créé l'*Imperial Prisoner of War Committee* (IPOWC) :

La formation du Comité Impérial des Prisonniers de guerre a été annoncée à la Chambre des Lords par le Secrétaire d'État aux Dominions le 30 avril 1941. Le Comité est composé des Hauts commissaires du Canada, de l'Australie, de la Nouvelle-Zélande, de l'Afrique du Sud et un représentant du Secrétaire d'État de l'Inde, avec aussi le Sous-secrétaire d'État aux finances, du Bureau de Guerre [*War Office*], ainsi que du Secrétaire d'État à la Guerre en personne agissant comme représentant du Gouvernement du Royaume-Uni ainsi que Président du Comité. La responsabilité du Comité est d'assurer la coordination de l'action des Gouvernements de sa Majesté en regard aux questions touchant les prisonniers de guerre, tant sur notre propre territoire que ceux entre les mains ennemies. (*Suggested measures*)

Cependant, malgré la création de l'IPOWC pour remédier aux problèmes soulevés par les transferts de prisonniers allemands, la détention de guerre demeure une source de négociations pour les deux États, plus particulièrement par le manque de consultation du Canada.

La détention de guerre s'accroît au Canada

À la suite de la mise sur pied de l'IPOWC, le transfert de prisonniers de guerre allemands vers le Canada s'accroît considérablement. De sorte qu'en octobre 1942, près de 17 000 soldats allemands sont détenus dans les camps canadiens contre seulement 500 en Grande-Bretagne, 1500 en Australie et 183 aux États-Unis, ce qui fait du Canada le principal geôlier durant cette période

(Vance, « Men in Manacles » 186; Pluth 474). Un an plus tard, on compte 10 000 prisonniers allemands de plus sur le territoire canadien. Parallèlement, même si le Canada occupe un siège au sein de l'IPOWC, le comité demeure largement contrôlé par la Grande-Bretagne. D'ailleurs, cette dernière utilise davantage cet organe pour dicter et régulariser l'application de ses politiques avec les dominions (Wylie, *Barbed Wired* 132). D'un autre côté, le Canada garde une certaine autonomie face à l'IPOWC en maintenant ses liens diplomatiques avec la Suisse et le CICR. Par cette voie de communications, le Canada échange directement des informations sur la détention avec la puissance protectrice et du même coup avec l'Allemagne, telles que les transferts de détenus entre les camps canadiens, les prisonniers hospitalisés ou décédés ainsi que les rapports d'évaluation et les plaintes des prisonniers adressées à la Suisse, au CICR et au YMCA. Par ailleurs, les demandes de la Grande-Bretagne deviennent difficiles à accepter et à appliquer pour le Canada, autant dans sa gestion locale des prisonniers de guerre que sur la scène internationale. En ce sens, Londres interprète la convention de Genève en fonction de ses intérêts et représente le Canada dans les négociations avec l'Allemagne, tout en imposant ses politiques à Ottawa sans consultations ou avis. C'est donc dans ce contexte que se dessine une crise à l'automne 1942 dont le Canada n'est pas responsable, mais dans laquelle il joue un rôle de premier plan.

L'épisode de la *Shackling Crisis* entre octobre 1942 et décembre 1943 est déclenché par la découverte par l'armée allemande, lors de la prise de prisonniers sur l'île de Sark à l'automne 1942, d'un ordre des autorités britanniques exigeant que les soldats allemands faits prisonniers pendant le débarquement de Dieppe soient enchaînés afin d'empêcher ces derniers de détruire des documents stratégiques (Vance, « Men in Manacles » 185). En représailles à cette pratique, qui selon Berlin contrevient à la convention de Genève, les autorités allemandes ordonnent de menotter 1400 prisonniers britanniques capturés à Dieppe. Les Britanniques répliquent avec la mise au fer de 2000 prisonniers allemands. Il s'en suit une escalade de violence envers les prisonniers de guerre entre la Grande-Bretagne et l'Allemagne, Londres menaçant même d'enchaîner près de 4000 prisonniers allemands en représailles à la menace de Berlin de ligoter l'ensemble des prisonniers de Dieppe. Ces détenus se trouvant majoritairement au Canada, les autorités britanniques demandent à leur allié canadien d'exécuter les représailles. Toutefois, face aux problèmes engendrés par l'application de cette politique, le Canada refuse, à l'instar des Américains dès le début de la crise (Mackenzie, *Shackling Crisis*, 388), d'enchaîner les prisonniers allemands afin de faire pression sur Berlin. Finalement, à la suite de longues négociations via la Suisse, Londres et Berlin acceptent de mettre fin à l'enchaînement des prisonniers (Wylie, *Barbed Wired* 123-156).

Cette crise révèle beaucoup sur le rôle du Canada par rapport à la question des prisonniers de guerre. D'abord, elle explicite les divergences entre Londres et Ottawa sur le traitement des détenus allemands. Dans cette crise, il n'existe pas de politique commune ou de consensus. Au contraire, les Britanniques imposent leur politique de représailles à leurs Alliés, ce qui s'avère un échec. D'ailleurs, la *Shackling Crisis* devient une guerre de propagande entre les Britanniques et les Allemands, alors que les autorités canadiennes déplorent le manque d'informations et l'absence de consultation de la part de Londres sur ses stratégies et objectifs (*Telegram from the High Commissioner*, 24 octobre 1942). Dans ce contexte, le Canada accepte avec réticence d'appliquer les représailles afin d'éviter des différends avec Londres qui pourraient servir à la propagande ennemie :

Le Canada a décidé, avec regret, de mettre aux fers des prisonniers de guerre allemands seulement afin d'éviter un ses propres politiques avec la Grande-Bretagne (...) Nous avons à contrecœur consenti à participer aux représailles initiales et avons menotté un certain nombre de prisonniers allemands détenus dans nos camps. Nous avons appliqué cette mesure parce que notre refus aurait ainsi signifié une différence ouverte avec le Gouvernement du Royaume-Uni qui avait annoncé les représailles avant même d'être informé de nos positions sur le sujet. Une telle divergence aurait pu facilement servir de matière à la propagande allemande. (*Telegram from the High Commissioner*, 13 octobre 1942)

Toutefois, le Canada subit les conséquences immédiates de l'application des représailles et doit composer avec les problèmes encourus par les politiques de Londres. Premièrement, de par la violente révolte des prisonniers au camp de Bowmanville qui a dégénéré en affrontement, ainsi que par la résistance des prisonniers aux camps de Gravenhurst et d'Ozada contre la mise aux fers. Les autorités canadiennes craignent que cette crise ait un impact sur l'ensemble du réseau de camps au Canada, mais aussi sur les prisonniers canadiens en Europe puisque ces derniers forment la majorité des prisonniers alliés pris à Dieppe et subissant les représailles de l'Allemagne. Deuxièmement, Ottawa souligne son rôle de signataire de la convention de Genève et se dit défenseur du droit international, alors que les mesures prônées par Londres sont en complète contradiction avec celui-ci. De plus, il y a un fort risque que l'opinion publique à la fois canadienne et internationale soit nettement en défaveur de cette pratique, ce qui mine le moral de la population et l'effort de guerre, en plus de détériorer l'image du Canada à l'international.

Par conséquent, sans consulter Londres, le Canada entreprend directement de mettre fin à l'enchaînement des prisonniers et refuse d'appliquer davantage cette mesure : « Le Canada a entrepris une action indépendante en cessant la mise aux fers des prisonniers » (*Memorandum for the Prime Minister*). Sur ce point, l'opposition des autorités canadiennes est claire: « Le Gouvernement du

Canada a annoncé aux autorités britanniques concernées que le Canada a décidé de cesser immédiatement les représailles et l'enchaînement de prisonniers de guerre allemands appliqués à la demande des Britanniques. » (*The chaining of Prisoners*) D'ailleurs, un rapport interne des autorités canadiennes souligne clairement les objectifs du Canada dans cette crise. Intitulé *The Chaining of Prisoners and Canadian Autonomy: A Suggestion for Action by Canada*, le document indique que le Canada doit se distancer de la position britannique. Selon le rapport, cette crise représente une occasion d'encourager le moral de la population canadienne, « *National Status and Canadian Morale* », en montrant l'indépendance du Canada face à l'Empire britannique : « Nous croyons que la présente situation représente une occasion légitime et unique de fournir un fort stimulus envers l'État et le nationalisme canadien » (*The chaining of Prisoners*). Par le fait même, il est important de contrer la propagande allemande qui véhicule une image négative de « l'impérialisme britannique » dans cette guerre et éviter que cette crise n'alimente la propagande ennemie. Du même ordre que le Statut de Westminster, il s'agit d'une démonstration concrète de la souveraineté du Canada, « *Independence Must be Realized in Action* ». Finalement, cette action représente aussi une occasion immédiate, « *An Immediate Opportunity* », de montrer à la population américaine l'autonomie du gouvernement canadien face à la Grande-Bretagne, tout en favorisant les relations avec le voisin du Sud en adoptant une position similaire à ce dernier (*The chaining of Prisoners*).

Par ailleurs, le Canada justifie sa position face au gouvernement britannique en évoquant les craintes de représailles, que l'enchaînement des prisonniers allemands n'apporte aucun résultat et que cette pratique est immorale, indécente, inhumaine et indéfendable sur le plan de l'opinion publique et du droit international. De plus, il considère inutile et inacceptable d'embarquer dans une escalade de violence avec les nazis, puisque ceux-ci ont démontré à plusieurs reprises qu'ils n'ont aucun respect pour la condition humaine. Pour ces raisons, le gouvernement canadien préfère s'abstenir d'exécuter les représailles pour Londres : « (...) Les actes commis contre les prisonniers de guerre sont moralement indéfendables et nous préférons demeurer à l'écart de telles actions » (*The chaining of Prisoners*). D'un autre côté, le Canada tente rapidement de régler l'impasse entre Londres et Berlin en favorisant les négociations avec la Suisse: « (...) Nous pressons fortement l'acceptation [par les deux partis] des offres de médiation offerte par le Gouvernement suisse et le Comité International de la Croix-Rouge. Nous avons suggéré au Royaume-Uni le 10 octobre 1943 que la puissance protectrice devrait utiliser son organisation et ses services afin de trouver une solution immédiate à la mise aux fers des prisonniers (...) » (*Telegram from the High Commissioner*, 13 août 1943). Cependant, malgré les efforts

canadiens pour faciliter la résolution de la crise, l'accord n'aboutit qu'en novembre 1943 avec un arrêt de l'enchaînement sous promesse de mettre fin aux représailles et d'éviter les déclarations publiques (Vance, « Men in Manacles » 192). Même si la crise prend fin, les relations britanno-canadiennes changent considérablement. Ce changement est d'abord visible par le refus du Canada d'appliquer les politiques de Londres, mais aussi par le rapprochement des politiques canadiennes avec les positions américaines, qui occupent davantage d'importance et d'influence sur la question des prisonniers de guerre.

La fin de la guerre

À partir de 1943, l'entrée des États-Unis dans le dossier de la détention de guerre change la dynamique entre Londres et Ottawa et réduit du même coup le rôle du Canada sur la question. En fait, le Canada n'est plus le principal détenteur de prisonniers de guerre allemands, puisque les Américains, suite à un accord avec les Britanniques, acceptent la détention des prisonniers de l'Axe. Ils en reçoivent plus de 425 000 jusqu'en 1945 (Pluth 435). Pour la Grande-Bretagne, il devient alors plus facile de transférer ses prisonniers aux États-Unis en raison que ces derniers prennent la pleine responsabilité de leur traitement en tant que puissance détentrice officielle. Par le fait même, Londres évite les négociations avec Ottawa quant à la responsabilité de la détention. Le Canada continue toutefois de recevoir des prisonniers de guerre allemands pour le compte des Britanniques, de sorte qu'il en détient au total 35 000 en décembre 1944.

Parallèlement, les autorités canadiennes se distancent davantage de l'autorité de la Grande-Bretagne. En ce sens, la *Shackling Crisis* a démontré que le rapport de force tend à changer entre Ottawa et Londres. La Grande-Bretagne ne peut plus imposer ses politiques au Canada sans considérer ce dernier puisque les prisonniers ne sont pas sur le territoire britannique. De plus, ce sont les Canadiens qui appliquent la détention. Par exemple, Londres demande au Canada en juin 1943 de cesser le paiement des prisonniers allemands qui ne sont pas mis au travail afin de faire pression sur Berlin. Étant dans le contexte de la *Shackling Crisis*, le Canada refuse d'appliquer cette mesure afin d'éviter d'envenimer les négociations et suggère plutôt une politique commune pour l'ensemble du Commonwealth, ainsi qu'avec les Américains (*Meeting of the Imperial Prisoner of War Committee*, 17 juin 1943). Par ailleurs, en 1943 le Canada demande de clarifier la responsabilité des transferts afin d'assurer une sécurité « adéquate » pour éviter la mort des détenus et les évasions et ainsi parer aux représailles envers les prisonniers canadiens (*Meeting of the Imperial Prisoner of War Committee*, 17 novembre

1943). Par la même occasion, le Canada réitère sa volonté d'entretenir les liens diplomatiques avec la Suisse pour recevoir directement les plaintes de prisonniers sans passer par Londres (*Meeting of the Imperial Prisoner of War Committee*, 15 novembre 1943).

Un autre cas illustrant le détachement d'Ottawa face à Londres est celui des programmes de rééducation (ou dénazification) instaurés par chacun des Alliés à partir de 1944. Les autorités canadiennes établissent leur propre programme de rééducation selon le modèle américain, et ce, en dépit des fortes critiques de la Grande-Bretagne. Cette dernière privilégie plutôt une approche « sociale » pour la rééducation des prisonniers, basée sur la psychologie via des discussions et des activités de groupes imposées aux détenus. À l'opposé, le modèle américano-canadien du « *learning by doing* » est axé sur l'éducation, la pédagogie, l'initiative individuelle, le volontariat et l'apprentissage des prisonniers (Rettig 43-75). Ce modèle est privilégié par le Canada, puisque jugé moins coûteux et favorisé par la collaboration avec les Américains dans l'établissement du programme (Robin 163). Finalement, en janvier 1945, Ottawa rejette la demande de Londres pour le transfert de 50 000 nouveaux prisonniers soulignant qu'ils ne disposent pas des équipements et des installations adéquates pour leur détention et que ces derniers nécessitent des ressources financières et matérielles considérables (Auger 73-75). L'Afrique du Sud refuse à son tour la détention de ces prisonniers allemands (Moore 63-66), forçant Londres à transférer ces détenus aux Américains, signe d'un changement dans les relations du Commonwealth, où la Grande-Bretagne n'est plus en mesure d'imposer ses politiques.

Conclusion

La détention de guerre ne prend pas fin le 8 mai 1945. Il faut attendre 1946 pour que les derniers prisonniers allemands quittent le territoire canadien vers la Grande-Bretagne et deux années de plus pour qu'ils regagnent l'Allemagne. D'ailleurs, la question du rapatriement des prisonniers représente aussi une source de mésententes et de négociations entre les Alliés (Kochavi; Vance, *Object* 69-85). Il s'agit d'un autre exemple qui mérite d'être étudié pour démontrer le rôle du Canada dans le dossier des prisonniers de guerre. Entre 1939 et 1945, la collaboration entre le Canada et la Grande-Bretagne sur la question des prisonniers de guerre s'articule donc autour d'ententes et de mésententes, marquées par des tensions, des divergences et des convergences sur la nécessité d'un front commun et dans la plupart du temps sur le respect de Genève. Cette coopération évolue en fonction du conflit, mais aussi par un rapport de force entre Londres et Ottawa qui varie selon le nombre de prisonniers détenus et la volonté de chacun de coopérer. L'interprétation et

l'application de la convention de Genève, particulièrement sur le rôle et les responsabilités de chacun, demeurent une source de négociations qui ne trouveront pas de conclusions avant la fin de la guerre. En ce sens, il ne s'agit pas d'une politique ou d'un accord clairement défini entre les deux parties. Au contraire, la perception du danger que représentent les prisonniers allemands dans le contexte précaire de 1940 oblige les deux Alliés à agir rapidement sans régler l'ensemble des détails, ce qui influence leurs rapports. Par ailleurs, Londres ne concède que peu d'espace au Canada dans le processus décisionnel. Les politiques de détention reflètent donc à la fois une sous-estimation de la complexité et de l'importance de la question des prisonniers de guerre, mais aussi la politique impériale de Londres durant le conflit, basée sur son interprétation du droit international, ne tenant pas compte des intérêts canadiens.

Au départ, il s'agit d'une relation bilatérale entre le Canada et la Grande-Bretagne, mais rapidement elle devient multilatérale avec l'arrivée des États-Unis dans le dossier. Le rôle des Américains dans la détention de guerre change la dynamique interalliée, de par le nombre de détenus dont ils ont la charge, leurs politiques et par leur proximité et donc, leur influence, sur le Canada. De plus, les politiques de détention canadiennes s'arriment avec l'affirmation nationale grandissante du Canada sur la scène internationale, ses relations avec les États-Unis ainsi que son détachement vis-à-vis de la Grande-Bretagne, d'où les liens établis par Ottawa avec la Suisse et le CICR. Toutefois, la politique allemande de considérer les prisonniers alliés comme un seul groupe et de ne traiter qu'avec la Grande-Bretagne pour l'ensemble du Commonwealth nuit à l'ambition d'Ottawa de jouer un rôle plus actif sur la question des prisonniers de guerre.

L'histoire des prisonniers de guerre au Canada démontre bien la structure et les mécanismes de cette *Barbed Wired Diplomacy*, l'une des nombreuses composantes des négociations interalliées entre 1939 et 1945. En raison de ses positions, notamment durant la *Shackling Crisis*, et de par sa volonté de respecter la convention de Genève, le Canada contribue à une amélioration des conditions des prisonniers allemands (et alliés du même coup) de même qu'au respect du droit international. Ces constats signifient que le pays n'est plus seulement une puissance de second ordre, *a middle power*, mais bien un acteur de premier plan sur l'enjeu international que forment les prisonniers de guerre durant la Deuxième Guerre mondiale.

Bibliographie :

- Auger, Martin. *Prisonniers de guerre et internés allemands dans le sud du Québec 1940-1946*. Montréal : Athéna, 2010.
- Bernard, Yves et Caroline Bergeron. *Trop loin de Berlin*. Québec : Septentrion, 1995.
- Bridley, Kiera. *Allied Unshackling: British, Canadian, and American Prisoner of War Diplomacy during the Shackling Reprisals, 1942-43*. M.A. Thesis. Minnesota State University, 2014.
- Carter, David J. *POW, Behind Canadian Barbed Wire: Alien, Refugee and Prisoner of War Camps in Canada, 1914-1946*. Winnipeg : Eagle Butte Press, 1998.
- Correspondances entre Ottawa et Washington*. Privy Council Office. War Committee Minutes. RG2- Vol. 20, Dossier W-35-4, Ottawa, 1 décembre 1942, BAC, Ottawa.
- Granatstein, J.L. *Canadian Foreign Policy*. Toronto : Copp Clark Pitman, 1993.
- . *The importance of being less earnest: promoting Canada's national interests through tighter ties with the U.S.* Toronto : C.D. Howe Institute, 2003.
- Held, Renate. *Kriegsgefangenschaft in Großbritannien. Deutsche Soldaten des zweiten Weltkriegs in britischem Gewahrsam*. München: Oldenbourg 2008.
- Imperial Prisoner of War Committee, Memorandum*. Imperial Prisoners of War Committee 1941-1942. RG24-D-1-b, Vol. 3926, dossier 1. 1 novembre 1941. BAC, Ottawa.
- Jackson, Ashley. *The British Empire and the Second World War*. London : Continuum, 2008.
- Kelly, Joseph John. *The prisoner of war camps in Canada 1939-1947*. Ph.D. Thesis. University of Windsor, 1976.
- Kochavi, Arieh. *Confronting Captivity: Britain and the United States and Their POWs in Nazi Germany*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2005.
- Krammer, Arnold. *Nazi Prisoners of War in America*. New York: Scarborough House, 1996.
- Mackenzie, Simon. P. « The Treatment of Prisoners of War in World War II. » *Journal of Modern History* 66.3 (1994) : 487-520.
- Mackenzie, Simon. P. « The Shackling crisis: A Case-Study in the Dynamics of Prisoner of War Diplomacy in the Second World War. » *The International History Review* 17.1 (1995) : 78-98.
- Meeting of the Imperial Prisoner of War Committee*. Imperial Prisoners of War Committee 1943. RG24-D-1-b, Vol. 3927, dossier 3. 17 juin 1943, 31 août 1943 10 octobre 1943, 15 novembre 1943, 17 novembre 1943 et 23 décembre 1943. BAC, Ottawa.
- Memorandum for the Prime Minister*. Privy Council Office Canada, Prisoner of War Shackling. RG2, Vol. 20. 1 décembre 1942. BAC, Ottawa.

- Moore, Bob et Kent Fedorowich (Dir.). *Prisoner of War and Their Captor in World War II*. Oxford : Berg Publisher, 1996.
- Moore, Bob. « Unwanted Guest in Troubled Times: German Prisoners of War in the Union of South Africa, 1942-1943 ». *The Journal of Military History* 70.1 (2006) : 63-90.
- Overmans, Rüdiger (Dir.). *In der Hand des Feindes. Kriegsgefangenschaft von der Antike bis zum Zweiten Weltkrieg*. Köln: Böhlau, 1999.
- Pathé, Anne-Marie et Fabien Théofilakis (Dir.). *La captivité de guerre au XXe siècle, Des archives, des histoires, des mémoires*. Paris : Armand Colin, 2012.
- Pluth, Edward John. *The Administration and Operation of German Prisoner of War Camps in the United States during World War II*. Ph.D. Thesis, Ball State University, 1970.
- Rettig, Andrew. « A De-programming Curriculum: Allied Reeducation and the Canadian-American Psychological Warfare Program for German POWs, 1943-47. » *American Review of Canadian Studies* 29.4 (2009): 593-619.
- Robin, Ron Theodore. *The Barbed Wire College: Reeducating German POWs in the United States during World War II*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1995.
- Smart, Martha McNeill. *We have Improvised: The Anglo-American Alliance and Axis Prisoners of War in World War II*. M.A. Thesis. Elon University, 2010.
- Stewart, Andrew. *Empire Lost: Britain, the Dominions and the Second World War*. London : Continuum, 2008.
- Suggested measures to Improve the existing machinery of the Imperial prisoners of war committee*. Department of National Defense, Imperial Prisoners of War Committee, War Office. RG24-D-1-b, Vol. 3926. 22 mars 1943. BAC. Ottawa.
- Telegram from the High Commissioner for Canada in Great Britain to the Secretary of State for External Affairs*. Department of External Affairs. RG25, Bobine T-2207, Vol. 824, fichier 713. 30 mai 1940, 10 juin 1940, 1 juillet 1940, 5 juillet 1940, 30 juillet 1940, 2 septembre 1940, 12 octobre 1940, 13 août 1942, 9 octobre 1942, 13 octobre 1942 et 24 octobre 1942. BAC. Ottawa.
- The chaining of Prisoners and Canadian autonomy, a suggestion for action by Canada* ». Privy Council Office Canada, Prisoner of War Shackling. RG2. Vol. 20. 30 novembre 1942. BAC. Ottawa.
- Thompson, John Herd et Stephen J. Randall. *Canada and the United States: Ambivalent Allies*. Montréal : McGill-Queen's University Press, 4e édition, 2008.
- Vance, Jonathan. *Object of Concern, Canadian Prisoners of War through the Twentieth Century*. Vancouver : UBC Press, 1994.
- Vance, Jonathan. « Men in Manacles: The Shackling of Prisoners of War, 1942-1943. » *The Journal of Military History* 59.3 (1995) : 483-504.

- Wylie, Neville. « The Sound of Silence: The History of the International Committee of the Red Cross as Past and Present. » *Diplomacy and Statecraft* 13.4 (2002) : 186-204.
- . *Barbed Wire Diplomacy. Britain, Germany and the Politics of Prisoners of War 1939-1945*. Oxford : Oxford University Press, 2010.

Jean-Michel Turcotte est détenteur d'un baccalauréat en histoire de l'Université du Québec à Chicoutimi et d'une maîtrise en histoire de l'Université Laval. Ses intérêts de recherche portent principalement sur les dimensions socio-politiques de la Seconde Guerre mondiale. Actuellement, dans le cadre de sa thèse de doctorat, sous la supervision des professeurs Talbot Imlay et Fabian Lemmes, l'auteur se penche sur l'analyse des relations interalliées au sujet de la détention des prisonniers de guerre allemands par la Grande-Bretagne, le Canada et les États-Unis entre 1939 et 1945.

**CULTURAL AND LINGUISTIC
LANDSCAPES / PAYSAGES CULTURELS
ET LINGUISTIQUES**

Barbora Polachová

Magdalena Fiřtová

Charles University, Prague

CANADIAN IDENTITY: ISSUES OF CULTURAL DIPLOMACY (1993-2012)

Abstract

This case study of Canadian cultural diplomacy (1993-2012) tests the hypothesis that the public diplomacy of Canadian governments served the objective of fostering the Canadian identity. We claim that Canada has witnessed a gradual eclipse of cultural diplomacy as a means of “soft power” under the Harper administration. While the Liberal governments since the 1960s, and especially since 1993, used cultural diplomacy as a domestic policy strategy promoting the narratives of cultural diversity, the Conservative strategy tried to reframe Canadian identity along traditional, more economic and “hard power” neoconservative terms. This article tries to illustrate how changing identity narratives have shaped the foreign policymaking of Canada in the cultural domain.

Résumé

La présente étude de la diplomatie culturelle du Canada (1993-2012) a pour but de vérifier l’hypothèse suggérant que la diplomatie ouverte des gouvernements canadiens servait indéniablement l’intérêt de promouvoir l’identité canadienne. Nous prétendons que sous le gouvernement de Stephen Harper le Canada a provoqué une éclipse progressive de la diplomatie culturelle en tant que moyen de la « puissance souple » (« soft power »). Depuis les années 1960, notamment depuis 1993, les gouvernements libéraux ont utilisé la diplomatie culturelle comme une stratégie politique nationale ayant pour but de promouvoir le récit de son concept de diversité culturelle. La stratégie du gouvernement conservateur a tenté de resituer l’identité canadienne autour des expressions traditionnelles et néconservatrices, plus économiques et liées à la « puissance forte » (« hard power »). Cet article tente d’illustrer comment ce changement de paradigme identitaire a façonné l’élaboration de la nouvelle politique étrangère du Canada dans le domaine culturel.

According to a multi-country comparative study of Wyszomirski, Burgess and Peila, Canada once ranked as second, only to France, in terms of per capita spending on international cultural relations. For four decades Canada as a middle-power nation endorsed Joseph Nye's theory of the imperative of soft-power resources in a nation's international life; since 1993, the Liberals' use of cultural diplomacy was a significant component of Canada's international relations toolbox. However, since the Conservatives took power in 2006, the government has manifested a gradual decline in interest in cultural diplomacy. The paper will inquire into the government's motivations for this shift.

We will test the hypothesis that public diplomacy of both Liberal and Progressive Conservative governments, since the 1960s and especially since 1993, served the primary objectives of fostering an emerging Canadian identity embedded in cultural diversity. We aim to demonstrate that an important transformation of the Canadian cultural policy took place due to the changing identity accentuation under the Conservative Harper government (since 2006).

The paper focuses on the most important, though relatively narrowly defined, component of public diplomacy – cultural diplomacy. In this paper, due to the limitation of space, we refer mainly to Cummings' compact definition of cultural diplomacy as “the exchange of ideas, information, art, and other aspects of culture among nations and their peoples in order to foster mutual understanding” (1). Cultural diplomacy has been used to contribute to nation-building and as a tool of public diplomacy. Our presumption is that those cultural relations put in service of foreign relations have not been apolitical (Mitchell), and that foreign policy has more or less openly used culture to support other political or economic objectives.

While examining the internal motivations of the government for structuring the ways the Canadian cultural diplomacy has been pursued, this study springs from the idea that Canada's cultural diplomacy performance and national identity are intimately bound up. Therefore, we claim that the dynamic of Canadian identity has influenced the projection of Canadian culture abroad.

The first, theoretical section specifies our understanding of links between foreign policy, national interests and national identity from a constructivist perspective. The second part carries out an empirical analysis of Canadian cultural policy through the empirical research framework of the qualitative content analysis of the government and parties' documents, interviews conducted with present or former government officials and cultural and academic stakeholders, and the quantitative data evaluation presented in federal departments' performance reports. The article demonstrates, based on a concrete case study of Canadian cultural diplomacy, how changing identity narratives addressing the domestic interests of the government have shaped the foreign policymaking of Canada.

National identity – national interests – public diplomacy

Our key analytical focus on cultural diplomacy as the most important facet or the linchpin of public diplomacy which articulates the identity of a nation, draws from the nexus between state identity, state interest and state actions. The delineation of this policy area allows us to demonstrate how national policymakers can employ foreign cultural policy as a tool for constructing and reconstructing collective identities to shape a positive national identity by controlling the image of their nation (Aoki-Okabe 216). Established theoretical approaches, realist and constructivist, offer different explanatory strategies to state policy choices and their sources. Unlike realists, who perceive national interests as fixed and permanent, an exogenous variable that can be deduced from certain immutable assumptions about the international anarchical order, constructivists stress the interpretative, i.e. intersubjective creation of interests. National interests are determined through social interaction and social construction, as they change and develop over time; they are constituted in relation to identity. For constructivists there are no *a priori* interests “out there” (Burchill 196). The first step in a constructivist account of foreign policy is therefore the specification of state identity (Lapid and Kratochwil; Banchoff); identity becomes the core building block of interest. Wendt holds that the identity of the state informs its interests and in turn its actions (385). For states, identity has both an internal and an external dimension – it is what binds the group together and what situates it with respect to others (Banchoff 268).

As Rogers Smith observes, identities are “among the most normatively significant and behaviorally consequential aspects of politics” (Smith 302). Canada was no exception to this trend as identity has been in the centre of social research of Canadian foreign policy for many decades. Further to Tilly’s model of major attributes of public identity (5), Buckner concludes that “collective identities are not fixed attributes of groups but are historical constructs liable to evolve and that identities are enunciated for specific reasons at specific times” (51).

In Canada, the Quebec nationalist movement of the 1960s brought to the fore the bicultural or bi-racial component of Canadian identity, and called for the emphasis of Canada’s dual French and English character. A second component of Canadian identity – the British heritage – was not able to counter the concept of a “Quebec nation” with an ethnic form of Canadian nationalism. Therefore, this duality “as a vector of transnational collective identity has come to have a centrifugal rather than a centripetal impact upon foreign policy” (Haglund 360). The steady structuration of cultural diplomacy can be interpreted from an identity view as an appeasing policy, a means of

fostering national unity, a tool to enhance a new civic aspect of Canadian identity, endorsed in the principle of cultural diversity.

The last important relational aspect of Canadian identity useful for the analysis of Canadian cultural diplomacy can be called, in Haglund's words, geographical, as it refers to the conceptualization of Canada as a regional actor, defining its relationship to the United States (359). The geographical position of Canada next to its powerful neighbour and the world's biggest economy has been the main factor not only for Canadian cultural expression but also for the transmission of its values abroad. The necessity to constitute the "other" vis-a-vis the dominant neighbour emphasizes cultural sovereignty. Cultural diplomacy has been constructed as a strategy of soft balancing measures, which did not directly challenge the U.S. cultural preponderance but searched for policies that would delay and undermine the U.S. cultural dominance in Canada.

Diversity as a defining aspect of Canadian international cultural policy

The Quiet Revolution raised interest in intensive provincial engagement and its role in international relations; the federal government was urged to care not only about foreign relations but also to enhance international cultural links (Stephens 2). Halloran argues that the federal focus on cultural relations was a reaction to activities of the Quebec government (2). Under Lester Pearson's tenure as Prime Minister, in 1966, the Cultural Affairs Division was established as a separate unit within the Department of External Affairs (DEA). The government had accelerated agreements of cultural cooperation with France, Switzerland and Belgium in 1963. As Quebec put more resources into its relations with France, Ottawa also increased its international relations abroad (CCART 24). Halloran documented that the budget for Canadian cultural exchanges with Francophone countries was increased 4 times from 250,000 CAD to 1 million CAD by the end of 1965 (3).

Trudeau's strategy to respond to bicultural cleavages in Canada differed from his predecessor Lester Pearson. The Quebec government adopted an approach to cultural policy that focused on the national identity of Quebecers; the federal government was determined to counter the provincial cultural measures by creating a new Canadian national identity. Trudeau actively brought to the fore a new comprehensive image of Canada at home and abroad – an image embedded in diversity. Under P.E. Trudeau the Quebec cultural assertiveness was to be suppressed also by a new Canadian foreign policy with a strong pan-Canadian cultural component. The federal government, through the DEA, promoted the diversity of Canadian identity, making it the center of

Canadian's self-image. *Foreign Policy for Canadians*, stated Trudeau's foreign policy principles of 1970 and acknowledged that cultural activities were an integral part of foreign policy. The paper stressed the importance of cultural relations abroad as a means of projecting Canada's distinctiveness (Maxwell 24). Trudeau believed that a successful performance on the international scene would have a positive impact on the national unity and domestic policies. *Foreign Policy for Canadians* acknowledged that Canada underwent "a long period of difficult readjustment (...) a period in which Canada is coming to terms with its essential bilingual character" (14). The Cultural Affairs Division of the DEA also expanded cultural agreements with Switzerland, Italy, West Germany and the Netherlands. The opening of the Canadian Cultural Centre in Paris in May 1970 was the first effort to present Canada as a multicultural and open country, while also serving as a showcase of Canadian arts and culture. Cultural diplomacy boomed during the Trudeau era and cultural affairs continued to receive thorough attention in the annual foreign policy reviews during the 1970s. The Arts Promotion Program was launched in 1974 and was the flagship of the Department's support to individual artists and companies performing abroad.

It is interesting to note how much the Liberal idea of creating linkage between promotion of diversity and cultural exposure resonated in Canadian society. The Survey of Canadian Heritage of 2012 explicitly states that "92% of Canadians agree that arts experiences are a valuable way of bringing together people from different languages and traditions." The same survey found that "the vast majority (87%) of Canadians agreed that the arts and culture help them express and define what it means to be Canadian" (Petri 36).

A Canadian Studies program, whose main objective was to expand the influential community "informed about and favorably disposed toward Canada" was inaugurated in the mid-1970s. At the time, the Canadian Secretary of State for External Affairs, Allan MacEachen, called the initiative a key part of a government plan "to expand and diversify Canada's cultural relations with other countries" (CCSI). According to his statement, the program was to be part of the cultural diplomacy of Canada. It was launched in Great Britain, and centers of Canadian Studies were soon established in France, Japan and the United States.

The foreign policy reviews of the 1970s repeatedly and continuously highlighted the benefits of cultural activities to achieve foreign policy goals; nevertheless, this ideational ambition was not fully realized in practice. From a planned allocation of 12 million CAD in 1975 for cultural activities for five years, 1975-1980, the government budgeted only 5.35 million CAD to the program (CCART 26). The Trudeau era represented an identity turn, making from the concept of diversity an image of Canada abroad and putting culture into the base of this profile. From then on, the federal government promoted

Canada as a multicultural nation, using this vision to promote nation building, “positioning cultural pluralism at the heart of national unity” (Gattinger 8).

The Progressive Conservative government’s foreign policy under Brian Mulroney differed little from the earlier foreign policy review of the Trudeau government (Noble). Mulroney was preoccupied with the English-French dispute and he continued to allow Quebec relatively great political weight. Although the place of the arts and culture in Canadian foreign policy did not hold a central position, due to deficit reduction and fiscal restraint, the Mulroney administration did not revoke the policy and attempted to match cultural objectives of foreign policy to trade objectives. A former official of the Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade (DFAIT) asserts that the Mulroney government was “very supportive” of the promotion of Canadian arts and culture abroad, primarily in the Canada House Cultural Centre in London, which had an approximate annual budget of 350,000 CAD that allowed the organization of big events such as Canada Nouveau (Interview No. 5).

The success of Mulroney’s key initiative, the free trade agreement between Canada and the United States of 1988, required the government to maintain Canadian cultural sovereignty. For Americans, the cultural industry was perceived as entertainment defined by market demand. In other words, it was treated as a product, while Canadians saw culture as an expression of national identity that needed protection (Mulcahy 265). The United States was willing to open its markets for other cultural products, but Canada, facing the massive challenge of American cultural imports, looked for protectionist measures in the agreements. The government was successful at negotiating the normative protection of Canadian autonomous culture in the form of an exemption of the cultural industries from the Free Trade Agreement (FTA), later the North American Free Trade Agreement (i.e. Article 1 (5) of NAFTA); however, several disputes between Canada and the U.S. with regards to cultural industries protection clearly demonstrate the disagreement over the interpretation of this cultural exemption. The unsuccessful protection of the Canadian cultural sector against the dominance of American cultural production under NAFTA, as well as WTO, resulted in the belief that trade agreements would likely be insufficient to retain domestic autonomy in cultural policymaking. Therefore, the following Liberal governments pursued an active international policy preserving the rights of states to formulate appropriate public policy for the protection, promotion and enhancement of cultural diversity. In 2005, the UNESCO Convention on the Protection and Promotion of the Diversity of Cultural Expression was adopted based on the initiative of Canada and France.

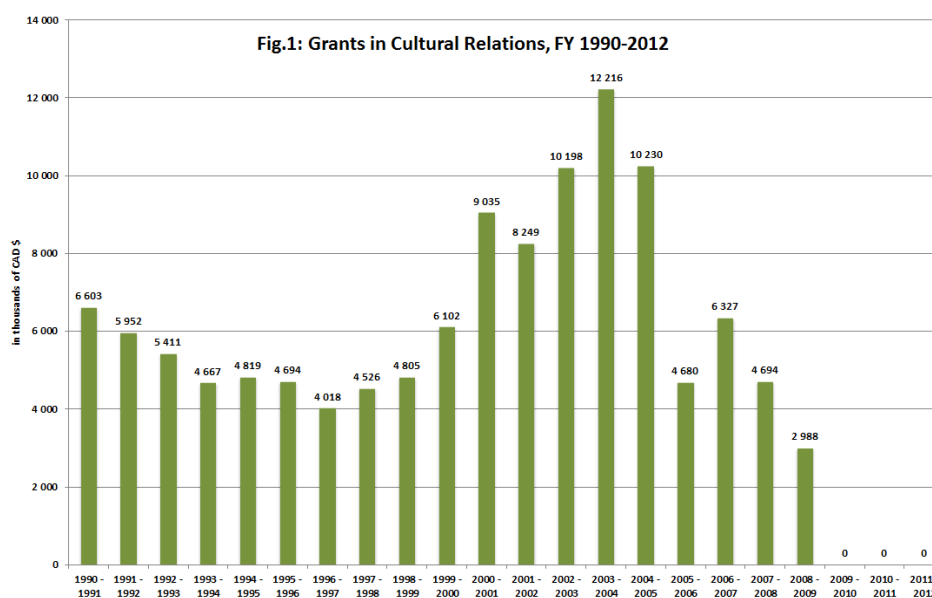
Culture as a pillar of Canadian foreign policy

It is important to understand the features of Trudeau's cultural diplomacy legacy, because the incorporation of Canadian values and culture into the so-called Third Pillar of foreign policy in 1995 followed Trudeau's ideas. A new roadmap for Canadian foreign policy called *Canada in the World* was prepared by the new Liberal government of Jean Chrétien; for the first time, it incorporated culture into official government international policy. When foreign policy was developed during the years 1993-1995, national unity was a central topic. The ethnic dimension of Canadian identity played a very crucial role for foreign policy, as the 1995 Quebec referendum on sovereignty was approaching and the federal government needed to appease the Quebec thrust for independence. The accent on culture as one of three defining features of the Canadian image abroad can be interpreted as a strategic move by the Chrétien government to show to Quebec that the federal government was willing and able to represent a united Canada abroad and speak with one unique voice on the international scene. The idea of a comprehensive image of Canada embedded in diversity was revitalized. *Canada in the World* emphasized that "culture and education are vital to our success" and continued that "only Canadian culture can express the uniqueness of our country, which is bilingual, multicultural, and deeply influenced by its Aboriginal roots, the North, the oceans and its own vastness" (1, 37).

In the interest of national unity the Third Pillar projected the image of Canada as a country whose image abroad is its culture (Saul 117). Nevertheless, as this idea was born from the urgency of the turbulent years 1993-1995, the lack of a thorough departmental strategy of what was the purpose of cultural diplomacy and its implication on the relationship between DFAIT and the Canadian cultural community resulted in the slow launch of cultural policymaking. The organizational structure of cultural activities suffered from this lack of coherence. In addition to the newly created Arts Promotion and Cultural Division (ACA) within DFAIT, the Department of Canadian Heritage (DCH) established its own Trade and Investment Branch. The creation of a separate branch at the DCH was a sign of increasing and unclear bureaucracy towards the cultural stakeholders. Several years after the announcement of the Third Pillar the evaluation report pinpointed coordination failures: "Previous efforts to collaborate with DCH have been unsuccessful. In spite of senior management direction from both departments to coordinate their responsibilities and share information, progress has not materialized" (DFAIT, *Grants and Contribution Audit*).

Besides the lack of strategy, in the mid-1990s the government was occupied by the economic situation, with large budget-deficits. The

reconstruction of the fiscal policy demanded severe budget cuts. As the DFAIT Operating Budget was reduced between 1995-1997, the budget of the International Cultural Relations Bureau had to be reduced as well. The amount of grants in cultural relations between 1993-1997 (Fig. 1) continued to decrease. Robin Higham, the Director General to the newly created International Cultural Relations Bureau within DFAIT, confessed that despite the strong rhetoric of 1993, culture was rather regarded as the “third pencil” of foreign policy (Interview No. 1).



Source: Data retrieved from the Public Accounts Canada Volumes 1990-2009.

As the Canadian economy recovered towards the end of the 1990s and Canada started to pay off its debt by 1997, the DFAIT budget, including cultural relations grants, began to increase again (Fig. 1). As soon as a new foreign minister, Lloyd Axworthy (1996-2000), a fierce advocate of the power of public diplomacy, was appointed, the cultural diplomacy under the line of public diplomacy blossomed. After 1997, the federal government could finally pursue the Third Pillar in economic terms. As Figure 1 demonstrates, the grants in cultural and academic relations were nearly doubled from 4.5 million CAD in 1997 to 9 million CAD 2001. Until 2001, there were only a few priority posts such as Washington, New York, Paris, London, Tokyo and Berlin that received a separate cultural budget. In 2001, the cultural budgets were expanded to 22 posts around the world with budgets totalling 1.5 million CAD (Interview No. 4). Nevertheless, it is very difficult to fully evaluate the

outcome of the Third Pillar strategy as the funding for many cultural activities, for example the highly successful Think Canada Festival in Japan in 2001, did not come from a specific fund created to advance the Third Pillar, but from other special funds such as the Program for International Business Development, additional *ad-hoc* funds and Post-Initiative Funds.

In 2001, Prime Minister Jean Chrétien and Canadian Heritage Minister Sheila Copps announced a cross-sectional investment program, *Tomorrow Starts Today*, as an additional three-year investment of 568 million CAD in the arts and cultural industries. It was the largest increase in federal funding for the arts in forty years; the new money was targeted toward underwriting creativity, building audiences, maximizing access and developing private-sector partnerships (Wyman 183). As a part of the initiative, the Department of Canadian Heritage established the Trade Routes program. The program, funded on a 23 million CAD budget over a three-year period, was designed to expand international markets for the Canadian cultural sector (DCH). The program provided 2 million CAD in direct contributions to arts organizations. These contributions enabled organizations to attend fairs and conventions and to be a part of foreign trade missions. A major share of 5 million CAD was spent on service offerings from trade specialists based in Canada and abroad (Parliament of Canada).

Although there was no explicit reference of cultural diplomacy strategy to Canadian unity and its interests, a study of the Arts Promotion Program reveals that Quebec artists were overrepresented, relative to the population of the province within Canada. Between 2001 and 2005, about 39% of the grants went to artist-residents of Quebec and 36% went to Ontario (DFAIT, *Evaluation of the Arts*). The DFAIT evaluation report of the Arts Promotion Program fails to provide reasons for this provincial inequality, although there are a number of reasons to clarify this imbalance. Firstly, artists are not distributed evenly among provinces – Ontario has nearly twice as many artists as other provinces and Quebec has the second largest number. Approximately 22% of Canada's artists reside in Toronto and 14% in Montreal (DFAIT, *Evaluation of the Arts*). Secondly, the G-8 countries were the primary hosts of Canadian culture abroad. Regional distribution of cultural grants, allocated between 2001 and 2005, shows that 83% of grants funding to arts activities were in G-8 countries, with France, Germany, UK and the USA in the top positions (DFAIT, *Evaluation of the Arts*). This can be partly explained by the reactive character of the Arts Promotion Program, as grants provided a maximum of 30% of the total costs of the activity. The program was ineffective in India, China, Mexico and Brazil because there were fewer visits to these countries and the infrastructure to support artists was weaker there. The way the Arts Promotion Program was designed and structured helped the Liberals to cultivate relationships with their important electoral base in central Canada.

When Liberal Prime Minister Paul Martin took office in December 2003, the cultural diplomacy programs were in full bloom. The Martin administration continued to support the cultural and public diplomacy activities of the Missions by increasing the number of Missions affected from 22 in 2001 to 39 by 2004, which were funded by 1.9 million CAD in addition to the Arts Promotion Program. Projects ranged from support for the participation of nine Canadian authors in the International Book Festival in Edinburgh through Tal Bachman's tour in South Africa to the Canadian MUTEK Festival in Beijing (DFAIT, *A Role of Pride* 29).

Paul Martin's government was damaged by the sponsorship scandal that broke out soon after he took office in February 2004. The sponsorship scandal revolved around the federal government's investment in advertising in Quebec. It indirectly affected the Public Diplomacy Program (PDP) from which cultural and academic relations were funded. A former DFAIT Official contends that:

The scandal cut public relations funding of the embassies and we couldn't do much that year at our Embassy and we had to wait for a new budget (...) It also brought more bureaucracy into our daily operations as we had to precisely report how many people showed at the event and what impact did the event have. But cultural events are difficult to evaluate as they primarily give emotional experience to the attendee. (Interview No. 3)

The sponsorship scandal terminated the PDP as a separate business line in the DFAIT budget. The Evaluation of the PDP of 2005 clearly recommended:

With respect to relevance, we find that the creation of the PDP as a pilot initiative was an appropriate response given the context in 1998. Today, the PDP may no longer be the best mechanism for pursuing the declared objectives. For many stakeholders in DFAIT, the PDP mechanism served to fill gaps in funding emerging from budget cuts to do programming that is deemed important for different Posts, Bureaus and Divisions in DFAIT. This "pilot" program has served to confirm the legitimacy of a public diplomacy function within the Department in both the international and domestic arenas. As experience with the PDP suggests, public diplomacy should not be a separate program, but a way of working in the Department. (Office of Inspector General)

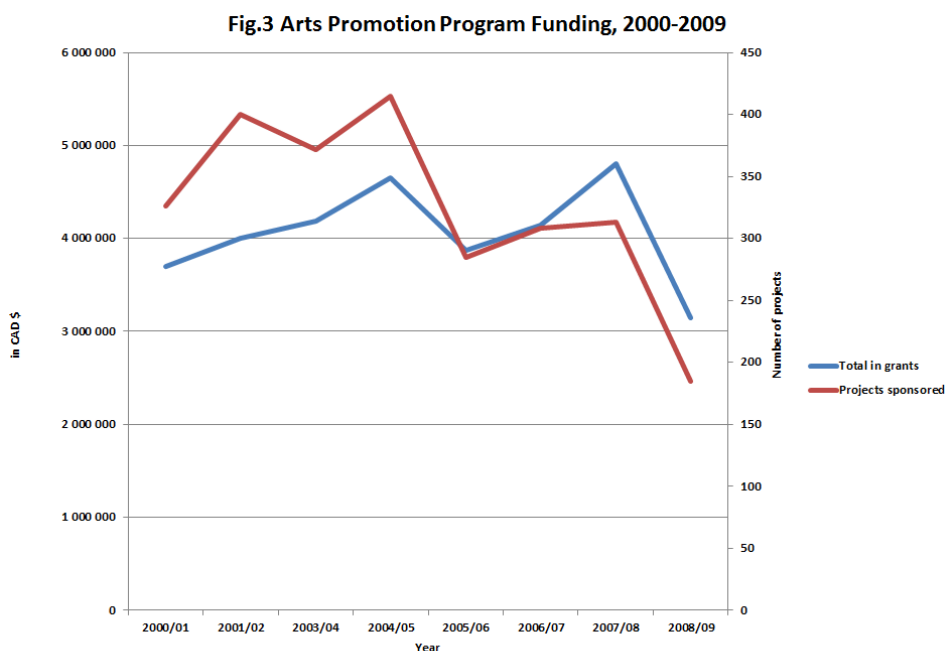
In the 2005 new foreign policy review *A Role of Pride and Influence in the World*, "culture as a pillar of foreign policy was completely absent and cultural relations made few appearances throughout the entirety of the document" (Maxwell 33). Nevertheless, the expansion of the PDP to promote Canadian culture as well as support of the efforts of Canadian Diasporas to forge cultural links remained recognized as a cornerstone of the government's

priorities (DFAIT, *A Role of Pride* 29). The multicultural character of the country was explicitly linked to the potential through which Canada could transmit impressions of itself to the world, as a “precious resource susceptible to spread Canada’s influence through the vehicle of public diplomacy” (DFAIT, *A Role of Pride* 28). The election results in 2006 provided evidence how voters viewed the scandal when the Liberal Party lost the election.

Cultural diplomacy and the new Conservative identity of Canada

After 2006 the Conservative Party led by Stephen Harper replaced the Liberals. The election plan of 2006 *Stand up for Canada* did not contain any foreign policy outline for Canada. Though the promotion of arts and culture was recognized as an “essential contribution to [Canadian] national identity,” the plan did not contain any further strategic commitment except for preserving the existing federal arts and cultural agencies (CP, *Stand up* 39). Harper’s strategy of a renewal of Canadian identity took off slowly with the weakest minority mandate in the parliamentary history of Canada but moved ahead steadily, as his “mission,” as Paul Wells calls it, was to endure, to change Canada and to eradicate the entire left-leaning Liberal Canada of Trudeau.

Cultural diplomacy as a pillar of Trudeau’s liberal legacy became no exception to this strategy. Despite the Liberal legacy of a healthy federal budget (a 13.8 billion CAD budget surplus in 2006), the Conservative government announced the first series of cuts in cultural activities the very same year. The Arts Promotion Program was to be cut by 11.8 million CAD over next two years, the grants to cultural relations were decreased by 1.6 million from 6.3 to 4.7 million CAD (CCART). Two years later, in August 2008, arts funding was cut by 60.5 million CAD. This included domestic as well as foreign programs. In practice, the second round of cuts meant the cancellation of the Arts Promotion Program and the Trade Routes Program as the key components of cultural diplomacy. The declining trend in spending on the Arts Promotion Program after the FY 2005-2006 is clearly visible. A similar drift is reflected in the sharp contrast in the number of projects funded – in 2004 there were 415 projects funded, while in 2008 there were only 185 projects (Fig. 1 and 3). The cuts were a surprise since Canada was hosting the 2010 Winter Olympics in Vancouver. The programs, especially the Trade Routes Program, were expected to benefit from Canadian exposure in the pre-event and post-Olympics period as a part of public diplomacy strategy.



Source: DFAIT Departmental Performance Reports (2001-2003) and ProMart funded project lists (2004-2009).

The cancellation of the Arts Promotion Program after nearly 40 years of existence was a factual diminishment of cultural diplomacy within the structure of DFAIT. Embassies were not allocated separate cultural and public diplomacy budgets and relied solely on the Public Initiative Fund (PIF), which was approximately 1.5 million CAD in the FY 2007-2008 and diminished to 1.08 million CAD in the FY 2001-2012, for all missions except priority missions such as Washington, London, Paris and Berlin (DFAIT, *Report on activities*). In the FY 2008-2009 the PIF represented the major advocacy fund and almost 28% of the PIF funded activities were reported in the arts and culture category; in FY 2011-2012 only 12% of advocacy activities fell under the category of cultural activities (DFAIT, *Report on activities*). The relative weight of the PIF in the soft-power portfolio policies also diminished; after 2008 DFAIT developed several new advocacy tools that supported departmental priorities, especially the Canada-US relationship and the global commercial strategy.

The government transferred its former responsibilities for promoting and sending Canadian art abroad to the portfolio of the Canada Council for the Arts (CCA), a Crown Corporation, acting independently at arm's length from the government, namely the Department of Canadian Heritage (DCH). The Canada Council achieved a permanent increase of 20% in its parliamentary appropriation (from 150 to 180 million CAD in 2007) and became used as the

“poster child” of the government’s cultural policy (Sirman). It was the only Crown Corporation on the federal level dealing with culture that remained intact from budget cuts. Although the Canada Council for the Arts has an international component in its mandate and covers most arts disciplines, its primary focus is on domestic policies and advancing Canadian artists’ lives at home. The focus on projecting the Canadian image abroad is marginal (CCA Annual Reports).

The Trade Routes Program shared the same destiny as the Arts Promotion Program. Since its establishment in 2001, the DCH had taken responsibility for sending its officers abroad to seek new markets for Canadian cultural products. The officers were present in the Commercial Sections at the Missions. The activities of Trade Routes Officers were definitely suspended in March 2010. Two problems then arose:

- 1) Trade Routes Officers did not have a diplomatic mandate, nor did they go through any diplomatic training, because their primary mission was seeking new trade opportunities; henceforth, their activities were positioned in a vacuum within the structure of the Post.
- 2) The destination selection for Trade Routes Officers was ineffective because the Posts already produced a vital file on cultural activities and market opportunities within the structures of DFAIT and its subdivision of Arts and Cultural Industries Promotion. DFAIT had officers within the Post already having development of the cultural industry in their files. The posting of Trade Routes Officers seemed to DFAIT “another bureaucratic measure” (Interview No. 2).

The collision of responsibilities was fatal to Trade Routes, as the Final Report on the Trade Routes Program pointed to “a need for program management to reassess the program rationale in order to enable the program to be improved” (DCH 74). Canadian Heritage ordered an evaluation to be done by Capra International Inc. The Final Report, provided by the DCH to the authors via an Access to Information Act Request, indicated that the DCH had many reservations regarding the execution of the Report, as many factual mistakes were pointed out by the DCH officials themselves. The main flaw of the report was its poor qualitative research framework, i.e. recommendations were made on the basis of research on only two responses. This shows that in the strategic moment when the program executives wanted to advocate the effectiveness and existence of the program, the delivery of a credible audit failed.

In both cases of Canadian cultural diplomacy, the government did not make any public detailed analysis of why the programs were considered to be performing less effectively than other programs. As a former Director of CCA notes, “the government found itself drawn into more and more questionable justification for its actions” (Sirman). Many national media reported on PM

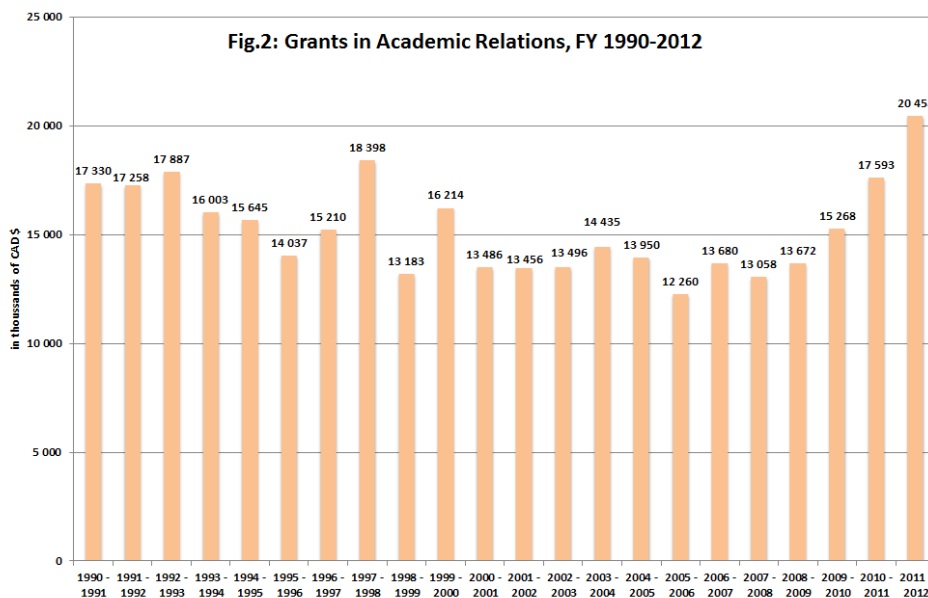
Harper's electoral speech in Saskatoon in 2008 where he compared artists receiving cultural grants to "a bunch of people, you know, at a rich gala all subsidized by taxpayers, claiming their subsidies aren't high enough (...). I'm not sure that's something that resonates with ordinary people." (Benzie) The arts issue played very badly in Quebec, and very probably contributed to a drop in the Conservative share of votes in Quebec in the elections of 2008, which cost the Conservatives their chance for a majority government (Flanagan 307). In the Conservative strategy culture became a tool of positive polarization, picturing artists as a left-leaning elitist group, unworthy of the Conservative government support. It can be presumed that the reasons for the cancellation of both programs were motivated by the necessity to contest and counter the former Liberal focus on culture as a means of structuring the Canadian identity and pursuing the goals strengthening Canadian unity.

Unlike Liberals, the Conservative government tackled the issue of national unity from a new angle. "The intense executive federalism that had become characteristic since the 1960s, has been replaced with mutual federal-provincial indifference," claims Paul Wells ("Maybe Harper"). In recent cultural diplomacy, the federal government lessened its insistence on being Canada's only diplomatic voice and in 2006 Quebec was granted a representative in the Canadian delegation to the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO). This approach was originally motivated by the Conservative's openness to Quebec ideas, though since the collapse of the vote for the Conservatives in Quebec in 2008 and 2011, the government decided to weaken the ethnic component of Canadian national identity and replaced it with something that Michael Ignatieff described again as "a kind of contract of mutual indifference" (CBC, "Michael Ignatieff warns"). The government focused on other themes more relevant in other provinces to get the majority without Quebec electorate.

In 2011 the Conservative Party election plan, called *Here for Canada*, mentioned the word culture only twice – once in relation to hate-motivated crime and the second in relation to arts funding (a list of what institutions the federal governments supported in the past), while failing to present any kind of continuous plan for Canada's arts sector. The Conservatives succeeded in winning a majority mandate after two terms ruling as a minority government. Further funding cuts in the cultural budget were introduced in 2012 and the DFAIT abandoned the last piece of cultural diplomacy. The International Expositions division was removed from the structure of DFAIT and reorganized within the structure of the DCH. The engagement in the World Exhibitions serves as a good example of Canada's retreat from the international cultural stage. In 2006, the City of Toronto was denied the opportunity to bid for the chance to hold a world exhibition due to the lack of support of the provincial and federal governments. Later, in 2010, Edmonton wanted to mark the 150th

anniversary of Confederation by hosting EXPO in 2017. Although supported by the government of Alberta, access to the bidding contest was denied by the federal government, which found its contribution of 706 million CAD out of 2.3 billion too expensive (CBC, “Toronto’s 2015”). The International Expositions division at the DCH was suspended in March 2012 followed by official Canadian withdrawal from paying the membership fees to the Bureau of International Expositions in the fall of 2012. The contributions cost 25,000 CAD per year. Therefore, Canadian cities will not be allowed to bid to host international events, even if they find supplementary funding apart from federal resources, since Canada is no longer on the membership list.

Academic relations have also undergone a major change under the Harper government. The budget was increased by more than one-half from 12.2 million CAD to 20 million CAD in comparison with the mid-2000s, when the budget was around 13 million CAD (Fig. 2). The major change was in the portfolio of scholarships and grants for international scholars. New scholarship programs such as the Banting and Vanier Scholarships, primarily focusing on science and technology disciplines, were established. While the Understanding Canada program was focused on opening Canada to the world with the aim to spread the information about its values, the new scholarships were more inward oriented with the aim to attract highly qualified scientists to do research in Canada and ideally to remain there.



Source: Data retrieved from the Public Accounts Canada Volumes 1990-2009.

The Canada Studies Program, renamed in 2008 the Understanding Canada Program, was terminated after more than 35 years of existence in 2012. The Canada Studies network comprised 6,000 professors in Canadian Studies, 290 centers and programs, 15,000 courses with Canadian content, over 4,500 scholarly articles and 750 books published annually with 34% published in languages other than French or English, all touching upon priority themes. Publishing in another language became very important in countries such as Brazil, China, India, Korea, Mexico and Russia, which are all priority countries for the diversification of Canadian exports. The very sudden announcement of the abolition of the entire Understanding Canada grant program of 5 million CAD did not refer to any internal review process regarding the efficiency of the program nor provided any reason for cancelling, an issue which resonated loudly in the cultural and academic community. Margaret Atwood and many prominent persons in Canadian cultural life addressed an open letter to the federal government urging them “to create a system that will replace ‘Understanding Canada’ and give a new impetus throughout the world in the blossoming field of Canadian studies” (Atwood). However, the program was not replaced.

The program was cut although the expenditures in academic relations had increased in the previous years (Fig. 2). The priority themes of Understanding Canada were: Peace and Security; North American Partnerships; Democracy, Human Rights; Rule of Law; Economic Prosperity; Managing Diversity; and Environment/Strategy. Some of these topics, such as Economic Prosperity, were covered by other scholarships such as the Vanier Scholarship, but topics typically linked to the Liberal image of Canada abroad, such as Managing Diversity or Human Rights, fell out of the portfolio of the Academic Relations Division at DFAIT.

The symbols promoted abroad via Understanding Canada – peacekeeping, the Charter, multiculturalism – represented historical narratives of Liberal achievement. If Harper’s Conservatives wanted to endure, argues Paul Wells, they needed to offer brand new alternatives to these historical narratives (2013). Instead of perceiving Canada as a multicultural federation with respect for the differences and even conflicts among its communities, the Harper government’s strategy promoted Canada rather “as a vibrant diverse community sharing common values goals and institutions” (Sears). These common values became symbols of the Arctic, the military, the RCMP and the monarchy. In financial terms this translated into increased federal military spending by 2.4 billion CAD between 2007-2009, while reducing the Foreign Affairs budget by 639 million CAD (Martin). Inspired by the arguments of Canadian historian Jack Granatstein in his polemical book *Who Killed Canadian History?* criticizing the fact that Canadian historical narratives of military and political themes had been banished from Canadian school

curriculums in favor of more Liberal and trendy themes such as regional and ethnic diversity, which led to the fragmentation of Canadian identity, the Harper government moved ethnic diversity narratives to the back seat, and themes of economic prosperity and the military were promoted. Contrary to the Liberals, the Conservative identity narratives lined up on the side of the hard line of Canadian foreign policy, rather than of soft power.

Conclusion

Examination of the Canadian cultural diplomacy tools indicates that cultural diplomacy was a part of the foreign policy portfolio from the 1960s to 2006. Until 1995, when the Third Pillar was adopted, culture was not anchored and considered to be within the DFAIT bureaucratic apparatus as a tool equal to traditional diplomacy, and was perceived as an *ad-hoc* activity of the government's foreign policy. In the 1970s, despite the lack of systematic management of the cultural diplomacy, DFAIT launched two crucial cultural programs – the Arts Promotion Program and the Canadian Studies program that became the cornerstones of the later Third Pillar. The analysis claimed that through a positive cultural narrative, presenting cultural diversity as a linchpin to Canadian unity, the government buttressed the description of Canada as embedded within an image of an open, liberal and culturally diverse society. This orientation was perceived as a viable federal alternative to Quebec nationalism focusing on the promotion of French speaking culture and helped federal Liberals to address the electorate in Quebec. Quebec artists were the major beneficiaries of the federal cultural diplomacy programs. The adoption of the Third Pillar mirrored the apex of the Quebec separatist movement and the Quebec referendum on independence of 1995. Cultural diplomacy served as a channel for the federal government to assure especially Quebeckers that Canada had a competent and unique voice on the international scene, which was supposed to help foster Canadian unity.

As the budget and discourse analysis showed, since 2006 under the leadership of the Conservative Prime Minister, Stephen Harper, the federal government has steadily abandoned all major components of Canadian cultural diplomacy and transferred its responsibilities over the promotion of Canadian culture abroad onto the shoulders of the Department of Canadian Heritage and Canada Council for the Arts, which primarily focus on strengthening Canadian culture within Canada. From the constructivist view the case study of cultural diplomacy proved that Canadian identity determining Canadian national interests has motivated the Conservative government to redefine its approach toward foreign policy. We argue that the Canadian identity articulated by the Harper government, proved incongruent with the Liberal narratives cherishing

cultural diversity. The new Conservative alternative to the dominant Liberal perspective has grounded its view of Canadian identity instead on the military, the monarchy and other symbols, lining up with a hard line of foreign policy rather than with a soft power component of cultural diplomacy. Harper's model of decentralized federalism made cultural diplomacy an issue of provincial interests, free from federal interference, which liberated Conservative hands from this component of foreign policy. Without the need to seriously counter Quebec's claims to sovereignty, cultural diplomacy stepped out of the federal government's spotlight as an efficient tool to advance domestic objectives. As the Liberal administrations attributed a different weight to cultural diplomacy within foreign policy, cultural diplomacy had never faded from the Canadian international discourse since the 1960s. The Conservative government has gradually eclipsed such ideas from its foreign discourse because it has attempted to effect major shift in Canadian identity. How much will this attempt succeed in shaping the national identity remains an interesting question for further research.

Works Cited :

- Abdelal, Rawi. *Measuring Identity: A Guide for Social Scientists*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009.
- Aoki-Okabe, Maki et al. "Germany in Europe, Japan and Asia: National Commitments to Cultural Relations within Regional Frameworks." *Searching for a Cultural Diplomacy*. Eds. Jessica C. E. Gienow-Hecht and Mark C. Donfried. New York: Bergham Books, 2010: 212-240.
- Atwood, Margaret, Neil Bissoondath, et al. "Understanding Canada no More." *The Globe and Mail* (19 June 2012). 20 July 2014. <<http://www.theglobeandmail.com/globe-debate/columnists/understanding-canada-no-more/article4332911/>>.
- Banchoff, Thomas. *The German Problem Transformed: Institutions, Politics, and Foreign Policy, 1945-1995*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1999.
- Benzie Robert, Bruce Champion Smith. "Ordinary folks don't care about arts: Harper." *Toronto Star* (24 Sept. 2008). 15 Sept. 2014. <www.thestar.com/news/politics/federalection/2008/09/24/ordinary_folks_dont_care_about_arts_harper.html>.
- Buckner, Philip, Alfred. *Canada and the End of Empire*. Vancouver: UBC Press, 2007.
- Burchill, Scott. *Theories of International Relations*. Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2005.
- Canadian Conference of the Arts, CCART. "Cultural Spending Cuts Part One: Trade Routes and PromArt Cuts in Context." *CCA Bulletin* 27 (August 2008). 10 May 2013. <<http://ccarts.ca/resources/federal-policies-investments/cultural-spending-cuts-part-one-trade-routes-and-promart-cuts-in-context>>.

- Canadian Council for the Arts, CCA, *Annual Reports 1993-2012*. 20 July 2014. <<http://canadacouncil.ca/council/about-the-council/annual-reports>>.
- . “Artists in Canada’s Provinces, Territories, and Metropolitan Areas.” 2004. 15 Oct. 2014. <<http://www.arts.on.ca/AssetFactory.aspx?did=404>>.
- CBC News. “Michael Ignatieff Warns Canadian Unity at Risk.” *Canadian Broadcasting Corporation* (23 April 2012). 15 Sept. 2014. <<http://www.cbc.ca/news/politics/michael-ignatieff-warns-canadian-unity-at-risk-1.1142447>>.
- CBC News. “Toronto’s 2015 World Expo Bid Is Dead: Mayor” *Canadian Broadcasting Corporation* (24 Oct. 2006). 15 May 2014. <<http://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/toronto/toronto-s-2015-world-expo-bid-is-dead-mayor-1.630279>>.
- Canadian Cambridge Studies Initiative, CCSI. “Canadian Studies in the UK.” 29 Aug. 2014. <<http://www.canadian-studies.group.cam.ac.uk/canadianstudiesinuk.html>>.
- Conservative Party of Canada, CP. *Here for Canada: Stephen Harper's low-tax plan for jobs and economic growth*. Ottawa: Conservative Party of Canada, 2011.
- . *Stand up for Canada: Conservative Party of Canada federal election platform*. Ottawa: Conservative Party of Canada, 2006.
- Cummings, Milton. *Cultural Diplomacy and the United States Government: A Survey*. Washington D.C.: Center for Arts and Culture, 2003.
- Department of Canadian Heritage, DCH. *Evaluation of the Trade Routes Program (2007-2008)*. Capra International Inc. 2008.
- Department of External Affairs, DEA. *Foreign Policy for Canadians*. Ottawa: Queen’s Printer, 1970.
- . *Annual Review 1972*. Cat. No.: E1-1/1972. Ottawa: Information Canada, 1973.
- . *Annual Review 1973*. Cat. No.: EL-1/1973. Ottawa: Information Canada, 1974.
- . *Annual Review 1975*. Cat. No.: E1-1/1975. Ottawa: Ministry of Supply and Services, 1976.
- . *Annual Review 1978*. Cat. No.: E-1/1979. Ottawa: Information Canada, 1979.
- Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade, DFAIT. *Advocacy Year-End Report 2011-12*. DFAIT Internal document of Advocacy Unit. 2012.
- . *Canada's International Policy Statement: A Role of Pride and Influence in the World*. Ottawa: DFAIT, 2005.
- . *Departmental Performance Report 2000-2001*. Catalogue No. BT31-4/38-2001. Ottawa: Ministry of Government Works and Services Canada, 2001.
- . *Departmental Performance Report 2001-2002*. Catalogue No. BT31-4/38-2002. Ottawa: Ministry of Government Works and Services Canada, 2002.

- . *Departmental Performance Report 2002-2003*. Catalogue No. BT31-4/38-2003. Ottawa: Ministry of Government Works and Services Canada, 2003.
 - . *Evaluation of the Arts Promotion Program of Foreign Affairs and International Trade Canada*. 2006. 20 July 2014. <http://www.international.gc.ca/about-a_propos/oig-big/2006/evaluation/arts_promotion.aspx?lang=eng>.
 - . *Grants and Contribution Audit of the Arts and Cultural Industries Program Division (ACA)*. 2001. 20 July 2014. <http://www.international.gc.ca/about-a_propos/oig-big/2001/ACA_observation.aspx?lang=eng>
 - . *Report on activities and achievement 2008-9*. DFAIT Internal document of Advocacy Unit. 2009.
- Flanagan, Thomas. *Harper's Team: Behind the Scenes in the Conservative Rise to Power*. Montreal: McGill-Queen's Press, 2009.
- Gattinger, Monica and Diane Saint-Pierre. "The origin and evolution of national cultural policy approaches: France, the United Kingdom, the United States and Canada in comparative perspective." Paper presented at the Conference Leadership Nouveau, May 9-10, 2013. 15 Sept. 2014. <<http://leadershipnouveau.com/wp-content/uploads/2013/04/Monica-final-draft.pdf>>.
- Government of Canada. *Canada in the World: Government Statement*. Ottawa: Government of Canada, 1995.
- Graham, Bill. "Culture Is the Face of Canada abroad." *The Hill Times* (7 Oct. 2002). 15 Sept. 2014. <<http://www.hilltimes.com/policy-briefing/2002/10/07/culture-is-the-face-of-canada-abroad-says-minister-graham/10933>>.
- Haglund, David. "And the Beat Goes On: 'Identity' and Canadian Foreign Policy." *Canada Among Nations 2008: 100 Years of Canadian Foreign Policy*. Eds. Robert Bothwell and Jean Daudelin. Montreal: McGill University Press, 2009. 343-367.
- Halloran, Mary. *Cultural Diplomacy in the Trudeau Era, 1968-1984*. Ottawa: DFAIT, 1996.
- Holden, John et al.. *Cultural Diplomacy*. London: Demos, 2007.
- Interview No. 1. Interview with Robin Higham. 2 April 2013.
- Interview No. 2. Interview with a former Senior DFAIT official. Toronto, 3 May 2013.
- Interview No. 3. Interview with a former DFAIT official, No. 3. Montreal, 4 April 2013.
- Interview No. 4. Interview with a former DFAIT official. Toronto, 4 May 2013.
- Interview No. 5. Telephone interview with a former Senior DFAIT official. 24 April 2013.
- Kowert, Paul and Jeff Legaro. "Norms, Identity and their Limits: A Theoretical Reprise." *The Culture of National Security: Norms and Identity in World Politics*. Ed. Peter J. Katzenstein. New York: Columbia University Press, 1996. 451-497.

- Lapid, Yosef and Fridrich V. Kratochwil. *The Return of Culture and Identity in IR Theory*. Boulder, Colo.: Lynne Rienner Publ., 1996.
- Leblanc, Daniel. "Justin Trudeau seen as best national unity defender in Quebec poll." *The Globe and Mail* (15 Mar. 2014). 15 Sept. 2014. <<http://www.theglobeandmail.com/news/politics/captain-canada-justin-trudeau-seen-as-best-national-unity-defender-in-quebec-poll/article17506985/>>.
- Martin, Lawrence. "On the World Stage, It's the Regressive Conservatives." *The Globe and Mail* (26 Mar. 2009). 15 Sept. 2014. <<http://www.theglobeandmail.com/news/politics/on-the-world-stage-its-the-regressive-conservatives/article783694/>>.
- Massie, Justin. "Identités ethnoculturelles et politique étrangère: Le cas de la politique française du Canada." *Canadian Review of Political Science / Revue canadienne de science politique* 45.1 (2012): 119-140.
- Maxwell, Rachel. *The place of arts and culture in Canadian foreign policy*. Canadian Conference of the Arts, 2007. 12 Aug. 2014. <<http://ccarts.ca/wp-content/uploads/2009/01/PDS-BackgrounddocumentENGINALgs27.09.07.pdf>>.
- Mitchell, J.M. *International Cultural Relations*. London: British Council, 1986.
- Mulcahy, Kevin. "Cultural Imperialism and Cultural Sovereignty: U.S.-Canadian Cultural Relations." *Journal of Arts Management, Law and Society* 31 (2002): 265-278.
- Noble, John. "Do Foreign Policy Review Make a Difference?" *Policy Options* (11 Feb. 2005): 41-46.
- Nye, Joseph. *Bound to Lead: The Changing Nature of American Power*. New York: Basic Books, 2003.
- Office of the Inspector General. *Evaluation of the Public Diplomacy Program of Foreign Affairs Canada*. July 2005. 20 July 2014. <http://www.international.gc.ca/about-a_propos/assets/pdfs/evaluation/evalPublicDiplomacy05-en.pdf>.
- Parliament of Canada. *Report on the Analysis of the Arts programs that were cancelled in Summer 2008: Report of the Standing Committee on Canadian Heritage*, 2009. 20 July 2014. <<http://www.parl.gc.ca/HousePublications/Publication.aspx?DocId=3821320&Mode=1&Parl=40&Ses=2&Language=E>>.
- Petri, Inga. *The Value of Presenting: A Study of Performing Arts Presentation in Canada*. Canadian Arts Presenting Association, 2013. 10 Oct. 2014 <http://www.capacoa.ca/valueofpresentingdoc/ValueofPresenting_Final.pdf>.
- Saul, John Ralston. *Position paper on Culture and Foreign Policy*. August, 1994, typescript.
- Sears, Robin. "The Ripple Effect from Quebec's Realignment Election." *Policy Options* (May 2007). 20 July 2014. <<http://policyoptions.irpp.org/issues/the-arctic-and-climate-change/the-ripple-effect-from-quebecs-realignment-election/>>.

- Sirman, Robert. "Weathering the Storm." *Literary Review of Canada* 22.8 (Oct. 2014). 22 Dec. 2014. <<http://reviewcanada.ca/magazine/2014/10/weathering-the-storm/>>.
- Smith, Rogers. "Identities, Interests, and the Future of Political Science". *Perspectives on Politics* 2.2 (2004): 301-312.
- Stephens, L.A.D. *Study of Canadian Government Information Abroad 1942-1972: The development of the Information Cultural and Academic Divisions and their policies*. CA1 EA 77S71 ENG DOC. Ottawa: Department of External Affairs, 1977.
- Tilly, Charles. "Citizenship, Identity, and Social History." *International Review of Social History* 40.S3 (Dec. 1995): 1-17.
- Tuch, Hans N. *Communicating with the World: U.S. Public Diplomacy Overseas*. Washington: Institute for the Study of Diplomacy, 1990.
- United States Department of State, DOS. *Cultural Diplomacy. The Linchpin of Public Diplomacy*. Report of the Advisory Committee on Cultural Diplomacy, 2005.
- Wells, Paul. "Maybe Harper Has Slain the Separatists." *Maclean's* (11 Jul. 2014). 20 Jul. 2014. <<http://www.macleans.ca/politics/ottawa/maybe-harper-has-slain-the-separatists/>>.
- . *The Longer I'm Prime Minister*. Toronto: Random House Canada, 2013.
- Wendt, Alexander. "Collective identity formation and the international state." *American Political Science Review* 88.2 (Jun. 1994): 384-396.
- Wyman, Max. *The Defiant Imagination: Why Culture Matters*. Toronto: Douglas and McIntyre, 2004.
- Wyszomirski, Margaret J., Christopher Burgess and Catherine Peila. *International Cultural Relations: A Multi-country Comparison*. Cultural Diplomacy Research Series, Art Policy and Administration Program of the Ohio State University, 2003.

List of abbreviations:

- CCA – Canada Council for the Arts
 CP – Conservative Party
 CCART – Canadian Conference of the Arts
 DEA – Department of External Affairs
 DFAIT – Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade
 DCH – Department of Canadian Heritage
 FTA – Canada–U.S. Free Trade Agreement
 NAFTA – North American Free Trade Agreement
 PDP – Public Diplomacy Program
 PIF – Public Initiative Fund
 WTO – World Trade Organization

Barbora Polachová, holds a Master degree in American Studies at Charles University, Prague. In 2011 she participated in the EU-Canada Study Tour, which was supplemented by an internship at the Canadian Conference of Arts. In 2013 she received a Graduate Student Scholarship for her diploma thesis project on Canadian Cultural Diplomacy. Since 2014 she works as Marketing and Community Manager at Uber Czech Republic.

Magdalena Fiřtová, is an assistant professor of American Studies at Charles University, Prague, where she is responsible for Canadian studies. Her research interest focuses on Canada's international image from the perspective of public policy making. She published *Dějiny Kanady (2014)* [transl. *A Concise History of Canada*]. Prior to working in academia, she worked at the Canadian Embassy in Prague at Public Affairs section.

Rafał Kuś

Jagiellonian University

**CANADIAN BROADCASTING CORPORATION
AND THE ROLE OF NATIONAL MEDIA INSTITUTIONS
IN CREATING CULTURAL IDENTITY:
A HISTORICAL APPROACH**

Abstract

This paper focuses primarily on the third epoch of communications history in Canada, encompassing the main part of the 20th century, which is linked with the emergence and development of radio and television technologies. The aim of the paper is to present the institutional evolution of Canadian electronic media as well as the legal provisions enacted by the regulatory authorities in order to promote and preserve the national character of radio and television broadcasting in the country.

Résumé

Cet article se concentre principalement sur la troisième époque de l'histoire des communications au Canada, qui englobe la majeure partie du XX^e siècle, ce qui est lié à l'émergence et au développement des technologies de la radio et de la télévision. Le but de l'article est de présenter l'évolution institutionnelle des médias électroniques canadiens ainsi que les dispositions légales adoptées par les autorités réglementaires en vue de promouvoir et de préserver le caractère national de la diffusion radiophonique et télévisuelle dans le pays.

Defining public media and the functions they serve in national media systems can be a difficult task. In popular discourse, public broadcasters are usually associated with educational, cultural, and public affairs programming, providing an alternative to the uniform offer of commercial media while maintaining a tricky balance between submission to political authority and selling out the mission in chase of additional sources of income. The role

played by a public broadcaster depends however on many different factors, including the type of the media system in a given state (Hallin and Mancini 67-68), present economic conditions, historical circumstances, sometimes even physical features of an individual country.

As the old saying, whose authorship is attributed to Canadian Prime Minister William Lyon McKenzie King, states: "Canada is a place with too much geography and not enough history" (qtd. in Raboy 162). It can be argued that the difficult transformation from individual settlements spread in the wilderness of the northern part of the continent (Grabowski 46-47) to the modern, vivid society of Canada was made possible due to various inventions and developments in communication technology. Canada is thus a unique example of a nation whose very existence may be linked to consecutive technological revolutions and an excellent subject of studies on the social effects of scientific progress. John A. Irving distinguishes three main eras in the evolution of communications in Canada: "first, the French canoe culture, of which the economic base was the fur trade; second, the railroad culture, of which the economic base was the farm; and third, the electronic culture" (12). It is little wonder that the remarkable relationship between the development of the modern Canadian nation and the natural history of technology in the last three centuries or so has brought about the interest of media scholars and contributed to the birth of an original way of thinking about modern media: the Toronto school, associated with Harold Innis and Marshall McLuhan, among others (Vipond 76-81). A strong media system, it should be emphasized, is a valuable "soft power" asset of a nation, acting both as a powerful agent of domestic cultural integration (due to common values, symbols, and meanings) and as a "shop window" for other countries to admire and follow. According to Joseph S. Nye, soft power is exercised when "a country may obtain its preferred outcomes in world politics because other countries want to follow it, admiring its values, emulating its example, aspiring to its level of prosperity and openness" (Nye 5).

The beginnings

Guglielmo Marconi's invention of radio¹ was greeted with much enthusiasm by Canadians. One of the pioneers of the new medium was Reginald Fessenden of East Bolton in Quebec, known for the first audio broadcast delivered by radio waves on the Christmas day of 1906. While Fessenden's

¹ Marconi's claim to be the inventor of radio was contested by both Alexander Popov and Nicola Tesla; eventually, Tesla was posthumously declared the inventor of radio technology by the U.S. Supreme Court in 1943 (Redouté and Staeyert 3).

program did not attract many listeners (radio was not yet a widespread technology, so his audience was composed mainly of communication operators based on nearby naval units), it did show the potential of the new medium (Hempstead 636). Reginald Fessenden's broadcasting experiments were conducted in the United States but the radio technology was being developed on the Canadian soil as well: Marconi Wireless Company operated a pioneering station in Montreal since 1919 (Raymond 91-92). As Mary Vipond remarks, the radio market of the country was thriving already in the mid-twenties: "by 1923 Canada had over thirty stations in operation, by 1930 over sixty" (46).

The early development of electronic media in Canada took similar forms to what was going on in the United States at that time. Unlike the European countries, where domestic media landscapes were soon dominated by government-run entities², the U.S. radio system was based on the principle of the state's non-interference with the free initiatives of private entrepreneurs (commercial networks such as NBC and CBS dominated the airwaves in the late 1920s and their supremacy had been long sanctioned by consecutive acts of Congress)³. Canadian radio landscape was shaped by similar ideas and influenced in many ways by initiatives from the south of the border: "Throughout the 1920s, Canadian commercial radio developed essentially in the private sector, with stations operating in either English or French, some of them affiliated with the emerging networks in the United States, and all of them filling the air with a large proportion of American programming." (Raboy 163)

Meanwhile, the radio market of Canada was flooded with receivers: in the early 1931, one-third of Canadian households had radio equipment and this percentage rose each year – reaching almost full saturation by the 1950s (Vipond 47).

The first nationwide radio network in the country was owned and operated by the Canadian National Railway: cars were equipped with comfortable chairs and headphones for the use of passengers (Raymond 93), while a long, transcontinental chain of radio stations provided the signal. This early interplay of different means of communication seems to be symptomatic for Canada's complicated history of media use.

² A case in point would be the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC), founded in 1922 as a private company but soon re-formed as a non-commercial, public entity established by a Royal Charter. Similar media strategies were adopted by other European national governments in the 1920s and 30s (Adamowski 64-67).

³ Much was written about the reasons of this difference. Ralph Engelman, in his comprehensive history of public broadcasting in the United States, lists the more egalitarian political culture and economic boom of the early 1920s as the main explanations for America's traditional inclination for commercial media (38).

Radio broadcasting in Canada was regulated by law earlier (already since 1905) than in the U.S., but the scope of government supervision over the stations was minimal: the only requirement was to obtain a license issued by the federal Department of Marine and Fisheries. The rationale behind these regulations was purely technical in nature and concerned issues of security and efficacy of communication. The content of broadcasts was not controlled by the government (Vipond 47-48).

The Aird Commission

Soon, however, it became clear that the unique cultural, political, and geographical conditions of Canada required an approach to the arrangement of electronic media that was different from American and European models. As Bruce Raymond wrote:

The Canadian broadcasting problem was not to be solved in (...) a single-minded way. Canada was not Great Britain with a relatively small area to cover and only one language to consider; nor was she the United States with a relatively large area to cover and a population to match (95).

The situation called for an original solution, tailored specifically for Canada, and so, in 1928, the national government established a Royal Commission whose task was to analyze the contemporary model of electronic media and propose possible improvements (it was not until 40 years later that a similar commission was mandated by the U.S. government; Kuś 37). Members of the Commission visited the country's stations and even travelled to the United States and Great Britain in order to study their respective media systems.

The recommendations of the Commission (commonly known as the Aird Commission, after its chairman, Sir John Aird) called for the Canadian broadcasting to be organized as a public service. The heart of the new system was supposed to be a national institution whose responsibilities would include producing and acquiring programs as well as owning and managing stations broadcasting in both English and French.⁴ According to the Commission's

⁴ Mike Gasher emphasizes the fact that the strength with which the Commission promoted the idea of a public service broadcasting institution was not a result of some outside pressure but rather a genuine belief in the project: "The submissions to the Aird Commission contain little evidence of broad public support for this option. In fact, of the 176 written and oral submissions on file with the National Archives of Canada, only 34 people said they favoured government ownership and control of radio. More interveners – 53 – favoured the private-enterprise option. Another 80 people either declared their neutrality on this issue or did not address it".

proposal, this publicly owned corporation would act as the regulatory authority for all broadcasting in Canada and eventually replace the existing private entities (Raboy 163). Funding for the new institutional structures was to be provided by increased license fees, limited advertising⁵ as well as government subsidies (Ingrassia). The main reason for this comprehensive change of media paradigm in the country was the unanimous conviction of the members of the Commission that “Canadian listeners (...) desired Canadian broadcasting” (Raymond 95). In their opinion, “at present the majority of programs heard are from sources outside of Canada. It has been emphasized to us that the continued reception of these has a tendency to mould the minds of young people in the home to ideals and opinions that are not Canadian.” (Royal Commission on Radio Broadcasting 6)

The report of the Aird Commission was submitted to the national authorities in 1929. The document proved to be quite controversial however, mainly due to protests coming from private broadcasters and advertisers; it was only in 1932 that the Commission’s recommendations were finally implemented. Richard B. Bennett’s Conservative government established the Canadian Radio Broadcasting Commission, creating the central institution of the modern era of radio and television broadcasting in the country.

It should once again be noted that the very idea that the government should intervene in the free play of market forces in any of the media sectors was rather an exception than a norm in North America at that time. Canadian press and film industries, threatened as much as wireless broadcasting by their United States counterparts, received hardly any protection from the government in Ottawa. The rationale behind this important policy decision was offered by Prime Minister Bennett, according to whom:

(...) broadcasting was unique in its ability to facilitate nationwide communication. Whereas newspapers were local, magazines middle-class, and movies purely entertainment, radio could be used not only for entertainment but also for information and propaganda, reaching into the living rooms of all classes in all parts of the country. (Vipond 50)

Just like the railway in the 19th century, radio was seen as a strategic technology, vital for the future of nation. Foreign influence spreading over the

⁵ As Gasher puts it: “The Aird Report recommended the elimination of « direct advertising », by which it meant advertising messages which interrupt programs (...) While the Aird commissioners would have preferred no radio advertising at all, their report recommended Ottawa allow indirect advertising, « which properly handled has no very objectionable features, at the same time resulting in the collection of much revenue » (...) Indirect advertising bracketed programs with sponsors' messages relegated to the periods preceding and following broadcasts.”

airwaves could prove to be – at least in the eyes of Canadian patriots – detrimental to the common cultural values and the sense of social unity.

This way of thinking about the possible effects of electronic media communication was not limited to Canada at that time. Governments of many countries around the world (especially in Europe) were strongly influenced by the so-called “hypodermic needle” theory, very popular in the 1920s and 30s. The “hypodermic needle” (known also as the “magic bullet”) model assumed that mass media messages impacted the audience in a very potent and uniform manner: there was basically no escape from the influence of all-powerful propaganda (Bryant, Thompson, and Finklea 37-38). This idea, constituting the core of what is called today the first period of studies on media effects (McQuail 449), was not based on systematic research but rather on simple observation of the explosion of popularity of radio technology at that time. While it was later made obsolete by future developments in the field, its impact on the creation of pioneering public media broadcasters can be only described as huge⁶.

The important difference between the original Aird plan and the solution adopted by the government under the Radio Broadcasting Act of 1932 was that the new law allowed commercial stations to remain on the air, in effect creating a dual model of public and private media operating on the same market. Such an arrangement, typical for many of today’s national media systems, was actually quite unusual in the 1930s. The U.S. model was purely commercial at that time, while the European electronic media landscapes were being rapidly and aggressively colonized by state authorities.

Canadian Broadcasting Corporation

The newly established institution of Canadian Radio Broadcasting Commission (CRBC) struggled from the very beginning due to organizational issues and the lack of sufficient funding. It was unable to establish a truly nationwide network of publicly owned stations, so it entered into cooperation with private broadcasters from all around the country in order to achieve satisfactory signal coverage. In 1936, the CRBC was replaced in its many tasks by a new, more efficient public enterprise called the Canadian

⁶ In his book on the transformation of modern non-commercial broadcasters, Karol Jakubowicz recalled the justification for establishment of public media institutions, offered by European governments back in the interwar period: “Due to its unparalleled influence (...) and its capability of reaching an unlimited number of people, and its extraordinary abilities in the fields of information, propaganda, and culture, radio enjoys an exceptional position which demands a special status” (excerpt from the Belgian public radio law of 1930; qtd. in Jakubowicz 81).

Broadcasting Corporation (CBC). The Aird Commission's idea of creating a "single system" of government-owned radio stations was however already defeated. Tensions between the CBC (acting in many ill-defined roles: as a competitor, regulator, and judge) and private broadcasters were to shape the landscape of Canadian electronic media for years to come (Vipond 49).

The CBC was given the responsibility of "linking together a country larger than the United States with the resources of a population scarcely larger than that of New York City" (Raymond 96). It was not a small feat, as both the adequate physical infrastructure and competent staff had to be secured in order for the whole institution to operate efficiently (many experienced specialists were already employed by commercial broadcasters). The opportunity for the first real test of the network presented itself soon: when Canada entered the military activities of World War II, radio was urgently needed to inform the public about the efforts of Canadian soldiers and inspire the society in times of peril. It can be argued that this task was fulfilled in a capable manner. As Mary Vipond puts it: "The 1940s and early 1950s were the golden age of Canadian radio, especially on the CBC. The demand for war news bolstered the CBC's news and information programming, and its audience" (49).

Meanwhile, a new commission was established in order to assess the Canadian society's cultural needs. This new entity, known as the Royal Commission on National Development in the Arts, Letters and Sciences (or the Massey Commission, after its chairman, Vincent Massey), was created in 1949 with the assumption that "national traditions and national unity exist not only in the material sphere but in « the realm of ideas »"⁷ (Vipond 52). The Massey Commission assigned quite a lot of attention to broadcasting issues, devoting a key part of its report to mass media. While the commissioners praised the general institutional model of public radio in Canada, they criticized CBC for not exercising its regulatory duties effectively and found that "there is not much Canadian expression in Canadian commercial radio" (Raymond 98). The Massey Commission emphasized the significance of public service in media and forcibly rejected arguments presenting broadcasting as just another sector of industry. A commercial media system would – according to the report – inevitably lead to Americanization of the electronic media of Canada. The

⁷ A similar sentiment could be observed almost twenty years later in the United States, when President Lyndon B. Johnson, signing the Public Broadcasting Act of 1967, said: "It announces to the world that our Nation wants more than just material wealth; our Nation wants more than a « chicken in every pot ». We in America have an appetite for excellence, too. While we work every day to produce new goods and to create new wealth, we want most of all to enrich man's spirit. That is the purpose of this act" ("Remarks of President"). "Chicken in every pot" was a reference to Herbert Hoover's slogan in the US presidential campaign of 1928.

findings of the Commission were all the more significant due to the timing of the report. Published in 1951, it became an important voice during the period of the formal introduction of television in Canada.

The television

The invention of television – the leading medium of the latter half of the 20th century – was not a result of a single genius's work. As Albert Abramson puts it, it was “probably the first invention by committee, in the sense of resulting from the effort of hundreds of individuals widely separated in time and space, all prompted by the urge to produce a system of « seeing over the horizon »” (9). Among the first countries to establish a national TV system were Germany, Great Britain, and the United States. Those pioneering efforts were not always successful (and the development of television was halted for several years because of World War II), but in the latter part of the 1940s TV finally started to gain momentum as an innovative, exciting media technology. This was especially true in the case of the United States where the new medium spread “like a fire on the prairie” (Day 15-16). Although long-range distribution of TV signal is much more difficult than that of radio waves⁸, Canadian households near the country's southern border were able to receive American programs. The local broadcasting infrastructure was, however, lacking: “By 1949 there were at least 3,600 television sets in Canada, but no Canadian stations” (Vipond 55).

After the Massey Commission report was published in 1951, CBC was finally given the task to introduce audio-visual broadcasting in Canada. The first bilingual French-English broadcasts were aired from Montreal (and a few days later – also from Toronto) in 1952, setting the way for the establishment of two national networks (Raboy 164). Those early years of Canadian television were essential in creating staple items in the CBC schedules – for both English and French language audiences. Shows dealing with public affairs and sports (such as the national cult classic “Hockey Night in Canada”) attracted large interest from the viewers from both groups. As it was the case with the radio, nationwide TV coverage was reached at a lower cost thanks to cooperation with external companies in creating networks of affiliate, privately-held stations. The financing mechanisms of the new medium were tweaked already in the first decade of TV broadcasting in Canada: the license

⁸ Radio broadcasting traditionally uses different wavelengths than television broadcasting. Medium and short wave audio transmissions benefit from the mechanism of the so-called ionospheric propagation in which the signal bounces back to the surface of Earth, spreading broadcasts for a much longer distance in a zigzag pattern. VHF and UHF waves used typically by TV go straight to outer space through the ionosphere without reflecting back to Earth so the effective range of television stations is much smaller (Boddy 26).

fee was eliminated from the system altogether and an annual subsidy from the Parliament became the key part of the CBC's budget.

By the late 1950s, television spread through the country, becoming the most popular pastime of Canadians. Some parts of the audience were, however, disappointed with the CBC offer, unable to compete with the vast plethora of programming options provided by American stations available to Canadian viewers in southern Ontario, Quebec, and British Columbia (Vipond 56). The first comprehensive reform of the system took place in 1958, when a new institution, called the Board of Broadcast Governors (BBG), was established, relieving the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation from its regulatory duties and effectively ending its clumsy dual role. The creation of BBG gave way for the introduction of commercial television: a new, private CTV network began operations in 1961. This new development profoundly changed the game; as Marc Raboy puts it: "public and private competition in television has been an important factor ever since" (164).

"Canadian Content"

From the very beginning, one of the most controversial issues concerning TV broadcasting in Canada was the amount of foreign programming carried by individual stations. Proximity to the world's largest television market and the lack of a language barrier (in case of the English-speaking parts of the country) made it possible for broadcasters to acquire attractive dramatic shows made in the United States for much less than the cost of producing them in Canada (popular American series were distributed in the so-called syndication model: "the network licence fee would pay less than the full production costs of the programme, and to recoup the deficit, the production company would hope to resell the episodes to the domestic and foreign syndication markets"; Boddy 30). For many broadcasters it was the only viable choice anyway. Eugene Hallman of the CBC observed (already in the 1960s): "Whatever we may think of the effect of American television on Canada, we should never forget that we are in no position to produce such material in volume for ourselves. Our resources are too limited in both money and skills" (123).

In order to combat the overdependence of local broadcasters on productions "made in the USA", the Canadian authorities introduced, over the years, several important measures. In 1960 already, the Board of Broadcast Governors issued new content guidelines, mandatory for all television stations (the so-called "CanCon" regulations). Under these rules, 55 per cent of all programs broadcast in a given four-week period had to be classified as "Canadian" in origin. The "Canadianness" of TV shows was however defined quite broadly: "it included programs from the Commonwealth and from French-speaking countries, as well

as « broadcasts of programs featuring special events outside Canada and of general interest to Canadians »” (Vipond 160).

The Board of Broadcast Governors was replaced in 1968 by the Canadian Radio and Television Commission (CRTC). In 1976, the CRTC assumed regulatory duties over telecommunication providers as well and its name was changed to Canadian Radio-television and Telecommunications Commission (or *Conseil de la radiodiffusion et des télécommunications canadiennes* in French), keeping the same acronym.

Detailed regulations on the “Canadian content” in media broadcasts have evolved through the years, both expanding and reducing the scope of the original BBG rules. For example, specific provisions concerning the prime time shows were introduced in order to prevent TV stations from filling the overall content quotas of Canadian productions in less attractive timeslots while the averaging period was later extended. The early 2010 revision of the rules set the overall quota at 55% while the prime time limit was determined at 50% (Vipond 160). Still, it could be argued that the content regulation regime, though reasonably sound in theory, could be and had actually been abused by broadcasters (especially the commercial networks) inventing new and creative ways to bypass it. Another problem concerned the arbitrary character of the very definition of Canadian content used here, based mainly on the nationality of personnel involved in the making of a show and sometimes not associated with the “Canadian” characteristics of the output material in any significant way – it included, for example, broadcasts of the U.S. Major League Baseball’s World Series games, “even before there were any Canadian-based teams” (Vipond 160). It should also be noted that the Canadian quota system led inevitably to a situation in which broadcasters attempting to fulfil the regulatory content requirements were forced to focus on TV genres that were cheaper to produce locally (such as public affairs or reality shows). Dramatic programming tended to be still imported from the United States.

Canadian viewers themselves seem to prefer foreign programs over Canadian shows. In her 2011 monograph on Canadian media, Mary Vipond states that all the top fifteen TV broadcasts in the preceding October were produced in the United States – these were mainly hit sitcoms and serials such as “The Big Bang Theory” and “Grey’s Anatomy” as well as reality shows. All in all, foreign shows account for two thirds of viewing time in English-speaking Canada. Meanwhile, the French language seems to be still a powerful barrier against an American “TV invasion” in Quebec, with the numbers almost exactly reversed: “according to spring 2006 figures, about 68 per cent of francophone viewing was of Canadian programs and only 32 per cent « foreign »” (Vipond 59).

Due to recent changes in the electronic media landscape and a growing competition from unregulated online audio-visual channels, “CanCon” television quota system was significantly relaxed in March 2015 by the

Canadian Radio-television and Telecommunications Commission. The changes included eliminating the 55% daytime “CanCon” requirement for local stations altogether⁹ and uniformly determining the quotas for TV specialty channels at 35% (they ranged from 15% to 85% before the 2015 regulation). During weekday prime time hours, the former 50% quota of Canadian programming was, however, retained. Contrary to media speculations, no taxes were imposed on streaming services such as Netflix (CBC News).

Commenting on the amended regulations, the CTRC chairman Jean-Pierre Blais said: “Television quotas are an idea that is wholly anachronistic in the age of abundance and in a world of choice” (CBC News). This new development is an important modification of the previous “CanCon” strategy and perhaps a glimpse of the shape of things to come: in a diverse media market in which a viewer is only one click away from changing the channel in favour of online unregulated broadcasters, intentionally losing some of the regulatory control might be the only way of preserving the true goal of the regulation. The changes were met with strong opposition from the Canadian media industry, including Unifor – a trade union organization representing (among others) 13,000 radio and television employees.

Certain protective measures have been adopted in case of radio broadcasting as well. It was already in 1971, when the CRTC issued a set of content guidelines concerning wireless audio transmission. According to the new regulations, a fraction of all music works aired by the nation’s broadcasters had to be of Canadian origin. The exact required ratio of “Canadian” music has been modified several times, finally raising to 35% in January 1999, with some additional stipulations concerning individual timeslots (to prevent circumventing of the law’s provisions) and the language of song lyrics in case of Francophone stations (Vipond 62).

The musical content classification system employed by Canadian authorities is based on four technical criteria (widely known as the MAPL system).¹⁰ In CTRC’s words:

To qualify as Canadian content, a musical selection must generally fulfil at least two of the following conditions: M (music): the music is composed entirely by a Canadian, A (artist): the music is, or the lyrics are, performed principally by a

⁹ The CTRC took into consideration the actual operating patterns of Canadian broadcasters: “That’s a recognition that stations have sometimes been broadcasting the same program episodes many times over the course of a day, or even over years, simply to satisfy the old Cancon rule” (CBC News).

¹⁰ There are also some minor exceptions concerning, for example, instrumental pieces and archival (pre-1972) recordings.

Canadian, P (performance): the musical selection consists of a live performance that is recorded wholly in Canada, or performed wholly in Canada and broadcast live in Canada, L (lyrics): the lyrics are written entirely by a Canadian (Canadian Radio-television and Telecommunications Commission).

The MAPL rules, while regularly protested by station operators (Vipond 62) and conservative think-tanks such as the Fraser Institute, are at the same time praised by the Canadian music industry: songwriter Stan Meissner, president of the Society of Composers, Authors and Music Publishers of Canada, wrote in 2014:

I'm old enough to recall a time when the bulk of Canadian recordings on radio were merely covers of American or British songs. Local artists had to leave home to seek their fame and fortune and our airwaves were basically a mirror of the U.S., only worse. With the establishment of the Canadian Radio-television Commission (...) a few important things were declared regarding content and foreign ownership. (...) The results were nothing short of staggering. Canadian artists and bands started to gain great success through the '70s. By the '80s, things had exploded and Canada developed an incredibly vibrant music industry. (...) This built a foundation that acted as a springboard for hundreds of Canadian acts that have been able to achieve massive international success (Meissner).

This sentiment is seconded by Marcus Rogers of an indie Vancouver group Coal, who said: "Because of CanCon, Coal received the opportunity to have some exposure in Canada. Without CanCon, the broadcasters in Canada may not have played us. I don't think they play Canadian artists out of patriotism" (Tupper).

The Future

The role of public broadcasters in today's electronic media landscapes is rapidly changing. The paternalistic model, first championed by the British Broadcasting Corporation in the 1920s, cannot be maintained anymore in a world of numerous digital and online video channels, fiercely competing over the most valuable TV resource – the audience. According to Alicja Jaskiernia, there are two important factors that influence the position of public broadcasters nowadays (Jaskiernia 40-64): the digital revolution in broadcasting technology and the recent changes of media markets.

Transition to digital technology freed broadcasters from the limitations of traditional methods of signal propagation. While the often-used rationale for establishing national public media institutions assumed that radio airwaves, being a rare good, must serve the interests of the whole society, broadcasting in the era of an abundance of available channels must have inevitably led to

redefining of their mission. Media markets have also transformed significantly, due to several factors such as:

- a) internationalization and globalization (media operate more often beyond and independently of the political boundaries, a global culture of shared values and symbols, shaped by dominant and wealthy markets, is created),
- b) concentration of ownership (which leads to less significant programming choices as the same media formats are used by many broadcasters and the creation of powerful private conglomerates challenging the position of public media),
- c) the emergence of new media (revolutionizing patterns of content production and distribution as well as the social use of media),
- d) the fading of the influence of national authorities on public media (their content is shaped more and more often by market forces, without regard to the public “mission”, leading to a homogenous programming offer),
- e) changes in audience (the greater the abundance of individual TV channels is, the more fragmented the audience becomes: the ability of public media to create shared national meanings, values, and symbols is diminished).

Those new developments, while obviously being important challenges to the present model of the functioning of the CBC¹¹, could also prove to be a chance for the troubled public broadcaster. As Amit M. Schejter stated: “The information society is dawning upon all industrialized nations. It carries with it great promise, as well as an unknown social challenge” (158). In order to fulfil its social obligations, determined first in the Aird Commission report, the CBC must readjust its institutional and broadcasting model to this new situation. This of course requires adequate funding so that the public broadcaster can focus on new quality programming formats instead of simply trying to keep up with the Joneses of commercial media.

If the CBC proves to be able to make a graceful transition to the new digital world, its position as an agent of social improvement and national cultural cohesiveness may actually be strengthened. This would be a positive development for the whole Canadian media system too, since well-functioning public media institutions have been known to raise quality standards for other

¹¹ Marc Raboy wrote: “Where, in the nineteenth century, the railroad was central to the project of creating Canada, in the twentieth, broadcasting was essential to maintaining it. (In the twenty-first century, the information may result in a plethora of Canadas, or Canada-like states)” (162).

broadcasters (United Kingdom's electronic media market in which the BBC enjoys a strong position as a respected provider of high-quality content and a standard-bearer for journalistic and professional practices is often quoted as a proof that a well-funded and effectively managed public broadcaster is essential for a sound national media system). But first and foremost, it would be good for Canada. Common ideals, values, and meanings are no less important today than they were when the nation was born. In order to continue the path set by the Royal Commission in 1929, a redefinition of the CBC's core concepts and strategies will be however needed; as di Lampedusa once wrote: "if we want things to stay as they are, things will have to change." (di Lampedusa 33)

Works Cited :

- Abramson, Albert. "The Invention of Television." *Television. An International History*. Ed. Anthony Smith. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998. 9-23.
- Adamowski, Janusz W. "System medialny Wielkiej Brytanii." *Wybrane zagraniczne systemy medialne*. Ed. Janusz W. Adamowski, Warszawa: Wydawnictwa Akademickie i Profesjonalne, 2008. 11-43.
- Boddy, William. "The Beginnings of American Television." *Television. An International History*. Ed. Anthony Smith. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998. 23-38.
- Bryant, Jennings, Susan Thompson and Bruce W. Finklea, *Fundamentals of Media Effects*. Second Edition. Long Grove: Waveland Press, 2013.
- Canadian Radio-television and Communication Commission, "The MAPL System – Defining a Canadian Song." *Canadian Radio-television and Communication Commission* (8 Oct. 2009). 1 Dec. 2014.
<http://www.crtc.gc.ca/eng/INFO_SHT/R1.htm>.
- "CRTC eases Canadian-content quotas for TV." *CBC News* (12 Mar. 2015). 1 Apr. 2015.
<<http://www.cbc.ca/m/news/business/crtc-eases-canadian-content-quotas-for-tv-1.2992132>>.
- Day, James. *The Vanishing Vision. The Inside Story of Public Television*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995.
- Di Lampedusa, Giuseppe Tomasi. *Lampart*. Warszawa: Państwowy Instytut Wydawniczy 1967.
- Gasher, Mike. "Invoking Public Support for Public Broadcasting: The Aird Commission Revisited." *Canadian Journal of Communication* 23.2 (1998). 1 Dec. 2014.
<<http://www.cjc-online.ca/index.php/journal/article/view/1032/938>>.
- Encyclopedia of 20th-Century Technology*. Ed. Colin A. Hempstead, William E. Worthington. London and New York: Routledge, 2005.
- Engelman, Ralph. *Public Radio and Television in America. A Political History*. Thousand Oaks: Sage 1996.

- Grabowski, Jan. *Historia Kanady*. Warszawa: Prószyński i S-ka, 2001.
- Hallin, Daniel C., Paolo Mancini. *Comparing Media Systems: Three Models of Media and Politics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004.
- Hallman, Eugene. "Television." *Mass Media in Canada*. Ed. John A. Irving. Toronto: The Ryerson Press, 1962. 119-149.
- Ingrassia, Joanne. "The Birth and Death of The Canadian Radio Broadcasting Commission (1932-1936)." *The History of Canadian Broadcasting* (Jul. 2008). 1 Dec. 2014.
<http://www.broadcasting-history.ca/networks/networks_CRBC.html>.
- Jakubowicz, Karol. *Polityka medialna a media elektroniczne*. Warszawa: Wydawnictwa Akademickie i Profesjonalne, 2008.
- Jaskiernia, Alicja. *Publiczne media elektroniczne w Europie*. Warszawa: ASPRA-JR, 2006.
- Kuś, Rafał. *PBS. Amerykańska telewizja publiczna*. Kraków: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego, 2013.
- McQuail, Denis. *Teoria komunikowania masowego*. Warszawa: PWN, 2008.
- Meissner, Stan. "President's Message: The Importance of CanCon," *Music. People. Connected*. (2 Oct. 2014). 1 Dec. 2014.
<<http://www.socanblog.ca/en/the-importance-of-cancon/>>.
- Nye, Joseph S. *Power in a Global Information Age. From Realism to Globalization*. London and New York: Routledge 2004.
- Schejter, Amit M. "Public Broadcasting, the Information Society, and the Internet: A Paradigm Shift?" *Public Broadcasting and the Public Interest*. Ed. Michael McCauley et al. Armonk: Sharpe, 2003. 158-175.
- Raboy, Marc. "Canada." *Television. An International History*. Ed. Anthony Smith. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998. 162-168.
- Raymond, Bruce. "Radio." *Mass Media in Canada*. Ed. John A. Irving. Toronto: The Ryerson Press, 1962. 89-118.
- Redouté, Jean-Michel and Michiel Steyaert. *EMC of Analog Integrated Circuits*. New York: Springer, 2010.
- "Remarks of President Lyndon B. Johnson Upon Signing the Public Broadcasting Act of 1967." *Corporation for Public Broadcasting*. 1 Dec. 2014. <<http://www.cpb.org/aboutpb/act/remarks.html>>.
- Royal Commission on Radio Broadcasting. *Report of the Royal Commission on Radio Broadcasting*. Ottawa: F. A. Acland, 1929.
- Tupper, Peter. "CanCon Adapts to a Wild New Media World." *The Tyee* (28 Dec. 2005). 1 Dec. 2014.
<<http://thetyee.ca/Mediacheck/2005/12/28/WildNewMediaWorld>>.
- Vipond, Mary. *The Mass Media in Canada*. Toronto: Lorimer, 2011.

Rafał Kuś is a graduate of Law and Journalism and Social Communication at the Jagiellonian University. He completed Postgraduate Studies for Translators of Specialist Texts (English

Language Section), Postgraduate Studies in Press, Publishing, and Copyright Law and Postgraduate Studies in Rhetoric (all at the Jagiellonian University). Kuś graduated from the American Law School (Catholic University of America and Faculty of Law and Administration of the Jagiellonian University) and completed Interdisciplinary Ph.D. Program in American Studies at the Jagiellonian University. Since October 2011, he has worked at the Institute of American Studies and Polish Diaspora of the Jagiellonian University.

Anna Chyla

University of Silesia

**CROSSING CULTURAL BOUNDARIES:
THE CONCEPT OF CANADIANNES IN THE CONTEXT
OF FRANCO-ONTARIAN IDENTITY IN LOLA LEMIRE
TOSTEVIN'S *FROG MOON***

Abstract

The paper addresses a complex issue of Franco-Ontarian identity as explored in Lola Lemire Tostevin's autobiographical novel *Frog Moon*. The problem is discussed in the context of the changing theoretical discourse on identity in Canada, with a special attention to the categories of national, cultural, ethnic, gender and linguistic identity. The aim of this paper is to examine the concept of Franco-Ontarian identity as represented by Tostevin, a bilingual writer, who feels deterritorialized from French in Ontario, and chooses to write in English but finds herself in a liminal linguistic space where both languages, and hence cultures, frequently enter into a dialogue with each other. Languages and cultures interact, the embodied knowledge of both cultures is translated in the text via a variety of family, regional and national stories which also expose the history and legends of multicultural Ontario with a strong Francophone presence which is often neglected in official narratives of English Canada. Tostevin rewrites many of these official narratives. The Franco-Ontarian identity is shown as challenging the dominant constructed nature of national and cultural identity in English Canadian and French Canadian discourses. The perspective offered in the text problematizes these discourses by a narrative that concentrates on the hybrid nature of Franco-Ontarian cultural, gender and linguistic identity as exemplified by the main female protagonist of the text who lives between languages and cultures and constantly negotiates her identities, in spite of frequent feelings of otherness and alienation from both cultures. The book offers an interesting postcolonial feminist perspective on the problem of hybrid Franco-Ontarian identity and its transformative nature.

Résumé

Le texte aborde une question complexe de l'identité franco-ontarienne telle qu'elle est examinée dans le roman autobiographique de Lola Lemire Tostevin intitulé *Frog Moon*. Le problème est abordé dans le contexte du discours théorique changeant sur l'identité au Canada, avec une attention particulière accordée aux catégories d'identités nationale, culturelle, ethnique, sexuelle et linguistique. Le but de cette étude est d'examiner le concept de l'identité franco-ontarienne, représentée par Tostevin, écrivain bilingue, qui se sent déterritorialisé du français en Ontario, et choisit d'écrire en anglais, mais se retrouve dans un espace linguistique liminal où les deux langues, et en conséquence les cultures, entrent souvent dans un dialogue avec l'autre. Les langues et les cultures interagissent, la connaissance incarnée de deux cultures se traduit dans le texte par une variété d'histoires familiales, régionales et nationales qui exposent aussi l'histoire et les légendes d'un Ontario multiculturel avec une forte présence francophone qui est souvent négligée dans les récits officiels du Canada anglais. Tostevin réécrit beaucoup de ces récits officiels. L'identité franco-ontarienne est montrée comme celle qui conteste le caractère dominant construit de l'identité nationale et culturelle en anglais du Canada et les discours canadiens français. La perspective adoptée dans le texte problématise ces discours par un récit qui se concentre sur la nature hybride de l'identité culturelle, sexuelle et linguistique franco-ontarienne telle qu'elle est incarnée par le protagoniste féminin du texte qui vit entre les langues et les cultures et négocie constamment ses identités, en dépit des sentiments fréquents d'altérité et d'aliénation des deux cultures. Le livre offre une perspective féministe postcoloniale intéressante sur le problème de l'identité franco-ontarienne hybride et sa nature transformatrice.

Among a number of challenges that the contemporary world has to face is the process of self-identification. In times of globalization, which leads to the blurring of the boundaries between nation-states and diasporic groups around the world, the concept of identity tends to occupy a central place in many discourses. As Kobena Mercer notices “now everybody wants to talk about ‘identity’ (...). One thing at least is clear – identity only becomes an issue when it is in crisis, when something assumed to be fixed, coherent and stable is displaced by the experience of doubt and uncertainty” (43). Identity crisis results in the inability of an individual to identify with one particular group, and to adjust to its culture.

The problem of self-identification appears to be of great importance in Canada, a country initially defined as bicultural, where the British and the French were perceived as two dominant groups. Presently, Canadian cultural and ethnic diversity is recognized in the *Canadian Multiculturalism Act* of 1988. Canada's multicultural policy, advocating political and cultural pluralism, makes the country a desirable place to live in, where citizens can

cultivate their cultures and emphasize their distinctiveness. However, Canadianness understood in terms of the “cultural mosaic,” calls the existence of the Canadian national identity into question – it prevents the country, as David Taras observes, from establishing a coherent identity in terms of politics, culture and language:

Canada does not have a system of compulsory national service. Nor does it have a national education system that teaches the same curriculum from coast to coast. It does not have a common set of myths and heroes, a history of contradictory collective sacrifice, or even a common language. Nor is the country linked by a single deeply held tradition of religious observance (4).

A similar thought concerning Canada’s inability to construct a unified national identity is also expressed by Sherrill Grace, who claims that “we [Canadians] lack a truly unifying methodology; we behave as if politically decentred, and we try to allow for (...) ethnic and linguistic diversity (...) as a *national culture*, [but] we have never had a *sealed-off* and *self-sufficient character*” (131-132; original emphasis).

The concept of Canadianness inscribed in the term “cultural mosaic” results in the emergence of multiple complex (hybrid) identities resulting from a great ethnic and cultural diversity which, in turn, evokes the feeling of strangeness and otherness. This viewpoint has been emphasized by Margaret Atwood, who states that “[w]e are all immigrants to this place even if we were born here” (64). It is essential to underscore the fact that the feeling is experienced not only by new Canadians, recent immigrants to the country, but also by Canadians born in Canada, particularly by Franco-Ontarians who constitute “the largest single group of people of French origin outside Québec” (Hébert 51) and whose families have lived in the country for generations.

Franco-Ontarians are frequently characterized by their “double consciousness” (Burke 31) that places them in a liminal space between the mainstream Anglophone culture, which imposes its language, values and traditions on them, and their own culture dependent on French heritage. Their cultural position “coerces” them into constructing hybrid identities that “do not fit into most people’s pre-set categories” (Seelye and Wasilewski xviii). Thus, Franco-Ontarians share certain characteristics with the two cultures: Francophone and Anglophone. As Raymond M. Hébert observes, Franco-Ontarians, on the one hand, are historically closer to Quebec and its culture as they both share certain values such as religion, i.e. the attachment to the Roman Catholic Church and the language (53) but, on the other hand, they are exposed, to a greater extent than Quebecers, to English, imposed by the dominant Anglophone media and culture, which tends to repress French and

structure “collective imagination” (Langlois 325) that shapes certain points of view and the perception of the world from the Anglophone perspective.

In this article I seek to analyse the complex issue of Canadianness in the context of Franco-Ontarian identity as explored by Lola Lemire Tostevin, a bilingual writer, in her autobiographical novel *Frog Moon*. The novel gives an insight into experiencing the complexity of Canadianness by a Canada-born Canadian who faces a number of challenges caused by living between different cultures.

What appears to be particularly important in Canadianness explored by Tostevin is the fact that even though born in a Francophone family in Ontario and educated in a convent run by French Catholic nuns, the author experiences the feeling of alienation and “deterritorialization” from her Francophone roots as a result of an intensive exposure to Anglophone culture that leads to the loss of her mother tongue and, thus, a part of her identity:

when I started to write (...) my first language had become English; my maternal tongue had become a second language. I believe there was a conscious moving away from everything French when I came out of the convent. My education beyond high school was mostly English and my boyfriends were English. I didn't want to have anything to do with Catholicism which (...) was identified with being French. When I first sat down to write it was so painful writing in French... so I put writing on the back-burner for many years because of that. It was only when I decided to write in English that I finally felt free enough to write (Carey 3).

What she states points to an intrinsic relation between language, culture and identity. Tostevin's breaking of ties with French, her mother tongue, and her decision to write in English, entail the hybridization of her identity. The “self” that is stretched between two cultures appears to be one of the traits of Canadianness. Thus, being a Franco-Ontarian who lives a bilingual life in a liminal cultural space results in constant transformations and fluctuations of identity that is never complete. Although the author claims that she lost them, both her mother tongue and French identity to English still reverberate in her writing.

Tostevin's *Frog Moon* exposes the complexity of Canadianness in the context of Franco-Ontarian identity, that transgresses the boundaries between two different languages and cultures. The aim of my interpretation is to point to the issue of Canadianness based on crossing cultural boundaries with reference to three aspects that play an important role in the construction of Canadian hybrid identity of the female protagonist of the novel. This article is also to discuss the way Canadianness presented by Tostevin may influence the perception and even the experiencing of a multicultural identity that appears to be more common in the contemporary world. I begin my analysis by

discussing the concept of culture translated via memories, family and regional stories, and legends that influence the construction of identity. Subsequently, I focus on the role of the two official languages in Canada – English and French – between which the narrator oscillates in order to establish her “self.” Finally, I analyse how crossing boundaries between traditional gender roles imposed by patriarchal culture and feminist consciousness shapes the identity of the protagonist.

In the course of the novel, Laura, the female protagonist and the narrator, constructs her complex Franco-Ontarian identity through unveiling various details from the past. She weaves her memories and different family and regional stories into the main narrative of the novel. The importance of memories and stories in establishing one’s identity is emphasized by Julian Barnes who states that “memory is identity (...) what you remember defines who you are” (140). To use Stephanie Lawler’s words, Laura is “engaged in the process of *producing* an identity through assembling various memories, experiences, episodes” (11; original emphasis) and thus she “makes a *story* out of [her] *life*” (11; original emphasis). The narrator of *Frog Moon* points to memories and storytelling as having the power of creation: “they shape people, towns, landscapes, and cheat you into believing certain things about yourself. They select, discard, and amend plots that become history. That’s how we invent ourselves” (Tostevin 22). A similar thought concerning dependence between storytelling and identity is expressed by Ian Hacking. He emphasizes also the dependence between one’s own stories and the stories of other people:

[w]e constitute our souls by making up our lives, that is, by weaving stories about our past, by what we call memories. The tales we tell of ourselves and to ourselves are not a matter of recording what we have done and how we have felt. They must mesh with the rest of the world and with other people’s stories (...) their real role is the creation of a life, a character (250-251).

For the narrator, the most immediate source of knowledge through which she gains access to her identity are parents: “[m]y first memory is of my mother (...) [and] my father telling stories” (61). The formation of her “self” is strongly visible in the life stories of her parents: “[m]uch of what I know of the lives of my parents has been passed on in the form of stories revised over the years, tall tales that grow taller as they spin themselves into the spine of my history, each tale an acoustic mirror reflecting the different facets of my background, my geography” (Tostevin 151). One of the first stories she is acquainted with, that reveals part of her identity, is the story of her nickname “Kaki”: “[b]y the time you were three months old you answered to the name of the frog. Not usual for a French Canadian, except that my frog was Cree.

Kaki. (...) Undoubtedly because we were French Canadian but also because I was born in the month of June, month of The Moon of the Frogs” (39). Although being a Franco-Ontarian, Laura’s nickname suggests an element of another culture – the Indigenous one – in her identity. However, “Kaki” was not the name she wanted to be identified with. When christened, she was given a name that indicates her Franco-Ontarian background, and that gives her a sense of certain identity, of being a part of her parents’ stories:

[w]hen I’d been christened I’d been given a name, and by virtue of that name I’d become a main character in the stories my mother and father told me. This was my family bond, the name I was to carry through the family album, except that at three months I was given another, as if my character had taken a small detour through some other plot. Kaki was not my name. I was not Cree. I was not a frog (41).

It may be assumed that Laura did not want to identify with her Cree name, as if it stood in contradiction to her consciously constructed “self.” Given these two different names by which she was called in different circumstances, the narrator’s Canadianness, namely her Franco-Ontarian “self,” is based on crossing the boundaries between two different cultures and fluctuates between two identities, as if she lived a double existence.

Listening to the stories told by her parents provides Laura with an opportunity to gain knowledge about her roots. Furthermore, in the process of constructing her identity, she locates her “self” within wider narratives produced by culture. She “looks upon stories, the telling of them, as part of reality” (69) and recognizes them not only as a part of who she is, but also a part of the Franco-Ontarian tradition she was raised in. What ought to be emphasized is the fact that “people construct identities (however multiple and changing) by locating themselves or being located within a repertoire of emplotted stories; (...) ‘experience’ is constituted through narratives; (...) people are guided to act in certain ways (...) on the basis of (...) the memories derived from a (...) repertoire of available social, public and cultural narratives” (Lawler 20). Being a part of culture, legends and folktales of Ontario helps Laura to understand who she is. As Paul Ricoeur comments “the self does not know itself immediately but only indirectly by the detour of the cultural signs of all sorts, which are articulated on the symbolic mediations which always already articulate action and, among them, the narratives of everyday life” (198). Laura is engaged in the process of interpretation and reinterpretation of her identity through regional stories which are very often used as the ways of explaining the reality that should not be exposed directly: “[t]hese myths often covered up what was really going on, but we’re not supposed to talk about that” (Tostevin 52). Told on different occasions, they explain the construction of certain aspects of Laura’s identity. Most of them

touch upon the concept of transformation that is in accordance with the changeable nature of identity. They lay the foundations for a constant reinterpretation of the narrator's "self."

Tostevin develops the concept of Canadianness by referring to folktales and legends Laura was familiarized with in her childhood. They convey certain values prevailing in the Franco-Ontarian culture and tradition that influence the construction of the protagonist's "self." The narrator refers to two important stories that enforce particular patterns of behaviour – the tale of "loup-garou" (a werewolf) and the legend of Rose Latulippe. The first one addresses the issue of girl's modesty: "the young girl also knows it's important not to expose any part of her body to the moonlight at the top of the dorm windows. That could turn her into a *loup-garou*. (...) She's heard of children who exposed themselves and grew long silken hair on their bodies, and slanting eyebrows that met on the bridge of the nose" (31-32; original emphasis). For fear of becoming a werewolf, a bloodthirsty creature which a human being turns into, Laura, under the influence of the tale, transforms who she is, into a person her culture tells her to be. It is through this story that a certain Franco-Ontarian female identity is shaped. Laura was taught what patterns of behaviour were appropriate for women in the tradition of the culture she was raised in. What is more, the legend of Rose Latulippe, who neglected her father's warning to stop the merrymaking before midnight on the eve of Ash Wednesday, serves as another cultural lesson for Laura. Her mother used this legend as an allegory to explain certain events from her life that led to the construction of her identity: "[m]y mother almost never misses an opportunity to turn an event into an allegory. Allegories allow her to hint at things other than what is actually being said. (...) Repeating the legend of Rose Latulippe while dissociating herself from its main character allows her to warn me against, while differing from, the moral of the tale" (53).

Frog Moon presents also an interesting approach towards Canadianness through Franco-Ontarian identity as based on what Susan Billingham calls "the doubleness of tongues" (195). Laura negotiates her hybrid identity through crossing the boundaries between French, her mother tongue, and English, the language that has dominated her life. She constantly oscillates between these two languages and attempts to reconcile them to construct her "self." The narrator, as Colleen Ross points out, "leads a double existence (...) as a Franco-Ontarian whose mother tongue is French and who has been conditioned to write, speak and live in English" (166). On the one hand, it is French of her childhood that binds her to her roots and imposes certain lingual identity and, thereby, particular traditions, values and the perception of the world. It is the language of all that is close to Laura – her emotions and feelings. Kathleen Saint-Onge, who likewise was raised in French Canadian culture and later moved towards Anglophone culture and its language, states

“[m]y emotions are completely entangled in French rather than in English – a connection of first language and inner being that is potent, even gut-wrenching” (8). This phenomenon is also experienced by Laura, who associates her feelings with her mother tongue – “I often revert to French when exasperated. As if some emotions can only be expressed in the language closest to those emotions” (Tostevin 23). On the other hand, however, English started to occupy the central place in Laura’s life. At first, it served as an escape from the constraints of the convent since her mother tongue seemed to imprison her, to deprive her of who she was: “[t]he young girl has always written her French compositions in words and sentences that are proper and fitting for a convent. They have never extended beyond convent walls” (171). At that time Laura realized that English, the language “[t]he nuns don’t feel competent to teach” (171) may replace French so that she could gain access to other aspects of her “self” and construct her identity without hindrance.

Nevertheless, Laura’s identity stretched between French and English constitutes a problematic issue in her family since “language can break a family apart” (Saint-Onge 49). She fluctuates between “her present life as Anglophone mother and wife, and her past life as a young Francophone girl” (Ross 166). Laura is aware of the conflict between English and French: “English [is] the main prong in a French Canadian three-pronged fork” (Tostevin 47). That is why, she refers to herself as a hyphen whose aim is to ensure unity and coherence within her family – “I am, after all, the third element that provides coherence between my children and my parents and their different languages” (141). It is through this hyphenation that Laura attempts to bridge the linguistic gap between her French speaking parents and her two children – David, who refuses to speak French, and Louise, who speaks a superior kind of French.

Living in English for most of her life distances Laura from her mother tongue. She expresses her inability to function and communicate within the frames of the French language:

[t]he only tongue that could tell my parent’s stories is the tongue I have all but lost, a language as depleted as if on a winter’s morning, cut off at its source, it had simply withered in my mouth. Cut off from memory, from the slumber of childhood, I cultivated my second language until it replaced my first. As he speaks to me in French, the words, as I write them down, transform themselves into English (161).

It is English that has become her first language: “[m]ost of my life was lived in English, and French no longer came naturally to me” (144). When Laura refers to her life spent in-between languages, she observes that “[t]he child who spoke French is no longer the adult who speaks English” (24).

Furthermore, the narrator realizes that moving away from her mother tongue contributes to the loss of a part of her identity since, as Billingham rightly observes, “[t]he loss of the mother tongue is frequently experienced as a loss of memory or identity” (195). Laura intends to retrieve her mother tongue, through which she will be able to retrieve her memory and identity. She is aware that “living in a language that is not your mother tongue cuts you off from memory” (Tostevin 24). In fact, her hybrid lingual identity places her in neither language or culture. Crossing the boundaries between them entails what Saint-Onge calls the process of “self-othering” (159), of becoming “foreign” not only to other people but also to herself: “I must seem so foreign to them [the children] at times. (...) I sometimes feel as if I don’t belong to either my children or my parents. During those moments, when the mirrors of both languages crumble, I have the unsettling impression that I will always remain a stranger to myself” (Tostevin 25). The narrator tends to perceive herself as “the other”, a stranger who does not have her own place she could identify with. To use Saint-Onge words, Laura is “une Canadienne errante (...) forever in search of identity” (29). As Tostevin demonstrates, Canadianness is based on a certain language “conflict” where English, belonging to the mainstream Canadian culture, tends to repress other languages. Furthermore, it imposes certain worldviews and influences the ways in which a hybrid-identity individual functions in the world.

Throughout the novel, the construction of Laura’s Franco-Ontarian identity is based also on crossing the boundaries between traditional gender roles imposed by patriarchal culture of the Western world and feminist consciousness. In her life, Laura attempts to challenge the prevailing stereotypes concerning the two biological sexes, where “women have been associated with the body, nature, and emotion; (...) these terms have been opposed to mind, culture, and reason, which are associated with men” (McLaren 81). This particular approach resulted in the oppression of women who were treated as inferior, and domination of men who, in turn, were perceived as superior. Gender identity in *Frog Moon* is exemplified by the narrator, who transgresses the boundaries between what is believed in patriarchal culture to be an ideal woman and her own images of a woman.

A strong presence of the French Canadian perception of women and their roles is also expressed through the legend of Rose Latulippe. From this traditional perspective, women are perceived as the incarnation of evil and that is why they should be controlled by men. This belief was passed down from generation to generation as “French Canadian fathers, afraid their daughters will dishonour the family, have related various versions of the legend of Rose Latulippe. Woman and her demon’s gifts, because the Devil always entered a family’s affair through the female side” (51). Thus, this Franco-Ontarian legend engenders prejudice towards women seen as weak, suggestible and

deprived of common sense. It also suggests women be obedient and submissive to men. This negative image is reinforced by men who state that women are a “hindrance to our national development” (181). The narrator points to the perception of women as unable to undertake any activities that go beyond their household duties. She observes that women who are teachers are treated as incompetent, emotionally underdeveloped and with mediocre educational background. Men claim that “[w]omen teachers appear as immature, poorly trained, uncultured, inexperienced girls (...) who are really looking for a husband, and are loath to accept responsibilities or study for their job a minute longer than the law requires” (183). However, the narrative reveals the rising of feminist consciousness in Laura that encourages her to go beyond the boundaries of patriarchal culture.

For the narrator of *Frog Moon*, the division between the female and male sphere of life is very clear. Feminist thought concerning women is reflected in the memories Laura has from the convent in which she was educated in her childhood. One of the most important rules Laura was taught there was the rule of silence. Apart from praying and singing religious songs, the girls were not allowed to speak. In fact, ‘Song of Songs’ is “the only occasion in the Bible where a woman is given la parole, speech, where a woman speaks – we can’t overlook the fact that it was probably written by a man” (Williamson 274). The rule reflects the situation of women in patriarchal culture – they are silenced and, metaphorically, deprived of their voice. As such, a woman is unable to tell stories and construct her identity. It is the outer world that shapes her identity and imposes certain roles. However, Laura is a rebel and challenges the rules established for women. Under the influence of her parents’ stories she decides to fulfil herself as a writer and not solely as a housewife. It is through the conscious use of language that she, as a woman, is able to construct her complex Franco-Ontarian identity and eventually to “invent [herself] on the page” (276).

Franco-Ontarian identity constructed by Tostevin in *Frog Moon* points to a complexity of Canadianness, that is experienced by a number of Canadians. Based on different aspects, such as memories, stories, language, and gender, as presented in the novel, Canadian complex (hybrid) identity is a construct prone to alterations and transformations. In *Frog Moon*, Laura’s “self” comes into being through various stories and legends from the Franco-Ontarian tradition. Her Canadianness is also dependent on language and crossing the boundaries between French of her childhood and English of her adulthood. The aspect of living in two language “worlds” remains important while referring to Canadianness, particularly due to a number of different minority groups inhabiting the country. Furthermore, in the construction of identity, Laura goes beyond the boundaries of the norms and images imposed by patriarchal culture and moves toward feminist consciousness.

As *Frog Moon* demonstrates, Canadian identity means being engaged in a process of constant crossing boundaries between cultures, in various spheres of life, that frequently overlap and enter into a dialogue with each other. Due to globalization and numerous migrations, the emergence of complex (hybrid) identities may be observed in many countries worldwide. Although Canadianness explored by Tostevin points to challenges and conflicts that a person of hybrid identity living in a liminal space between cultures has to face, it may also be approached as a model to follow for other countries which are becoming more and more multicultural due to a number of immigrations. Canadian complex identity in *Frog Moon* bridges the gap between different cultures. It also points to the fact that the perception and understanding of the “self,” other people and the world in the case of people of hybrid identities living a double cultural existence is enriched by different, wider perspectives “imposed” by these cultures. Tostevin's *Frog Moon* may be approached as a unique insight into one's complex “self.” This autobiographical novel presents also inner struggles and opportunities that living in a liminal cultural space in Canada entails and allows other people to understand Canadianness and hybrid identities better.

Works Cited :

- Atwood, Margaret. *The Journals of Susanna Moodie*. Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1970.
- Barnes, Julian. *Nothing To Be Frightened Of*. Random House Canada, 2008.
- Billingham, Susan. “Trans-positions: Transforming the Mother Tongue in Lola Lemire Tostevin's *Color of Her Speech*.” *English Studies in Canada* 28.2 (2002): 195-222.
- Burke, Peter. *Cultural Hybridity*. Cambridge: Polity Press, 2011.
- Carey, Barbara. “Distance Will Reveal Its Secrets. An Interview with Lola Lemire Tostevin.” *Paragraph* 14.1 (1992): 3-5.
- Grace, Sherrill. “Listen to the Voice: Dialogism and the Canadian Novel.” *Future Indicative*. Ed. John Moss. Ottawa: University of Ottawa Press, 1987. 117-136.
- Hacking, Ian. *Rewriting the Soul: Multiple Personality and the Science of Memory*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1995.
- Hébert, Raymond M. “Identity, Cultural Production and the Vitality of Francophone Communities Outside Québec.” *Images of Canadianness. Visions on Canada's Politics, Culture, Economics*. Ed. Leen d'Haensens. Ottawa: University of Ottawa Press, 1998. 41-66.
- Langlois, Simon. “Canadian Identity: A Francophone Perspective.” *Encyclopedia of Canada's People*. Ed. O. Robert Magocsi. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1999. 323-329.

- Lawler, Stephanie. *Identity. Sociological Perspective*. Cambridge: Polity Press, 2008.
- McLaren, Margaret A. "Foucault and the Body: A Feminist Reappraisal." *Feminism, Foucault and Embodies Subjectivity*. Albany: State University of New York Press, 2002. 81-116.
- Mercer, Kobena. "Welcome to the Jungle: Identity and Diversity in Postmodern Politics." *Identity: Community, Culture, Difference*. Ed. Jonathan Rutherford. London: Lawrence & Wishart, 1990. 43-71.
- Ross, Colleen. "The Art of Transformation in Lola Lemire Tostevin's *Frog Moon*." *International Journal of Canadian Studies / Revue internationale d'études canadiennes* 16 (Fall/Automne 1997): 165-172.
- Ricoeur, Paul. "Narrative Identity." *On Paul Ricoeur: Narrative and Interpretation*. Ed. David Wood. London: Routledge, 1991. 188-200.
- Saint-Onge, Kathleen. *Bilingual Being. My Life as a Hyphen*. Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2013.
- Seelye, H. Ned and Jacqueline Howell Wasilewski. *Between Cultures: Developing Self-Identity in a World of Diversity*. Lincolnwood: NTC Business Books, 1996.
- Taras David. "The Crisis of Canadian Identity." *A Passion for Identity. An Introduction to Canadian Studies*. Eds. David Taras and Beverly Rasporich. Scarborough: International Thomson Publishing, 1997. 1-5.
- Tostevin, Lola Lemire. *Frog Moon*. Dunvegan: Cormorant Books, 1994.
- Williamson, Janice. "Lola Lemire Tostevin 'inventing ourselves on page'." *Sounding Differences. Conversations with Seventeen Canadian Women Writers*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1993. 271-280.

Anna Chyla is Ph.D. student at the University of Silesia in Katowice at the Department of American and Canadian Studies. She holds BA degree in Applied Languages: French and English and MA degree in English Cultures and Literatures. She is currently in the process of writing my Ph.D. dissertation on Canadian Indigenous drama. Her academic interests centre on the concept of female identity in Canadian literature, Indigenous drama, representation and self-expression of Indigenous women, and feminist theory.

Józef Kwaterko

Université de Varsovie

**CONFORMISMES ET DISSIDENCES:
IDÉOLOGIE ET LITTÉRATURE QUÉBÉCOISE
(1830-1930)**

Résumé

Cet article cherche à situer l'émergence de la littérature québécoise et des modèles littéraires qu'elle privilégie dans le contexte de la pensée politique européenne et américaine. Il veut rendre compte de l'impact des programmes de « nationalisation » et de « canadianisation » des lettres, préconisés par la critique littéraire d'obédience cléricale au Québec depuis le début du 19^e siècle jusqu'aux années 1930, et des phénomènes de résistance esthétique tout au long de la même période. On s'attachera d'une part à examiner l'idéologie de la survivance et les deux doctrines, l'agriculturisme et l'ultramontanisme, qui ont marqué le roman du terroir et la poésie de cette période et, d'autre part, on relèvera des manifestations opposées à la pensée conservatrice, comme l'Institut canadien de Montréal (1844-1869), et des courants dissidents, comme l'œuvre romantique et symboliste des poètes groupés autour d'Émile Nelligan à l'École littéraire de Montréal (1895-1906), la revue *Le Nigog* (1906-1918) et le roman paysan réaliste d'Albert Laberge et de Ringuet.

Abstract

This article presents the coming into being of Quebecois literature within the context of European and American political thought, as well as in the light of the literary models such political thinking promoted. It analyzes the impact of programs of “nationalization” and “Canadianization” fostered by the Catholic Church in Quebec during the 19th century and up to the 1930s, as well as it points to the aesthetic resistance to such initiatives during the same period. A particular attention is given to the ideology of survival, to Agriculturism and to Ultramontanism which have influenced the *roman du terroir* and poetry, as well as to the expressions of liberal political thinking as represented by the Canadian Institute of Montreal (1844-1869). Dissident movements such as the Romantic and Symbolist art of poets led by Émile

Nelligan in the *École littéraire de Montréal* (1895-1906), the review *Le Nigog* (1906-1918), and the peasant realist novel by Albert Laberge and Ringuet are also taken into account.

Forgé par les écrivains et penseurs romantiques français (Madame de Staël) et allemands (Johann Gottfried Herder et Johan Gottlieb Fichte), la notion de « littérature nationale », qui désigne l'émanation la plus perceptible d'une spécificité culturelle d'une nation (Espagne et Werner 7-8), semble le mieux appropriée pour rendre compte de l'émergence et de l'évolution de la littérature québécoise au 19^e siècle. En effet, lorsque dans les années 1830, sous le régime anglais, naît au Bas-Canada (correspondant au Québec d'aujourd'hui), majoritairement francophone, une littérature de langue française écrite par les Canadiens français, elle se met aussitôt au service de la justification de l'existence d'une collectivité distincte. Face à la défaite militaire devant les Anglais en 1760 et en regard d'une conjoncture historique menaçante, cette orientation nationale traduit, certes, une compensation, mais aussi une sensibilité croissante au principe des nationalités, après son éveil dans les années 1829-1830, lors des insurrections polonaise, serbe, grecque et belge. Jean-Marcel Paquette décrit ainsi cette prise de conscience de la dimension nationale de la littérature québécoise :

C'est que le romantisme européen, issu du soulèvement des peuples consécutif à la Révolution française, venait d'inventer cette idée sans doute fort généreuse, que le peuple est, en dernière instance, le créateur de l'univers qui hante les Lettres et que toute littérature, en conséquence, ne peut être conçue que comme l'expression d'une nation. (...) C'est la constitution d'une communauté nationale, elle-même définie par les frontières de son destin historique, qui sert de lors de critère à l'affirmation de l'existence d'une littérature. (...) Ainsi s'explique la curieuse épistémologie qui fait naître vers le premier tiers du XIX^e siècle, dans la conscience qu'elle a d'elle-même, la littérature de langue française au Québec (Paquette 344-345).

Ainsi, au début du 19^e siècle, deux doctrines ou deux visions du monde, opposées en apparence, vont donner au Québec l'essor à une mission patriotique et à une résistance politique qui vont, à leur tour, fixer l'usage de la littérature et la position particulière qu'elle va y occuper : le nationalisme, nourri à la pensée du romantisme européen, qui proclame l'unité de la nation et qui prend en défense la langue française et la religion catholique, et le libéralisme de type anglo-saxon, qui proclame le droit libéral des peuples à disposer d'eux-mêmes, la liberté de la presse, l'attachement aux lois constitutionnelles et au régime parlementaire.

L'accession de la classe populaire à l'instruction apparaît ici comme phénomène de première importance. Après le retour en France d'une partie de l'aristocratie et avec la disparition progressive de la bourgeoisie d'affaires (coupée de la métropole, source de commerce, et remplacée par les marchands anglais), il revient au clergé d'organiser l'enseignement au niveau collégial (en plus des séminaires de Québec et de Montréal datant de la Nouvelle-France), ce qui va bientôt favoriser la montée d'une nouvelle bourgeoisie professionnelle. Cette classe sera dès lors appelée à remplir le vide politique et à représenter les Canadiens français dans les parlements après que l'Acte constitutionnel de 1791 dote chacune des deux provinces, le Haut et le Bas Canada, d'une Chambre d'assemblée. Le parlementarisme britannique devient une autre forme d'éducation pour les jeunes professionnels (avocats, hommes politiques, journalistes, notaires, médecins, imprimeurs) qui passent brusquement de leur milieu d'origine (la famille paysanne majoritairement analphabète ou petite noblesse terrienne) au milieu bourgeois citadin.

Cette nouvelle bourgeoisie, imbue d'une culture littéraire, consciente de l'outillage politique qu'elle peut en faire ainsi que de son propre rôle social et de l'appui populaire, va rapidement aspirer à prendre en main le sort du Bas-Canada. Elle ne conteste pas l'autorité nominale de la Couronne britannique, mais exige des réformes et une libéralisation des structures politiques (notamment la responsabilité ministérielle). A la Chambre d'assemblée, un conflit oppose désormais les députés qui soutiennent le gouvernement de la colonie, les « bureaucrates », et ceux de l'opposition, les « patriotes », dont le chef charismatique, Louis-Joseph Papineau, prône les idées républicaines et réclame pour la majorité canadienne-française le droit de gouverner à elle seule le Bas-Canada. Après une grève parlementaire, les Patriotes font éclater une révolte armée (la « Révolte des Patriotes »), dirigée contre la domination anglaise et soutenue par la majorité de la population rurale francophone, qui va se poursuivre dans les années 1837-1838, avant d'être étouffée par l'armée coloniale britannique et les renforts venus de Londres.

Après le *Rapport* du Lord Durham, envoyé de Londres enquêter sur les conflits ethniques et linguistiques entre les deux peuples, document qui préconise l'assimilation des Canadiens français à la population anglophone, et après la proclamation de l'Union Act en 1840 qui fusionne en une seule colonie le Haut et le Bas-Canada, l'hégémonie britannique se fera effectivement sentir dans tous les secteurs de la vie collective des francophones. Désormais, ces derniers se fixent comme objectif de préserver leur identité culturelle en s'alignant sur leurs dirigeants modérés de 1837. Sur le plan économique, le rôle de la bourgeoisie professionnelle diminue de plus en plus devant l'expansion financière, commerciale et industrielle anglaise. Repliés sur l'agriculture, relégués de fonctions publiques importantes, les francophones vont désormais se donner une échelle de valeurs qui ne les

mettait pas directement en concurrence avec la majorité canadienne-anglaise. Comme le souligne Denis Monière :

1840 marque, pour un temps, la fin des espoirs de l'émancipation nationale, la fin du radicalisme politique et le début de la suprématie cléricale effective, du nationalisme conservateur, de l'idéologie de la survivance, de la collaboration, de la modération, du refoulement, et de l'impuissance collective. (...) La société traditionnelle ne réussit à s'imposer qu'après l'échec de la Rébellion (Monière 169).

L'Église catholique joue ici un rôle de tout premier plan. Si, après l'échec de la Révolte des Patriotes et après l'Acte de l'Union, la religion demeure toujours un facteur unificateur tenace, aidant à la préservation de l'homogénéité culturelle et linguistique des francophones, le pouvoir clérical, lui, représente, vers le milieu du 19^e siècle, une orientation exclusivement conservatrice et passiviste. Le clergé, opposé d'abord à l'Acte de l'Union, finit par l'accepter, après qu'il obtient de la part du gouvernement de la colonie des garanties dans le domaine de l'éducation et du code civil, en récompense à son attitude loyaliste lors de la rébellion. Le clergé s'allie aussi à la bourgeoisie conservatrice (appelée « les Bleus ») avec laquelle il assure la participation francophone minoritaire au gouvernement. Cette connivence étroite entre les élites cléricales et politiques d'un côté, et les leaders politiques anglais de l'autre, va exacerber le nationalisme conservateur canadien-français jusqu'à la fin du 19^e siècle. De sorte que, devenue une force militante dans les années consécutives à la Confédération de 1867, de plus en plus sensible à sa « mission providentielle » en Amérique – y compris la protection des droits religieux et scolaires des minorités canadiennes-françaises hors du Québec – l'Église tend à soumettre à son autorité l'ensemble de la vie sociale et politique au Québec. Cette visée théocratique se manifeste dès la moitié du 19^e siècle à travers la doctrine agriculturiste et l'ultramontanisme.

L'agriculturisme – selon l'historien Michel Brunet – « est une philosophie de la vie qui idéalise le passé, condamne le présent et se méfie de l'ordre social moderne. C'est un refus de l'âge industriel contemporain qui s'inspire d'une conception statique de la société » (cité dans Linteau, Durocher et Robert 349). Par l'idéalisation de la vie paysanne, l'exaltation du primat de la vie rurale (proche de Dieu et de la nature) sur la vie citadine et par l'apologie de la vocation agraire de la nation, la doctrine agriculturiste engendre une véritable mystique de la fidélité à la terre paternelle. Ériger l'agriculturisme en stratégie de résistance identitaire permet au clergé catholique de mieux exercer son emprise morale et sociale et d'empêcher par la même l'exode des paysans en ville (surtout vers les villes du Nord des États-Unis). La thèse est simple, forte, partout présente : « nés pour un petit pain », « les enfants du sol » doivent obtempérer à la « mission providentielle de la France en Amérique »

et tirer leur salut et leur puissance de l'agriculture et de la colonisation agricole. La pensée agriculturiste plongera les Canadiens français dans la crainte du capitalisme commercial et industriel. Elle sera aussi à l'origine de leur infériorité économique, sans pour autant pouvoir freiner, surtout au tournant des siècles, le processus d'urbanisation ainsi que le développement industriel et ferroviaire (Linteau, Durocher et Robert 351).

La deuxième doctrine, l'ultramontanisme, connaît son plein déploiement au Québec au moment de la Confédération, après que le Pape Pie IX (1846-1878) condamne les idées libérales et modernes dans son *Syllabus errorum* de 1864 (Linteau, Durocher et Robert 265). Venue de France avec la diffusion des idées de Joseph de Maistre par Ignace Bourget, l'évêque de Montréal et Louis-François Laflèche, l'évêque de Trois-Rivières ainsi que par la presse catholique militante (*L'Étandard*, *La Vérité*), animée par Louis Veillot, Thomas Chapais et Jean-Paul Tardivel, la pensée ultramontaine préconise l'alliance étroite de l'Église et de l'État (du Trône et de l'Autel), cherche à renforcer le rôle des institutions catholiques dans la vie sociale et préconise l'épanouissement de la nation canadienne-française au sein du Canada et dans le cadre de l'empire britannique. En exaltant le rôle de la papauté et en utilisant habilement les *topoi* discursifs nationalistes (« la langue gardienne de la foi », « l'âme canadienne-française »), l'ultramontanisme, sous sa forme « canadienne », devient une idéologie de premier ordre, la religion catholique étant ici posée comme principal garant de la défense de la nationalité (Bouchard 111-112).

Or, il faut noter que la domination de la pensée ultraconservatrice et ultramontaine ne signifie pas la disparition complète de l'idéologie libérale dont le courant radical des années 1830, opposé à la domination de l'Église au Bas-Canada, quoique affaibli par celle-ci à l'époque de la Confédération, défend la propriété privée et les libertés individuelles, tout en offrant une vision de société fondée sur les valeurs laïques et le respect des droits civils. Une partie de la bourgeoisie francophone, et surtout de l'intelligentsia montréalaise, groupée autour des journaux d'opinion, tels que *La Patrie*, *Revue Canadienne*, *l'Avenir* et *le Pays*, s'oppose à l'emprise cléricale, refuse l'obscurantisme de la doctrine agriculturiste pour défendre les idées libérales, associées au développement industriel et à l'économie capitaliste.

Sous l'égide de ses libéraux modérés (appelés « les Rouges »), le Québec connaît aussi une période de résistance intellectuelle incarnée par les activités de l'Institut canadien de Montréal. Sorte de centre d'études et de société culturelle disposant d'une riche bibliothèque, l'Institut devient, dans les années 1844-1869, un foyer du libéralisme et de la pensée progressiste, animée par les idées des philosophes du 18^e siècle et celles de Lammenais et de Victor Hugo (l'exilé). Sous l'impulsion de l'ancien chef des Patriotes, Louis-Joseph Papineau, rentré de son exil dans l'État de New York et à Paris,

les jeunes libéraux envisagent de restreindre le rôle du clergé dans l'enseignement et l'annexion du Québec aux États-Unis. Dans sa célèbre conférence de 1846, « L'industrie considérée comme moyen de conserver la nationalité canadienne-française », Étienne Parent, membre de l'Institut, osera le premier s'opposer à la doctrine agriculturiste. La réaction de l'Église ne se fera pas attendre : condamné par Ignace Bourget, l'archevêque de Montréal, et frappé par une scission interne, l'Institut canadien se désintègre en 1869. Le nationalisme libéral se voit éclipsé par le nationalisme conservateur proche de l'Église, sans que cette dernière puisse pour autant exercer une influence sur tous les aspects de la vie des catholiques au Québec (Linteau, Durocher et Robert 266-267). Le syndicalisme et la promotion de la classe ouvrière d'une part, la grande presse, les lettres et les arts de l'autre, échappent au strict contrôle de l'appareil religieux et permettent de mesurer la pénétration des idées libérales et modernes tout au long du dernier quart du 19^e siècle et jusqu'aux années 1930.

Le national et le populaire

La littérature québécoise de cette période n'échappe pas à cette ambiguïté. D'une part, elle s'inscrit dans le paradigme idéologique de la survivance, fondé sur l'impératif de la lutte pour la survie et sur les représentations du passé collectif de la nation (Bouchard 107-110; Dumont 329). D'autre part, elle rend compte, dans ses diverses figures, des expressions de diversité, de clivage, voire d'opposition au discours de la survivance. A cet égard, il faut signaler que dans les années 1830-1850, l'imaginaire littéraire au Québec est encore fortement marqué par la pensée romantique européenne et les idées libérales (Lemire 50). Le romantisme, sensible à l'éveil des nationalités, fournisseur de nombreux thèmes (le goût de l'aventure et l'appel de grands espaces, la valorisation des gestes des ancêtres, le merveilleux, la poursuite de l'idéal), suscite le désir des francophones de se donner une histoire et de donner corps à une littérature canadienne-française. L'efficacité immédiate, politique et sociale, est la première démarche et la première orientation spécifique de cette littérature qui s'ouvre aussi sur le monde. Journalisme (essai, polémique, pamphlet, témoignage), éloquence (tout texte oratoire, discours électoral, religieux ou académique), feuilleton romanesque (morceaux choisis des écrivains du cru ou d'un Hugo ou Lamartine, chansons de Bélanger, romans de Walter Scott, Charles Dickens, Eugène Sue ou Balzac) – la publication de tous ces textes dans la presse d'opinion ou dans la presse populaire donne, malgré le conservatisme religieux ambiant, l'image d'une vie intellectuelle riche, foisonnante, qui admet une pluralité de genres, de voix et d'opinions.

Cette époque voit notamment naître le premier recueil de poèmes, *Épîtres, satires, chansons, épigrammes et autres pièces de vers* (1830), sous la plume de Michel Bibeaud. Simple exercice de versification, classique par sa forme, cette poésie n'en témoigne pas moins d'une volonté de signaler une urgence, de s'affirmer d'emblée comme « nationale » (« Si je ne suis pas Boileau, je serai Chapelain (...) En dépit d'Apollon, je vais être poète. »). L'année 1837, qui coïncide avec la Révolte des Patriotes, marque également la publication du premier roman au Québec, *L'influence d'un livre* de Philippe-Aubert de Gaspé, fils. Ce récit d'aventures, qui intègre des légendes populaires, est l'œuvre d'un finissant de collègue, âgé de vingt-trois ans à peine, mais qui, dans la préface de son œuvre, est déjà conscient de son rôle précurseur (« J'offre à mon pays le premier roman de mœurs canadien »).

Suite à ces premières tentatives de créer au Québec une littérature nationale, deux membres de l'Institut canadien de Montréal donnent un démenti percutant au fameux jugement du *Rapport* de Lord Durham de 1840 qui cherche à dégrader les Canadiens francophones (« C'est un peuple sans histoire et sans littérature », cité dans Monière 152). James Huston totalise toute la production littéraire de 1734 à 1848 dans son volumineux *Répertoire National ou le Recueil de la littérature canadienne*. Publiée dans les années 1848-1850, la compilation de Huston comprenait déjà le nom d'un autre membre éminent de l'Institut, François-Xavier Garneau dont la monumentale *Histoire du Canada depuis sa découverte jusqu'à nos jours* (1848-1859) propose une vision épique, littéraire, et, en même temps, commandée par la chronologie, du passé collectif. Inspirée par la tradition historiographique française de Jules Michelet, Augustin Thierry et François Guizot, l'œuvre de Garneau adapte avec succès l'art narratif du conteur à la synthèse factuelle. Rééditée plusieurs fois au 19^e siècle, elle aura laissé une marque durable sur les écrivains des générations postérieures.

L'intérêt pour le passé national suscité par F.-X. Garneau sera aussi à l'origine du premier mouvement littéraire concerté, appelé « le Mouvement littéraire et patriotique de Québec », qui naît en 1860 dans la ville de Québec. Cependant, les idées libérales qui présidaient à la vision de *continuum* national chez Garneau cèdent ici à un romantisme de cénacle où sont prônés l'idéologie de la survivance et l'idéal messianique du peuple canadien en Amérique. C'est dans cet esprit que l'abbé Henri-Raymond Casgrain, en tant que chef de file du mouvement, invite les écrivains à montrer le peuple « (...) non pas tel qu'il est mais tel qu'on lui propose d'être » (Casgrain 368). Cette recherche de la distinction, par l'idéalisation des mœurs canadiennes d'autrefois et la fidélité aux valeurs du passé, débouche sur un nationalisme littéraire teinté d'un moralisme normatif. L'engouement de naguère pour la fantaisie, l'aventure et l'imagination s'estompe devant les impératifs de l'édification morale de la nation. L'abbé Casgrain, dans son fameux texte programmatique, « Mouvement

littéraire au Canada », publié en 1866, enjoint les écrivains à observer une série de contraintes thématiques et formelles :

Si, comme cela est incontestable, la littérature est le reflet des mœurs, du caractère, des aptitudes, du génie d'une nation, si elle garde aussi l'empreinte des lieux d'où elle surgit, des divers aspects de la nature, des sites, des perspectives, des horizons, la nôtre sera grave, méditative, spiritualiste, religieuse, évangélisatrice comme nos missionnaires, généreuse comme nos martyrs, énergique et persévérante comme nos pionniers d'autrefois; et en même temps elle sera largement découpée, comme nos vastes fleuves, nos larges horizons, notre grandiose nature, mystérieuse comme les échos de nos immenses et impénétrables forêts, comme les éclairs de nos aurores boréales, mélancolique comme nos pâles soirs d'automne enveloppés d'ombres vaporeuses –, comme l'azur profond, un peu sévère, de notre ciel –, chaste et pure comme le manteau virginal de nos longs hivers. (...) Ainsi sa voie est tracée d'avance : elle sera le miroir fidèle de notre petit peuple, dans les diverses phases de son existence, avec sa foi ardente, ses nobles aspirations, ses élans d'enthousiasme, ses traits d'héroïsme, sa généreuse passion de dévouement. Elle n'aura point ce cachet de réalisme moderne, manifestation de la pensée impie, matérialiste; mais elle n'en aura que plus de vie, de spontanéité, d'originalité, d'action (cité dans Dionne 38-39).

Désormais, la critique cléricale, rigoureusement normative et didactique, exerce son contrôle spirituel et moral sur la littérature. A l'idolâtrie du passé national et aux préceptes de la « canadianisation » de thèmes s'ajoute la censure des mœurs. A la suite du *Syllabus* papal de 1864, le clergé condamne le roman et le théâtre. Seul subsiste le roman historique à caractère régionaliste, le conte et la légende. La publication du roman en tant que texte d'imagination avec son monde et ses personnages fictifs est entravée, ce qui aura pour effet que tout au long du 19^e siècle, il ne se publiera qu'un peu plus de soixante romans (Biron, Dumont et Nardout-Lafarge 128).

La poésie, pour sa part, exploite avec opiniâtreté les valeurs religieuses et nationales empruntées au préromantisme français. Toutefois, sa démarche est beaucoup plus épique, centrée sur l'évocation des hauts faits du passé, que lyrique, tournée vers la subjectivité du sujet. Du reste, la crainte des extravagances de l'imagination fait obstacle à la tonalité proprement romantique, capable d'exprimer le vague à l'âme, le spleen, ou le « mal du siècle », vécus sur le mode intérieur. Il n'est donc pas étonnant que si au Québec on publie ou imite Alphonse de Lamartine ou Victor Hugo, il s'agit bien d'un Lamartine des *Méditations poétiques* et non pas celui de *Toussaint Louverture*, sympathisant avec l'insurrection des anciens esclaves à Saint-Domingue, et d'un Hugo poète et non pas romancier ou dramaturge, socialement engagé. On ne s'étonnera pas non plus que les deux meilleurs poètes nationaux de cette seconde moitié du 19^e siècle, Octave Crémazie et

Louis Fréchette – le premier pratiquant le lyrisme personnel, parfois macabre (comme dans le poème, « Promenade des trois morts », de 1862), le second s'aventurant dans le prophétisme romantique (avec son épopée, *La légende d'un peuple*, publiée en 1887) – s'exileront respectivement à Paris et à Chicago, abandonnant complètement leur création poétique.

On peut dire qu'avant la dernière décennie du 19^e siècle où paraîtront quelques éléments de rupture, les lettres suivent les préceptes de l'abbé Casgrain : offrir une image idéale du paysan et de la culture canadienne-française, fidèle aux vieilles traditions françaises d'avant la Révolution. Vers les années 1870-1880, les écrivains abandonnent, pour la plupart, la perspective libérale ou républicaine de la première moitié du siècle et perpétuent dans leurs écrits l'idéologie clérico-nationaliste faisant l'éloge des principes moraux de la religion. Mais on aurait tort de croire que le Québec s'enferme à partir de ces années dans un traditionalisme éculé. Plusieurs conservateurs libéraux (comme le curé Labelle et le frère Marie-Victorin) et des libéraux conservateurs, comme Victor Barbeau, Alphonse Desjardins, Olivar Asselin, Errol Bouchette, Édouard Montpetit, et Edras Minville, « envisagent l'avenir du Québec par l'entremise de l'industrie, vecteur d'émancipation économique des Canadiens français » (Létourneau 52).

Parmi ces figures éclairées, on compte Arthur Buis (1840-1901), fondateur de *L'Indépendant*, revue républicaine bilingue, chroniqueur de *La Lanterne canadienne* et collaborateur du *Pays*, qui a vécu en Europe entre 1857 et 1862, et qui est, à côté de Wilfried Laurier (artisan du fédéralisme canadien), un des rares libéraux radicaux anticléricaux de l'époque. Pamphlétaire, philosophe et essayiste, Buis s'en prend à l'idéologie officielle, celle des jésuites, se déclare annexionniste comme Louis-Joseph Papineau, mène le combat pour le droit de vote des femmes et s'oppose à la peine de mort. Son texte, « La peine de mort », fait encore intérêt aujourd'hui par la pénétration en profondeur du problème (*Anthologie d'Arthur Buis* 179-185). Dans *Lanterne canadienne* dont il a été fondateur, Buis démasque sans merci les usurpations de la parole unique du clergé et exhorte les nombreux exilés Canadiens français aux États-Unis à ne pas rentrer au pays :

Ah! Restez, restez dans l'exil. L'exil! Non. L'Amérique n'est pas une terre étrangère pour les vaillants et les libres. (...) Voulez-vous revenir en Canada pour n'avoir même pas le droit de lire les journaux que vous préférez, pour voir le prêtre pénétrant, comme dans son domaine, au sein de votre famille, pour y semer la discorde et la répulsion, si vous ne lui obéissez jusqu'à dans ses caprices? (...)

Vous avez exercé les droits des hommes libres; vous avez été des citoyens de la grande république, venez ici, si vous l'osez, offrir vos votes aux hommes du progrès, venez apporter votre indépendance, vos aspirations, pour entendre aussitôt les prêtres de la bourse, qui sont les seuls oracles et les seuls guises de vos compatriotes, fulminer contre vous leurs anathèmes, et vous réduire par la

persécution à sacrifier vos droits, ou du moins à craindre de les exercer. Mais vous n'avez pas oublié tout cela, et vous ne désirez pas revenir dans une patrie asservie. C'est ici que vous seriez en exil. Restez où vous avez trouvé le pain, le travail qui fait les hommes libres, et l'espérance qui les fait grands (cité dans Biron, Dumont et Nardout-Lafarge 92-94).

On peut observer par analogie à cette double pensée politique, libérale et conservatrice, qui se croisent et qui s'opposent, que les représentations de la culture populaire dans les écrits littéraires articulent sur un mode implicite des contradictions entre l'idéologie ultramontaine et le discours littéraire. En effet, le programme de « canadienisation » de la littérature, prôné en 1860 par l'abbé Casgrain et « le Mouvement littéraire et patriotique de Québec », avait ouvert la porte à un grand nombre de conteurs de qualité, comme Louis Fréchette, Eugène Dick, Honoré Beaugrand, Pamphile Le May ou Louvigny de Montigny.

Ces conteurs vont jouer sur deux registres – l'oral et l'écrit – et sur une double visée littéraire – celle de la mémoire nationale et de la morale, d'une part, et, de l'autre, celle de la réussite esthétique et du besoin de l'adhésion immédiate du lecteur. Or, la légende et le conte, genres populaires qui obéissent à la mission patriotique de l'écrivain, présentent d'autres intentions littéraires quand ils transposent l'oral à l'écrit. On y retrouve maints thèmes folkloriques dus aux croyances populaires qui privilégient l'insolite, le fantastique, le merveilleux et le surnaturel. Grâce à l'art du conteur qui se nourrit des expressions propres à la langue orale, le récit populaire s'écarte souvent du programme littéraire imposé et de sa visée didactique initiale. Puiser dans le répertoire populaire où l'imaginaire s'articule autour des superstitions, apparitions, sorcelleries; explorer les histoires de revenants et certains mythes (le pacte avec le diable et ses avatars, le « diable beau danseur », le loup-garou), les légendes canadiennes « Rose Latulipe », « La Corriveau », la « chasse-galerie », « Le Vaisseau fantôme » ou celle de « Le Grand-Lièvre et la Grande-Tortue » inspirée de l'imaginaire indien – utiliser tout ce fonds narratif oral, mis à la disposition du conteur, requiert des stratégies narratives spécifiques, là où la relation de l'homme avec le réel se trouve déphasée par la relation de l'homme avec son désir (Lemire 203). Même si le bien finit par être récompensé et le mal par être puni, la supériorité et l'apologie des valeurs chrétiennes y demeurent problématiques et ne servent pas facilement d'*exemplum*, étant confrontées à l'inversion de l'ordre de type carnavalesque – là où le fantastique et le merveilleux alimentent le désir et multiplient les obstacles (Lemire 241-243). Notons à cet égard que le conte et la légende comme genres populaires (« mineurs ») s'adaptaient le mieux à la facture journalistique et paraissaient dans une masse de journaux et revues dont certains, comme *Les Soirées canadiennes* et *Le Foyer canadien*, étaient destinées à cette production littéraire.

Afin de donner suite au *Répertoire national* de Huston, *Le Foyer canadien* publie en recueil dans les années 1863-1864 *La littérature canadienne de 1850 à 1860*. La seconde édition du *Répertoire*, parue en 1893, révélera que tout l'échafaudage littéraire québécois du 19^e siècle peut être évalué à quelques 370 livres publiés, sans compter les recueils d'articles ou brochures pamphlétaires (Paquette 349). Cette faiblesse de l'édition est certainement due à l'idéologie de la survivance collective, à ses prescriptions et ses proscriptions, de même, comme l'observe Guildo Rousseau, qu'aux conflits accusés tout au long du 19^e siècle « (...) entre la pensée libérale et le dirigisme littéraire, puis entre celui-ci, devenu à la fois apologétique et ultramontain, et la masse des lecteurs muets et épris de romans populaires » (cité dans Rousseau 12).

Le roman historique, genre privilégié, qui évolue d'abord dans le sillage de *l'Influence d'un livre* de Philippe-Aubert de Gaspé fils, s'inspire autant de *l'Histoire du Canada* de François-Xavier Garneau que des modèles français (Eugène Sue, Honoré de Balzac et d'Alexandre Dumas père) et anglo-saxons (Georges Byron, James Fenimore Cooper, Walter Scott, Samuel Richardson). Il suscite l'engouement des lecteurs en alliant l'exactitude historique à la description des mœurs traditionnelles et en campant son action et ses personnages dans le cadre canadien ou celui de la Nouvelle-France. Ainsi, *Les Fiancés de 1812* (1848) de Joseph Doutre, *La Fille du brigand* (1844) de François-Eugène L'Ecuyer, *Une de perdue, deux de retrouvés* (1849-1865) de Georges Boucher de Boucherville, mélangent avec succès l'intrigue héroïque et chevaleresque, les aventures et l'intrigue sentimentale. *Les Anciens Canadiens* (1863) de Philippe Aubert de Gaspé père, qui raconte les hauts faits et les batailles de la fin du Régime français, inspirera le développement du roman historique du dernier tiers du 19^e. Pour les écrivains qui pratiquent ce genre à cette époque, la documentation historique sert de caution à la mythification nationale ou fournit au récit un fonds d'aventures hautes en couleurs et regorgeant de péripéties rocambolesques (la piraterie, les enlèvements et poursuites, les guerres entre les Hurons et les Iroquois), souvent habilement greffées sur une intrigue amoureuse. Dans cette veine s'inscrivent *Les Fiancés de 1812* (1844) de Joseph Doutre, *Jacques et Marie. Souvenirs d'un peuple dispersé* (1866), roman sur la déportation des Acadiens de Napoléon Bourrassa, ainsi que *Charles et Eva. Roman historique canadien* (1866-1867), *François de Bienville. Scènes de la vie quotidienne au XVII^e siècle* (1870), *L'Intendant Bigot. Roman canadien* (1872), *Le Chevalier de Mornac. Chronique de la Nouvelle-France 1664* (1873) et *Le Tomahawk et l'Épée* (1877) du prolifique Joseph Marmette. Parfois, certains récits historiques se rapprochent du roman gothique anglo-saxon; c'est le cas de *La tour de Trafalgar* et *Louise Chawinikisique* de Boucher de Boucherville, publiés en feuilleton entre 1835 et 1845.

Le roman historique innove au tournant du 20^e siècle avec *A l'œuvre et à l'épreuve* (1891) et *L'Oublié* (1900) de Laure Conan, pseudonyme de Félicité Angers (1845-1924), et, surtout, avec son *Angéline de Montbrun* (1881), considéré comme le premier roman psychologique au Québec. Dans les trois cas, la réussite tient avant tout dans le relief psychologique des personnages. L'effacement de l'événementiel devant l'intimité des sentiments et des confidences distingue *Angéline de Montbrun* des autres romans de l'époque. Laure Conan renouvelle en outre le style du roman historique par l'éclatement de la structure narrative (lettres, journal, narration à la troisième personne) et par une thématique (chagrin et l'impossibilité de l'amour, l'intensité de la relation du père et de la fille, méditation « au féminin » sur la société et l'histoire) qui empruntent aux *Souffrances du jeune Werther* de Goethe et à *Atala* de Chateaubriand –, ce qui lui vaudra une critique indulgente de la part de l'abbé Casgrain regrettant que « sa pensée habite plus les bords de la Seine que ceux du Saint-Laurent » (Biron, Dumont et Nardout-Lafarge 145). Après les œuvres de Laure Conan, le genre historique connaîtra son renouvellement seulement en 1923 avec la publication de *Les habits rouges* de Robert de Roquebrune qui donne beaucoup place à la psychologie des personnages. Toutefois, lorsqu'en 1938 paraît *Les Engagés du Grand Portage* de Léo-Paul Désrosiers, l'idéalisation du passé canadien s'éclipsera définitivement devant le réalisme historique (l'intrigue est fondée sur le commerce des pelleteries dans les années 1800 au Canada) lequel aura la valeur de document plutôt que de thèse nationaliste.

Constantes et ruptures

La thèse, elle, constitue le socle idéologique et la substance même du roman de la terre. Avec ce type de roman, elle s'assimile même à la notion de littérature : elle est le texte et le prétexte, définit l'écriture et ses limites. Déjà en 1846, paraissent en feuilleton deux romans qui se situent à contre-courant de la vague romanesque de l'heure (le roman d'aventures et le roman historique) : *La terre paternelle* de Patrice Lacombe et *Charles Guérin. Roman de mœurs canadiennes* de Pierre-Joseph-Olivier Chauveau. « Romans de mœurs paysannes », ils réagissent contre le roman d'aventures canadien et la fiction importée (française et américaine) pour imposer une image idéalisée de la campagne des années 1830-1840 (avant le Canada uni). Si le roman de Chauveau exprime surtout la pureté des mœurs traditionnelles tout en proposant une peinture relativement fidèle de la vie canadienne-française de l'époque, celui de Lacombe fera école (il aura maintes rééditions jusqu'aux années 1970) avec son intrigue stéréotypée (le père profondément attaché à son lopin de terre, la mère toujours fidèle à son devoir social et religieux, les

filis, l'un fidèle à la tradition, l'autre aventurier) et, surtout avec ses prétentions apologétiques développées dans la préface (avant d'être appliquées au texte même) : « Lassons au vieux pays, que la civilisation a gâtés, leurs romans ensanglantés, peignons l'enfant du sol, tel qu'il est, religieux, honnête, paisible de mœurs et de caractère, jouissant de l'aisance et de la fortune sans orgueil et sans ostentation, supportant avec résignation et patience les plus grandes adversités (...) » (cité dans Rousseau 17).

On perçoit d'emblée en quoi ce type de roman et ses textes d'escorte (la préface ou la postface) pouvait servir au roman du terroir qui se développera au début du 20^e siècle. Avec lui, l'héritage français est banni comme immoral (tant le roman d'aventures à la manière d'Alexandre Dumas fils, d'Eugène Sue et de Frédéric Soulié, que le roman réaliste de Balzac ou celui, naturaliste, de Zola). Le roman du terroir se met avant tout au service de l'idéologie agriculturiste et du messianisme des ultramontains. Dès sa genèse donc, il perd le sens du réel – significativement, les évocations de la campagne chez Lacombe sont *a contrario* réduites au strict minimum (Biron, Dumont et Nardout-Lafarge 131) – et met tous ses soins à offrir au lecteur l'illusion d'un monde idyllique et sans contradictions. Pour asseoir sa fonction éducative et édifiante, il s'efforce d'idéaliser la terre comme lieu d'enracinement et source de toutes les vertus, et, du même souffle, comme refuge de la foi et lieu privilégié de la perpétuation de la « race canadienne-française » dans sa pureté. Dans le roman de la terre, une telle vision du monde exhibait imperturbablement un schéma dichotomique qui opposait l'espace rural et l'espace urbain. Ce dernier, associé au lieu de perdition, d'impiété, voire de trahison, et symbolisé par Montréal, Québec ou Sherbrooke, était figuré presque toujours en toile de fond de l'action, alors que la grande ville devient à la fin du 19^e siècle la partie intégrante de la réalité du Québec.

Dans semblable représentation de la ville *in absentia* pouvaient intervenir des éléments conjecturaux de première importance, comme l'émigration des paysans et ouvriers agricoles aux États-Unis (surtout dans le Massachusetts) qui leur offrait la possibilité de quitter une campagne surpeuplée et de mieux assurer leur existence. Cet exode, qui va en croissant au Québec à partir des 1840, est à l'origine d'une vaste propagande menée en faveur de l'immobilisme terrien prometteur.

Or, il arrive que l'insistance des écrivains sur la nécessité de détourner leurs compatriotes de l'émigration conforte la thèse et s'en écarte en même temps, offrant un double discours, conservateur et libéral. On le voit dans *Jeanne la fileuse. Épisode de l'émigration franco-canadienne aux États-Unis* de Honoré Beaugrand, roman paru d'abord en feuilleton en 1875 et publié en volume aux États-Unis en 1879. Il est significatif que l'auteur ne blâme pas les Canadiens-français, contraints à s'exiler dans les manufactures de tissu de la Nouvelle-Angleterre, et approuve l'attitude de Jeanne, l'héroïne éponyme, qui

préserve sa foi et ses valeurs ancestrales tout en travaillant dans les filatures tenues par les Américains. Le diptyque romanesque d'Antoine Gérin-Lajoie, *Jean Rivard le défricheur* (1862) et *Jean Rivard, économiste* (1864) est également une bonne illustration de la superposition dans la fiction du discours nationaliste de type agriculturiste et de l'utopie sociale de type capitaliste. Son protagoniste, Jean Rivard, jeune avocat en début de carrière, grand amateur de *Don Quichotte* et de *Robinson Crusoe*, fait le choix de quitter la ville et d'acheter la terre où il fait construire une maison pour s'y installer avec sa femme et ses enfants; ensuite, après avoir défriché la forêt, il fonde une ville, Rivardville, où chacun des habitants se réalise dans le travail.

A regarder de près le roman de Gérin-Lajoie, on pourra dire qu'il s'agit d'un roman à thèse dialogisé où communiquent deux traditions : celle des Lumières françaises, en particulier celle des Physiocrates qui préconisaient de fonder une « république agricole » dirigée par une classe de cultivateurs instruits, et celle du transcendantalisme anglo-américain (la *self-reliance* de Ralph Waldo Emerson et de Henry David Thoreau), mouvement philosophique, religieux et littéraire, romantique et idéaliste, qui appelait à la réforme de l'Église et de la société. En ce sens, « Jean Rivard est une utopie américaine dans laquelle libéraux et conservateurs ont pu se reconnaître; sa figure emblématique est celle du colon qui ouvre le territoire et assure un avenir à l'individu comme à la patrie » (Biron, Dumont, et Nardout-Lafarge 135). L'avant-propos du premier tome de Gérin-Lajoie illustre bien cet équivoque en fustigeant le roman comme œuvre d'imagination, et en étayant la thèse officielle, selon laquelle les difficultés économiques du Québec peuvent trouver leur solution dans la persévérance du colonisateur éclairé par sa mission :

Ce n'est pas un roman que j'écris, et si quelqu'un est à la recherche d'aventures merveilleuses, duels, meurtres, suicides, ou d'intrigues d'amours tant soit peu compliquées, je lui conseille amicalement de s'adresser ailleurs. On ne trouvera dans ce récit que l'histoire simple et vraie d'un jeune homme sans fortune, né dans une condition modeste, qui sut s'élever par son mérite, à l'indépendance de fortune et aux premiers honneurs de son pays (Rousseau 43).

Chez Beaugrand et Gérin-Lajoie, ces contradictions affectent souvent la structuration du roman (la composition, l'action et la narration) en intégrant les exposés des théories socio-économiques. Dans *Pour la patrie. Roman du XX^e siècle* (1895) de Jules-Paul Tardivel, qui se présente comme « le type du roman chrétien de combat », mais qui est un roman d'anticipation et de fiction politique (l'action se déroule en 1945), tout est mis au service de la cause ultramontaine. La vision utopique de Tardivel, fondée sur des harangues parlementaires et pamphlets journalistiques, cités *in extenso*, y est poussée

jusqu'à la caricature. Le programme idéologique (séparer le Québec de la Confédération pour en faire une République de la Nouvelle-France, catholique et indépendante) y pèse de tout son poids, au détriment du romanesque. D'ailleurs, dès la préface, la forme même du roman se trouve d'emblée rejetée par Tardivel:

Le roman, surtout le roman moderne et plus particulièrement encore le roman français me paraît être une arme forgée par Satan lui-même pour la destruction du genre humain. Et malgré cette conviction, j'écris un roman! Oui, je le fais sans scrupule, pour la raison qu'il est permis de s'emparer des machines de guerre de l'ennemi et de les faire servir à battre en brèche les rempart qu'on assiège (cité dans Dostaler 92).

A l'aurore du 20^e siècle et jusqu'aux années 1930, cette instrumentalisation de la fiction se fait sentir davantage lorsque les questions de langue et de culture seront au cœur d'une nouvelle campagne nationaliste menée par Henri Bourrassa et Lionel Groulx, comme chefs de file et, sur le plan littéraire, par l'abbé Camille Roy, disciple de Lanson et de Brunetière, considéré comme le premier critique professionnel (Mailhot 49).

Dès lors, la littérature doit plus que jamais faire preuve d'allégeance aux intérêts supérieurs de la « race » et de la nationalité. L'Église, pour sa part, s'oppose avec véhémence à la diffusion des œuvres naturalistes au Québec. De crainte que le réalisme terrien et urbain ne lui fasse perdre son influence traditionnelle sur les masses, elle frappe d'interdit le roman-feuilleton publié dans les journaux et s'en prend également au roman comme genre littéraire. Une véritable psychose de « mauvais livres » et de « mauvaises lectures » est déclenchée à cette fin (Losique 737-745). Cette campagne atteint son apogée en 1898, lorsque l'Archevêché de Québec met à l'Index les écrits philosophiques et littéraires français du 18^e et du 19^e siècles, mis à part les auteurs catholiques (Dostaler 98-99). La critique du roman d'obédience cléricale ne frappe pas les récits du terroir qui travaillent à l'édification des paysans et optent pour le régionalisme. L'éloge du terroir, perceptible à même le titre, véhicule tout une rhétorique propagandiste : *Calude Paysan* (1899) et *La Terre* (1916) d'Ernest Choquette, *Au village* (1913) de J.-M. Alfred Mousseau; *Chez nous* (1908) et *Chez nos gens* (1918) d'Adjutor Rivard, *Restons chez nous* (1908) et *L'appel de la terre* (1919) de Damase Potvin, *La Terre vivante* (1925) de Henry Bernard, *L'appel de la race* (1922) de Lionel Groulx, *La Terre ancestrale* (1933) de Louis-Philippe Côté.

Considérée dans l'optique de cet embrigadement littéraire et du conformisme idéologique généralisé, l'École littéraire de Montréal – regroupement en 1895 de quelques jeunes poètes passionnés par la poésie symboliste et parnassienne française – apparaît à l'époque comme un acte de

dissidence. Il en va, en tout cas, d'une remise en cause importante de la vocation patriotique et régionaliste de la littérature, en même temps que d'une tentative audacieuse de s'engager dans la voie poétique moderne et de défendre, sur le plan politique, les idées libérales. Cette volonté d'émancipation prend une orientation particulièrement nette avec Émile Nelligan (1879-1941), poète le plus jeune et le plus accompli du groupe. Nelligan est le premier au Québec à savoir assimiler l'imagination symboliste aux formes parnassiennes et les investir dans un lyrisme personnel – souffrance, spleen et délire – d'une remarquable cohérence musicale et plastique. Le plus bel exemple de cette invention poétique restent les vers qui inaugurent le fameux « Soir d'hiver » :

Ah! comme la neige a neigé!
 Ma vitre est un jardin de givre
 Ah! comme la neige a neigé!
 Qu'est-ce que le spasme de vivre
 A la douleur que j'ai, que j'ai!

Ce poème figure bien l'éclatement libérateur du langage poétique et préfigure le gouffre de la folie dans lequel le poète s'abîmera à l'âge de dix-neuf ans. Comme le souligne la critique :

La poésie chez Nelligan est naturellement exotique : elle vient d'ailleurs et représente en soi un arrachement à l'immédiat. Elle se présente comme un autre langage et ce n'est pas un hasard si elle se reconnaît dans la musique et la peinture. (...) lire Nelligan, c'est aussi entrer dans une poésie tournée vers l'intériorité pathétique du poète. On le voit clairement dans le dernier exemple [« Soir d'hiver »], qui associe d'emblée l'hiver à la vision du poète collé à sa vitre. C'est là un trait général de sa poésie : à l'inverse de la poésie patriotique qui évoque les paysages extérieurs et des figures typiques célébrées par l'idéologie officielle, les poèmes de Nelligan parlent d'espaces clos, de maisons muettes, de chambres, de jardins, de salons, de chapelles, de cloîtres, etc. (Biron, Dumont et Nardout-Lafarge 162).

Avec d'autres poètes, groupés à l'École littéraire de Montréal – Arthur de Bussières, Guy Delahaye, René Chopin, Paul Morin, Albert Lozeau – les effets sonores, plastiques et exotiques chercheront à se raffiner; les formes romantiques, symbolistes et parnassiennes se perfectionnent tout en se mélangeant, cherchent à atteindre une dimension universelle. Toutefois, à la suite de querelles à l'intérieur du groupe et sous la pression de la critique conservatrice, l'École littéraire de Montréal perd de son homogénéité artistique initiale et se scinde en deux regroupements opposés : les intimistes-universalistes dits « exotiques », qui vont fonder en 1918 *Le Nigog*, revue

expérimentale et d'avant-garde, et les « régionalistes », groupés autour de la revue *Le Terroir* (fondée en 1909), qui se feront les bardes de la terre, du folklore et de la campagne.

La dialectique entre les écrivains conformistes et les dissidents se manifesterait également au sein du roman paysan dans les trois premières décennies du 20^e siècle. La migration massive des Québécois en ville (en 1929, la population urbaine dépasse 60%), l'industrialisation du Québec, qui entre dans les années 1920-1930 dans la phase du capitalisme monopoliste, et le krach économique de 1929-1931 avec la stagnation consécutive, sont des facteurs majeurs qui dévoilent l'anachronisme de la structure agraire de la société québécoise. Sur le plan littéraire, un clivage va se creuser entre le discours idéologique officiel (la rhétorique de la vocation terrienne de la nation) et l'authentique situation à la campagne (appauvrissement et paupérisation des paysans, leur exode vers la ville). Cependant, c'est au moyen d'une description réaliste, visant à l'objectivité, que le roman paysan va révéler les dessous du mythe agriculturiste construit avec persévérance depuis les années 1850.

Déjà en 1904, *Marie Calumet* de Rodolphe Girard, grosse farce de près de quatre cents pages, ridiculise les mœurs des prêtres de campagne à travers une description implacable de la vie quotidienne d'un presbytère de village. Si ce roman fait scandale et oblige son auteur à s'exiler à Ottawa, *La Scouine* (1918), roman publié à compte d'auteur par Albert Laberge, sera décrié par l'Archevêque de Montréal comme une « ignoble pornographie » dès sa publication dans un hebdomadaire en 1909 (Biron, Dumont et Nardout-Lafarge 156). En effet, ce roman paysan de facture naturalise ne ménage rien ni personne : l'appât du gain, la cruauté, l'égoïsme, la déchéance et la mort sont des motifs qui transgressent le mythe du bonheur à l'ombre du clocher et les images de l'opulence de l'agriculteur. Si la célèbre *Maria Chapdelaine* (1918) de Louis Hémon semble encore cadrer avec la mystique nationale, grâce à son intrigue sentimentale et patriotique, *Menaud, maître draveur* (1937) de Félix-Antoine Savard, qui est un prolongement du roman de Hémon (les « voix » de Maria y reviennent comme un puissant leitmotiv), est un roman de résistance où le nationalisme traditionnel se mire dans sa mythologie et raconte son propre échec (Menaud, le vieux draveur devient fou et abandonné dans sa lutte contre les marchands anglais). Il n'est pas étonnant que, paru l'année suivante, *Trente arpents* de Ringuet (Philippe Panneton) n'ait déjà rien d'une thèse : avec lui, pour la première (et la dernière) fois le roman paysan se vit comme roman. Dans le sillage de Laberge, Ringuet mène une observation clinique, sur le mode naturalise, de la décomposition lente de la famille Moisan. L'action du roman se déroule à l'époque charnière (1887-1932) où le Québec passe de l'ère agraire à celle d'urbanisation. Le thème central de *Trente arpents* présente à travers les cycles saisonniers une antithèse efficace à l'idéologie du terroir. Il montre le drame de la possession de la glèbe – d'une terre stérile et rebelle qui, comme

chez Zola (Viens 1950), dévore l'homme plus que lui ne la possède. La terre y représente métaphoriquement l'héroïne du roman (la mère, l'amante et l'épouse), et sa présence physique, immuable, comme dans *Les Paysans* (1904-1909) de Władysław Reymont, marque l'implacable déchéance des familles paysannes, forcées à s'exiler en ville.

Avec Laberge, Savard et Ringuet, le thème et le mythe de la fidélité à la terre se désagrègent et connaissent leur déclin définitif. Un nouveau climat intellectuel qui s'exprime dans les revues *La Relève* (1934-1941), devenue ensuite *La Nouvelle Relève* (1941-1948), plus libéral, catholique, mais existentialiste (puisant dans le personalisme français et la revue *Esprit*), prend à contre-pied les valeurs morales traditionnelles. Sur le plan littéraire, la période des années 1930 et 1940 favorisera avant tout l'émergence du roman de mœurs urbaines, qui débute en 1934 avec *Les Demi-civilisés* de Jean-Charles Harvey (roman qui dévoile les abus dans les milieux politiques et journalistiques de la ville de Québec). Or, ce n'est qu'au cours des années 1940, sous la poussée de la guerre, que le roman québécois accorde un plus grand poids de vérité à l'observation des milieux urbains. Avec *Bonheur d'occasion* (1945) de Gabrielle Roy, et les deux romans de Roger Lemelin, *Au pied de la pente douce* (1944) et *Les Plouffe* (1948), le roman urbain va mettre en scène le héros prolétarien, paysan-ouvrier de la première génération citadine. Ces deux premiers romans véritablement urbains vont prendre en charge sur le mode réaliste l'acculturation et la crise d'identité, consécutives à la confrontation d'une culture catholico-nationaliste traditionnelle avec la réalité nouvelle, associée à la modernisation, l'urbanisation et la sécularisation du mode de vie des Québécois. C'est dire également que désormais, avec la topique de « l'arrivée en ville » (à Montréal et à Québec), le roman québécois va pouvoir mettre en scène sa propre « société du roman » (Duchet 453), une société du texte, élaborée « du dedans », ancrée dans l'imaginaire et le symbolique.

Bibliographie :

- Anthologie d'Arthur Buis* (textes choisis et préparés par Laurent Mailhot). Montréal : Hurtubise HMH, 1978.
- Biron, Michel, François Dumont, Élisabeth Nardout-Lafarge. *Histoire de la littérature québécoise*. Montréal : Boréal, 2007.
- Bouchard, Gérard. *Genèse des nations et cultures du Nouveau Monde. Essai d'histoire comparée*. Montréal : Boréal, 2001 (coll. « Boréal compact »).
- Dostaler, Yves. *Les infortunes du roman dans le Québec du XIXe siècle*. Montréal : Hurtubise HMH, 1977.
- Duchet, Claude. « Une écriture de la socialité ». *Poétique* 16 (1976) : 446-454.
- Dumont, Fernand. *Le Sort de la Culture*. Montréal : l'Hexagone, 1987.

- Casgrain, Henri-Raymond. *Oeuvres complètes*. tome 1. Montréal : C.O. Beauchemin et fils, 1873.
- Dionne, René. *Le Québécois et sa littérature*. Sherbrooke-Paris : Éditions Naaman et Agence de Coopération Culturelle et Technique (A.C.C.T.), 1984.
- Espagne, Michel et Michael Werner (sous la dir. de). *Qu'est-ce qu'une littérature nationale ? Approches pour une théorie interculturelle du champ littéraire*. Philologiques. tome III. Paris : Éditions de La Maison des Science de l'Homme, 1994.
- Lemire, Maurice. *Formation de l'imaginaire littéraire québécois (1764-1867)*. Montréal, l'Hexagone, 1993.
- Létourneau, Jocelyn. *Le Québec, les Québécois. Un parcours historique*. Québec : Musée de la Civilisation et Fides, 2004.
- Linteau, Paul-André, René Durocher, et Jean-Claude Robert Durocher. *Histoire du Québec contemporain*. tome 1 « De la Confédération à la crise (1867-1929) », Montréal : Boréal 1989 (coll. « Boréal compact »).
- Losique, Serge. « L'évolution du roman au Canada français ». *Revue d'histoire littéraire de la France* 5 (1969) : 737-745.
- Mailhot, Laurent. *La littérature québécoise depuis ses origines*. Montréal : Typo, 1997.
- Monière, Denis. *Le développement des idéologies au Québec : des origines à nos jours*. Montréal : Québec/Amérique 1977.
- Paquette, Jean Marcel. « Écriture et histoire : essai d'interprétation du corpus littéraire québécois ». *Études françaises* 4 (1974) : 202-212.
- Rousseau, Guildo. *Préfaces des romans québécois du XIXe siècle*. Sherbrooke : Cosmos, 1970.
- Viens, Jacques. *"La terre" de Zola et "Trente arpents" de Ringuet, étude comparée*. Sherbrooke : Cosmos, 1970.

Józef Kwaterko est professeur titulaire à l'Institut d'études romanes de l'Université de Varsovie où il dirige depuis 1997 le Centre d'études en civilisation canadienne-française et en littérature québécoise. Il est auteur de plusieurs ouvrages sur la littérature québécoise : *Le roman québécois de 1960 à 1960 : idéologie et représentation littéraire* (1989), *French-Canadian and Québécois Novels, 1950-1990*, (1996; en collaboration avec Irène Geller et Jan Miernowski), *Le roman québécois et des (inter)discours. Analyses sociocritiques* (1998), d'un livre en polonais, *Les dialogues avec l'Amérique dans la littérature francophone du Québec et de la Caraïbe* (2003), *L'humour et le rire dans les littératures francophones des Amériques* (éd.) 2006, et d'un collectif (en collaboration avec Max Roy et Petr Kyloušek), *L'imaginaire du roman québécois* (2006).

Tomasz Soroka

Jagiellonian University

**QUEBEC'S POLITICS OF LANGUAGE: UNCOMMONLY
RESTRICTIVE REGIME OR ILL-REPUTE
UNDESERVED?**

Abstract

This article examines the reasons of criticism and negative reactions with which Quebec's language law is frequently met both inside and outside Canada. The article gives an overview of Quebec's language regulations, presenting them both in historical and contemporary contexts. The analysis is focused on three areas where the influence of Quebec's language law is most evident and, at the same time, most fervently debated, i.e. in business and commercial signage, in legislation and public administration, and in education. Quebec's linguistic regulations are presented in a wider context of the language laws adopted by other Canadian provinces and on the federal level. Such a comparative study of Canadian language regimes is aimed to examine: a) whether the criticism and ridicule that Quebec often receives for its language policy is deserved and justified, b) whether Quebec's language law is indeed so uncommonly restrictive by Canadian standards and practice. The article also evaluates the relevance and effectiveness of the Quebec language policy.

Résumé

Cet article examine les raisons de la critique et des réactions négatives avec laquelle la loi linguistique du Québec est fréquemment confronté tant à l'intérieur et à l'extérieur du Canada. L'article donne un aperçu des règlements linguistiques du Québec en les présentant dans des contextes historique et contemporain. L'analyse se concentre sur trois domaines où l'influence de la loi linguistique du Québec est plus manifeste et, en même temps, plus souvent débattue, à savoir dans les affaires et l'affichage commercial, dans la législation, dans l'administration publique et dans l'enseignement. Les règlements linguistiques du Québec sont présentés dans un contexte plus large des lois linguistiques adoptées par les autres provinces canadiennes et au niveau fédéral. Une telle étude comparative des régimes canadiens

de langue vise à examiner: a) si la critique ou la ridiculisation dont le Québec fait souvent l'objet pour sa politique linguistique est méritée et justifiée, b) si la loi linguistique du Québec est en effet si restrictive face aux normes et aux pratiques canadiennes. L'article évalue également la pertinence et l'efficacité de la politique linguistique du Québec.

Introduction

Quebec, with its linguistic landscape and language policies, is unique among Canadian provinces. It is the only province that: a) is overwhelmingly French-speaking (over 94% of Quebecers can speak French) (Statistics Canada, *Censuses*), b) recognizes French as the sole official language, c) restricts the use of English and the access to education in English. Quebec enacted its first official language legislation no sooner than in the end of 1960s. Before that the province was subject only to the provisions of federal laws. Numerous laws adopted since then have always been aimed at supporting, protecting, and promoting French language and Francophone culture. Alongside New Brunswick, Quebec pioneered in Canada in the implementation of detailed language laws, becoming a focus point in debates over languages in Canada and abroad. The language policy of Quebec, to some degree, also influenced the First Nations and the Inuit of Canada to fight for their linguistic rights and served as a point of reference for the discussion over linguistic policies in Britain (Wales, Scotland), Spain (Catalonia) or in the U.S. (Lachapelle 214-222). Nonetheless, Quebec's linguistic regulations have been highly contested pieces of legislation; they were challenged in Canadian courts, derided and mocked in domestic and international media and denounced by international organizations as excessively restrictive, discriminatory or even totalitarian.

Historical background

Canada has a long history of unequal treatment of Francophones. The Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism (RCBB) confirmed this sad fact in its report (1967-1970), admitting that Francophones had long been discriminated both by federal and provincial authorities in far too many walks of life: French language was underused in federal and provincial institutions; French Canadians were underrepresented in governmental ranks, federal public service and economic structures; Francophones living outside Quebec were largely deprived of French-language education (Hayday 35-42). All this created a feeling of language insecurity among French Canadians. The dreadful vision, shared by many of them, that Canadian Francophones would inevitably be assimilated to the Anglophone majority was crucial for the rise

of Quebec's separatism and its subsequent popularity among Quebecers. Quebec's secessionists have always regarded the protection of the French language as the core element of their political program. To this end, they have served as the foremost advocates of the adoption of protective legislative measures that would make Quebec a bastion of defence for Frenchness in North America (Bishai 120-122).

Until 1960s, however, Quebecers were not excessively assertive in demanding that their linguistic rights be recognized and respected. It was only during a period known as the *Quiet Revolution* (1960-1966) that language matters were elevated to prominence in political debates. The *Quiet Revolution* – a time of thorough economic, educational, and social reforms – transformed Quebec from a rural and underdeveloped province to a secular, modern, and economically thriving society. The successful reforms, which resulted in the Francophones taking the oversight of the Quebec's economy and politics, raised both political self-confidence of Francophones and their linguistic awareness, triggering language debates and leading to the enactments of the first Quebec's language laws openly aimed at making French the privileged language in Quebec (Bourhis 113).

The passage of the first language acts in Quebec coincided with the adoption of the *Official Languages Act* (OLA) in 1969 by the federal parliament. The OLA was a far-reaching legislation – actually, one of the very few addressing Francophone concerns over language barriers. It was also the first law in Canadian history to recognize the official and equal status of English and French in all federal institutions (s. 2). In 1982, the *Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms* (CCRF), constitutionalized the federal policy of bilingualism and supplemented it by the protection of minority language educational rights (s. 23), which are discussed later in this article.

In 1988, a new federal *Official Languages Act* replaced the 1969 OLA. The new legislation, with over a hundred sections that are still in force, is one of the world's broadest and most precise language laws. It upholds compulsory bilingualism and equality of English and French in all federal institutions and the institutions that serve the public on behalf of the federal bodies. The 1988 OLA also requires that all the documentation – including agreements between the federal and provincial governments and international treaties and conventions – be produced simultaneously in both official languages (s. 13). Bilingualism in courts is enhanced by granting defendants and witnesses the right to be understood in French or English (or both) “without the assistance of an interpreter” by the judges of all federal courts, except the Supreme Court of Canada (s. 16.1).

The adoption of federal official bilingualism has had a number of positive effects on the position of French language in Canada. It inspired the adoption of French-English bilingualism by federally owned institutions or privatized

federal corporations. (Vaillancourt and Coche, *Official Language Policies at the Federal* 16–21). In the long term, it made the federal government services more easily accessible for French speakers and – since the knowledge of French had become a requirement for many job positions – the employment of Francophones in the federal administration increased (Gentil, Bigras, and O'Connor Maureen 83). Furthermore, the constitutional provisions of the CCRF's section 23 forced Anglophone provinces to extend educational rights to their Francophone minorities. This “gave Francophones outside Quebec access to French schools,” creating of what is now called by media a generation of “section 23 kids” who attended these schools (Schwartz).

Nevertheless, the federal policy of bilingualism has its limitations. First, it is sanctioned only on federal level and, save for rare exceptions, it does not oblige provincial (or municipal) authorities to conform to bilingual requirements. Thus, in the areas of provincial jurisdiction, changes were less dynamic and on a smaller scale, despite the federal money being transferred to provinces to boost bilingualism. Second, the right to “communicate with and obtain available services” from federal institutions in both official languages is applicable only to the regions “where there is significant demand” for bilingual services (OLA, 1969, s. 9.2 and 10.3; OLA, 1988, s. 22 and 23). Therefore, in many areas with insignificant Francophone minority (or Anglophone in case of Quebec) federal institutions remain largely unilingual.¹

Given all these shortages, no wonder that in Quebec the reassurances and linguistic rights contained in the OLAs and in the Constitution (which Quebec refused to sign and ratify) were considered insufficient, ineffective and enacted too late. In the opinion of Quebec's leaders, the protection of French language required more rigorous legislative measures.

Quebec's first language law was passed even before separatist *Parti Québécois* (PQ) took the helm of the Quebec's government. Bill 63, or *An Act to promote the French language in Quebec*, adopted in 1969, required that all Quebec's non-Francophone children be taught French as the second language, but did not limit the parents' freedom to choose English instead of French as the language of school instruction for their children (Levine 79-80).

In 1973, a so-called Gendron Commission, or the Commission of Inquiry on the Situation of the French Language and Linguistic Rights in Quebec, observed in its voluminous report that Quebec's economy, labour market, interethnic communication were dominated by English language. Given those

¹ What fulfils the criterion of “significant demand” is explained in the *Official Languages (Communications with and Services to the Public) Regulations* of 1991, according to which a federal office must serve its clientele in both languages if it is located in the area where a minority language population is 5,000 people or more, or at least 500 people but constituting no less than 5% of the population (s. 5).

circumstances, the Commission concluded: "French can survive and flourish on the North American continent only with a maximum of opportunity and protection throughout Québec; and this can be accomplished only by making it a useful communication instrument for all the people of this area" (Chevrier 8). The Commission's advice to Quebec's government was to declare French the province's official language and the language of internal communications in the provincial government. It also recommended that the use of French be made obligatory on commercial and public signage and urged the provincial government to promote the use of French at work and in everyday social interactions.

In 1974, many of those recommendations were included in Bill 22, or the *Official Language Act* – Quebec's first law ever recognizing French as the official language of the province. The new legislation also regulated labour and business relations, requiring that employers have the right to use French as the language of communication at work and that signage and documentation be obligatorily produced in French in all companies dealing with provincial institutions. Furthermore, Bill 22 limited the right to receive education in English only to students able to prove they knew English by passing appropriate tests; this provision virtually closed the access of immigrant children to English language schools (Levine 99-101).

The above acts were rejected by Quebec's Anglophones and allophones (linguistic minorities whose native languages are neither French nor English) as the measures radically constraining their language and educational rights. Neither were they accepted by Quebec's separatists, for whom the laws inadequately promoted French language among immigrants or in labour and business relations (Martel and Pâquet 162-166).

The breakthrough came with the first victory of the separatist *Parti Québécois* in the 1976 Quebec provincial election. As it was stated in the 1977 White Paper published by Camille Laurin, the Minister of State for Cultural Development in the PQ cabinet, the very existence of French language in Quebec was threatened by the immigrants' reluctance to integrate into Francophone majority and by the predominance of English in business and at work. Radical changes to improve the status of French in Quebec were recommended and those suggestions served as the basis for a new language law in Quebec, which was promptly adopted by the PQ government in August 1977 (Jedwab). Bill 101, known better as the *Charter of the French Language* (CFL), declared French the sole official language of the province – i.e. the language of the provincial government and all Quebec's public institutions, including the provincial legislature and courts. To this day the CFL remains the key law regulating language policies in Quebec, even though its most controversial provisions have either been amended or removed.

The CFL and subsequently enacted laws, which guarantee French a privileged position over other languages in Quebec, are highly contested pieces of legislation. Their constitutionality has been challenged in Canadian courts; they were also denounced by international organizations, English Canadian and international media as excessively restrictive, overprotective or discriminatory, sometimes even as harassing and violating the basic principles of freedom of speech and expression. A closer look into the negative reactions reveals one regularity – what makes the Quebec language law unique faces also the sharpest criticism.

Language of business and commercial signage

The most widely discussed (and derided) in Canadian and international media are the provisions of the CFL which deal with the use of language on public and commercial signage and inside of workplaces and business institutions. The 1977 original version of the CFL contained very restrictive provisions, introducing – save for rare exceptions – unilingual, French-only signage on almost all types of “public signs and posters and commercial advertising” and in companies’ names (qtd. in the Supreme Court of Canada’s decision in *Ford v. Quebec (Attorney General)*). These provisions have not only become the source of a few rounds of litigation from private persons and companies, but were also harshly criticized and rejected by Canadian courts and international tribunals.

The first rulings came from the Superior Court of Quebec and the Quebec Court of Appeal, respectively in 1984 and 1986. Both courts judged that Quebec’s ban on the use of other languages than French violated the rights to freedom of opinion and expression enshrined both in the Quebec *Charter of Human Rights and Freedoms* (s. 3) and in the CCRF (s. 3). Freedom of expression, according to the rulings, “included freedom to express oneself in the language of one’s choice and extended to commercial expression.” Striking down the controversial provision (CFL, s. 58) as unconstitutional, the courts admitted that Quebec had no right to impose French-only signage; it could lawfully merely require “that French be used with any other language” (qtd. in *Ford v. Quebec (Attorney General)*, at paras 18 and 19).

The Quebec government, dissatisfied with the judgements, launched an appeal to the Supreme Court of Canada. In 1988, Canada’s top court, however, in its landmark decision in *Ford v. Quebec (Attorney General)* upheld the rulings of the lower courts. A language, the court stated, “is so intimately related to the form and content of expression that there cannot be true freedom of expression by means of language if one is prohibited from using the language of one’s choice.” In the court’s opinion, citizens were free, “in the

entirely private or non-governmental realm of commercial activity,” to display signs and advertisements in the language they liked (at para 40). This did not preclude Quebec's right to promote French language in public, also on indoor and outdoor signs (at para 43), but it could not be achieved by totally banning the use of other languages. Nevertheless, it was legal for Quebec – the Supreme Court ruled in *Devine v. Quebec (Attorney General)* in 1988 – to adopt a law that would require “either joint or predominant use” of French on public signs (at paras 23-24).

Quebec lifted the controversial provisions gradually, slowly and rather reluctantly, which further damaged the reputation of the Quebec language law. Bill 178, or “the sign law”, passed in 1988, introduced only minor changes (Whitaker 77), allowing for the limited use of non-French indoor signs, but permitting only French language on outdoor signage (Bourhis 128). Additional controversies were raised when Robert Bourassa, Quebec's premier, invoked a notwithstanding clause – a specific mechanism included in the CCRF (s. 33) (Conrick and Regan 66). With this move he blocked the possibility of challenging Bill 178 in Canadian courts, which angered Quebec's Anglophone community, but it gave the Quebec government additional five years to adjust the language law to the Supreme Court's rulings.

The notwithstanding clause, however, did not protect the Quebec law from being contested outside Canada. In the most controversial case – *Ballantyne, Davidson, McIntyre v. Canada* – three Anglophone businessmen from Quebec challenged Quebec's language regulations in the United Nations Human Rights Committee (UNHRC). They claimed that a ban on naming and advertising their company in English amounted to ethnic and linguistic discrimination, breached their minority rights, violated their freedom of expression and suspended their human rights enshrined in the *International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights*, to which Canada was a signatory. The UNHRC issued its verdict in May 1993, ruling that the ban on English-language outdoor advertising in fact served no legitimate purpose and was a violation of the right to free expression (at para 11.3). The UNHRC's ruling in this matter was indeed almost an exact copy of the judgments of the Supreme Court of Canada in *Ford v. Quebec* and *Devine v. Quebec*, and reads as follows:

The Committee believes that it is not necessary, in order to protect the vulnerable position in Canada of the francophone group, to prohibit commercial advertising in English. This protection may be achieved in other ways that do not preclude the freedom of expression (...). For example, the law could have required that advertising be in both French and English. A State may choose one or more official languages, but it may not exclude, outside the spheres of public life, the freedom to express oneself in a language of one's choice. (at para 11.4)

The Committee urged the governments of Quebec and Canada “to remedy the violation (...) by an appropriate amendment to the law” (at para 13).

Exposed to the criticism of the international human rights experts, the Quebec government brought Quebec’s language law in conformity with the judgments of the UNHRC and the Canadian courts. This was achieved only a month after the UNHRC’s ruling, in June 1993, by the passage of Bill 86, which amended the *Charter of the French Language*. The new law, still in force, continues to require that French language be used in almost all available services, products and printed documentation (CFL, s. 52 and 57). Nonetheless, it permits the use of other languages than French on public signage and commercial advertising, provided that “no inscription in another language [is] given greater prominence than that in French” (CFL, s. 51) and “that French is markedly predominant” (s. 58). In a separate legislation it is explained that “French is markedly predominant where the text in French has a much greater visual impact than the text in the other language,” i.e. the French text is “at least twice as large” and French-language signs or posters are “at least twice as numerous” as those in other languages (*Regulation defining*, s. 1-3). French text can also be placed on the left-hand side or above the information in the other language so that it is more visible and read first. Additionally, there are separate regulations (Rogers and Gauthier 54-61), equally complex, which define the use of languages in such areas as commerce and business, tourist centres, means of transportation, cultural institutions, scientific events, etc. (Office québécois de la langue française, *Regulations*).

Although Bill 86 lifted the ban on the use of English in public, Quebec’s Anglophones continued challenging constitutionality of the law in Canadian and non-Canadian courts, but to no avail. In 1994, the UNHRC examined the matter in *Singer v. Canada* and ruled that the discriminatory provisions which had been denounced by the Committee in *Ballantyne, Davidson, McIntyre v. Canada* no longer existed after being amended by Bill 86 (Cotter 145-147). In 2001, the Quebec Court of Appeal recognized in *Quebec (Attorney General) v. Entreprises W.F.H. Ltée* that French language was threatened by Anglicization and thus, as long as the use of other languages was not entirely banned, special protection of the language in Quebec’s law was justified (Harrt 514).

Nonetheless, controversies still surround Quebec’s language law. They are mostly connected with the law’s unique application in private business sector, workplaces and trade. As a matter of fact, Quebec is the only jurisdiction in Canada and one of the few in the world to demand openly from private companies that they function in a particular language. Two full chapters (VI and VII) of the CFL are exclusively devoted to regulate the use of language in labour and business relations. The regulations generally require that all written communications drawn up by employers and trade unions, offers of employment, job application forms and collective agreements be in French

language or at least be translated into French (s. 42 and 44). Furthermore, save for the jobs where the knowledge of foreign languages is essential, nobody can be refused a job, dismissed, transferred or fired “for the sole reason that he is exclusively French-speaking or that he has insufficient knowledge of a particular language other than French” (s. 45-46).

The most contested provisions of the CFL require from companies operating in Quebec to adopt French-language names as a condition to “obtain juridical personality” (s. 64). In all cases – except where the name of the company is a family name, a place name, or “the artificial combination of letters, syllables or figures” (s. 67) – other languages are allowed only if the French version of a company’s name is also used and “appears at least as prominently” (s. 68). Businesses operating in Quebec present various attitudes to these regulations. Some companies have complied. For example, KFC, or Kentucky Fried Chicken, is known in Quebec as PFK, or Poulet Frit Kentucky. Other businesses, such as coffee retailers Second Cup and Starbucks, have only added French-language descriptions to their logos and operate in Quebec as Les Cafés Second Cup and Café Starbucks (“Big retailers”). However, a number of businesses – including such large North American retailers as Walmart, Costco, Gap, Old Navy or Best Buy – refuse to modify their names, claiming they are registered trademarks and rebranding would be too expensive. In April 2015, they even won a legal battle against the Quebec government before the Quebec Court of Appeal (“Quebec to tighten”).

Another frequently challenged provision of the CFL requires that restaurant menus and wine lists be drafted in French (s. 51). History is rich with examples of shop and restaurant owners being overexcessively targeted for disobedience by the *Office québécois de la langue française* (OQLF), a watchdog institution tasked with enforcing Quebec’s language law, whose overzealous and frequently uncompromised imposition of linguistic regulations on private businesses earned it a notorious nickname of the ‘language police’. In 2013 alone, several cafes and restaurants in Montreal attracted OQLF’s attention because either their names were not French enough (Hamilton) or their slogans and menu cards contained unacceptable borrowings from Italian, such as ‘pasta’ or ‘polpette’ (Hopper). The absurdity of OQLF’s controls immediately caught the interest of Internet users (Berlach) and of Canadian and international media, resulting in over 350 articles being published in several countries (Duhaimé). Most of them ridiculed OQLF’s inspectors and presented Quebec’s language regulations as a caricature of law. It was enough to look at the titles to guess the content of the articles: “Foolish language police make province a joke” (Duhaimé), “Even Francophones are waking up to Quebec’s language folly” (Hamilton), “Pasta found in violation of Quebec laws...” (Hopper) or, in Polish, “Bareja po kanadyjsku? Policja

językowa w Quebecu” [“Canadian Bareja?²: Quebec’s language police] (Lach). Bad publicity embarrassed Quebec’s authorities and resulted in the adoption of new procedures to the OQLF’s language controls, which now focus more on violations of the language law that are of public concern, less on those affecting only individuals (Marquis).

Nevertheless, the long-lasting criticism of Quebec’s language policies – as seen either in the rulings of the Canadian and international judiciary bodies or in media reactions to the OQLF’s language inspections – has left a scar on Quebec’s international reputation or even made Quebec a “public laughingstock” (Thanh Ha). This was confirmed by Quebec’s minister responsible for the French language, who openly admitted in 2013 that the so-called ‘pastagate’ “had an undesired effect on the businesses (...) the public, and Quebec in general” (Canadian Press). In actuality, Quebec’s politics of language had more negative effects, also for the province’s demography and some aspects of its economy. According to Norman Berdichevsky, since the 1970s, more than 300,000 English-speaking Canadians have emigrated from Quebec (83), fearing the new language laws and separatism. That outflow of people and capital transfer to English Canada impoverished Quebec, “damaged Montreal’s economy (...) and aided the rise of Toronto (...) to replace Montreal as Canada’s pre-eminent metropolis” (Boberg 12).

One may thus say that the internal and international critique of Quebec’s language laws is well-founded and deserved. Indeed, the criticism may have much merit, especially when it is directed at the absurdities with which the law happens to be enforced. But it can also be selective and one-sided as is the case with the OQLF, whose everyday work, in fact, raises very few controversies as fines or other legal restrictions are imposed on a marginal proportion of businesses supervised by OQLF (less than 5% in 2013) (Office québécois de la langue française, *Rapport* 39). However, in many publications and comments Quebec’s linguistic policy has been denounced as overprotective, excessively rigorous, oppressive, discriminatory etc. It has even been dubbed a “rare case of a truly complete denial of guaranteed right of freedom” (*Ford v. Quebec (Attorney General)*, at para 66) and compared to the apartheid of South Africa and language policies of the Soviet Union (Kondaks).

Does Quebec’s language law deserve such a harsh criticism? Is the actual politics of language in Quebec so originally and uncommonly restrictive? A closer study of language laws in Quebec and other Canadian provinces shows that the opinions critical of Quebec can often be overstated, unfair and unduly

² Stanisław Bareja was a Polish foremost film director famous for depicting in his movies the absurdities of everyday life in communist Poland.

focused exclusively on the restrictive nature of Quebec's language law. Such approach ignores the law's positive and liberal aspects, visible in such areas as politics and law or education.

Language of legislature and public administration

Quebec's uniqueness lays in the fact that, on the one hand, it has the most numerous official language minority population in Canada – almost 770,000 Anglophones (Statistics Canada, *Focus*), but, on the other hand, it remains the only Canadian province to have recognized French as the sole official language as well as “everyday language of work, instruction, communication, commerce and business” (CFL, Preamble). In practice, however, Quebec's French-language unilingualism is such only by name, because the provisions of the Canadian Constitution and the rulings of the Supreme Court of Canada have compelled Quebec to adopt – at least in some form and in some areas – the policy of French-English bilingualism. Such is the case with the proceedings in the Quebec's courts and the provincial legislature, where “either the English or the French Language may be used by any Person” (*Constitution Act, 1867*, s. 133) and where all texts adopted must be printed and published in both English and French (*Att. Gen. of Quebec v. Blaikie et al.*, 1979, on page 1023).

Based on how widespread and extensive the rights of official linguistic minorities are, Quebec is today ranked at the very top among the Canadian provinces and territories (Vaillancourt et al., *Official Language Policies of the Canadian Provinces* 8). According to the University of Ottawa's Site for Language Management in Canada (SLMC), Quebec is one of only three Canadian provinces (alongside New Brunswick and Ontario) running a so-called broad-based language policy. Such a policy is detailed, carefully planned and distinguished by “dealing in principle with all aspects of society: legislation, justice, public services, education, etc.” Other provinces' language policies are less comprehensive as they either focus only on certain aspects of linguistic issues (education or civil administration) or generally offer little beyond what has already been sanctioned by the Constitution or court rulings (SLMC, *Broad-Based Language Policies in the Provinces*). In fact, Quebec, New Brunswick, and Manitoba are the only provinces whose language policies are additionally strengthened by the provisions of the Canadian Constitution.

Moreover, Quebec today offers English-language services much beyond the minimum that is required by the constitution. As of 2014, for instance, Quebec had over 100 municipal bodies with bilingual status, which provided a full range of services to Anglophone Quebecers in their language (Office québécois de la langue française, *Organismes*); this made Quebec a province with the most widespread bilingualism in municipal institutions. Interestingly, it is Quebec's

provincial law, not the federal or constitutional regulation, that grants bilingual status to municipalities where “more than half the residents have English as their mother tongue” (CFL, s. 29.1). Moreover, Quebec’s Anglophones can communicate with the provincial civil administration in English (CFL, s. 15) and are entitled to a full and unrestricted access to the English-language medical and social services (*Act Respecting Health and Social Services*, s. 15). As reported by the Statistics Canada, Anglophones in Quebec have a far better access to English-speaking health care professionals than Francophones outside Quebec have to French-speaking doctors. According to the study, as of 2006, 51.1% and of Quebec’s doctors used English regularly at work and 85.5% could speak the language. This contrasted sharply with a low rate of medicine doctors outside Quebec able to speak French (21.1%) and using it regularly (6.1%) (Statistics Canada, *Evaluation*). No later than in 2007, there were still provinces in Canada that provided no significant health services in French; the list included: British Columbia, Alberta, Saskatchewan, Nova Scotia, Prince Edward Island, and Newfoundland and Labrador. Outside Quebec, only New Brunswick required that health institutions in the province serve in the official language of patient’s choice (Vaillancourt et al., *Official Language Policies of the Canadian Provinces* 28, 34, 38, 96, 113, 119, 124).³

As a matter of fact, only New Brunswick runs a more developed language policy and offers more linguistic rights to its official language minority than Quebec. As the only province declared fully bilingual by the CCRF (s. 16.2-22.2), New Brunswick grants English and French the full “equality of status and equal rights and privileges as to their use in all institutions” (CCRF, s. 16.2), communication, services and courts (*Official Languages Act*, SNB, s. 19.1) and in municipalities “whose official minority language population represents at least 20%” and the cities “irrespective of the percentage” (SLMC, *Broad-Based Language Policies in the Provinces*).

Other Anglophone provinces and territories, while having distinct language regimes, generally give fewer practical rights to minority-language groups, Francophones included. Ontario, for instance, requires that provincial laws “be introduced and enacted in both English and French” (*French Language Services Act*, s. 3.2) and permits the use of French and simultaneous English-French interpretation during the debates of the provincial legislature and hearings before provincial courts (Hudon). Nonetheless, Ontario’s institutions or publicly subsidized corporations provide all services in French only in 25 designated areas, where Francophones either constitute at least 10%

³ In March 2013, the federal government initiated the *Roadmap for Official Languages 2013-2018: Education, Immigration, Communities* (Official Languages Secretariat), whose important part is *Official Languages Health Contribution Program*, aimed at, inter alia, improving access to French-language health services outside Quebec (Health Canada).

of the population or their concentration exceeds 5,000 people (Association française des municipalités de l'Ontario).

In Manitoba, provincial laws are published both in English and French and French can also be used in the provincial legislature and courts only because such is the requirement under *Manitoba Act* of 1870 (s. 23) and the province had to be forced to obey it by two rulings of the Supreme Court of Canada in *Attorney General of Manitoba v. Forest* and in reference *Re Manitoba Language Rights*, in 1979 and 1985 respectively. Just as it is in Ontario, French-language services in Manitoba are provided in full scope only in designated areas, i.e. in six completely or partially bilingual centres (Francophone Affairs Secretariat 1, 4) in the regions where “there is a high degree of French language vitality” (*Bilingual Service Centres Act*, Preamble).

Saskatchewan and Alberta, similarly to Quebec, are officially unilingual, which means that laws and regulations are enacted and published by default in English (*Language Act*, SS, s. 12; *Languages Act*, RSA, s. 5). If one wants to address Alberta's provincial legislature in French, which is possible, “one must give warning before doing so and provide an English translation of one's speech” (Vaillancourt et al., *Official Language Policies of the Canadian Provinces* 31). In Newfoundland and Labrador and in British Columbia there are actually no additional laws regulating the public use of language and English serves as a *de facto* language of politics, legislation, public service and administration.

As for the three Arctic territories – Yukon, the Northwest Territories, and Nunavut – they all grant a formal status to both English and French (and concessions to one or more Aboriginal languages) in their legislatures and courts, but other public services are offered in French on a pragmatic, cost-effective basis (French Language Services Directorate 3), i.e. only if “the nature of the office” so requires or when “there is a significant demand” for them (*Languages Act*, RSY, s. 6.1; *Official Languages Act*, RSNWT, s. 11.1; *Official Languages Act*, SNU, s. 12.3) or when it is relevant for public health and safety (*Official Languages Act*, SNU, s. 4.A). Given the very small number of Francophone residents in the territories – 2,555 persons in 2011 (Statistics Canada, *Section*) – the access to services in French is geographically and quantitatively limited, mostly to central or designated offices of territorial governments' institutions (Government of the Northwest Territories 7).

Language of education

When compared with language regulations of other Canadian provinces, Quebec's *Charter of the French Language* appears to be uncommonly restrictive in regulating educational rights of Quebec's non-Francophone linguistic minorities. In the original 1977 version, the CFL reserved the right

to receive English-language instruction in Quebec's publicly subsidized schools only to children whose parents or siblings had "received elementary instruction in English in Quebec" (Kahn 100). This made all immigrants' children who moved to Quebec, including the ones from other Canadian provinces or English-speaking countries, automatically inadmissible to Quebec's English-language public schools.

Such restrictive measures, however, had to be lifted following the enactment of the *Constitution Act, 1982*, which guarantees that all Canadian citizen parents may choose English-language schooling for their children on the sole ground that they or their other children were educated in English anywhere in Canada (CCRF, s. 23), not just in Quebec, as it was originally required in the CFL. The same rights are granted in the CCRF to children of Francophone citizens of Canada residing in predominantly Anglophone provinces. In addition, the Supreme Court of Canada, in 1984, in its notable decision in *Attorney General of Quebec v. Quebec Association of Protestant School Boards et al.* ruled the original CFL's restrictions unconstitutional (on page 84). The court's ruling was officially recognized in Quebec's language law in 1993, when Bill 86 was passed to amend the CFL.

In its current version, the CFL fully respects the rights constitutionally guaranteed to Anglophone Quebecers. The law requires that Quebec's language policies be always pursued "in a spirit of fairness and open-mindedness, respectful of the institutions of the English-speaking community of Québec, and respectful of the ethnic minorities" (CFL, Preamble). It also recognizes the right of any child who has a Canadian citizen parent or a sibling educated in English in Canada to receive education in publicly subsidized English-language schools. Quebec, however, is exempted from the obligation to provide universal English-language education for children of all Canadian citizens who are native speakers of English (*Constitution Act, 1982*, s. 59). Paradoxically, it means that immigrants arriving in Quebec from the United States, Britain, Australia or any other English-speaking country, even upon receiving the Canadian citizenship, are legally deprived of the right to send their children to Anglophone public schools in the province. Such restrictions are not in place outside Quebec for immigrants for whom French is a mother tongue.

All the Quebec's restrictions, however, apply only to publicly subsidized kindergartens and elementary or secondary schools. Non-subsidized private and university education is not covered by the provisions of the CFL and is accessible to any child, provided their parent(s) can afford to pay tuition fees. Furthermore, it must not be forgotten that Quebec's language law was, first and foremost, adopted as a set of protective measure against the progressing Anglicization of Quebec. As such the CFL puts, perhaps, more limitations on Quebec's Francophones than on any other group. As Christopher Taucar rightly pointed out, "the only way French speaking students may receive an English language education is by enrolling in

private schools” (86). In fact, a large number of amendments to the CFL discussed and voted in the National Assembly of Quebec were aimed to make it virtually impossible for Francophone Quebecers to enrol their children in English-language private schools (“Quebec Liberals”; Kay).

Though it may appear so, Quebec’s language law generally does not treat immigrants stricter than federal regulations or laws in other provinces. Everywhere in Canada minority language rights extend to public education in the country’s official languages, French or English, not in immigrant languages. Whether in Quebec or outside of it, a great majority of immigrants cannot reap any benefits from the language regulations, having usually no choice but to send their children to French-language schools in Quebec or English-language schools in other provinces.

In practical terms, Quebec offers a much broader system of English-language education for its Anglophone residents than Francophones can in fact enjoy in any Anglophone province except for New Brunswick – where not only have they the right to “distinct educational institutions” and French-language schooling (CCRF, s. 16.1.1) – and, perhaps, Ontario, where a sophisticated system of Francophone educational institutions is in place (Éducation en langue française en Ontario). In Quebec alone, there are over 300 public English-language elementary and secondary schools (Quebec English School Boards Association), five pre-university colleges, or so-called cégeps (Fédération des cégeps), and three universities: Bishop’s, Concordia, and McGill (Ministère de l’Immigration, de la Diversité et de l’Inclusion, *University*). Such a developed institutional network gives Canadian-born Anglophone Quebecers a full access to schooling instruction in their mother tongue, which is clearly reflected in the statistical data. As of 2013, 88% of all 109,084 students eligible to education in English were enrolled in English-language schools (Luft). By contrast, because Francophones make up a small part of population in Canada outside Quebec, the tendency there (except for New Brunswick and Ontario) has been to deem the number of Francophones insignificant and abstain from providing for them the full-scope educational service in French (Hayday 51-62). The practical outcome of these disproportions is that Quebec provides a provincewide, comprehensive English-language system of education to its Anglophones while French-speaking Canadians outside Quebec – despite their victory in the legal battle before the Supreme Court of Canada in 1990 (*Mahe v. Alberta*) – have generally a far more limited access to French-language schooling. By comparison – except for Ontario with its eleven French-language colleges and bilingual universities – there are only eight French-language post-secondary schools in all other Canadian provinces combined. This is exactly as many as there are Anglophone public colleges and universities in the sole Quebec (Vaillancourt et al., *Official Language Policies of the Canadian Provinces*).

Conclusion

As presented above, Quebec guarantees its Anglophone community linguistic rights in the areas of justice, legislation, law, education or health care that are in many aspects greater than those enjoyed by Francophones outside Quebec. University of Ottawa's Site for Language Management in Canada goes even further and claims that "the rights of the Anglophone minority [in Quebec] are doubtless the most extended of all Canadian minorities, if not of the entire Western world" and suggests that Anglophone Quebecers enjoy the same, if not better, position as Swedophones in Finland or linguistic minorities in Spain (SLMC, *Broad-Based Language Policies in the Provinces - Quebec*). Even if this is an overstated opinion, English-language services for Anglophone Quebecers are provided in all necessary areas of public life – practically, not theoretically.

Obviously, Quebec's linguistic regulations, like all language legislations, are not free of errors and imperfections. First, the enforcement of the Quebec language law by the OQLF happens to be overzealous, even grotesque, which, doubtless, has had a negative effect on how Quebec's linguistic policy is perceived abroad. Second, Quebec is the only Canada's jurisdiction where Anglophone affairs are not managed by a particular governmental department or office as it is with Francophone affairs in other provinces (Hudon). Third, Quebec's language law may look "insensitive to Anglophones" as their rights, though extensive, are scattered all over the CFL instead of being grouped in a separate chapter (SLMC, *Broad-Based Language Policies in the Provinces - Quebec*).

It is, however, important to understand the historical context of the passage of Quebec's laws. First, with rare exceptions, French language had not been treated fairly or equally to English by federal authorities before official bilingualism was sanctioned in 1969. Second, French as the language of majority in Quebec could not find its place in Quebec's economy and businesses, which had been dominated by Anglophone Canadians and Americans. This explains why the law remains so reserved when it comes to naming Anglophones openly as the addressees of privileges provided to them in the CFL. While Quebec's language law may indeed be somewhat coarse in the way it grants certain rights to Quebec's Anglophones, this is rather a technical or rhetorical shortage, which does not preclude Anglophones from receiving a wide range of full-value services in their own language in Quebec.

Furthermore, the critique frequently overestimates the scope and influence of Quebec's language regulations. Linguistic laws, just like any other pieces of legislation enacted by Quebec's National Assembly, can apply only to the spheres of provincial jurisdiction, limited by the Constitution. Thus, Quebec's

laws cannot regulate language policies of federal or international institutions, Crown corporations, First Nations reserves, even if they are located in Quebec. Neither can provincial legislation violate constitutionally guaranteed rights of Anglophones to use English in Quebec's courts and parliament or to educate their children in English. Finally, freedom of expression – enshrined in international, federal, and Quebec's law – makes it possible to regulate only some aspects of the public usage of language; how citizens use the language in private is exclusively their business.

Last but not least – despite being legally challenged, criticised and ridiculed – Quebec's language policies have been extremely effective in improving the condition and status of the French language in the province. Since the first legislative measures protective of French were introduced, the proportion of Quebecers using English as the language spoken at home has steadily declined – from 13.1% in 1971 to 8.2% in 2006. Even Quebec's Anglophones are now in majority (68.9%) bilingual persons and fluent French speakers (Chaput and Champagne 13, 15). Due to the policies promoting French as the language of school instruction, enrolment in Quebec's English-language schools fell from around 250,000 (15.7%) pupils to slightly over 100,000 (11%) (Chevrier 6). As for economy, Francophones had been immensely underrepresented in the Quebec's financial sector before the francization of labour and business relations, constituting only 25.8% of all employers in 1961; four decades later this proportion rose to 60.3% (Geloso 2). All these statistics clearly show that after the passage of the CFL French has become the language of education, social integration and economic power.

It does not mean, however, that Quebec's francization policies have hindered Quebecers' English-speaking capacities. Actually, the very growth of English-French bilingualism in Canada, as it is admitted in Canada's 2011 Census of Population, "was mainly due to the increased number of Quebecers who reported being able to conduct a conversation in English and French." Among Canadian provinces Quebec has the highest rate of population able to conduct a conversation in both Canada's official languages – 42.6%, compared to 9.7% in the rest of Canada. In all, Quebecers constitute 57.4% of all bilingual (English-French) Canadians (Statistics Canada, *Population*).

Works Cited :

- Act Respecting Health Services and Social Services*, RSQ, c. S-4.2 (Quebec).
Gouvernement du Québec. Publications du Québec. 24 July 2015.
<http://www2.publicationsduquebec.gouv.qc.ca/dynamicSearch/telecharge.php?type=2&file=/S_4_2/S4_2_A.html>.
- Association française des municipalités de l'Ontario. The French Language Services Act: An overview. 25 Jul. 2015.

- <<http://www.afmo.on.ca/en/statistiques.php>>.
- Att. Gen. of Quebec v. Blaikie et al., [1979] 2 SCR 1016, 1979. Canadian Legal Information Institute (CanLII). 24 July 2015. <<http://canlii.ca/t/1mkvb>>.
- Attorney General of Manitoba v. Forest, [1979] 2 SCR 1032. Lexum. Judgements of the Supreme Court of Canada. 24 July 2015. <<https://scc-csc.lexum.com/scc-csc/scc-csc/en/item/6205/index.do>>.
- Attorney General of Quebec v. Quebec Association of Protestant School Boards et al., [1984] 2 SCR 66. Lexum. 26 July 2015. <<https://scc-csc.lexum.com/scc-csc/scc-csc/en/item/26/index.do>>.
- Ballantyne, Davidson, McIntyre v. Canada, Communications Nos. 359/1989 and 385/1989, U.N. Doc. CCPR/C/47/D/359/1989 and 385/1989/Rev.1 (1993). University of Minnesota. Human Rights Library. 27 July 2015. <<http://www1.umn.edu/humanrts/undocs/html/359-358-1989.html>>.
- Berdichevsky, Norman. *Nations, language, and citizenship*. Jefferson, N.C. McFarland, 2004.
- Berlach, Philip. "OQLF...Get the 'EFF' out!" *No Dogs or Anglophones*. (27 Feb. 2013). 29 Jul. 2015. <<http://nodogsoranglophones.blogspot.com/2013/02/oqlfget-eff-out.html>>.
- Bilingual Service Centres Act*, CCSM c. B37, 2012 (Manitoba). Government of Manitoba. 25 Jul. 2015. <http://web2.gov.mb.ca/laws/statutes/ccsm/_pdf.php?cap=b37>.
- "Big retailers taking French sign battle to Quebec court." *CBC News* (18 Nov. 2012). 27 Jul. 2015. <<http://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/montreal/big-retailers-taking-french-sign-battle-to-quebec-court-1.1287036>>.
- Bishai, Linda S. *Forgetting Ourselves: Secession and the (Im)Possibility of Territorial Identity*. Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2006.
- Boberg, Charles. *The English language in Canada: Status, history and comparative analysis*. Cambridge, New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010. Studies in English language.
- Bourhis, Richard Y. "Reversing Language Shift in Quebec." *Can Threatened Languages Be Saved? Reversing Language Shift, Revisited: A 21st Century Perspective*. Ed. John A. Fishman. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters, 2001. 101-141.
- Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms*, Part I of the Constitution Act, 1982, being Schedule B to the Canada Act 1982, 1982, c. 11 (UK). Government of Canada. Justice Laws Website. 21 Jul. 2015. <<http://laws-lois.justice.gc.ca/eng/Const//page-15.html#docCont>>.
- Canadian Press. "Head of Quebec Language Watchdog Resigns After 'Pastagate' Controversy." *Toronto Star* (8 Mar. 2013). 29 Jul. 2015. <http://www.thestar.com/news/canada/2013/03/08/head_of_quebec_language_watchdog_resigns_after_pastagate_controversy.html>.
- Chaput, Maria, and Andrée Champagne. *The Vitality of Quebec's English-speaking Communities: From Myth to Reality: Report of the Standing Senate*

- Committee on Official Languages. Senate of Canada, 2011. 29 Jul. 2015. <<http://www.parl.gc.ca/Content/SEN/Committee/411/ollo/rep/rep02oct11-e.pdf>>.
- Charter of Human Rights and Freedoms*, CQLR c. C-12 (Quebec). Canadian Legal Information Institute (CanLII). 27 Jul. 2015. <<http://canlii.ca/t/hxt9>>.
- Charter of the French Language*, CQLR c. C-11 (Quebec). Gouvernement du Québec. Publications du Québec. 24 Jul. 2015. <http://www2.publicationsduquebec.gouv.qc.ca/dynamicSearch/telecharge.php?type=2&file=/C_11/C11_A.html>.
- Chevrier, Marc. *Laws and Language in Québec: The principles and means of Québec's language policy*. Gouvernement du Québec, Ministère des Relations internationales, 1997. 24 Jul. 2015. <<http://collections.banq.qc.ca/ark:/52327/bs43058>>.
- Conrick, Maeve and Vera Regan. *French in Canada: Language Issues*: Peter Lang, 2007.
- Constitution Act, 1867*, 30 & 31 Vict., c. 3 (UK), reprinted in RSC 1985, App II, No 5. Government of Canada. Justice Laws Website. 21 Jul. 2015. <<http://laws-lois.justice.gc.ca/eng/Const/page-7.html#docCont>>.
- Constitution Act, 1982*, being Schedule B to the *Canada Act 1982*, c. 11 (UK). Government of Canada. Justice Laws Website. 21 Jul. 2015. <<http://laws-lois.justice.gc.ca/eng/Const/page-15.html#docCont>>.
- Cotter, Anne-Marie. *Race Matters: An International Legal Analysis of Race Discrimination*. Burlington, VT: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2013.
- Devine v. Quebec (Attorney General)*, [1988] 2 SCR 790. Lexum. 27 Jul. 2015. <<http://scc-csc.lexum.com/scc-csc/scc-csc/en/item/384/index.do>>.
- Duhaime, Eric. "Foolish language police make province a joke." *lfpres.com* (1 Mar. 2013). 27 Jul. 2015. <<http://www.lfpres.com/2013/03/01/foolish-language-police-make-province-a-joke>>.
- Éducation en langue française en Ontario. Schools Within Ontario's French-Language School Boards Now Exceed 100,000 Students, 2015. 27 Jul. 2015. <http://www.elfontario.ca/communiqués/Press_release_jan2015.pdf>.
- Fédération des cégeps. A Few Figures on Cégeps*, 2015. 27 Jul. 2015. <<http://www.fedecegeps.qc.ca/pour-nous-joindre/>>.
- Ford v. Quebec (Attorney General)*, [1988] 2 SCR 712. Lexum. 27 Jul. 2015. <<http://scc-csc.lexum.com/scc-csc/scc-csc/en/item/384/index.do>>.
- Francophone Affairs Secretariat. *French Language Services Policy*. Government of Manitoba, 1999. 25 Jul. 2015. <http://www.gov.mb.ca/fls-slf/pdf/fls_policy.pdf>.
- French Language Services Act*, RSO 1990, c. F.32 (Ontario). Ontario Government. E-Laws. 24 Jul. 2015. <<http://www.ontario.ca/laws/statute/90f32>>.
- French Language Services Directorate. *French Language Policy*. Government of Yukon, 2012. General Administration Manual. 25 Jul. 2015. <http://www.flsd.gov.yk.ca/pdf/1._7_-_French_Language_Policy.pdf>.

- Geloso, Vincent. "French in Solid Position in Quebec. The Federal Idea. A Quebec Think Tank on Federalism." *Federal News* 3.5 (May 2012). 29 Jul. 2015. <http://ideefederale.ca/documents/Mai_2012_ang.pdf>.
- Gentil, Guillaume, Josée Bigras, and O'Connor Maureen. "Achieving Bilingualism in the Canadian Federal Public Workplace: Does Language Training Matter?" *Multilingualism at Work: From Policies to Practices in Public, Medical and Business Settings*. Ed. Bernd Meyer and Birgit Apfelbaum. Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company, 2010. 81–106.
- Government of the Northwest Territories. *Strategic Plan on French Language Communications and Services*, 2012. 25 Jul. 2015. <http://www.ece.gov.nt.ca/files/publications/4668_ECE_French_Language_Strat_Plan_P8_1.pdf>.
- Hamilton, Graeme. "Even Francophones Are Waking up To Quebec's Language Folly." *National Post* (28 Feb. 2013). 27 Jul. 2015. <<http://news.nationalpost.com/full-comment/quebecs-language-folly>>.
- Harrt, Stanley. "Arbitrariness, Randomness and the Principles of Fundamental Justice." *Access to Care, Access to Justice: The Legal Debate Over Private Health Insurance in Canada*. Ed. Coleen Flood, Kent Roach, and Lorne Sossin. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2005. 505–520.
- Hayday, Matthew. *Bilingual Today, United Tomorrow: Official languages in education and Canadian federalism*. Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2005.
- Health Canada. *Health Canada: Official Languages Health Contribution Program*, 2013. 26 Jul. 2015. <<http://healthycanadians.gc.ca/health-system-systeme-sante/funding-financement/language-langue-eng.php>>.
- Hopper, Tristin. "Pasta Found in Violation of Quebec Laws as Language Police Crackdown on Italian Restaurant in Montreal." *National Post* (21 Feb. 2013). 27 Jul. 2015. <<http://news.nationalpost.com/news/canada/quebec-language-police>>.
- Hudon, Marie-Ève. *Language Regimes in the Provinces and Territories*. Parliament of Canada, Legal and Legislative Affairs Division, 2011. 24 Jul. 2015. <<http://www.parl.gc.ca/content/lop/researchpublications/2011-66-e.htm>>.
- Jedwab, Jack. "To 'Bi' and Not to 'Bi': Canada's Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism, 1960-1980." *Canadian Issues* (Jun. 2003). 24 Jul. 2015. <<http://search.proquest.com/docview/208697385?accountid=11664>>.
- Kahn, Linda S. *Schooling, Jobs, and Cultural Identity: Minority Education in Quebec*. New York: Garland Pub, 1992.
- Kay, Jonathan. "The PQ gives up on Bill 14." *National Post* (16 Nov. 2013). 26 Jul. 2015. <<http://news.nationalpost.com/full-comment/jonathan-kay-the-pq-gives-up-on-bill-14>>.
- Kondaks, Tony. "The Doctrine of 'Preponderance of Blood' in South Africa, the Soviet Union and Quebec." *Exchange* (Nov. 1988). 22 Jul. 2015.

- <https://docs.google.com/document/d/1dkEsj8gNyjHpQrga8w2Z_gl9r_3RNchtxrm9BXY8sFI/preview?pli=1>.
- Lach, Anna. *Bareja po kanadyjsku? Policja językowa w Quebecu*. Interia.pl (24 Feb. 2013). 27 Jul. 2015. <<http://fakty.interia.pl/swiat/news-bareja-po-kanadyjsku-policja-jezykowa-w-quebecu,nId,939009>>.
- Lachapelle, Guy. "Identity, Integration and the Rise of Identity Economy: The Quebec Case in Comparison with Scotland, Wales and Catalonia." *Globalization, Governance and Identity: The Emergence of New Partnerships*. Ed. Guy Lachapelle, John E. Trent. Montreal: Les Presses de l'Université de Montréal, 2000. 211-232.
- Language Act*, SS 1988-89, c L-6.1 (Saskatchewan). Canadian Legal Information Institute (CanLII). 25 July 2015. <<http://canlii.ca/t/x57>>.
- Languages Act*, RSA 2000, c L-6 (Alberta). CanLII. 25 July 2015. <<http://canlii.ca/t/j8qt>>.
- Languages Act*, RSY 2002, c 133 (Yukon). CanLII. 25 July 2015. <<http://canlii.ca/t/kfl8>>. CanLII. 25 July 2015.
- Levine, M. *The Reconquest of Montreal: Language Policy and Social Change in a Bilingual City*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1990.
- Luft, Amy. "The enrolment drop in Quebec's English schools." *CTV News Montreal* (9 Sep. 2014). 27 Jul. 2015. <<http://montreal.ctvnews.ca/the-enrolment-drop-in-quebec-s-english-schools-1.1999020>>.
- Mahe v. Alberta*, [1990] 1 SCR 342. Lexum. 27 Jul. 2015. <<http://scc-csc.lexum.com/scc-csc/scc-csc/en/item/580/index.do>>.
- Manitoba Act, 1870*, 33 Vict., c. 3 (Canada). Government of Canada. Department of Justice. 24 Jul. 2015. <<http://www.justice.gc.ca/eng/rp-pr/csj-sjc/constitution/lawreg-loireg/pl1t21.html>>.
- Marquis, Melanie. "Quebec Language Watchdog Takes New Approach After 'Pastagate'." *Huffington Post Canada* (18 Oct. 2013). 29 Jul. 2015. <http://www.huffingtonpost.ca/2013/10/18/quebec-pastagate-language-watchdog_n_4123503.html>.
- Martel, Marcel and Martin Pâquet. *Speaking Up: A History of Language and Politics in Canada and Quebec*. Toronto: Between the Lines, 2012.
- Ministère de l'Immigration, de la Diversité et de l'Inclusion. *University education*. Gouvernement du Québec, 2014. 27 Jul. 2015. <<http://immigration-quebec.gouv.qc.ca/en/education/finding-education/university-education.html>>.
- Office québécois de la langue française. *Regulations adopted under the Charter of the French language*, 2013. 27 Jul. 2015. <<http://www.oqlf.gouv.qc.ca/english/regulations.html>>.
- . *Organismes municipaux et l'article 29.1*. Gouvernement du Québec, 2014. <http://www.oqlf.gouv.qc.ca/francisation/admin_publ/rec291.html>.
- . *Rapport annuel de gestion, 2013-2014*. Gouvernement du Québec, 2014. 29 Jul. 2015. <http://www.oqlf.gouv.qc.ca/office/rapports/rap20132014/20140930_rag.pdf>.

- Official Languages (Communications with and Services to the Public) Regulations*, 1991, (SOR/92-48). Government of Canada. Justice Laws Website. 23 Jul. 2015. <<http://laws-lois.justice.gc.ca/eng/regulations/SOR-92-48/page-2.html#h-3>>.
- Official Languages Act*, 1969, RSC 1970, c. O-2. University of Ottawa: Official Languages and Bilingualism Institute. Site for Language Management in Canada. 22 Jul. 2015. <https://slmc.uottawa.ca/?q=leg_union_act>.
- Official Languages Act*, 1988, RSC, 1985, c. 31 (4th Supp.) [1988, c. 38, assented to 28th July, 1988]. Government of Canada. Justice Laws Website. 21 Jul. 2015. <<http://laws-lois.justice.gc.ca/eng/acts/O-3.01/FullText.html>>.
- Official Languages Act*, RSNWT 1988, c. O-1 (Northwest Territories). CanLII. 25 Jul. 2015. <<http://canlii.ca/t/kdh2>>.
- Official Languages Act*, SNB 2002, c. O-0.5 (New Brunswick). CanLII. 22 Jul. 2015. <<http://canlii.ca/t/888m>>.
- Official Languages Act*, SNU 2008, c. 10 (Nunavut). CanLII. 25 Jul. 2015. <<http://canlii.ca/t/52413>>.
- Official Languages Secretariat. *Roadmap for Canada's Official Languages 2013-2018: Education, Immigration, Communities*. Canadian Heritage. Government of Canada, 2013. 26 Jul. 2015. <<http://www.pch.gc.ca/eng/1363882822690>>.
- Quebec English School Boards Association. *School Boards*. 27 Jul. 2015. <<http://www.qesba.qc.ca/en/school-boards/find-a-school>>.
- "Quebec Liberals push language law through." *CBC News* (19 Oct. 2010). 26 Jul. 2015. <<http://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/montreal/quebec-liberals-push-language-law-through-1.969976>>.
- "Quebec to tighten language law, force retailers to add French descriptions to names." *CBC News* (12 Jun. 2015). 27 Jul. 2015. <<http://www.cbc.ca/news/business/quebec-to-tighten-language-law-force-retailers-to-add-french-descriptions-to-names-1.3111750>>.
- Re Manitoba Language Rights, [1985] 1 SCR 721. Lexum. 24 Jul. 2015. <<https://scc-csc.lexum.com/scc-csc/scc-csc/en/item/60/index.do>>.
- Regulation defining the scope of the expression "markedly predominant" for the purposes of the Charter of the French language*, CQLR c. C-11, r. 11 (Quebec). Gouvernement du Québec. Publications du Québec. 27 Jul. 2015. <http://www2.publicationsduquebec.gouv.qc.ca/dynamicSearch/telecharge.php?type=3&file=/C_11/C11R11_A.HTM>.
- Rogers, John L. and Anne-Marie Gauthier. "Structuring an Expansion to Canada." *Fundamentals of Franchising, Canada*. Ed. Peter Snell and Larry Weinberg. Chicago: Forum on Franchising, American Bar Association, 2005. 1-70.
- Schwartz, Daniel. "6 big changes the Charter of Rights has brought." *CBC News* (17 Apr. 2012). 22 Jul. 2015. <<http://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/6-big-changes-the-charter-of-rights-has-brought-1.1244758>>.

- Site for Language Management in Canada, SLMC. *Broad-Based Language Policies in the Provinces*. University of Ottawa. Official Languages and Bilingualism Institute. 24 Jul. 2015. <https://slmc.uottawa.ca/?q=broad-based_policy>.
- . *Broad-Based Language Policies in the Provinces - Quebec*. University of Ottawa. Official Languages and Bilingualism Institute. 27 Jul. 2015. <https://slmc.uottawa.ca/?q=broad-based_policy_qc>.
- Statistics Canada. Population by knowledge of official languages, age groups (total), percentage distribution (2011), for Canada, provinces and territories. 29 Jul. 2015. <<http://www12.statcan.gc.ca/census-recensement/2011/dp-pd/hlt-fst/lang/Pages/highlight.cfm?TabID=1&Lang=E&Asc=1&PRCode=01&OrderBy=999&View=2&Age=1&tableID=402&queryID=1>>.
- . Section 1 Definitions of the French-speaking population of Yukon, the Northwest Territories and Nunavut, 2011. 25 Jul. 2015. <<http://www.statcan.gc.ca/pub/89-642-x/2011003/article/section1-eng.htm#n1>>.
- . Censuses of population, 2006 and 2011: Table 2: Number of people and proportion of the population reporting French by selected language characteristic, Quebec, 2006 and 2011, 2011. 21 Jul. 2015. <http://www12.statcan.gc.ca/census-recensement/2011/as-sa/98-314-x/2011003/tbl/tbl3_1-2-eng.cfm>.
- . *Evaluation of the Official Languages Health Contribution Program 2008-2012, 2013*. 26 Jul. 2006. <<http://www.hc-sc.gc.ca/ahc-asc/performance/eval/olhc-evaluation-clos-eng.php#a4>>.
- . *Focus on Geography Series, 2011 Census: Province of Quebec*, 2011. 24 Jul. 2015. <<https://www12.statcan.gc.ca/census-recensement/2011/as-sa/fogs-spg/Facts-pr-eng.cfm?Lang=eng&GK=PR&GC=24>>.
- Taucar, Christopher E. *Canadian Federalism and Quebec Sovereignty*. New York: Peter Lang, 2004.
- Thanh Ha, Tu. “PQ to quiet down Quebec’s language watchdogs.” *The Globe and Mail* (17 Oct. 2013). 15 Mar. 2015. <<http://www.theglobeandmail.com/news/politics/pq-to-quiet-down-quebecs-language-watchdogs/article14910235/>>.
- Vaillancourt, François and Olivier Coche. *Official Language Policies at the Federal Level in Canada: Costs and Benefits in 2006*. Vancouver: Fraser Institute, 2009.
- Vaillancourt, François, et al. *Official Language Policies of the Canadian Provinces: Costs and Benefits in 2006*. Vancouver: Fraser Institute, 2012.
- Whitaker, Reg. “Life after Separation.” *Negotiating with a Sovereign Quebec*. Ed. Daniel Drache and Roberto Perin. Toronto: James Lorimer Limited, Publishers, 1992. 71–81.

Tomasz Soroka is affiliated to the Institute of American Studies and Polish Diaspora, Jagiellonian University, Krakow, Poland. His main areas of interest are: Canadian language and foreign policies, Canadian-British relations and Imperial/Commonwealth relations. In March 2010 he obtained his Ph.D. degree in political science defending a doctoral thesis titled: *The Role of Canada in the Transformation of the British Empire: Canadian-British Relations in the Interwar Period*. He has participated in several seminars and conferences in Europe and in Canada (incl. the ICCS Biennial Conference in Ottawa & the International Studies Association conventions in Toronto and New Orleans). He's been an awardee of grants offered by the International Council of Canadian Studies and Polish educational institutions. As a visiting scholar he's conducted research on Canadian foreign affairs at the University of Ottawa and at McGill University in Montreal.

**NANCY BURKE BEST M.A. THESIS
AWARDS / PRIX NANCY BURKE
POUR LES MEILLEURES THÈSES
DE MAÎTRISE**

Sylvia Bezak

Jagiellonian University

**ZAANGAŻOWANIE INUITÓW NA FORUM
KANADYJSKIM I MIĘDZYNARODOWYM W KWESTII
ZMIAN KLIMATU I ŚRODOWISKA ARKTYKI
W KONTEKŚCIE OCHRONY ICH PRAW TUBYLCZYCH**

Abstract

The aim of this essay is to investigate how the Inuit experience and respond to a changing climate and the environment of the Arctic. In the centre of their interest and involvement on the international stage is the protection of indigenous peoples' rights in the context of the global warming. Inuit political leaders argue that climate change is a question of Inuit right to exist and survive as an indigenous people. Moreover, the climate change is believed to affect the fulfillment of fundamental human rights.

Résumé

Le but de cet essai est d'étudier comment l'expérience des Inuits et répondre à l'évolution du climat et de l'environnement de l'Arctique. Au centre de leur intérêt et leur implication sur la scène internationale est la protection des droits des peuples autochtones dans le contexte d'un réchauffement de la planète. Les dirigeants politiques Inuits affirment que le changement climatique est une question de droit des Inuits à exister et à survivre en tant que peuple autochtone. En outre, le changement climatique est censé affecter le respect des droits humains fondamentaux.

W 1977 r., w odpowiedzi na pojawienie się już nie tylko regionalnych, ale i międzynarodowych wyzwań, które w bezpośredni i istotny sposób zaczęły wpływać na życie Inuitów (m.in. szybki wzrost znaczenia geostrategicznego Arktyki ze względu na rosnące, światowe zapotrzebowanie na jej zasoby naturalne oraz na postępującą industrializację regionu arktycznego), utworzona została Inuit Circumpolar Conference (ICC), czyli Około-biegunowa Konferencja Inuitów. ICC

przemianowana została z czasem na Inuit Circumpolar Council (ICC), Okołobiegunową Radę Inuitów. Reprezentuje ona całą, transgraniczną wspólnotę Inuitów (obecnie około 160 tys. osób), żyjących na Grenlandii, w Kanadzie, Stanach Zjednoczonych oraz w Federacji Rosyjskiej (rosyjscy Inuici, zamieszkujący Autonomiczny Okręg Czukocki, stali się pełnoprawnymi członkami Rady dopiero w 1992 r., wraz z upadkiem Związku Radzieckiego)¹. W preambule do Karty ustanawiającej powstanie 15 czerwca 1977 r. Inuit Circumpolar Conference zawarty został manifest Inuitów jako odrębnej grupy autochtonicznej i zarazem zjednoczonej wewnątrz społecznościami:

My Inuici, jesteśmy ludem tubylczym z jedynym w swoim rodzaju rodowodem, kulturą i ojczyzną. Wykorzystujemy i zajmujemy arktyczne i subarktyczne rejony świata, przekraczające granice polityczne. Dzięki naszej spuściźnie historycznej, wykorzystywaniu i zajmowaniu naszej ojczyzny, korzystamy z wyjątkowych praw ludów tubylczych oraz dzielimy wspólne tradycje, wartości i troski².

Odkąd w 1983 r. ICC przyznano status doradczej organizacji pozarządowej, działającej przy ONZ, jej przedstawiciele mogą formalnie występować na forum Narodów Zjednoczonych, oficjalnie reprezentując interesy wszystkich Inuitów (od Syberii do Grenlandii) na arenie międzynarodowej. W związku z tym, że Inuit Circumpolar Council uzyskała legitymację do określania potrzeb oraz kierunku rozwoju społeczności inuickich, można stwierdzić, że stała się istotnym aktorem politycznym w regionie arktycznym. Organizacja uczestniczy

¹ Rola ICC w procesie organizowania się wokół wspólnych problemów i celów oraz konsolidacji rozproszonej w granicach czterech państw arktycznych społeczności inuickiej jest nie do przecenienia. Członkostwo w ICC doprowadziło, na przykład, do zbliżenia formalnie duńskiej, a więc posiadającej europejski status Grenlandii do północno-amerykańskiej społeczności Inuitów. Podobny proces miał miejsce w przypadku rosyjskich Inuitów. Wybuch drugiej wojny światowej, a następnie zimnowojenny konflikt pomiędzy mocarstwami arktycznymi w znaczącym stopniu ograniczył możliwości do tej pory w miarę swobodnego utrzymywania kontaktów rodzinnych i handlowych (dotyczy to zwłaszcza blisko spokrewnionych Yupik syberyjskich i alaskańskich) oraz przemieszczania się pomiędzy społecznościami inuickimi żyjącymi w granicach czterech państw arktycznych. Skonfliktowane władze amerykańskie i radzieckie narzuciły Inuicom na blisko pół wieku ograniczenia we wzajemnych kontaktach. W ostatnich latach celem podejmowanych inicjatyw regionalnych oraz wytrwałych starań organizacji tubylczych, takich jak ICC, było przerwanie izolacji rosyjskich Yupik oraz doprowadzenie do systematycznego ożywiania i zacieśniania więzi i współpracy na możliwie wielu polach. P. R. Stern, *Daily Life of the Inuit*, Santa Barbara: ABC-CLIO LLC. 2010, s. xviii–xix; S.D. Grant, *Polar Imperative. A History of Arctic Sovereignty in North America*, Vancouver/Toronto/Berkeley: Douglas & McIntyre Publishers Inc. 2010, s. 395.

² Inuit Circumpolar Council Canada, *Charter*, <http://www.inuitcircumpolar.com/charter--bylaws.html> (15.12.2015).

w charakterze obserwatora w wielu ważnych, regionalnych spotkaniach na szczeblu ponadpaństwowym; m.in. brała udział w II Ministerialnej Konferencji Rady Arktycznej w sprawie ochrony środowiska w Nuuk w 1993 r.

Od początku swojej działalności Inuit Circumpolar Council jasno określiła (w artykule 3. *Karty Okołobiegunowej Konferencji Inuitów*) cele i zadania, jakie postawiła przed sobą do zrealizowania. Sformułowanymi przez nią priorytetami są mianowicie: wzmocnienie jedności w około biegunowej wspólnocie Inuitów; promowanie ich praw i interesów na arenie między-narodowej (poprzez uczestnictwo w działalności ważnych instytucji politycznych, ekonomicznych oraz społecznych)³; rozwój i poparcie dla strategii politycznych oraz planów długoterminowego zarządzania, które zapewni ochronę środowiska naturalnego Arktyki; i wreszcie, poszukiwanie pełnego i aktywnego partnerstwa w celu wszechstronnego rozwoju regionu arktycznego zgodnie z interesami jego rdzennych mieszkańców⁴. Ostatnia kwestia obejmuje m.in. taką problematykę jak: wsparcie idei samo-wystarczalności Inuitów, zagwarantowanie im prawa do współdecydowania w sprawach ważnych dla ich przyszłości, potwierdzenie i zapewnienie prawa do zachowania i rozwoju ich kultury (z uwzględnieniem praw przyszłych pokoleń). W swoim dążeniu do samostanowienia Inuici domagają się nie tylko prawa do politycznej samorządności, ale i kulturowej autonomii, definiowanej także jako suwerenność kulturowa, tj. prawo do zachowania historycznego związku z ich ziemią⁵. Niezależnie od miejsca zamieszkania ludność inuicka, a także reprezentujące ją organizacje lokalne i regionalne, zajmują identyczne stanowisko w kilku kwestiach o fundamentalnym dla nich znaczeniu. Jedną z nich jest ochrona ekosystemu arktycznego, wymieniona m.in. w statutowych celach Około biegunowej Rady Inuitów.

³ Artykuł 1. *Inuit Circumpolar Council Charter* określa *Aboriginal rights and interests* jako zbiorowe i indywidualne prawa i interesy, które są unikalne i przeznaczone wyłącznie dla ludności tubylczej. ICC jako organizacja pozarządowa, powołana do życia, aby chronić, promować i rozwijać prawa i interesy definiowane zgodnie z literą przywołanego artykułu, uczestniczy w działalności takich instytucji jak: Konwencja o międzynarodowym handlu zagrożonymi gatunkami, w Światowej Unii Ochrony Przyrody, Międzynarodowej Komisji Wielorybicznej, Północnoatlantyckiej Komisji Ssaków Morskich, Światowej Organizacji Handlu czy Światowej Organizacji Własności Intelektualnej. Inuit Circumpolar Council Canada, *Charter...*; Inuit Circumpolar Council Canada, *Nuuk Declaration 2010*, <http://www.inuitcircumpolar.com/declaration---2010.html> (15.12.2015)..

⁴ Inuit Circumpolar Council Canada, *Inuit Circumpolar Council (ICC)*, <http://inuitcircumpolar.com/index.php?ID=16&Lang=En> (12.05.2012).

⁵ H.A. Smith, B. Parks, *Climate Change, Environmental Security and Inuit Peoples, w: Critical Environmental Security: Rethinking the Links Between Natural Resources and Political Violence*, M.A. Schnurr, L.A. Swatuk (red.), Halifax: Centre for Foreign Policy Studies Dalhousie University 2010, s. 11.

Inuici, znajdujący się w obliczu wielu współczesnych zagrożeń eko-logicznych oraz doświadczający bezpośrednio wyzwań z nimi związanych, wydają się oczywistymi rzecznikami ochrony środowiska naturalnego, także ze względu na ich głęboko zakorzenioną w kulturze więź i zależność od środowiska arktycznego. Co więcej, ze względu na szczególne podejście do kwestii zagospodarowywania i zarządzania zasobami naturalnymi Arktyki, zarówno tymi nieodnawialnymi, jak i odnawialnymi, Inuitów określa się wręcz czasem jako prekursorów współczesnej ekologii. Pamiętając o ograniczeniach i specyfice środowiska arktycznego, w którym przyszło im żyć i nierzadko walczyć o fizyczne przetrwanie (przede wszystkim zdając sobie sprawę z długości trwania procesów regeneracji oraz trudności związanych z odtwarzaniem zasobów w surowych warunkach polarnych), wcielili w życie ideę samowystarczalności oraz racjonalnej i konsekwentnej gospodarności. Istotą przekazywanych z pokolenia na pokolenie, tradycyjnych praktyk pozyskiwania pożywienia i materiałów niezbędnych do przeżycia jest świadome i maksymalne ich wykorzystywanie, z uwzględnieniem potrzeb przyszłych pokoleń. Inuici nie dopuszczali zatem nigdy do bezmyślnego wytepienia gatunków, ani choćby w najmniejszym stopniu do marnotrawienia pozyskiwanych surowców. W wydawanych przez Inuit Circumpolar Council deklaracjach bardzo często podkreśla się szacunek dla pomysłowości, elastyczności oraz mądrości poprzednich generacji, ich zdolności adaptacyjnych, a także wdzięczność dla zdeterminowania przodków w sprawie pozostawienia następnym pokoleniom podstaw dla ich materialnego i kulturowego istnienia. Dzięki ochronie i dobremu zarządzaniu arktycznymi zasobami Inuici zapewniali sobie przez stulecia przetrwanie, a ponadto, nie produkując praktycznie odpadów, nie wspominając o zanieczyszczeniach przemysłowych, zachowali środowisko Arktyki nieprzekształcone i czyste dla kolejnych generacji.

Intensywne przemiany cywilizacyjne i światopoglądowe, jakich doświadczili Inuici w drugiej połowie XX w. (przejmowanie zachodnich wartości i udogodnień technologicznych następowało w czasie nawet jednej generacji), nie doprowadziły jednak do, można powiedzieć spodziewanego w tych okolicznościach, rozluźnienia związków i uniezależnienia od otaczającego świata przyrody. Od momentu rozpoczęcia przez państwa arktyczne wyścigu po bogactwa Północy Inuici byli uważnymi obserwatorami wydarzeń zachodzących w ich ojczyźnie. Stali się także aktywnymi i zaangażowanymi uczestnikami międzynarodowego dyskursu, w dużej mierze przez nich inicjowanego, na temat przyszłości Arktyki i kierunku rozwoju tego regionu. Kwestia ochrony środowiska arktycznego znajduje się niezmiennie w centrum ich zainteresowania i troski, stając się stałym elementem wysuwanych przez nich postulatów na forach krajowych i ponadnarodowych. Dzieje się tak dlatego, gdyż Inuici zdają sobie sprawę z tego, że kierunek i przebieg procesów rozwojowych w Arktyce w sposób

oczywisty wpłynie bezpośrednio na ich przyszłość i los jako społeczności arktycznej. Stosunek Inuitów do kwestii eksploatacji zasobów naturalnych, występujących na ziemiach przez nich zamieszkałych, nie zmienił się zasadniczo od lat 70. XX w. Dobrym jego podsumowaniem są słowa Ebena Hopsona, pierwszego burmistrza alaskańskiego samorządu North Slope Borough, który zawsze podkreślał, że Inuici nie sprzeciwiają się rozwojowi, a wręcz przeciwnie, chcą dzielić się z innymi społecznościami swoimi zasobami ropy naftowej, gazu ziemnego i węgla, ale uważają, że muszą mieć coś do powiedzenia na temat sposobów wydobywania tych paliw z ich ziemi. Od momentu ogłoszenia rządowych planów eksploatacji surowców arktycznych Inuici domagali się respektowania ich praw. Oczekiwali, że realizacji projektów rozwojowych towarzyszyć będą negocjacje i konsultacje prowadzone z ludnością rdzenną, w czasie których uwzględniony zostanie jej głos i żywotne interesy. Oczekiwania te korespondują z inuicką koncepcją rozwoju, zgodnie z którą wpływa on na wszystkie aspekty życia ludów tubylczych, a to z kolei powinno zapewnić im aktywne uczestnictwo, na zasadach pełnego partnerstwa, w procesach podejmowania istotnych, z ich punktu widzenia, decyzji oraz gwarantować udział w korzyściach wynikających z rozwoju regionu. Prawo uczestniczenia Ludności Rodzimej w procesach decyzyjnych, odnoszących się do szerokiego spektrum ważnych dla niej spraw, a także sformułowane później prawo (*right to free, prior and informed consent*), określające kryteria prowadzenia negocjacji między państwami a grupami autochtonicznymi, tworzą rdzeń i kwintesencję praw tubylczych. Raport przygotowany przez Expert Mechanism on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (EMRIP) dla Rady Praw Człowieka Narodów Zjednoczonych stwierdza, że prawa te stanowią fundament pozwalający społecznościom rdzennym korzystać z pełnego wachlarza powszechnie uznanych praw człowieka, w tym prawa do swobodnego stanowienia i kontroli własnego przeznaczenia⁶.

Inuici domagają się także poszanowania ich tubylczej kultury i wartości, dzięki którym czują się gospodarzami swojej ojczyzny, Inuit Nunaat. W ich przekonaniu tradycyjna wiedza, umiejętności i doświadczenie dają im legitymację do dokonania oceny zagrożeń ekologicznych w rodzimym języku Inupiaq, w którym „zawarta jest cała wiedza o przyrodzie Arktyki”⁷. Kilkadziesiąt lat temu cytowany wyżej Hopson wyraził opinię, że bez centralnego zaangażowania Inuitów nie może mieć miejsce bezpieczny i odpowiedzialny rozwój zasobów arktycznych. Formułując to przekonanie, pomysłodawca zjednoczenia Inuitów i utworzenia Inuit Circumpolar Council

⁶ *The Indigenous World 2011*, K. Wessendorf (red.), Copenhagen: The International Work Group for Indigenous Affairs 2011, s. 10.

⁷ J. Machowski, *Inuit. Legendy, podania i baśnie eskimoskie*, Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Akademickie Dialog 1999, s. 119.

ufundował tym samym późniejsze zaangażowanie tej organizacji na polu ochrony środowiska arktycznego⁸. Na początku lat 80. XX w. w podobnym tonie wypowiadał się jeden z ówczesnych przewodniczących ICC, Hans Pavia-Rosing, zauważając: „Chcielibyśmy, aby rządy i przemysłowcy zdali sobie sprawę, że za Arktykę odpowiadamy wspólnie (...) Rolę naszego ludu postrzegamy jako tubylczych strażników Arktyki”⁹. Do dziś Inuici traktują siebie jako właściwych, politycznych zarządców arktycznego ekosystemu i na tej podstawie domagają się uznania ich praw do współdecydowania o losach Arktyki jako całości niepodzielnej, pod względem geograficznym, ekologicznym i wreszcie kulturowym. W ich przekonaniu odpowiedzialność za ocenę ryzyka i korzyści płynących z projektów rozwojowych, ujętą przez pryzmat globalnego bezpieczeństwa środowiskowego, powinna być dzielona pomiędzy nich oraz odpowiednie instytucje międzynarodowe.

U podstaw światopoglądu Inuitów oraz ich praktyk w dziedzinie tradycyjnej samorządności znajdują się wartości i zasady korespondujące z nowoczesną ideą rozwoju ekologicznego (inaczej ekorozwoju), mianowicie zasadą trwałego i zrównoważonego rozwoju (*sustainable development*). Inuici stosowali się do założeń tego obecnie promowanego podejścia, realizując je w praktyce instynktownie i w sposób pełny na długo zanim stało się wymogiem i wyznacznikiem rozwoju cywilizacyjnego współczesnych państw i społeczeństw¹⁰. W myśl tej koncepcji zaleca się ekosystemowe i kompleksowe

⁸ P. R. Stern, *op. cit.*, s. 176.

⁹ J. Machowski, *op. cit.*, s. 65.

¹⁰ Zasada zrównoważonego rozwoju powstała na gruncie prawa międzynarodowego. Ponad 20 lat temu najważniejsze jej aspekty zarysowane zostały w raporcie *Our Common Future* wydanym przez United Nations World Commission on Environment and Development. Państwa-członkowie Rady Arktycznej zobowiązały się w 1991 r. do wdrażania w życie *Strategii ochrony środowiska arktycznego*, działając w oparciu o zasady przyjęte w *Deklaracji w sprawie ochrony środowiska polarnego*; jedną z nich jest zasada tzw. zrównoważonego rozwoju. W 2002 r. na Światowym Szczycie Zrównoważonego Rozwoju, który odbył się w Johannesburgu, przyjęto zbiór zasad i działań odnoszących się m.in. do zmian klimatycznych i zrównoważonego wykorzystania zasobów naturalnych. W 2010 r. Sekretarz Generalny ONZ powołał komisję, której zadaniem jest pochylenie się nad tym tematem w kontekście rosnących zagrożeń wywoływanych przez zmiany klimatu; w tym samym roku rząd kanadyjski ogłosił *Federal Sustainable Development Act*. Office of the Auditor General of Canada, *Report of the Commissioner of the Environment and Sustainable Development to the House of Commons. The Fall 2010*, Ottawa: Office of the Auditor General 2010, http://www.oag-bvg.gc.ca/internet/docs/parl_cesd_201012_00_e.pdf, s. 4-5 (12.02.2012); K. Kępa, *Zmiany klimatu obszarów polarnych w umowach międzynarodowych*, „*Prawo i środowisko*” 2009, nr 2 (58), s. 120, 122-123; K. Kępa, *Arktyka a zmiany klimatu*, 08.12.2010, <http://www.stosunki.pl/?q=content/arktyka-zmiany-klimatu> (12.02.2012).

podejście do zagadnień ochrony środowiska (w tym klimatu). Ochrona środowiska naturalnego traktowana jest jako integralna część procesów rozwojowych. W praktyce oznacza to dążenie do osiągnięcia zintegrowanego rozwoju społecznego, ekonomicznego i środowiskowego, przy równoczesnym założeniu, że bieżące potrzeby społeczeństwa spełniane są bez naruszenia praw i możliwości rozwojowych przyszłych pokoleń. Podstawą podejmowanych działań powinno być zatem respektowanie i promowanie zasady równości międzypokoleniowej, tj. uwzględniania interesów przyszłych generacji¹¹.

Zasady trwałego i zrównoważonego rozwoju pojawiają się we wszystkich inicjatywach i wielu dokumentach autorstwa Inuitów. Raport *Circumpolar Sustainable Development* wydany przez Inuit Circumpolar Council w 1994 r. przedstawia założenia ekorozwoju ujęte z perspektywy ludności inuickiej w następujący sposób: „Inuici mają szczególny stosunek do ziemi, wody i zwierzyny w swoich ojczystych stronach. Z tego szczególnego stosunku wynika wyjątkowa filozoficzna perspektywa, oparta na głębokim zrozumieniu nie tylko każdego składnika środowiska z osobna, ale również ekologicznej współzależności i roli ludzi w świecie przyrody. Z perspektywy Inuitów trwałe i zrównoważony rozwój nie jest tylko prostym zachowaniem i ochroną za pomocą konwencjonalnych przepisów, standardów i planów zarządzania. Oznacza on raczej korzystanie z zasobów w sposób zrównoważony tak, aby sprostać ludzkim potrzebom. Inuici praktykowali to przez wieki, korzystając z gruntownej znajomości swojego środowiska naturalnego oraz tradycyjnych sposobów jego ochrony”¹². W XXI w. koncepcja ochrony środowiska naturalnego nabiera wyjątkowego etycznego i egzystencjalnego. Szczególnie widoczne jest to w holistycznym i perspektywicznym podejściu Inuitów wobec rozwoju wydobywania zasobów naturalnych Arktyki oraz jego skutków ekologicznych i społecznych. W przekonaniu Inuitów na pierwszym planie zawsze muszą się znaleźć ludzkie potrzeby, prawa jednostki, grupy, prawa przyszłych pokoleń. W przypadku gdy negatywne skutki przeważają nad korzyściami płynącymi z procesów rozwojowych, ci którzy narażeni są na nie w największym stopniu, muszą otrzymać największą pomoc oraz zostać wysłuchani. Zasada ta, zdaniem Inuitów,

¹¹ Osiągnięcie trwałego i zrównoważonego rozwoju możliwe jest m.in. dzięki kompleksowemu podejściu do procesu planowania i podejmowania decyzji, które uwzględnia: koszty środowiskowe (na przykład eksploatacji zasobów naturalnych) przy realizacji różnych ekonomicznych opcji rozwojowych i równocześnie ekonomiczne straty poniesione z tytułu realizacji różnych ekologicznych programów. Koncepcja ta zakłada, że zasada zrównoważonego rozwoju powinna stać się wyznacznikiem wszystkich działań podejmowanych przez państwa, odnoszących się nie tylko do obszaru ekologii, działalności gospodarczej, ale także do funkcjonowania rdzennych społeczeństw oraz ludności napływowej. Office of the Auditor General of Canada, *op. cit.*

¹² J. Machowski, *op. cit.*, s. 63, 65.

powinna być stosowana nie tylko w Inuit Nunaat, ale i w odniesieniu do reszty świata. Zdrowie i dobra kondycja społeczności inuickich (także ludzkości) wymaga zdrowego środowiska, ale i zdrowej ekonomii¹³. W ocenie Inuitów działalność wydobywcza na Północy, biorąc pod uwagę wielkość jej bogactw naturalnych, rozmiary światowego na nie popytu oraz trendy klimatyczne, jest nieunikniona. Proces ten, oparty o zasady zrównoważonego rozwoju, może przynieść wymierne korzyści także społecznościom rodzimym. Odpowiedzialne zarządzanie zasobami, zwłaszcza nieodnawialnymi, może przyczynić się do trwałego i zdywersyfikowanego wzrostu gospodarczego, który umożliwi rozwój strategicznych inwestycji w sektorze publicznym (budowa potrzebnej infrastruktury, sieci komunikacyjnych, transportowych itd.) oraz prywatnym (rozwój innych gałęzi przemysłu, wzrost zatrudnienia i płac itd.), a tym samym przełoży się bezpośrednio na polepszenie standardów życia (warunków ekonomicznych, socjalnych, edukacyjnych itd.) obecnych i przyszłych pokoleń Inuitów.

Głębką świadomość ekologiczną Inuitów, dalekowzroczność i nowoczesne podejście w kwestii ochrony środowiska, a także własnej tożsamości, obrazują słowa dwóch działaczy politycznych Inupiat, Eugene'a Browera oraz Jamesa Stotts'a:

Przewidujemy i musimy planować na czasy, gdy nasze zasoby arktyczne zostaną wyczerpane. Kiedy przeminie rozwój, skończą się dochody z podatków i miejsca pracy, jesteśmy zdecydowani działać tak, aby nasi potomkowie mogli przeżyć, podobnie jak nasi przodkowie zapewnili nam naszą ciągłość. To przetrwanie zależy od przeżycia i utrzymania naszej arktycznej zwierzyny oraz minimalnego naruszenia arktycznego środowiska i siedlisk zwierzyny. Jeżeli nie mamy zostać niebezpiecznie zagrożeni jako kultura i gatunek, to tradycyjne sposoby utrzymania Inuitów muszą być kontynuowane i trzeba pozwolić im przeżyć. Arktyczne, lokalne i regionalne samorządy są tym forum, które zapewni im przeżycie¹⁴.

Znaczenie zachowania i rozwoju tubylczej kultury, w tym tradycyjnego stylu życia, jest zawsze mocno akcentowane przez Inuitów. Znajduje to odzwierciedlenie w tworzonych przez ich organizacje rekomendacjach. W *Circumpolar Inuit Declaration on Resource Development Principles in Inuit*

¹³ Założenie to koresponduje z treścią, należącego do grupy praw trzeciej generacji, prawa człowieka do środowiska, zgodnie z którym każda jednostka ludzka ma prawo do życia w odpowiednim środowisku naturalnym oraz do jego ochrony. Inuit Circumpolar Council Canada, *A Circumpolar Inuit Declaration on Resource Development Principles in Inuit Nunaat*, <http://www.inuitcircumpolar.com/resource-development-principles-in-inuit-nunaat.html> (15.12.2015).

¹⁴ J. Machowski, *op. cit.*, s. 120.

Nunaat obliguje się Inuitów do dokładania starań (na przykład poprzez naciski na władze i podmioty prywatne), aby wszystkie projekty rozwojowe były planowane i implementowane w taki sposób, aby nie uderzały, ale wspierały i służyły dziedzictwu kulturowemu. Zdaniem Inuitów ich tubylcze prawo do kultywowania odrębnej kultury nie powinno pozbawiać ich możliwości rozwojowych oraz standardów życia, jakimi cieszą się społeczeństwa rozwinięte. Celem zrównoważonej eksploatacji zasobów arktycznych ma być więc wszechstronny, ekonomiczno-społeczno-kulturowy rozwój, który doprowadzić ma do większej samo-wystarczalności, a w konsekwencji wzmocnienia możliwości politycznego samostanowienia Inuitów.

Od początku swojej działalności Inuit Circumpolar Council konsekwentnie promowało i broniło swojego stanowiska, w myśl którego samorządność jest środkiem i gwarantem ochrony środowiska naturalnego Inuitów. Z kolei wiodącą motywacją tworzonych strategii zarządzania środowiskiem arktycznym zawsze była ochrona kultury, w tym tradycyjnych umiejętności łowieckich. Suwerenne prawo Inuitów do samorządności oznacza dla nich pełne i aktywne uczestniczenie w tworzeniu polityki środowiskowej i klimatycznej, zarówno na poziomie międzynarodowym, jak i w kraju zamieszkania. W związku z powyższym ICC zabiegało o uznanie prawa ludności tubylczej do udziału m.in. w UN Conference on the Environment and Development, tzw. pierwszym Szczycie Ziemi, który odbył się w 1992 r. w Rio de Janeiro. Według inuickiego działacza politycznego Aqqałuka Lyngę'a, dążenie do niezależności było główną siłą napędzającą i umożliwiającą fizyczne oraz kulturowe przetrwanie Inuitów na przestrzeni wieków; obecnie jest nią dążenie do odzyskania kontroli nad politycznym i gospodarczym rozwojem ich terytoriów¹⁵.

W celu realizacji statutowych założeń strategicznych oraz formułowania na bieżąco zadań wspólnej polityki, Inuici postanowili w 1980 r. na konferencji w Nuuk, trzy lata po zwołaniu pierwszej Okołobiegunowej Konferencji Inuitów, zwoływać systematycznie zjazdy, w krajach przez nich zamieszkałych i wskazanych przez Radę Starszych. Na spotkaniu generalnym w Lachine w Kanadzie w 1992 r. ogłoszono Inuicką Regionalną Strategię Ochrony Środowiska (Inuit Regional Conservation Strategy, IRCS). Wszystkie regiony zamieszkałe przez Inuitów objęte zostały okołobiegunowym programem inicjatyw ekorozwojowych, realizowanych przez ICC. Projekty te oparte są na współpracy transgranicznej oraz zasadzie zrównoważonego rozwoju Arktyki¹⁶. Ponadto, ICC podejmuje równoległe inicjatywy międzynarodowe w takich dziedzinach jak szeroko pojęta ochrona środowiska arktycznego, monitoring zmian klimatycznych, popularyzowanie tradycyjnej wiedzy Inuitów, ochrona praw człowieka i obywatela, rozwój gospodarczy oraz międzynarodowa

¹⁵ S. D. Grant, *op. cit.*, s. 388.

¹⁶ J. Machowski, *op. cit.*, s. 67, 258, 300.

wymiana handlowa itd. W pierwszej dekadzie obecnego stulecia dyskurs na temat ochrony środowiska polarnego zdominowany został przez kwestię zmian klimatu, niemniej jednak problem przemysłowych i transgranicznych zanieczyszczeń, tak istotny w Arktyce, znalazł swój szczęśliwy finał na forum ONZ. Inuit Circumpolar Council, reprezentująca stanowisko Inuitów, przez wiele lat angażowała się w negocjacje międzynarodowe w sprawie eliminacji produkcji i stosowania POP (*persistent organic pollutants*), zanim w 2001 r. uchwalona została *The Stockholm Convention on Persistent Organic Pollutants* (w składzie delegacji kanadyjskiej znalazła się ówczesna prezydent ICC, Sheila Watt-Cloutier). Konwencja, podpisana przez ponad 120 krajów (w tym Kanadę oraz USA) w celu ochrony środowiska i zdrowia ludzkiego przed substancjami określanymi jako „trwałe zanieczyszczenia organiczne”, wprowadziła ograniczenia w produkcji, stosowaniu, eksporcie i imporcie dwunastu najbardziej toksycznych substancji, potocznie nazywanych *parszywą dwunastką* (*Dirty Dozen*)¹⁷. Przemawiająca w imieniu Inuitów na jednej z sesji Watt-Cloutier wniosła, zdaniem obserwatorów, wiarygodną, tubylczą perspektywę do odbywającej się debaty. Stwierdziła, że zanieczyszczenie środowiska naturalnego dotyczy każdego; nie jest to tylko problem zatrutego dziecka inuickiego czy zanieczyszczonej Arktyki. Konwencja sztokholmska jest pierwszym prawnie wiążącym, globalnym porozumieniem, które odniosło się do sytuacji rdzennych mieszkańców Arktyki, głównie dzięki zaangażowaniu ICC. Inuici aktywnie uczestniczyli również w procesie implementacji wspomnianej konwencji. Ważnym forum działalności Inuitów na polu ochrony środowiska, ich kultury oraz promocji zrównoważonego rozwoju Arktyki jest Rada Arktyczna¹⁸. W preambule Deklaracji ustanawiającej i powołującej do życia tę regionalną instytucję rozpoznano i podkreślono znaczenie oraz cenny wkład

¹⁷ Earthjustice, *Environmental Rights Report 2008. Human Rights and the Environment*, <http://earthjustice.org/sites/default/files/library/reports/2008-environmental-rights-report.pdf>, s. 36–37 (12.07.2012); A. Bartnik, K. Czarnomski, *Nowe substancje objęte postanowieniami Konwencji Sztokholmskiej oraz substancje kandydackie*, Warszawa 2009, http://ks.ios.edu.pl/files/nowe_substancje-dodatek_a.pdf (12.07.2012).

¹⁸ Na forum Rady Arktycznej działa sześć stałych grup roboczych, które zajmują się różnymi aspektami wyzwań ekologicznych i środowiskowych w regionie arktycznym: Arctic Contaminants Action Program (ACAP), Arctic Monitoring and Assessment Programme (AMAP), Conservation of Arctic Flora and Fauna (CAFF), Emergency Prevention, Preparedness and Response (EPPR), Protection of the Arctic Marine Environment (PAME), Sustainable Development Working Group (SDWG). Inuit Circumpolar Council Canada, *Utqiagvik Declaration 2006*, <http://inuitcircumpolar.indelta.ca/files/uploads/icc-files/theutqiagvikdeclarationcopy.pdf> (12.03.2012); Arctic Council, *Environmental Protection*, <http://www.arctic-council.org/index.php/en/environment-a-climate/environmental-protection> (12.03.2012).

organizacji tubylczych, a także tradycyjnej wiedzy ludności autochtonicznej w postępowanie badań poświęconych lepszemu poznaniu i zrozumieniu środowiska Arktyki oraz dotyczących go zagrożeń¹⁹. Oprócz państw członkowskich w skład Rady wchodzi także tzw. stali uczestnicy (*Permanent Participants*), czyli sześć organizacji reprezentujących rdzenną ludność arktyczną (trzy pierwsze aktywnie działają w Kanadzie): Arctic Athabaskan Council (AAC), Gwich'in Council International (GCI), Inuit Circumpolar Council (ICC)²⁰, Aleut International Association (AIA) oraz Saami Council, Russian Arctic Indigenous Peoples of the North (RAIPON)²¹. ICC aktywnie uczestniczy w działalności Arctic Climate Impact Assessment (ACIA), funkcjonującej przy Radzie Arktycznej.

W 1976 r. Eben Hopson stwierdził, że: „(...) będąc daleką od bazy społecznej, nauka arktyczna jest kontrolowana głównie przez interesy państwowe i prze-mysłowe. Nie jest ona ukierunkowana na nasze regionalne potrzeby społeczne, ale na potrzeby innej społeczności”²². Jednak już nie tylko Inuici, ale coraz częściej także świat nauki zwraca uwagę na to, że tradycyjna wiedza, którą dysponują starsze pokolenia oraz zawodowi myśliwi inuicy, ma wymiar praktyczny i użyteczny; stanowi ważne źródło gromadzonej od pokoleń mądrości i informacji „z pierwszej ręki” na temat obserwowanych na przestrzeni lat oraz doświadczanych aktualnie zmian zachodzących w arktycznym ekosystemie, dynamice lodu, procesach pogodowych itd. *Deklaracja z Nuuk*, ogłoszona przez ICC w 2010 r., odnosi się do „znaczącego sukcesu”,

¹⁹ Arctic Council, Declaration on the Establishment of the Arctic Council: Joint Communique of the Governments of the Arctic Countries on the Establishment of the Arctic Council, 19 September 1996, Ottawa, Canada, preambuła, art. 1, <https://www.msz.gov.pl/resource/bad85c24-f6e9-4298-8e67-7f0c42dc8a4e:JCR> (12.03.2012).

²⁰ W 2011 r., przy okazji szczytu klimatycznego w Durbanie, Inuici wystąpili z postulatem, aby uznać Radę Arktyczną jako modelowe forum współpracy pomiędzy państwami i autochtoniczną ludnością. Założenia Rada miała być otwarta dla rdzennych mieszkańców Arktyki, których uczestnictwo miało zapewnić prowadzenie wielostronnych konsultacji odbywających się na jej forum. Inuici wezwali światowych liderów do rozwijania podobnych inicjatyw i gremiów, w ramach których podejmowane byłyby kwestie globalnych wyzwań ekologicznych oraz zmian środowiskowych występujących w danym regionie, a w procesie decyzyjnym uczestniczyliby autochtoni jako formalni członkowie. A. Lynge, *Inuit Call on Global Leaders at COP 17: Binding Agreement Urgently Needed to Ensure the Future of our Arctic Homeland*, 6 December 2011, <http://www.inuitcircumpolar.com/uploads/3/0/5/4/30542564/icccop17calltoactiondec0611.pdf>, s. 6.

²¹ Arctic Council, *Indigenous People*, <http://www.arctic-council.org/index.php/en/arctic-peoples/indigenous-people> (12.03.2012).

²² J. Machowski, s. 119.

jaki odnieśli Inuici w promowaniu tubylczej wiedzy, współpracując z przedstawicielami innych nacji, różnych systemów wartości i wiedzy, przy jednoczesnym zachowaniu własnej hierarchii wartości. Równocześnie inuicy przywódcy polityczni akcentują niejednokrotnie, że przy całej aktywności i zaangażowaniu członków ich społeczności w rozwój badań naukowych w Arktyce (w ramach na przykład takich projektów jak Arctic Research International czy International Polar Year), współpraca na tym polu pozostaje wciąż niedostateczna. W dziedzinie ochrony klimatu Ziemi obecność i aktywność Inuitów widoczna jest na kolejnych międzynarodowych konferencjach klimatycznych, począwszy od pierwszego Szczytu Ziemi, który odbył się w Rio de Janeiro w 1992 r.

Zagadnienie globalnego ocieplenia klimatu Ziemi przedstawiane jest w raportach najważniejszych, opiniotwórczych instytucji międzynarodowych i pozarządowych oraz w środkach masowego przekazu jako jedno z najbardziej aktualnych i naglących wyzwań i problemów ochrony środowiska naturalnego w XXI w. Zmiany klimatyczne wymieniane są, obok m.in. nadmiernej eksploatacji zasobów naturalnych, zanieczyszczeń przemysłowych oraz inwazji nowych gatunków, jako bezpośredni czynnik powodujący przeobrażenia ekosystemów, stanowiący zagrożenie dla bioróżnorodności. Globalne ocieplenie wskazywane jest także jako katalizator, który intensyfikuje szkodliwe skutki skażenia środowiska naturalnego²³. Równocześnie panuje przekonanie, że „różne działania zajmujące się zmianami klimatu (...) mogą również pomóc w rozwiązywaniu innych

²³ W 1991 r. na forum Rady Arktycznej przyjęto *Strategię ochrony środowiska arktycznego*, a w jej ramach *Deklarację w sprawie ochrony środowiska polarnego* (te normotwórcze dokumenty wyznaczyły kierunek rozwoju późniejszej współpracy regionalnej państw członkowskich oraz kształt przyjmowanych przez nie rozwiązań prawnych). We wspomnianej strategii wskazano realne zagrożenie dla gatunków i eko-systemów Arktyki w zmniejszaniu się warstwy ozonowej (co skutkuje wzrostem szkodliwego promieniowania ultrafioletowego) oraz w ocieplaniu się klimatu Ziemi. Stwierdzono ponadto, że dwa z sześciu zagadnień zidentyfikowanych i wymagających szczególnej uwagi, mianowicie trwałe zanieczyszczenia organiczne oraz zakwaszenie (cztery pozostałe zagrożenia dla środowiska polarnego to: zanieczyszczenie wód morskich olejami, obecność metali ciężkich, hałas oraz skażenie radioaktywne), są następstwem wymienionych wyżej procesów. Zgodnie z ustaleniami *Deklaracji z Salekhard* (z 2006 r.) oraz *Deklaracji z Tromsø* (z 2009 r.) zanieczyszczenie klimatu traktowane jest na równi z innymi kategoriami zanieczyszczeń określonymi w *Strategii ochrony środowiska arktycznego* w 1991 r. K. Kępa, *op. cit.*, s. 120; K. Kępa, *op. cit.*; Millennium Ecosystems Assessment, *Ecosystems and Human Well-being: Synthesis*, Washington: Island Press 2005, <http://www.millenniumassessment.org/documents/document.356.aspx.pdf>, s. 67, 79 (12.03.2012).

problemów środowiska”²⁴. Potwierdzeniem tej tezy jest fakt, że obecnie na niemal wszystkich spotkaniach poświęconych ochronie środowiska arktycznego oraz we wszystkich najważniejszych dokumentach dotyczących unormowań odnoszących się do środowiska, podejmowana jest kwestia globalnego ocieplenia klimatu oraz przeciwdziałania i zahamowania jego negatywnych skutków²⁵.

W pierwszej dekadzie XXI w. zmiany klimatu stały się jednym z priorytetowych, transgranicznych wyzwań ekologicznych dla Inuitów i reprezentującej ich na arenie międzynarodowej Inuit Circumpolar Council. Temat ten podejmowany był szczególnie często przez przewodniczącą ICC – Sheila Watt-Cloutier²⁶. Zanieczyszczenie środowiska naturalnego Arktyki oraz

²⁴ *Ramowa konwencja Narodów Zjednoczonych w sprawie zmian klimatu, sporządzona w Nowym Jorku dnia 9 maja 1992 r.*, Dz.U.96.53.238, preambuła.

²⁵ Ochrona środowiska arktycznego (oraz takich jego elementów jak klimat) stanowi obecnie jedno z największych wyzwań dla prawa międzynarodowego oraz krajowych i regionalnych systemów prawnych. Państwa zainteresowane rozwojem Arktyki wciąż znajdują się na etapie tworzenia i ustalania skutecznych instrumentów ochronnych, prac zmierzających do wdrożenia istniejących uregulowań oraz podnoszenia standardów ekologicznych. Sytuacja ta przyczynia się do zwiększenia takich zagrożeń dla ekosystemu arktycznego jak na przykład nadmierna eksploatacja surowców czy wzrost zanieczyszczeń pochodzących z transportu morskiego itd. Podstawą prawną dla wielostronnych działań na arenie międzynarodowej w dziedzinie ochrony środowiska Arktyki jest obecnie przede wszystkim *Konwencja geneńska w sprawie transgranicznego zanieczyszczenia powietrza na dalekie odległości* z 1979 r. (wraz z dołączonymi do niej protokołami), a także *Konwencja Narodów Zjednoczonych o prawie morza* z 1982 r. Osobną grupę regulacji w tej materii stanowią deklaracje oraz inne dokumenty przyjęte przez grupę państw arktycznych na forach krajowych (przykładem może być proklamowany w 1970 r. przez rząd Pierre’a Trudeau *Arctic Waters Pollution Prevention Act*, ustanawiający ograniczoną jurysdykcję władz kanadyjskich nad regionem arktycznym, sąsiadującym bezpośrednio z terytorium Kanady, w celu ochrony jego wyjątkowego i kruchego ekosystemu) oraz regionalnych, tworzących tzw. miękkie prawo międzynarodowe. Najważniejszym instrumentem prawnym, ustanawiającym ramy współpracy ponadnarodowej w zakresie ochrony klimatu jest *Ramowa Konwencja Narodów Zjednoczonych w sprawie zmian klimatu (UNFCCC)* z 1992 r. oraz stanowiący rozszerzenie jej postanowień *Protokół z Kioto*, wynegocjowany w 1997 r. K. Kępka, *op. cit.*; L. Łukaszuk, *Współpraca i spory międzynarodowe na morzach. Wybrane zagadnienia prawa, polityki morskiej i ochrony środowiska*, Warszawa: Difin 2009, s. 9, 51-53, 68-79; K. Kubiak, *Interesy i spory państw w Arktyce*, Wrocław: Wydawnictwo Naukowe Dolnośląskiej Szkoły Wyższej 2009, s. 37-39.

²⁶ Sheila Watt-Cloutier, działaczka społeczna i polityczna pochodzenia inuickiego, aktywnie angażująca się na polu ochrony praw Inuitów (zwłaszcza w dziedzinie edukacji oraz poprawy warunków zdrowotnych i socjalnych w społecznościach inuickich). Urodziła się w Kuujuaq (Nunavik w północnym Quebecu) w 1953 r. W latach 1995-1998 oraz

globalne ocieplenie klimatu traktowane są w przemówieniach liderów politycznych Inuitów jako dwa główne zagrożenia, wpływające na różne aspekty ich egzystencji. W obu przypadkach stosowana jest podobna retoryka i argumentacja. Analiza przemówień liderów inuickich pozwala stwierdzić, że najczęściej wskazują oni na negatywne implikacje tych zjawisk dla tradycyjnego stylu życia Inuitów. W tym kontekście wyrażana jest powszechnie obawa (samo słowo „strach” pojawia się rzadko w wypowiedziach Inuitów) o utratę tradycyjnej wiedzy i więzi z ziemią. Przewodnicząca ICC, Watt-Cloutier, podsumowała obawy Inuitów w następujący sposób: „zmiany klimatu oraz naszego środowiska doprowadzą do tego, że kultura Inuitów zniknie”²⁷. Niepokój o przyszłość młodych pokoleń i naruszenie sprawiedliwości międzypokoleniowej zawierają i obrazują również słowa byłego prezydenta Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami, Jose A. Kusugaka, który stwierdził, że licząca tysiące lat tradycja Inuitów zmienia się, a oni sami znajdują się w sytuacji, kiedy będą musieli zdefiniować na nowo, co to znaczy być Inukiem, a to, cytując Kusugaka: „(...) jest perspektywa, której się obawiamy”²⁸. Z niekorzystnymi i nieprzewidywalnymi skutkami zmiany klimatu wiążą się także obawy o zachowanie zdrowia, bezpieczeństwa, a nawet życia. Pojawiają się one zwykle w wypowiedziach inuickich myśliwych. Natomiast, co jest symptomatyczne, w dyskursie liderów politycznych Inuitów (i takich organizacji jak ICC itd.) kwestie bezpieczeństwa podnoszone są rzadko, zwykle w odniesieniu do bezpieczeństwa ekonomicznego, bezpieczeństwa żywności oraz bezpieczeństwa fizycznego, także w wymiarze podstawowych praw człowieka²⁹. W tym

2002–2006 sprawowała odpowiednio funkcję prezydenta ICC Canada oraz przewodniczącej ICC. Prowadzi od wielu lat międzynarodową kampanię edukacyjną i uświadamiającą skalę wyzwań i problemów ekologicznych w Arktyce, koncentrując się ostatnio przede wszystkim na kwestii zmian klimatycznych i ich negatywnych implikacji dla społeczności inuickich. Watt-Cloutier nagrodzona została licznymi nagrodami i odznaczeniami za swój wkład w działania na rzecz ochrony środowiska naturalnego: U.N. Champions of the Earth Award, Sophie Prize itd. Watt-Cloutier nominowana była także do Pokojowej Nagrody Nobla w 2007 r. *Sheila Watt-Cloutier, Citation Lifetime Achievement*, http://www.canadiangeographic.ca/cea/archives/archives_lifetime.asp?id=159 (15.03.2012); Alaska Federation of Natives, *Leadership Forum, Sheila Watt-Cloutier*, <http://www.nativefederation.org/forum/LF06Bios.php> (15.03.2012).

²⁷ H.A. Smith, B. Parks, *op. cit.*, s. 8.

²⁸ *Ibidem*, s. 10.

²⁹ W retoryce władz kanadyjskich w odniesieniu do Arktyki oraz zachodzących w regionie arktycznym procesów dominują odniesienia do zagrożeń związanych z otwarciem Przejścia Północno-Zachodniego, a w związku z tym podnoszone są kwestie bezpieczeństwa politycznego, militarnego, ekonomicznego oraz środowiskowego. Sheila Watt-Cloutier w przemówieniu do Environmental Protection Service, zapowiedziała, że ICC zamierza dokonać rewizji prowadzonej przez rząd polityki w dziedzinie ochrony

momencie należy zaakcentować, że Inuici dostrzegają nie tylko ryzyko związane z ociepleniem klimatu Arktyki, ale i korzyści płynące z rozwoju regionu arktycznego, który *de facto* możliwy jest dzięki obecnym trendom klimatycznym. Jest to widoczne zwłaszcza w retoryce Inuitów na Grenlandii, którzy z eksploatacją swoich zasobów naturalnych wiążą nadzieje na uzyskanie niepodległości³⁰. Niemniej jednak w środowisku inuickim dominuje przekonanie, zgodnie z którym zdecydowanie przeważają negatywne skutki zmian klimatycznych nad nowymi możliwościami i szansami przez nie generowanymi. Podejście to ugruntowane jest do tego stopnia, że organizacje tubylcze wskazują na brak możliwości korzystania przez Inuitów z ich podstawowych praw w konsekwencji niektórych skutków zmiany klimatu. W tym kontekście podnoszona jest kwestia niesprawiedliwości, która dotyka Inuitów, poprzez wskazanie na nieproporcjonalnie duży i dotkliwy wpływ ocieplenia klimatu na różne aspekty ich życia w porównaniu do ich nikłego wkładu w powstanie tego globalnego problemu. Liderzy inuicycy niejednokrotnie podkreślali w swoich wystąpieniach, że rdzenna ludność Arktyki doświadcza w sposób niezawiniony najbardziej negatywnych skutków zmiany klimatu. Potwierdzeniem ich słów okazał się raport, opublikowany w listopadzie 2004 r. przez Arctic Climate Impact Assessment (ACIA)³¹, który powołuje się m.in. na

środowiska arktycznego. Ochrona ekosystemu Arktyki, w tym przeciwdziałanie globalnemu ociepleniu (jeden z czterech priorytetowych celów sformułowanej i ogłoszonej w 2009 r. przez premiera Harpera *Northern Strategy*), wskazywana jest także w Kanadzie jako jeden ze sposobów zachowania kanadyjskiej suwerenności na Dalekiej Północy. Podczas *2030 North Conference*, która odbyła się w czerwcu 2009 r. w Ottawie, Watt-Cloutier stwierdziła, że suwerenność Arktyki i zmiany klimatu to dwie strony tej samej monety. R. Huebert, *The Newly Emerging Arctic Security Environment*, Calgary: Canadian Defence & Foreign Affairs Institute, March 2010, https://d3n8a8pro7vhmxc.cloudfront.net/cdfai/pages/41/attachments/original/1413661956/The_Newly_Emerging_Artic_Security_Environment.pdf?1413661956, s. 1–9 (10.05.2012); T. Dunn, *Arctic Governance. Arctic Leadership: Collaborative Model Needed to Face Security Issues in the North, Paper presented at the Peace and Justice Studies Association Conference, October 2, 2010*, <http://www.arcticsecurity.org/wp-content/uploads/2010/11/Arctic-Governance-paper.pdf>, s. 1–15 (10.05.2012); S.D. Grant, *op. cit.*, s. 400.

³⁰ J. Piaseczny, *Spory o podział Arktyki*, „Przegląd” 2010, nr 14 <http://www.przegladtygodnik.pl/pl/artykul/spory-o-podzial-arktyki> (10.05.2012).

³¹ ACIA jest międzynarodowym projektem badawczym, przedstawiającym najnowsze i kompletne badania (uwzględniające, co istotne, wiedzę i doświadczenie ludności rdzennej) na temat postępujących zmian środowiskowych w Arktyce. Powstał on na zlecenie Rady Arktycznej oraz pozarządowej organizacji – International Arctic Science Committee (IASC), zajmującej się koordynacją współpracy naukowej w zakresie badań prowadzonych w Arktyce. Projekt zrealizowany został przez dwie grupy badawcze, działające przy Radzie Arktycznej – Arctic Monitoring and Assessment Programme

ustalenia Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change z 2001 r. Stwierdza on mianowicie, że region arktyczny jest szczególnie narażony na zachodzące w chwili obecnej, ale przypuszczalnie także w przyszłości, zmiany klimatyczne oraz ich następstwa. Naukowcy potwierdzili, że Arktyka doświadcza jednych z najszybciej postępujących i najintensywniejszych zmian klimatu na Ziemi. Z raportu wyłania się następująca konkluzja: ostatnie prognozy mówią o tym, że procesy te przyśpieszą w obecnym stuleciu, przyczyniając się do znaczących, ekologicznych i społeczno-ekonomicznych zmian, z których wiele już teraz ma miejsce w regionie³². Inuici znaleźli się tym samym na pierwszej linii frontu walki z globalnym ociepleniem, domagając się właściwego rozpoznania i uznania przez wspólnotę międzynarodową istnienia kryzysu ekologicznego w Arktyce, a w związku z tym powszechnej ratyfikacji i implementacji postanowień zawartych i wynikających z *Ramowej konwencji Narodów Zjednoczonych w sprawie zmian klimatu (United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change, UNFCCC)*³³.

(AMAP) oraz Conservation of Arctic Flora and Fauna (CAFF). Raport ACIA współfinansowany był także przez U.S. National Science Foundation oraz National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration. Arctic Climate Impact Assessment (ACIA), *Impacts of a Warming Arctic: Arctic Climate Impact Assessment*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 2004, <http://www.amap.no/documents/download/1058>; S.D. Grant, *op. cit.*, s. 393.

³² ACIA, *op. cit.*, s. 8-9.

³³ *United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC)* wynegocjonowana została w 1992 r. w trakcie konferencji ONZ, tzw. Szczytu Ziemi zorganizowanego pod hasłem „Środowisko i Rozwój” w Rio de Janeiro (Kanada podpisała i ratyfikowała Konwencję w 1992 r.). Stanowi ona, jak do tej pory, najważniejszy instrument prawny, ustanawiający ramy współpracy międzynarodowej w zakresie ochrony klimatu w myśl osiągniętego konsensusu i konstatacji, że: „zmiany klimatu Ziemi i ich negatywne skutki są wspólnym problemem ludzkości (...), [a – S.B.] globalny charakter zmian klimatu wymaga maksymalnie rozwiniętej współpracy wszystkich państw i ich udziału w efektywnym i odpowiednim międzynarodowym przeciwdziałaniu, zgodnie z ich wspólnymi, lecz zróżnicowanymi możliwościami i ich warunkami społecznymi i ekonomicznymi”. Artykuł drugi Konwencji Klimatycznej wskazuje, że: „Celem podstawowym niniejszej konwencji i wszelkich związanych z nią dokumentów prawnych, które mogą być przyjęte przez Konferencję Stron, jest doprowadzenie (...) do ustabilizowania koncentracji gazów cieplarnianych w atmosferze na poziomie, który zapobiegałby niebezpiecznej antropogenicznej ingerencji w system klimatyczny. Dla uniknięcia zagrożenia produkcji żywności i dla umożliwienia zrównoważonego rozwoju ekonomicznego poziom taki powinien być osiągnięty w okresie wystarczającym do naturalnej adaptacji ekosystemów do zmian klimatu”. *Ramowa konwencja Narodów...*, preambuła, art. 2.

Bibliografia :

- Alaska Federation of Natives, *Leadership Forum*, Sheila Watt-Cloutier, <http://www.nativefederation.org/forum/LF06Bios.php>.
- Arctic Climate Impact Assessment, *Impacts of a Warming Arctic: Arctic Climate Impact Assessment*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 2004, <http://www.amap.no/documents/download/1058>.
- Arctic Council, *Declaration on the Establishment of the Arctic Council: Joint Communiqué of the Governments of the Arctic Countries on the Establishment of the Arctic Council*, 19 September 1996, Ottawa, Canada, <https://www.msz.gov.pl/resource/bad85c24-f6e9-4298-8e67-7f0c42dc8a4e:JCR>.
- Arctic Council, *Environmental Protection*, <http://www.arctic-council.org/index.php/en/environment-a-climate/environmental-protection>.
- Arctic Council, *Indigenous People*, <http://www.arctic-council.org/index.php/en/arctic-peoples/indigenous-people>.
- Bartnik A., Czarnomski K., *Nowe substancje objęte postanowieniami Konwencji Sztokholmskiej oraz substancje kandydackie*, Warszawa 2009, http://ks.ios.edu.pl/files/nowe_substancje-dodatek_a.pdf.
- Dunn T., *Arctic Governance. Arctic Leadership: Collaborative Model Needed to Face Security Issues in the North, Paper presented at the Peace and Justice Studies Association Conference, October 2, 2010*, <http://www.arcticsecurity.org/wp-content/uploads/2010/11/Arctic-Governance-paper.pdf>.
- Earthjustice, *Environmental Rights Report 2008. Human Rights and the Environment*, <http://earthjustice.org/sites/default/files/library/reports/2008-environmental-rights-report.pdf>.
- Grant S. D., *Polar Imperative. A History of Arctic Sovereignty in North America*, Vancouver/Toronto/Berkeley: Douglas & McIntyre Publishers Inc. 2010.
- Huebert R., *The Newly Emerging Arctic Security Environment*, Calgary: Canadian Defence & Foreign Affairs Institute, March 2010, https://d3n8a8pro7vhmx.cloudfront.net/cdfai/pages/41/attachments/original/1413661956/The_Newly_Emerging_Arctic_Security_Environment.pdf?1413661956.
- Inuit Circumpolar Council Canada, *A Circumpolar Inuit Declaration on Resource Development Principles in Inuit Nunaat*, <http://www.inuitcircumpolar.com/resource-development-principles-in-inuit-nunaat.html>.
- Inuit Circumpolar Council Canada, *Charter*, <http://www.inuitcircumpolar.com/charter--bylaws.html>.
- Inuit Circumpolar Council Canada, *Inuit Circumpolar Council (ICC)*, <http://inuitcircumpolar.com/index.php?ID=16&Lang=En>.

- Inuit Circumpolar Council Canada, *Nuuk Declaration 2010*,
<http://www.inuitcircumpolar.com/declaration---2010.html>.
- Inuit Circumpolar Council Canada, *Utqiaġvik Declaration 2006*,
<http://inuitcircumpolar.indelta.ca/files/uploads/icc-files/theutqiaġvikdeclarationcopy.pdf>.
- Kępa K., *Zmiany klimatu obszarów polarnych w umowach międzynarodowych*, „*Prawo i środowisko*” 2009, nr 2 (58), s. 116-134.
- Kępa K., *Arktyka a zmiany klimatu*, 08.12.2010, <http://www.stosunki.pl/?q=content/arktyka-zmiany-klimatu> (12.02.2012).
- Kubiak K., *Interesy i spory państw w Arktyce*, Wrocław: Wydawnictwo Naukowe Dolnośląskiej Szkoły Wyższej 2009.
- Lynge A., *Inuit Call on Global Leaders at CoP 17: Binding Agreement Urgently Needed to Ensure the Future of our Arctic Homeland*, 6 December 2011,
<http://www.inuitcircumpolar.com/uploads/3/0/5/4/30542564/icccop17calltoactiondec0611.pdf>.
- Łukaszuk L., *Współpraca i spory międzynarodowe na morzach. Wybrane zagadnienia prawa, polityki morskiej i ochrony środowiska*, Warszawa: Difin 2009.
- Machowski J., *Inuit. Legendy, podania i baśnie eskimoskie*, Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Akademickie Dialog 1999.
- Millennium Ecosystems Assessment, *Ecosystems and Human Well-being: Synthesis*, Washington: Island Press World Resources Institute 2005,
<http://www.millenniumassessment.org/documents/document.356.aspx.pdf>.
- Office of the Auditor General of Canada, *Report of the Commissioner of the Environment and Sustainable Development to the House of Commons. The Fall 2010*, Ottawa: Office of the Auditor General 2010, http://www.oag-bvg.gc.ca/internet/docs/parl_cesd_201012_00_e.pdf.
- Piaseczny J., *Spory o podział Arktyki*, „Przegląd” 2010, nr 14,
<http://www.przegląd-tygodnik.pl/pl/artykul/spory-o-podzial-arktyki>.
- Ramowa konwencja Narodów Zjednoczonych w sprawie zmian klimatu, sporządzona w Nowym Jorku dnia 9 maja 1992 r., Dz.U.96.53.238.
- Sheila Watt-Cloutier, *Citation Lifetime Achievement*,
http://www.canadiangeographic.ca/cea/archives/archives_lifetime.asp?id=159.
- Smith H.A., Parks B., *Climate Change, Environmental Security and Inuit Peoples*, w: *Critical Environmental Security: Rethinking the Links Between Natural Resources and Political Violence*, M.A. Schnurr, L.A. Swatuk (red.), Halifax: Centre for Foreign Policy Studies Dalhousie University 2010.
- Stern P. R., *Daily Life of the Inuit*, Santa Barbara: ABC-CLIO LLC. 2010.
- The Indigenous World 2011*, K. Wessendorf (red.), Copenhagen: The International Work Group for Indigenous Affairs 2011.

Sylvia Bezak ukończyła w 2012 roku studia na kierunku kulturoznawstwo, specjalność amerykanistyka w Instytucie Amerykanistyki i Studiów Polonijnych Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego w Krakowie. Praca magisterska pt. „Inuici kanadyjskiego rejonu Arktyki wobec postępującej zmiany klimatu i środowiska naturalnego na początku XXI w.” została napisana pod kierunkiem dr hab. Anny Reczyńskiej, prof. UJ.

Kamila Scheithauer (Niemiec)

University of Silesia

REDISCOVERING INDIGENOUS KNOWLEDGE IN CONTEMPORARY CANADA

Abstract

This article is concerned with examining the process of rediscovering Indigenous knowledge in contemporary approaches to education in Canada. It begins with a brief account of Native people's recent efforts to regain control over their own learning and teaching and it proceeds to the discussion and clarification of a tremendously important cultural phenomenon, namely decolonization of Aboriginal pedagogies. The next part is devoted to a review of particular aspects of Indigenous knowledge and philosophies that seem especially enriching and beneficial not only for today's educational system, but also for the society's attitude to life in general. The final part enumerates and discusses in detail the most important Native educational tools and practices, which appear to find the greatest application in the classroom environment.

Résumé

Cet article porte sur l'examen du processus de la redécouverte des connaissances autochtones dans les démarches contemporaines relatives à l'éducation au Canada. Il commence par un bref compte rendu des efforts déployés récemment par les autochtones pour reprendre le contrôle sur leur propre apprentissage et sur l'enseignement et il procède à la discussion et à la clarification d'un phénomène culturel extrêmement important, à savoir la décolonisation des pédagogies autochtones. La partie suivante est consacrée à un examen des aspects particuliers de la connaissance et des philosophies autochtones qui semblent particulièrement enrichissantes et bénéfiques non seulement pour le système éducatif d'aujourd'hui, mais aussi pour l'attitude de la société envers la vie en général. La dernière partie énumère et examine en détail les plus importants outils et pratiques éducatifs autochtones, qui semblent trouver la plus grande application dans l'environnement scolaire.

In spite of many-year-long colonizing aspirations and the existence of dozens of “damaging myths about Aboriginal cultures, languages, beliefs and ways of life” (Battiste, “Maintaining...” 194), non-Aboriginal Canadians of the 21st century appear to manifest an ever growing inclination towards acknowledging the importance of Indigenous philosophies in the contemporary world. It is a widely recognized truth that Native people have an indispensable right to live in accordance with their cultural traditions and values, which reveal themselves in the unique character of Indigenous approaches to pedagogy and education. Although thus far not ubiquitously reflected in all school curricula in Canada, elements of Aboriginal worldviews and teaching techniques are being currently integrated into a lot of educational programs. These practices contribute not only to the growth of young Indigenous people’s cultural awareness and the quality of their spiritual development, but they also encourage non-Native students to broaden their horizons and learn to accept and respect diverse viewpoints, notwithstanding the fact of their being different from or even contradictory to the generally approved ways of thinking.

1. Indigenous People’s Control over Their Own Education

After years of social and cultural discrimination and traumatic experiences caused by residential school system and drastic Child Welfare programs, Native people of Canada became eager to liberate themselves from the yoke of colonialism, which deprived them of the right to contribute to the creation of laws concerning them and to decide about their own future. From this long-withheld frustration emerged the readiness to fight for the introduction of serious changes into the national laws regarding Aboriginal education. One of the earliest documents which guaranteed that Indigenous approach to education was valuable and legitimate was the 1972 policy paper *Indian Control of Indian Education* established by the National Indian Brotherhood¹ (Kirkness 7). The document recognized Indigenous philosophies as being essential for Native children to develop harmoniously and its two major principles were parental responsibility, which enabled parents to decide about their children’s education, and local control, which required local administration of “Indian controlled schools” (12). The paper underwent a revision in 2010 and is now known as *First Nations Control of First Nations Education*. The 2010 paper promotes lifelong learning as being valid and it addresses such aspects of Indigenous education as “language immersion, holistic and culturally relevant curricula, well-trained educators, focused

¹ National Indian Brotherhood was replaced by the Assembly of First Nations in 1982.

leadership, parental involvement and accountability, and safe and healthy facilities founded on principles that respect First Nations jurisdiction over education” (*First Nations 3*).

Nevertheless, despite the existence of such documents, the quality of Aboriginal education is still in need of reforms and many improvements and Indigenous people continue to be forced to fight against omnipresent stereotypes and discrimination. Fortunately, a great number of affirmative actions and positive initiatives is being undertaken by many cultural organizations², which aim at promoting Aboriginal worldviews and perspectives on education and community life. Moreover, the Canadian government engages in numerous debates concerning the introduction of Indigenous subject matter into regular classroom practice, which so far resulted in the implementation of Native Languages and Aboriginal Perspectives classes at elementary and secondary schools in British Columbia (*Shared Learnings*), Alberta (Donald), Manitoba (*Integrating Aboriginal*) and Ontario (*Aboriginal Education Strategy*).

It is common knowledge that people of Native origin are becoming ever more significant and vital for the development of Canadian society and economics. Therefore, providing them with quality education, which not only enables them to embrace their cultural heritage and traditions, but also recognizes their voice in the process of nationwide curricula creation, should be one of the most fundamental concerns of the Canadian government. Even more importantly, as previously implied in the second chapter of this thesis, including Aboriginal perspectives and teaching approaches in the contemporary educational system may prove to be truly beneficial for the process of recovering from the intergenerational trauma to occur, as non-Native people educated in Indigenous philosophies might evince a more understanding and compassionate attitude towards Native people’s experiences and affairs.

2. Decolonizing Aboriginal Education

In order for the aforementioned healing process to take place and the complete revitalization of Indigenous perspectives in education to follow, Aboriginal people, as Bill Mussel argues, “must take positive control over their lives as individuals, families and communities” (4) and make an attempt at decolonizing their education and their relationship with the world in general. In the most basic terms, what is understood as ‘decolonization’ is involving in

² The Native Friendship Centre, The First Nations Confederacy of Cultural Education Centres and The First Peoples’ Cultural Council being cases in point.

the process of recognizing and comprehending the mechanisms of colonization, which in turn leads to the reclamation of one's traditional culture, values and identity (4). Marie Battiste labels these two components of decolonization as 'deconstruction', that is the ability to understand the limitations and inadequacies of colonialism, and 'reconstruction', which enables Indigenous people to reconstruct and reclaim their traditional knowledge and restore spiritual balance and mental health ("Perspectives").

Adopting decolonizing pedagogies in contemporary Canadian educational system seems to be one of the most important approaches, mainly because it "enable[s] Indigenous people and all people to be educated in a way that honours identity and culture." (Munroe 331) On the one hand, it helps Native people to overcome their colonial legacy and become aware of the significance of their cultural heritage, while on the other, it contributes to the development of non-Native people's cultural consciousness and discrimination elimination (Mussel 5). Nevertheless, one should bear in mind that, as argued by Munroe, "moving towards decolonization requires extensive transformation of education where learning is rooted in Indigenous knowledges rather than treating these knowledges as an 'add-on' or 'other' way of knowing" (320). This is one of the reasons for the importance of including Indigenous perspectives in school curricula.

It seems justified to argue that for decolonization to proceed successfully, both teachers and learners need to actively participate in conducting this transformation of education, as they are the core elements of the knowledge giving and gaining process. The following sections discuss the importance of proper teacher education and the reasons why Indigenous perspectives and pedagogies may have an advantageous influence on learners.

2.1. THE IMPORTANCE OF PROPER TEACHER EDUCATION

Teachers, alongside with learners, are the most essential parties for the educational process to occur. The traditionally Eurocentric understanding of teacher's roles demonstrates an image of a distanced mentor and specialist, who presents the students with information and ready-made conclusions.³ There is no dispute that in the Aboriginal approach to education the teacher is also a central knowledge-providing figure. However, what seems to be the most considerable difference is the special character of the teacher-learner

³ Such a strict view of a teacher is certainly not universal and characteristic for all teaching methods, especially since approaches to education have changed in recent decades from teacher-oriented to more learner-centered attitudes; however, it remains a fact that a substantial amount of education at schools is held in a teacher-fronted, writing-dependent manner.

relationship, which, according to Indigenous beliefs, should be one of cooperation and mutual trust. The learner is not merely a recipient of the teacher's instructions but, quite the contrary, he or she is an active and deeply committed co-creator of the learning, which makes education a knowledge-exchange process, rather than just an either knowledge-giving or knowledge-gaining one. This, in turn, leads to the blurring of the boundaries, a process which enables a person to be simultaneously a teacher and a learner and continue their lifelong learning in a harmonious and balanced way.

Decolonization of Aboriginal education might prove to be impossible without first decolonizing the teachers' outlook on Indigenous pedagogies. Hopefully, as research shows, most of the educators recognize the urgency to make a "shift in [their] understandings of Canada's colonial history, in decolonizing their own understandings about relationships between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal people, and in approaches to pedagogy" (Dion, Johnston, and Rice 35). They acknowledge that, in the light of these necessary changes, adopting new patterns in teacher training programs and courses is prerequisite for the ability to create healthy and quality learning conditions for all students, regardless of their social and cultural background (Sanford et al. 19). Including Indigenous perspectives on education in these programs, especially in the Canadian environment, would facilitate teachers' professional, as well as personal, development and would enable them to provide the learners with a complete and multidimensional vision of the world.

2.2. THE LEARNER PERSPECTIVE – WHY IS INDIGENOUS EDUCATION VALUABLE?

From the learner's perspective, introducing elements of Aboriginal knowledge and philosophies into common school curricula may positively contribute to young people's holistic development and their overall perception of the community and the world they live in. It seems obvious that Native and non-Indigenous students will benefit from such a naturalized education in various ways and to different degrees. However, notwithstanding these differences and learners' diverse cultural backgrounds, it is possible to admit that rediscovering and including Aboriginal pedagogies in the teaching process is working mostly, if not only, to the students' advantage.

Due to the introduction of Indigenous perspectives in education, Native people's traditional ways of teaching and learning can be honored and respected in the official school setting. This can contribute to the creation of an accepting, supporting and facilitating learning environment, which encourages the students to work in the most optimal and favourable conditions. Finding a connection between what is taught at school and what they learn at home may prove to be truly helpful when trying to determine

their cultural identity and reaching a balance between different social roles they have to perform. Furthermore, acknowledging the existence of multiple learning styles and specific educational needs of Aboriginal students might turn out to be conducive to the improvement of their learning achievements and the quality of their future lives, both professional and personal.

When considering non-Native students and the influence of presenting them with the elements of traditional Indigenous approach to education, it seems possible to assume that they would benefit greatly from the exposure to Indigenous teaching content. Not only would they be encouraged to decolonize their view of Aboriginal people and culture, but they would also learn to value and have regard for other worldviews and traditions. Becoming aware of some alternative lifestyles and attitudes would contribute remarkably to the understanding of their own society and other people in general. Moreover, through gaining new perspectives and a more comprehensive outlook on reality, non-Native learners would be far more likely to manifest tolerant, open-minded and unbiased attitudes, which could improve their relationships not only with Indigenous people, but essentially with the whole community.

On account of these arguments, it seems justified to claim that rediscovering Indigenous knowledge in today's approach to education may bring positive outcomes for both Native and non-Native students. Both Aboriginal and Western cultures have a plethora of quality values and aspects to offer and their representatives can learn a lot from each other. However, one should remember to apply common sense when deriving any inspirations from another culture's traditions in order to avoid such negative phenomena as, for instance, cultural appropriation (Restoule).

3. Indigenous Worldviews in Contemporary Education

3.1. THE HOLISTIC APPROACH AND LIFELONG LEARNING

One of the most crucial characteristics of Indigenous knowledge and approach to education is holism, which can be understood as the balance between an internally harmonious individual, the society and the environment. The notion of holism laid the foundation for what is commonly known as holistic education, which, according to Scott Forbes, "focuses on the fullest possible development of the person, encouraging individuals to become the very best or finest that they can be and enabling them to experience all they can from life and reach their goals." (qtd. in Hare 3) Holistic education may be characterized by four main features, all of which can be traced back to the traditionally Aboriginal understanding of holism. First and foremost, it

emphasizes the importance of a person's balanced development, including their "intellectual, emotional, social, physical, creative or intuitive, aesthetic and spiritual potentials." (Hare 3) Secondly, it highlights the value of a person's relationship with the community and the surrounding environment (3). Furthermore, it promotes perceiving education as "[being a] growth, discovery and a broadening of horizons" (3), rather than as a strictly formal, in-classroom process. Finally, it enables people to develop creative and critical thinking, as well as cultural, moral and political awareness (4).

Holistic education is a widely recognized approach in many countries around the world and it is gaining ever more appreciation in Canada as well. One of the most significant initiatives connected with this approach is the Canadian Council on Learning's project aiming at introducing the Holistic Lifelong Learning Models, which are designed to aid the creation of a new framework for measuring Aboriginal learning and educational success.

It is believed that in order for an individual to obtain the internal balance, natural harmony and understanding of interconnectedness of all things, it is essential to follow the teachings of holism throughout all stages of a person's life. This implicates that the notion of learning as an ongoing lifelong process is inextricably linked to the holistic approach to education. The learning process can be perceived through the metaphor of journey, which begins as early as in childhood, continues through youth and adulthood and finishes only with the last day of a person's life (*The State of Aboriginal* 31). Thus, it seems absolutely justifiable that Indigenous perspectives on education should be introduced not only to university curricula, but also to kindergarten, primary, secondary and even tertiary education, as, according to Native philosophy, at a certain stage in life an individual is ready to acquire only so much knowledge and so many teachings. Therefore, the nature and subject matter of education should be adjusted to the learners' physical, mental, emotional and spiritual maturity.

The concept of learning as a lifelong process has inspired numerous educational institutions to adopt the strategy of promoting lifelong and holistic learning, resulting in such valuable projects as Lifelong Learning Programme in Europe⁴, Lifelong Learning Plan in Canada⁵ or The Global University for Lifelong Learning⁶ operating internationally. While the projects may present various agendas and emphasize different aspects of learning, what they seem

⁴ The Lifelong Learning Programme in Europe finished in 2013, but its activities and beliefs continue under the new Erasmus+ Programme. For more information see website: www.ec.europa.eu/programmes/erasmus-plus/index_en.htm.

⁵ For more information see Canada Revenue Agency's website: www.cra-arc.gc.ca/tx/ndvdl/tpcs/rrsp-reer/lp-reep/menu-eng.html.

⁶ For more information see website: www.gullonline.org.

to have in common is the recognition of the importance of both formal and non-formal education, understanding learning as a continuous and inherent motivation to develop oneself and appreciation of the significance of the relationship between individuals and communities (Barker 5).

3.2. THE ROLE OF FAMILY, ELDERS AND COMMUNITY

While it is common knowledge that relationships exert an undeniably great influence on individuals' development and well-being, the concepts of family and community play an even more important role in the lives of Native people. At the same time, one has to bear in mind that the Aboriginal understanding of family differs significantly from the current Western model of this basic social unit. The concept of an Indigenous family can be usually reflected by the Eurocentric term 'extended family' and it "signifies not only parents and their children, but a broad network of grandparents, uncles and aunts, and cousins." (McCue, *The Learning... Ages 8 to 11* 21) Parents and other family members are the first teachers and mentors for children and it is their responsibility to create quality life and learning conditions, in which a child thrives and grows to be a healthy and balanced individual. Aboriginal families develop a deep relationship with their offspring, which is based on mutual respect and trust, by means of treating them as part of the whole community and providing them with the knowledge of traditional beliefs, values and customs.

Involving families in their children's formal learning process at school proves to be genuinely enriching for both parties. On the one hand, "involving parents in their children's education strengthens their interest in their children's educational success" (McCue, *The Learning... Ages 8 to 11* 22), as well as contributes to the increase of parental confidence about institutionalized schooling (*The State of Aboriginal* 19), while, on the other hand, it is responsible for the increase of student motivation, to which "higher attendance and graduation rates" (Moniz 20) can be attributed. Such parental involvement might include participating in storytelling and skill-sharing classes, preparing learning materials, taking part in school trips and other social events and cooperating with teachers and school authorities (McCue, *The Learning... Ages 8 to 11* 22).

Acknowledging the importance of parents and other family members in their children's educational process is vital not only for Indigenous people, who in this way would be able to provide their children with cultural continuity, but may also prove beneficial for people of non-Native origin, as it would enable them to redefine the sole concept of family and rediscover the enriching influence of familial relationships.

While discussing the importance of relationships and family engagement in the process of an Aboriginal person's education, it is necessary to highlight

the significance of the elders, who function as the community's representatives and most respected members. The elders are "the primary source of all the knowledge that has been accumulated by their communities, generation after generation; they are the keepers of spiritual ceremonies and traditional laws that have sustained First Nations through thousands of years" (McCue, *The Learning... Ages 8 to 11* 37) and for these reasons it is impossible to exclude them from Indigenous children's learning. They provide young people with communal wisdom, guidance and advice, simultaneously fostering their cultural development and self-esteem (Moniz 21).

Inviting the elders to cooperate with the schools may prove to be extremely beneficial for both Aboriginal and non-Native students and teachers. "Transmit[ting] the community's culture through parables, allegories, lessons and poetry" (*The State of Aboriginal* 20) enables the creation of a culturally relevant environment, which allows Indigenous students to find a connection between formal and informal teachings they receive, while reminding non-Native people to appreciate seniors, their knowledge and experience. It is, however, crucial for the teachers to remember that showing ultimate respect and regard is fundamental in contacts with the elders, which means that following proper protocols when approaching and requesting them to share their wisdom is required (*Native Studies* 23).

3.4. LANGUAGE AND CULTURE-BASED EDUCATION

Language can be perceived as being one of the most elementary components of a culture. It is the most basic means for communication and daily interactions, passing on and obtaining information, learning and teaching. For Indigenous people, learning is "indelibly rooted in their ancestral languages, traditions and cultures." (*The State of Aboriginal* 25) Gaining access to this traditional wisdom might become considerably difficult, if not completely impossible, without the knowledge of Native languages. Not only do they enable Aboriginal people to transmit their cultural values from one generation to the next, but they also "encode unique ways of interpreting the world" (*The State of Aboriginal* 25), which contribute immensely to the formation of Indigenous people's sense of cultural identity and belonging.

According to the 2011 Language Census in Canada, there exist over 60 Aboriginal languages, which are grouped in 12 different language families ("Aboriginal Languages" 1). Unfortunately, due to certain historical perturbations, Indigenous people experienced a substantial decline in use of their languages during past decades, which so far resulted in the extinction of at least ten once flourishing languages and the endangerment of many more (Norris 8). While the primary responsibility for reviving and protecting Aboriginal languages belongs to Native families and communities and should

principally take place at homes, introducing them as subjects in the school environment proves to enhance the process of language revitalization. A number of initiatives aiming at rediscovering Indigenous languages is being developed, among others the Indigenous Language Immersion programs, the Pre-School Language Nest Program, the Master Apprentice Language Learning Program and the Ministry of Education's approval for introducing fourteen different Native languages to sixteen school districts' curricula in British Columbia (Huang).

As Mary Jane Norris aptly observes, "although loss of language doesn't necessarily lead to the death of a culture, it can severely handicap transmission of that culture" (8). This indicates that by losing the ability to understand and communicate in a language, it would become impossible to grasp the essence of one's culture, not to mention conveying it to one's descendants. Including Aboriginal languages in common teaching programs and, thus, enabling them to undergo a process of revitalization seems to be one of the most important methods of preventing cultural decline and rediscovering Indigenous knowledge and worldviews in contemporary Canada.

As aforementioned, language, along with religion, traditional customs and ceremonies, social habits, cuisine, music and arts, is one of the components which constitute a much broader concept, namely the overall culture of a particular group of people (Zimmermann). It has been numerously emphasized in this thesis that learning about and remaining in contact with one's cultural heritage and traditions "helps Indigenous children, youth and adults build a strong ethnic identity, cultural pride and confidence in their own abilities." (*The State of Aboriginal* 28) Being able to participate in the life of one's community, which then results in sharing common experience, is said to remarkably contribute to the development of one's sense of belonging and cultural attachment, simultaneously enriching and deepening one's spiritual and mental self.

The strategy of introducing culture-based content to Canadian schools and social education appears to be the most natural way of providing both Aboriginal and non-Native people with culturally and historically relevant knowledge (Moniz 17). For learning to become a complete, valuable and effective process it is indispensable to recognize Indigenous worldviews and philosophies, especially in the Canadian context (Charleston 15). By creating a culturally responsive classroom environment, which consists in incorporating Aboriginal teachings about historical events, ceremonial traditions and social customs, as well as employing some specific Indigenous teaching methods and practices, it is possible to facilitate students' learning process, make it more meaningful and authentic (Moniz 18). However, it is very important for the teachers and educators, particularly those of non-Native origin, to remember that certain aspects of Aboriginal knowledge require to be

conveyed only by authorized members of a group, in order to be truly valid. Therefore, it is essential for schools and other educational organizations to cooperate with students' families and communities, so that the cultural content presented formally is consistent with what is taught at home (18).

3.5. PLACE-BASED EDUCATION AND THE IMPORTANCE OF ENVIRONMENTAL AWARENESS

One of the sources of Indigenous knowledge and education is insightful study of nature and empirical observation of the surrounding environment. This spiritual and inherently sacred relationship between Aboriginal people and the Earth, along with the importance of community, language and culture, constitutes the core of traditional Native teachings and practices (*Our Words* 16). The Earth is believed to be the Mother of all living things, the provider of ancestral wisdom, natural balance and priceless gifts, such as food or medicines (Moniz 11). Therefore, it is essential to treat the land and all of the goods it creates with proper respect, care, appreciation and humility. Realizing that everything that exists is closely linked and interdependent allows Indigenous people to understand that they are one of the elements of a dynamic and constantly floating circle of life, death and rebirth (11) and that protecting the land without claiming ownership to it forms the basis for maintaining a harmonious and renewable environment (*Integrating Aboriginal* 8).

Raising people's environmental awareness and promoting ecological education prove to be one of the most important and pressing issues, especially in the contemporary world of omnipresent industrialization and pollution. It seems possible to state, deducing from the observable evidence in nature, that the Western strategies of protecting the environment appear to be unable to fulfill the task of counteracting the ecological destruction and the consequences of natural resources exploitation. The solution to this problem may lie in the adoption of traditionally Aboriginal approaches to ecology, which would not only prevent the Earth from experiencing further damage, but may also contribute to the elimination of the environmental harm that has already been done. Introduction of what is known as Traditional Ecological Knowledge⁷ into Canada's environment protection programs might prove truly

⁷ According to the Convention on Biological Diversity's definition, Traditional Ecological Knowledge (TEK) "refers to the knowledge, innovations and practices of indigenous and local communities around the world. Developed from experience gained over the centuries and adapted to the local culture and environment, traditional knowledge is transmitted orally from generation to generation. (...) Traditional knowledge is mainly of a practical nature, particularly in such fields as agriculture, fisheries, health, horticulture, and forestry." (qtd. in *Traditional Ecological Knowledge*)

helpful “in regard to sustainable use of renewable resources” (Freeman) and maintaining biological diversity in particular ecosystems (Klein 5).

The need for preserving environmental sustainability and protecting the land, as well as providing future generations with the necessary “wisdom and tools to strengthen their relationships to the land and continue to decolonize their communities and Nations” (Simpson 23), resulted in the creation of an educational approach known as place-based learning, which can be understood as highly localized environmental education (Clark 3). It aims at developing ecological awareness, while simultaneously including historically, culturally and socioeconomically relevant content, by means of which students are able to restore their relationship to the land and deepen their connection with the community (5). Moreover, place-based education promotes learning through personal experience and interaction with others, which means that most of the teaching takes place outside the classroom (3). It is a yet another approach to education which, by recognizing Aboriginal worldviews and perspectives, presents immense benefits for both Native and non-Native students and communities, as it fosters taking responsibility for one’s actions and encourages to engage in the process of building a healthy environment and conscious society (9).

4. Aboriginal Practices in the Classroom

There can be little doubt that the total amount of Native teaching techniques considerably exceeds the number of aspects discussed here. Nevertheless, it seems reasonable to provide an analysis of such Aboriginal educational practices by means of which it is possible to convey the widest array of different teaching contents and, therefore, the main criteria for their selection were their universality and adaptability.

4.1. THE MEDICINE WHEEL AS AN EDUCATIONAL TOOL

The historical origin, elementary structure and fundamental meaning of the medicine wheel construct have already been discussed in detail in the first chapter of this work. Abounding with symbolic meaning, the medicine wheel is one of the most important Aboriginal tokens and may be subject to in-depth contemplation and various interpretations. This ambiguous but simultaneously universal quality establishes the medicine wheel as an incredibly valuable educational tool that promotes interdisciplinary teaching and facilitates the learning process in general. It might be used to present specific subject matter in the classroom, as well as to foster self-reflection, positive atmosphere and cooperation between students.

There is a great number of different teachings that educators may transmit through the medicine wheel model at practically all stages of the educational process. First and foremost, it may serve as a means of conveying knowledge about the interconnectedness and equal importance of all aspects of life, which should remain in a state of balance and cyclical harmony (Verniest). Focusing on the holistic and multidimensional nature of the medicine wheel may enable the teachers to introduce the students to the world of Indigenous philosophies, beliefs and traditions (McIntosh). Understanding that the medicine wheel reflects Native worldviews and values since time immemorial and that its teachings are still valid and respected may contribute greatly to the students' cultural and spiritual development (*Integrating Aboriginal* 9).

Apart from presenting culturally relevant content, the medicine wheel symbol may be used to provide information and reinforce teaching of some specific school subjects. Being a graphic representation of Indigenous wisdom, the wheel may be integrated into Visual Arts class lesson plan, inviting the students to create their own models of the medicine wheel, which can then be exploited during other classes (Brunet). In Geography classes the teachers may use the wheel to teach students about the environment and all its interdependent aspects, such as four directions, seasons, climate and weather conditions, natural elements, resources and phenomena. Biology teachers might focus on explaining the significance of all living organisms and the correspondence between them, their place in the food chain, the continuity of lifecycles and the need for biological diversity. The medicine wheel can be also used to teach history, explain cause and effect patterns and how historical events and the present intertwine with each other. During Social Studies classes the wheel may help the teacher to discuss the differences and similarities between human races, cultural groups or even family members and address such issues as politics, technological development, socioeconomic situations and the question of gender.

The medicine wheel model proves to be an excellent and versatile teaching tool not only in regard to particular school subjects. In a broader sense, working with the wheel may also contribute to the development of healthy, stable and self-reflective human beings, aware of their feelings and capable of contemplating on them. The medicine wheel teaches that "in order for an individual to be healthy, he or she must have a balance of the four aspects [physical, mental, emotional and spiritual] within him or herself." (*Integrating Aboriginal* 10) The teachers should guide students through the process of self-contemplation, enable them to focus on themselves and make education more personalized. Referring particular quadrants of the medicine wheel to four stages of life encourages learners to reflect on the events from their childhood, their present adolescent life, their plans for adulthood and hopes for life in older age (Brunet). This way they gain a deeper understanding of themselves,

which, in turn, leads to the acknowledgement of emotions in the educational process, increasing motivation levels and establishing a friendly classroom community (Frederick 202).

4.2. STORYTELLING AS A MEANS OF CULTURAL EDUCATION

The tradition of passing on Indigenous knowledge by means of verbally transmitted stories and teachings is a very important part of Native people's cultural heritage. This oral tradition "contributes to the uniqueness of Aboriginal perspectives and behaviour" (*Integrating Aboriginal* 8), preserves the community's perennial legends and histories and enables whole generations to participate in the creation of their people's collective memory. In order to convey the teachings of their ancestors, Indigenous people engage in a communal activity of storytelling, which "documents history, cultural traditions and values, spiritual beliefs and philosophy." (*Native Studies* 32) The stories may take the form of narratives, dialogues, poems, songs or plays and are usually based on specific themes that are characteristic for a particular community (*Shared Learnings* 36). It is essential to remember that, though most of the stories are entertaining in nature and not devoid of humorous elements, their primary goal is to educate, instruct and guide young people (McCue, *The Learning... Ages 4 to 7* 3).

It is certainly possible to admit that adopting the Native tradition of storytelling into the contemporary classroom practice may facilitate students' cultural education, as well as their general social development. By listening to authentic histories and primeval legends the learners are exposed to a meaningful and culturally relevant content, which makes learning a spontaneous and almost unconscious process. Some of the stories, in order to be complete, can be shared only by certain capable local storytellers at a specific time or place, often using ceremonial language and traditional symbols (*Native Studies* 32), which means obtaining an even deeper understanding of Aboriginal history and culture. The practice of storytelling encourages students to work on their listening and speaking skills and contributes to the development of such qualities as patience, tolerance, inquisitiveness and humility. Finally, listening to Indigenous stories stimulates students' thinking process by enabling them to draw conclusions and discover the story's hidden meaning on their own, as not all of the narratives contain explicit fable-like morals. Owing to such an open-ended subtle construction, "the goals or morals of the story reveal themselves to the listener, as his or her maturity and life experiences develop" (McCue, *The Learning... Ages 4 to 7* 3), which makes learning a truly lifelong process.

4.3. SHARING CIRCLES AND RELATIONSHIP BUILDING

While the main purpose of storytelling is to educate people and provide them with knowledge and teachings of a particular Aboriginal community, the concept of sharing circles focuses primarily on engaging the emotional self of an individual. In the traditional understanding, sharing circle is a small-group gathering during which, as the very name suggests, people arrange the seats in a circular shape, which represents the medicine wheel and guarantees equal and unbiased treatment (*Mi'kmaw Spirituality*). Sharing circles are usually organized for the participants to share their feelings, thoughts and experiences, discuss a particular topic or find a solution to a specific problem or conflict between people. The organizing principle of sharing circles is to create a safe and neutral environment, in which people can express their sincere opinions without being criticized, judged or laughed at (Lane Jr.).

There are several guidelines that should be obeyed in order for the sharing circle to function properly and fulfill its roles. The ground rule is that only one person is allowed to speak at a time (Lane Jr.). It is a common practice to use a special token that symbolizes the privilege of speech, usually a feather or a stick, which is handed over from one person to another so as to avoid confusion and interruptions (*Mi'kmaw Spirituality*). Furthermore, it is very important for the participants not to be afraid to speak their minds and express emotions, though deciding to refrain from speaking is also acceptable. For such honesty to occur, it is essential to establish a sense of mutual trust, respect and support inside the circle. While it is the group leader's responsibility to facilitate the discussion and maintain peaceful and non-judgemental atmosphere, the most important role seems to be that of the listeners, who should express an attentive and respectful interest in the speaker's confessions (Lane Jr.).

In the classroom environment, the participation in sharing circles may contribute greatly to the development of students' emotional maturity. By following the aforementioned protocols, the learners acquire the most fundamental Native teachings and gain appreciation of such Aboriginal values as respect, love, bravery, wisdom, humility, honesty and truth (Toulouse). They learn to identify and talk about their own emotions and acknowledge the existence of contrasting viewpoints and alternative opinions (*The Sharing Circle's*). Participation in sharing circles enables the students to become more self-aware and to manage and control their emotions in a natural and comprehensive way (*The Sharing Circle's*). As the atmosphere of honesty, trust and understanding surrounds those engaged in the discussion, sharing circles help students to create healthy and valuable relationships with each other, which stem from communication and empathy (*The Sharing Circle's*). Thus, the practice of organizing sharing circles in the classroom may prove

indispensable when discussing ambiguous or controversial topics or trying to solve a conflict between classmates.

Works Cited :

- Aboriginal Education Strategy*. Ontario Ministry of Education, 2014, <http://www.edu.gov.on.ca/eng/aboriginal/> 22 Mar. 2014.
- “Aboriginal Languages in Canada.” *Language, 2011 Census of Population*. Statistics Canada, 2011, http://www12.statcan.gc.ca/census-recensement/2011/as-sa/98-314-x/98-314-x2011003_3-eng.pdf, 19 Apr. 2014.
- Barker, Kathryn. “Lifelong Learning in Canada: Visions for the Future.” Tokyo Conference on Lifelong Learning. FuturEd, 1998, <http://www.futured.com/documents/LifelongLearningInCanada.pdf>, 19 Apr. 2014.
- Battiste, Marie. “Maintaining Aboriginal Identity, Language and Culture in Modern Society.” *Reclaiming Indigenous Voice and Vision*. Ed. Marie Battiste. Vancouver, Toronto: UBC Press, 2000. 192-208.
- “Perspectives and Pedagogies for Aboriginal Education.” 3 May 2012, <http://www.usask.ca/education/profiles/battiste/assets/aboriginal-pedagogy.pdf>, 21 Mar. 2014.
- Brunet, Michelle. “Medicine Wheel Lesson Plans.” *Suite*. Suite Media Inc, 11 Nov. 2009. Web. 27 Apr. 2014.
- Charleston, G. Mike. *Tradition and Education: Towards a Vision of Our Future. A Declaration of First Nations Jurisdiction over Education*. National Indian Brotherhood, Ontario, 1988, http://www.afn.ca/uploads/files/education/7_1988_december_afn_tradition_and_education-_a_declaration_on_fn_jurisdiction_over_education.pdf, 20 Apr. 2014.
- Clark, Delia. *Learning to Make Choices for the Future: Connecting Public Lands, Schools, and Communities through Place-based Learning and Civic Engagement*. The Center for Place-based Learning and Community Engagement; A Forest for Every Classroom, 2008, <http://www.nps.gov/civic/resources/Learning%20to%20Make%20Choices.pdf>, 20 Apr. 2014.
- Dion, Susan D., Krista Johnston, and Carla Rice. *Decolonizing Our Schools: Aboriginal Education in the Toronto District School Board*. Toronto: York University 2010., <http://ycec.edu.yorku.ca/files/2012/11/Decolonizing-Our-Schools.pdf>, 23 Mar. 2014.
- Donald, Dwayne T. *Aboriginal Perspectives and the Curriculum*. Edmonton Regional Learning Consortium and ATEP Aboriginal Teacher Education Program, University of Alberta, 2010, http://erlc.ca/resources/resources/aboriginalperspectives/aboriginalperspectives_discussionpapers.pdf, 22 Mar. 2014.
- First Nations Control of First Nations Education: It's Our Vision, It's Our Time*. Assembly of First Nations, July 2010, <http://www.afn.ca/uploads/files/>

- education/3._2010_july_afn_first_nations_control_of_first_nations_education_final_eng.pdf, 22 Mar. 2014.
- Frederick, Peter J. "The Medicine Wheel: Emotions and Connections in the Classroom." *To Improve the Academy* 10 (1991): 197-214.
- Freeman, Milton M. R. *The Nature and Utility of Traditional Ecological Knowledge*. Canadian Arctic Resources Committee. CARC, 2010, <http://www.carc.org/pubs/v20no1/utility.htm>, 11 May 2013.
- Hare, John. "Holistic Education: An Interpretation for Teachers in the IB Programmes." International Baccalaureate Organization, 2010, http://www.godolphinandlatymer.com/_files/IB/5814BF78BFFF6064F25D143FBB622152.pdf, 19 Apr. 2014.
- Huang, Alice. *Aboriginal Languages in Canada*. Indigenous Foundations. The University of British Columbia, 2009, <http://indigenousfoundations.arts.ubc.ca/home/culture/languages.html>, 19 Apr. 2014.
- Integrating Aboriginal Perspectives into Curricula: A Resource for Curriculum Developers, Teachers, and Administrators*. Manitoba Education and Youth, 2003, http://www.edu.gov.mb.ca/k12/docs/policy/abpersp/ab_persp.pdf, 22 Mar. 2014.
- Kirkness, Verna J. "Aboriginal Education in Canada: A Retrospective and a Prospective." *Journal of American Indian Education* 39.1 (1999): Special Issue 2, 14-30.
- Klein, Marcia. *Walking with the Earth - Pimohtiwini: Lessons to Support Science 10*. Teaching Materials from the Stewart Resources Centre, Saskatchewan, 2008, <https://www.stf.sk.ca/portal.jsp?Sy3uQUnbK9L2RmSZs02CjV/LfyjbyjsxsUALCJO4eGmI=F>, 20 Apr. 2014.
- Lane Jr., Phil. *Guidelines for Talking, Healing, and Sharing Circles and Principles of Consultation*. Four Worlds International Institute, 10 Oct. 2012, <http://www.fwii.net/profiles/blogs/guidelines-for-talking-healing-and-sharing-circles-and-principles>, 27 Apr. 2014.
- McCue, Harvey, and Associates for Indian and Northern Affairs Canada. *The Learning Circle: Classroom Activities on First Nations in Canada, Ages 4 to 7*. Minister of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, Ottawa, 2010, https://www.aadnc-aandc.gc.ca/DAM/DAM-INTER-HQ/STAGING/texte-text/ach_lr_ks_clsrs_learningcircle_lc47_1316538044949_eng.pdf, 27 Apr. 2014.
- . *The Learning Circle: Classroom Activities on First Nations in Canada, Ages 8 to 11*. Minister of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, Ottawa, 2006, <http://www.etfo.ca/Resources/ForTeachers/Documents/The%20Learning%20Circle%20-%20Classroom%20Activities%20on%20First%20Nations%20in%20Canada.pdf>, 19 Apr. 2014.

- McIntosh, V. Elaine. *Introduction to the Medicine Wheel*. The Royal Conservatory of Music, 1 Feb. 2006, <https://learning.rcmusic.ca/sites/default/files/lta-assets/Intro%20to%20Medicine%20Wheel.pdf>, 27 Apr. 2014.
- Mi'kmaw Spirituality – Talking Circles*. Mi'kmaq Spirit. 23 Feb. 2013, <http://www.muiniskw.org/pgCulture2c.htm>, 27 Apr. 2014.
- Moniz, Christina. “How Indigenous Teachers Incorporate Traditional Worldviews and Practices into Classroom Behaviour Support.” MA thesis. University of British Columbia, Vancouver, 2013, <https://open.library.ubc.ca/cIRcle/collections/ubctheses/24/items/1.0058464>, 19 Apr. 2014.
- Munroe, Elizabeth Ann, et al. “Decolonizing Aboriginal Education in the 21st Century.” *McGill Journal of Education* 48.2 (2013): 317-338.
- Mussel, Bill. “Cultural Pathways for Decolonization.” *Visions: BC's Mental Health and Addictions Journal* 5.1 (2008): 4-5.
- Native Studies 30. Canadian Studies: Curriculum Guide*. Saskatchewan Learning, 1997, https://www.edonline.sk.ca/bbcswebdav/library/curricula/English/Social_Studies/Native_Studies_30_1997.pdf, 19 Apr. 2014.
- Norris, Mary Jane. “Canada’s Aboriginal Languages.” *Canadian Social Trends*. Statistics Canada, 1998, <http://www.statcan.gc.ca/pub/11-008-x/1998003/article/4003-eng.pdf>, 12 May 2013.
- Our Words, Our Ways: Teaching First Nations, Métis and Inuit Learners*. Alberta Education, 2005, <http://www.usask.ca/education/fieldexperiences/tools-resources/diversity1/our-words-our-ways.pdf>, 20 Apr. 2014.
- Pitawanakwat, Lillian. “Ojibwe/Powawatomi (Anishinabe) Teaching.” *Four Directions Teachings*. 4D Interactive Inc., 2006, <http://www.fourdirectionsteachings.com/transcripts/ojibwe.pdf>, 18 May 2013.
- Restoule, Jean Paul. “Cultural Appropriation.” Aboriginal Worldviews and Education Course. Online lecture video. University of Toronto, 2013, <https://www.coursera.org/>, 23 Mar. 2014.
- Sanford, Kathy, et al. “Indigenous Principles Decolonizing Teacher Education: What We Have Learned.” *In Education* 18.2 (2012): 18-34.
- Simpson, Leanne. “Indigenous Environmental Education for Cultural Survival.” *Canadian Journal of Environmental Education* 7.1 (2002): 13-25.
- Shared Learnings. Integrating BC Aboriginal Content K-10*. Aboriginal Education Enhancements Branch, British Columbia Ministry of Education, 2006, <https://www.bced.gov.bc.ca/abed/shared.pdf>, 22 Mar. 2014.
- The Sharing Circle's Underlying Theory*. Innerchoice Publishing Inc., 2012, <http://www.innerchoicepublishing.com/circleInfo.html>, 27 Apr. 2014.
- The State of Aboriginal Learning in Canada: A Holistic Approach to Measuring Success*. Canadian Council on Learning, Ottawa, 2009, http://www.afn.ca/uploads/files/education2/state_of_aboriginal_learning_in_canada-final_report,_ccl,_2009.pdf, 11 May 2013.

- Toulouse, Pamela Rose. "Integrating Aboriginal Teaching and Values into the Classroom." *What Works? Research into Practice*. March 2008, <https://www.edu.gov.on.ca/eng/literacynumeracy/inspire/research/Toulouse.pdf>, 12 May 2013.
- Traditional Ecological Knowledge*. Society for Ecological Restoration, 2014, <http://www.ser.org/iprn/traditional-ecological-knowledge>, 26 Apr. 2014.
- Verniest, Laura. "Allying With the Medicine Wheel: Social Work Practice with Aboriginal Peoples." *Critical Social Work* 7.1 (2006), <http://www1.uwindsor.ca/criticalsocialwork/allying-with-the-medicine-wheel-social-work-practice-with-aboriginal-peoples>, 27 Apr. 2014.
- Zimmermann, Kim Ann. "What is Culture? Definition of Culture." *LiveScience*. TechMedia Network, 9 July 2012, <http://www.livescience.com/21478-what-is-culture-definition-of-culture.html>, 20 Apr. 2014.

Kamila Scheithauer (Niemiec) obtained a Bachelor's degree from the Institute of East Slavic Philology (specialization: Russian Language, Translation Programme) in 2015 and in 2014 a Master's degree from the Institute of English Language (specialization: English Philology, Teaching Programme), both at the Faculty of Philology of the University of Silesia. Since 2014, she has been participating in English Translator and Interpreter Training at the Translation Studies Center in Sosnowiec. In 2013 she took part in Aboriginal Worldviews and Education Online Course, organized by the University of Toronto, which greatly influenced her perception of Indigenous cultures. Areas of her academic interests include American, British and Canadian literature, First Nations literature and arts, Aboriginal education, cultural identity and language acquisition.

Jagoda Tuz

Maria Curie-Skłodowska University

HIPSTERS AND THE CITY

Abstract

The focus of the following article is the topography of Toronto's most hip public places. Then, the attention will shift to the closed spaces of hipster apartments and workplaces. Having described where and how hipsters live, The article discusses the ways in which hipsters explore and experience urban spaces. As contemporary counterparts of nineteenth- century Parisian *flâneurs*, neo-bohemians wander the streets in order to draw artistic inspiration from them. Therefore, Toronto is described here as an incentive to create art. Subsequently, the paper will reflect on the gentrification process in Toronto as it is interpreted in three novels: *What We All Long for* by Dionne Brand, Sheila Heti's *How Should a Person Be?*, and *Holding Still For As Long As Possible* by Zoe Whittall. According to the three writers, hip artists not only beautify their surroundings, but also make them more livable.

Résumé

L'objectif de l'article suivant est la topographie de la plupart des lieux publics branchés de Toronto. Ensuite, l'attention se déplacera vers les espaces fermés des appartements et des lieux de travail des hipster. Après avoir décrit où et comment les hipsters vivent, l'article examinera les façons dont les hipsters explorent et découvrent les espaces urbains. En tant qu'équivalents contemporains des flâneurs parisiens du XIX^e siècle, les néo-bohémiens errent dans les rues afin d'en tirer de l'inspiration artistique. Par conséquent, Toronto y est décrite comme une stimulation à créer de l'art. Par la suite, l'article se penchera sur le processus d'embourgeoisement à Toronto tel qu'il est présenté dans les trois romans: *What We All Long for* de Dionne Brand, *How Should a Person Be ?* de Sheila Heti et *Holding Still For As Long As Possible* de Zoe Whittall. Selon les trois auteurs, les artistes branchés ont non seulement embelli leur environnement, mais aussi ils l'ont rendu plus habitable.

Canada is no longer a nation of trappers, lumberjacks, farmers, and assorted benevolent small-town caricatures. We are accountants, computer programmers, retail clerks, dentists, poets, punk activists, plumbers, slackers, bus drivers, and students. We are every possible profession, race, creed, and religion. The sole thing that binds us together is that we live in Canadian cities. In fact, almost 80% of all Canadians today live in urban communities. Yet, many of us do not fully grasp the full implications of this new environment. We cling, as we did in 1957, to the notion of Canada replete with clear streams dammed by pesky but adorable beavers, watched over by caribou and grizzlies being stalked by the burly, plaid-shirted outdoorsy types the media would like us to think are the real Canadians (Niedzviecki and Wershler-Henry viii).

The statement above, to be found in *The Original Canadian City Dweller's Almanac*, alerts the reader to how the perception of Canada as a vast territory of untamed nature started to change a few decades ago. Rapid large-scale urbanization has led to many changes in the society that have been pointed out by critics of culture, artists and writers. When talking about (the field of) literature, it is worth recalling the words of Justin Edwards and Douglas Ivison who have argued "the centrality of the city in [contemporary] Canadian literature" (1). According to them, the attention of contemporary Canadian writers has gradually moved away from rural to urban environments, and their books no longer evolve around the themes of the North, small towns, and "roughing it in the bush." Therefore, the need arises to start the academic and critical discussion about the stories set in the Canada of today, which is the Canada synonymous with the urban setting; it is high time to start listening to the voices of contemporary urban literary characters; explore the problems that engage their attention and that make their lives go round.

Having established that the city is the locale of much contemporary writings, one needs to reflect on the characters and issues addressed in the novels that fall into the category of new urban literature. Niedzviecki and Wershler-Henry reflect on both of these in their alternative guide for Canadian city dwellers:

Urban writers speak less of professional travails and existential showdowns with an indifferent landscape and more of the lives lived in the shared metropolis, in the shadow of a promise that cannot be kept. New urban Canadian writing provides some insight into the way generations of perpetual undergraduates (the "avant-grad," if you will) and professional waiters envision their country and their lives. (...) Like the urban spaces it represents, new Canadian urban writing is an ugly glorious sprawl, as compelling as it is horrifying. (159)

According to the critics, it is not only the locales that have changed in modern Canadian novels, but also the protagonists and their problems. These are of the

kind not to be encountered in the older Canadian fiction. What the recent novels explore is the whole generation of young people, some of whom – judging by the description – are hipsters. Thus, Niedzwiecki's and Wershler-Henry's statement can become a starting point for studying hipster fiction. Due to the fact that hipsters are by definition city dwellers, there is no such a thing as hipster rural fiction. Contemporary Canadian neo-bohemian protagonists make themselves at home in big city low-rent neighborhoods and move around downtowns.

Nevertheless, not every Canadian city is hip. It can be argued that three of the biggest cities – Vancouver, Montreal and Toronto – are the hub of neo-bohemianism. Examples of hipster novels set in the first two include *Beauty Plus Pity* by Kevin Chong and *Bottle Rocket Hearts* by Zoe Whittall. However, the great majority of hip urban novels are located in Toronto, the largest metropolis in Canada. Writers as different as Russell Smith, the author of *Noise*, Daniel Jones, who wrote a series of short stories *People One Knows: Toronto Stories*, or Carol Shields in her *Unless* portray hipster protagonists, silhouetting them against the landscape of Toronto. One may wonder what makes that city such a fertile ground for hipster fiction. According to Lisa Salem-Wiseman, the association may be linked to “the constant effort on the part of Toronto's media and entertainment industry to prove the city as ‘hip’ as New York or Miami.” (Edwards and Ivison 151) This means that the media hype has elevated Toronto to the status to a hipster Mecca on the banks of Lake Ontario. Keenan provides some further explanation: “three elements of Toronto's current cultural/political landscape share some broad traits: a passion for quirkiness, for a start, and small-is-beautiful, DIY aesthetics... They also share an aversion to commercialism that borders on the fanatical.” (Wilcox and McBride 32) The two areas of activism – cultural and political – have been combined in the program called Creative City. The municipal authorities have promoted art in the city and the activity of neo-liberal artists and writers, such as Sheila Heti and Misha Glouberman. A mix of these features makes Toronto an attractive location for writers to set their bohemian characters in.

Thus, it is no coincidence that the hipster novels that are the focus of the present paper – *What We All Long For*, *How Should a Person Be* and *Holding Still For As Long As Possible* – are all set in Toronto. However, the city is not described in the three novels from the same perspective. It is represented in them in three distinct ways. Dionne Brand, who represents an older generation of Canadian writers, provides a broad outlook on Toronto, and elevates it to the role of the novel's protagonist. In her *What We All Long For* Toronto becomes a life-giver for a group of young hipsters. Their biographies are contrasted with the biographies of their non-hipster parents, which allow the writer to say something of how the urban Toronto transformed between 1960 and 2000. By contrast, Zoe Whittall and Sheila Heti, who are hipsters themselves, provide the reader with an insider's view of the urban space. In Heti's *How Should a Person Be* the city is

introduced as a series of vignettes. The first-person narration of the protagonist, named after the author of the novel, is a series of contemplations, on how particular places in the city are perceived by a bohemian. In *Holding Still For As Long As Possible* , Whittall sets the events in the most hip spots and neighborhoods of Toronto, such as Parkdale, and locates the plot sometime around the SARS epidemic between 2005 and 2006. Thus, the novel becomes a chronicle of that particular period in the city's history as well as a guide book to the areas where hip Torontonians go.

Sally McKay claims that "Torontonians live in microcosms. Physical neighbourhoods and social networks overlap and intertwine." (Wilcox and McBride 118) McKay's observation is also true about Toronto art community. Artists tend to appear in some areas in large numbers and with greater frequency than in others, creating a network of paths and spots in the city that are felt to be "artistic". In the article published in the summer of 2013 titled "Toronto Hipster Map A Godsend For Everyone Else" *Huffington Post Canada* reported about a map of Toronto published by Yelp website which may be of help to the aficionados of hipsterdom. The map identifies Ossington Avenue as the heart of the city's bohemia. The core of the original art neighborhood stretches also along, Queen Street West and from Spadina to Bathurst. The author of the article notices that several minor hipster encampments have emerged also on Bloor Street that until recently used to be thought of as a yuppiefied area.

The places described as hipster Meccas in the novels by Brand, Heti, and Whittall can be easily identified on the map of real hip Toronto. These places include the afore-mentioned Queen West Street, Ossington, Dundas, Kensington Market and Parkdale where the fictional characters live, work, wander, and go to clubs, restaurants or cafes.

Kensington Market should open the list of hipster places. Everyone who has ever been to Toronto probably visited this pedestrian area which has been transformed beyond recognition by artists. In the vicinity of Kensington Market, buildings are all covered with graffiti and bright paints. In the gardens there are sculptures made of recycled materials, and the streets are swarming with hipsters cycling or wandering in search of vintage clothes shops or cozy cafés. In *Chairs Are Where The People Go*, a book co-authored by Sheila Heti, Misha Glouberman devotes the whole chapter to this place. He writes:

Traditionally the neighborhood has been an immigrant neighborhood (...), and also for a long time it's been a place where a certain number of artists and young people and writers and musicians have lived. It's really a distinct place in Toronto: little streets and shops – butchers, fruit stands, and that kind of thing. It's one of the few neighborhoods in Toronto that is not just a long street. Kensington Market is actually a little winding grid of tiny one-way streets (103).

In another article, titled “No Place Like Kensington,” Glouberman comes to a conclusion that Kensington Market is renowned all over the world and is mentioned whenever people write about remarkable city spaces (Wilcox and McBride 126). The place was an inspiration for Zoe Whittall, who placed there the key event of *Holding Still For As Long As Possible* around which she constructed the plot of the novel. That event is a bike accident involving Amy and Billy, which becomes a life-changing moment in the lives of the characters. The author’s choice of Kensington Market may be interpreted as marking the end of Billy’s hipster lifestyle; after the accident she settles down, recovers from an anxiety disorder and strengthens her relationship with Josh. In the novel by Dionne Brand, Kensington Market plays an equally important role, but it affects the life of a character in a completely different manner. It becomes a refuge for Oku who, instead of going to his classes, sits in a coffee shop and reads Amiri Baraka or Jayne Cortez, or just observes people in the street (168). The young man leaves the path outlined for him by his parents by leaving the university and begins a bohemian life of a poet and freethinker, surrounded by the circle of his hipster friends.

Another important landmark on Toronto’s hipster map is Queen West, which may be compared to the world famous New York’s Bedford Avenue in Williamsburg. Although it is still regarded as a hub for artists, the area has become so popular that it is slowly becoming mainstream. Sally McKay describes this phenomenon in her essay “Fly on Queen Street”:

When I moved to town [Toronto] in 1990, my roots sought nourishment in the niche of Queen Street West. I remember meeting an older friend at Future Bakery. He’d lived on Queen throughout the eighties, when the zone was characterized by drugs and bands and seedy, fascinating glam. “Oh, this street is all yuppiefied now,” he said. “It’s sooo depressing.” To me, it was vibrant and exciting, full of artistic people leading alternative lifestyles. I was discovering a big world full of quirky endeavours (Wilcox and McBride 118).

Such divergent opinions are echoed in the descriptions of the area to be found in Heti’s and Whittall’s novels. In *How Should a Person Be?* the artsy character of Queen West is emphasized. Sheila and Margaux chose it as a location for their shared studio. The flat becomes for them a hub of creative work where one writes her dramas and the other paints. The neighborhood grants them the status of bohemians. By way of contrast, *Holding Still For As Long As Possible* presents the street as a mainstream area where Amy, a stylish city girl, goes after hours:

At four we went from the office to Java House, a cheap coffee, beer, and spring-rolls joint. The place was crammed with back-to-school drinkers and the waiters seemed inconvenienced and our voices crept louder and louder up the walls with

the cockroaches, curling around the amateurish Goth art. By the time most people were finishing dinner out on the patios along Queen Street, we were shit-faced (Whittall 42).

Only the gritty character of the bar suggests the original artistic atmosphere of the street, while all of the other places are crowded with ordinary Torontonians.

The majority of hip spots in Toronto are described as typically hip, that is not different from any hipster neighborhood all over the world. Most of them are centres of various leisure activities, illustrating the statement by Lloyd about the postindustrial city as “an entertainment machine” which generates a range of cultural amenities (122). Brand, Heti, and Whittall depict in their novels clubs, bars and restaurants as the hubs of hipster life. *What We All Long For* evokes the two most recognizable clubs. The first was called Paramount and remained extremely popular until its closing. Brand writes:

They knew about the Paramount from Cape Breton to Vancouver, *they* being a select group. Black people and a few, very few, hip whites – whites who were connected (...), the Paramount was a place of grace – like church. Where else could you enjoy the only thing you were sure God gave you, your body, without getting into any kind of trouble for it? Well, trouble you could handle anyway – trouble you didn't give a shit about, trouble you were looking for. You could dance that thing around the Paramount like there was no tomorrow. (96)

The second in terms of popularity was Duke, as grim a place as Paramount. Here is how Brand describes it:

The Duke was always lurking in the mirror – the bald-faced bad luck of it, the straight-up knowing of it. There was the Duke, waiting to swallow you. There was the Duke, ready to swaddle you in its seedy arms; there was the worn-out shuffleboard table, the deep bar chairs, the smell of spunky beer on tap. (...) The Duke stripped you naked in an ugly kind of way. Every person in there looked like they were ashamed to be there, like they had lost respect for themselves and therefore each other. If you strutted into the Paramount, you slid into the Duke. (181)

Both clubs are depicted by Brand as places where people transform into bohemians lost for lust, drugs, alcohol, sex and music. Once there, people enter a trance and act on their primal instincts. Jackie's parents who may be regarded as “pre-hipsters” used to attend these spots a lot neglecting their daughter who later on became a hipster herself. Unlike Brand, Sheila Heti portrays the already updated place where hipsters go for a drink. No longer is it treated as a sanctuary of hipsterdom, but rather a place for socializing, discussing existential problems and, in the fictional Sheila's case of looking

for an answer to the question “how should a person be.” She visits a place called Communist Daughter which is not, as the name suggests, devoid of hipster ironic attitude to reality. She goes there to talk to her friend Ryan about “how important he thought it was for the earth to spin on its axis.” (Heti 143) Heti goes on describing also other places where hipsters go during the daytime. The narrator reports to the readers the scene of a regular Sunday lunch with her friends Misha, Margaux, Sholem and his boyfriend Jon:

A few weeks earlier, the owners had repainted the diner walls from a grease-splattered beige to a thick pastel blue and had spray-painted giant pictures of scrambled eggs and strips of bacon and pancakes with syrup. It ruined the place somewhat, but the food was cheap, it was never crowded, and they always had a place for us. (Heti 11)

The uglier and cheaper the place, the more attractive it is for the hipster. The main character concludes that she liked the place much more when it had dirty walls; after the renovation it has lost much of its old glamour.

All in all, should someone draw a map of the hip public places mentioned in the three novels, they would be consistent with the map of Toronto’s most hipster spots published by Yelp. The reason why they are referred to as a hipster Mecca is that masses of bohemian Torontonians visit these urban areas as if they were the places of religious cult. Hipsters come there to affirm their hipster identity, but also because these places cater for their lifestyle. The areas mentioned by Brand, Heti, and Whittall are very important spaces that shape the identity of the characters. Were they real people, one could associate them with this particular subculture only by encountering them in Kensington Market, Queen West or a club similar to the Paramount.

Closed Spaces: Basement or Squat as the Microcosm of Hipster Existence

Having discussed hipster public places, it is now necessary to take a closer look at their private quarters. One should start by acknowledging the truth that the places where people spend most of their time influence them. But the influence goes both ways – spaces are also affected by the persons who inhabit them. This relationship makes the focus of the following discussion.

The authors of the three novels present the way in which the apartment creates the character of a hipster. Not only does such a place give him or her the freedom to be independent and follow a bohemian lifestyle, it also becomes his or her refuge from the family or the past. The protagonists of *What We All Long For* and *How Should a Person Be* may serve as the examples of how moving out from

family home and living on one's own becomes the first step on the way to adopting hipster identity. Tuyen's parents emigrated to Canada from Vietnam, looking for a better, more prosperous environment for their children. Despite their university education, as emigrants with a low status in Canadian society, they end up working in a Vietnamese restaurant. Thanks to money-grubbing and hard work, they managed to buy a house in a rich area of Cabbage Town and send their children to universities. However, the parents' expectations that their children will become wealthy, educated, and successful and thus will improve their position in society did not match the hopes of their daughter. Tuyen rejects her parents' *nouveau riche*, consumerist lifestyle and, without the approval of her mother and father, moves to a filthy apartment to start her career as an artist. This is how Brand describes the reaction of Tuyen's family:

Cam would have liked to visit her daughter, but Tuyen's father had forbidden it, thinking that they had to maintain a solid front in their objections to Tuyen moving out. The front always wavered though, as their anxiety made them send Binh to give Tuyen money. Binh refused to go up to the studio apartment because he said the staircase was filthy, so he would always lean on his car horn or scream her name up the alleyway until she came down. She was younger than Binh by eighteen months, but she felt she was much more mature, since he seemed to need their parents' approval far more than she. (14)

In her run-down apartment Tuyen works on her Lubaio installation, and as she has almost no money for a living, eats next to nothing. Nevertheless, she is proud of her life-changing decision as separation from her family allows her to become a real artist.

Tuyen's influence on the space she inhabits is equally significant. In the following passage Brand writes of the way Tuyen has altered her apartment:

(...) [S]he had surreptitiously broken down the wall between her bedroom and the kitchen, making one large room for her installations. One thing with Mrs. Chou's slum apartments – the ceilings were high. Tuyen's dark room was a thick black velvet curtain. The dishes were in the bathtub as the countless paintbrushes were in the sink. Chinese architecture, she said, dating way back, did not use walls for support. Columns were used, she said. She avoided the visits of Mrs. Chou, installed new locks, and made Carla [her friend] her lookout for Mrs. Chou's possible raids. She had virtually destroyed the apartment. If she ever moved, she would have to do it late at night and very quickly and without a trace. (25)

The way she shapes her living space could be regarded as destruction of somebody's property. However, from the point of view of an artist, the space becomes a piece of art and so Tuyen's remodeled apartment becomes the object of jealousy of her hipster friends.

In *How Should a Person Be* Heti describes another case of place's influence on a hipster's identity. Sheila leaves her husband and her conventional life because she does not fit in the traditional social role of a wife. In her former house, she felt stifled as a writer and she felt her development was arrested. She observes: "Living in that house with my husband, I could not escape my every mistake; the walls were permanently scuffed with all the dark marks I had made while foolishly living. All I saw were the smudges, prominently there on what otherwise would have been a pure white wall." (Heti 43) It is only when Sheila moves out, that she starts living independently, free of the feeling of guilt that she is losing herself in a life she does not want to have. She concludes, "I was living in a crummy basement apartment, having just left my marriage and the suffocating feeling of leading a life that was not my own. I couldn't understand how it had come to that." (Heti 39) Her new small apartment is a small basement secures her the freedom to become a bohemian. Having moved in, Sheila starts seeing people who are like her. She has an affair with Israel, whose house is another typical hipster spot. Once after their date, Sheila visits Israel's place:

We went up the dark stairwell to the top of a run-down boarding-house. He had two rooms at the top of the stairs: one for his drawing and painting, the other where he slept. He had no possessions other than a table, a mattress on the floor, a few dishes in the sink, and a hot plate plugged into the wall. I felt like I could just close my eyes and go to sleep on that mattress forever. There were no chairs, so I sat down on the messy sheets and watched him move around the room, then leave for the bathroom, then come back, showered and changed, coked up, his shirt open and untucked. (Heti 78)

Heti emphasizes here that artists need little to live on and that they focus on collecting experiences rather than objects. Despite the fact that Israel's apartment is under-furnished, Sheila feels comfortable there, amazed by the artsy character of the place which is also a part of the allure of her hipster boyfriend. Thus, the space he inhabits, although in fact almost empty, becomes a source of inspiration for his art and influences not only his own life, but also the relationship he has with Sheila.

To sum up, the private spaces which the hipsters inhabit shape their identity as bohemians. They, on the one hand, separate the characters from the ordinary life and from their families, but on the other tighten their bonds with the hipster community. They also become the hipsterly hermitages, spaces of inspiration and self-discovery.

Gentrification: Hipster as a Pioneer

Hipsters not only transform the places they inhabit, they also usurp the right to reshape the shared public spaces. Hipsters' impact can be seen in many contemporary cities, and it is known as the first step towards gentrification. The process starts when bohemians move into a low-rental area, usually one inhabited by immigrants and working class people. Once they have settled down, the artists start to beautify (in their understanding of the term) the neighborhood. The next step comes when the transformed neighborhood with its artsy glamour begins to attract developers who buy out the buildings and raise rents in order to get rid of the hipsters and to attract professionals and the middle class professionals called yuppies. Yuppification is the last stage in the transformation of such an urban space, and it is usually marked with the opening of a Starbucks café at the corner or an expensive second-hand boutique. This process and the hipsters' involvement in gentrification are described in all three novels by Brand, Heti, and Whittall.

In *What We All Long For* Brand writes extensively of the impact her hipster characters have on the city spaces they inhabit. The first stage, when the hipsters move in to a poor neighborhood, starts with Tuyen and Carla renting a tenement apartment. There are more people like them in the neighborhood who slowly start transforming the place. Among them there is a group of graffiti artists who show their personal perception of the city in their artwork. In one of the scenes, Kumaran, Keeran, Abel, and Jericho paint a jungle outside the building they inhabit.

[T]he walls of the two buildings caving the alley were now covered in paintings. On one side there was a flowering jungle, lianas wrapped around the CN Tower, elephants drinking by the lake, pelicans perched on the fire escapes. On the other side there was a seaside, a woman in a bathing suit and hat shading her eyes, looking out to sea. (Brand 301)

The artists draw on the wall a comparison between Toronto and the jungle. On another occasion, they sneak into a subway tunnel and risk their lives to paint there and show their art to the daily commuters of municipal transportation network. Graffiti is a link between the artists and the city. In a commentary on the influence artists have on Toronto, Reid observes the following about the way creativity forces its way into the public sphere in the form of graffiti and murals.

Graffiti includes both the good, such as commissioned murals by established artists that liven up dull walls, and the bad, such as crude tags that deface previously attractive public spaces. The good artists, however, often learned their craft doing the

bad stuff. And attractive murals are often commissioned by property owners who want to discourage or cover up ugly tagging. Left to their own devices, the city government and property owners would probably leave walls blank, out of conservatism or inertia. Graffiti fills a vacuum, forcing dull walls to be decorated, and in this way imposing creativity. (Wilcox and McBride 55)

This creative flow cannot be channeled or controlled by legislations. Illegal murals and graffiti allow hipster artists to reach audiences larger than those attracted by the artists whose works are exhibited in Toronto's ROM or AGO. In addition to that, hipster artists become gurus and apostles of unrestricted creativity. Not only do they acquire the status of local heroes in the circle of their fellow neo-bohemians but also become the link between the artistic underground and the city residents, familiarizing the latter with the idea of art as belonging in the shared urban space.

The next step in the process of gentrification is using the hip allure to make business and attract hipster consumers to a gentrified neighborhood. One example of such a phenomenon is the store in which Jackie works and its surroundings:

Ab und Zu [name of the store] advertised itself as selling post-bourgeois clothing. The store was just on the border where Toronto's trendy met Toronto's seedy. The rent was cheap, and Jackie had had the foresight to think that the trendy section would slowly creep toward Ab und Zu and sweep the store into money. Next door to Ab und Zu was a greasy spoon – Sam's recently taken over by other hopeful trendies – a couple of women who were anarchists. There, a mix of the old neighbourhood – the working class, the poor, the desperate – and an increasing number of anarchists – mostly friends of the two women – drank coffee in mutual curiosity. Every morning, the two women and Reiner, because he opened the store, would have to wash the sidewalk of last night's vomit or piss. (Brand 99)

The gritty glamour of the hipster neighborhood is attractive to bohemians, but it also encourages the development of local business and attracts the attention of people with the higher income. Soon, the economic growth in the area and the social polarization of the neighborhood lead to the last stage of gentrification. In Dionne Brand's novel the remodeling of buildings previously utilized and adapted by hipsters is described as the disappearance of lives in the city:

How does life disappear like that? It does at all the time in a city. One moment a corner is a certain corner, gorgeous with your desires, then it disappears under the constant construction of this and that. A bank flounders into a pizza shop, then into an abandoned building with boarding and graffiti. Then after weeks of you passing it by not noticing the infinitesimal changes, it springs to life as an exclusive condo. (183)

The narrator is clearly fond of adjusting the urban space to the needs of hipsters. For instance, she accepts transforming the run-down buildings into hip cafes or clubs, provided it maintains their gritty glamour. What she objects to is their becoming ever more commercial and conventionally pretty. The process of yuppification deprives the city of its soul, leaving just the corps of the buildings without their genuine character. The above description from Dionne Brand's novel can be coupled with the scene from Whittall's novel in which a character named Billy recalls how the neighborhood of her friend's apartment was transformed from being truly pre-hip into a hipster area:

A hotel that used to provide the neighbourhood a certain visible sketch factor had been rebuilt into a boutique hotspot called the Drake Hotel, with a hipster happy hour and over-priced entrees. The first Starbucks. Residents had reacted as if someone had taken a big shit on their front porch. The graffiti condemning it was witty Roxy's friend Richard, a local multimedia artist, made pins that read *Blame the Drake*. Roxy wore one, somewhat ironically. Condos were sprouting like acne on every block. Rents were rising. Our landlord who was old, usually drunk and lived in Mississauga only remembered to cash the rent cheques half the time. We were lucky he probably wouldn't think to raise it. When Maria and I moved out of our place on Argyle, our landlord there said he was selling to a developer. (51)

The neighborhoods affected by the process of gentrification may be described as an equivalent of the urban Wild West. It becomes clear that the originally poor and then remodeled areas are not secure, in terms of permanent settlement, either for the ordinary working class dwellers or the hipsters. The artists who explore and change the urban space are also at risk of being ousted by yuppies. The Drake Hotel mentioned by Whittall was a real place in Toronto situated at the corner of Queen and Beaconsfield. The neighboring streets before they were revitalized were called "the wild wild west" by the owner of the hotel (Wilcox and McBride 158). The language of the frontier appears often in commentaries on the process of cities' redevelopment. A geographer, Neil Smith, uses the notion of Wild West to describe the gentrification process that took place in Lower East Side in Manhattan. He praises the courage of the new residents who settled the low-income and mixed-race neighborhoods. By contrast, Smith criticizes the "urban pioneers" for the fact that while "roughing it in the bush," they do not take into account the people who used to live in the area before them (Wilcox and McBride 158). That leads to the situation vividly described in *What We All Long For* by Billy, who concludes that the local residents are not only dissatisfied with the changes in the neighborhood, but also complain about the quality of life in their residential area. Such a problem has been voiced by a Torontonian, Misha Glouberman who, despite being a hipster himself, objects to gentrification. He even established a committee fighting for the rights of the

people owning apartments in the entertainment district of Toronto. Glouberman and his supporters advocate regulating the number of nightclubs because such establishments have a negative impact on the area. In one of his essays "Neighborhoods Change," he comes to the conclusion that it is important to establish the limits on the changes in the neighborhood because fundamental democratic freedoms of every resident should be respected. For instance, he compares criticism of a gay bookstore next door to objections to a certain ethnic minority inhabiting a certain area. No one has the right to raise a voice of protest as long as the majority accepts the *status quo* (Glouberman, and Heti 161).

A hipster may be thus compared to a pioneer. Settling in a neighborhood of low-rentals and high crime rate demands considerable courage and a vision that those run-down blocks can become living spaces and pieces of art. The graffiti crew from Dionne Brand's novel may serve as the best example here. However, one should bear in mind that the hipster pioneers are at the same time colonizers. They impose their presence and art on the shared public space, claiming that they are beautifying the environment in the process. Moreover, their lifestyle demands a large number of nightclubs and cafes which they use on a daily basis. Non-hipster residents who are colonized in the process suffer from side effects of the hipster takeover, namely, what they see as defaced buildings, dirty streets and noise. This conflict is vividly pictured in *What We All Long For* as Brand writes of Ab und Zu store. The paradox, of course, is that the efforts of "bohemian pioneers" to settle in the "urban wild West" and to modernize it are in the long run futile because they only prepare the area for the developers and the yuppies who will soon oust them from the neighborhood. By initiating gentrification of the neighborhoods, by ousting the locals, they start a chain reaction of urban redevelopment and become its victims too.

When Hipsters Run in a City, a City Runs in their Veins: How Hipsters Experience a City

The following discussion will focus on the ways in which the characters of *What We All Long For*, *How Should a Person Be*, and *Holding Still For As Long As Possible* experience Toronto. A lot has been said about the natural bond between hipsters and the city. New bohemians have their identity defined by urban spaces.

One of the essays in *uTOpia* is devoted to the physical experience of the city as described by the term *flaneurie*, introduced by Baudelaire in reference to late nineteenth-century urbanite:

The flaneur is a detached figure; his concern is primarily for [sic!] the city as an aesthetic entity, not for those who appear within the landscape (except as intellectual, perhaps erotic, objects of his gaze). He walks to revive the hidden city; the city's bodies are folded into his apparently progressive watching (...). But as the modern flaneur walks away, what traces does he leave behind? One of the characteristics of contemporary Toronto flaneurie is its insistence that anyone can walk the city, anytime, but within this framework lies an unspoken alternative: that *not* to walk the city is to fail to appreciate the city properly, to fail to understand that remaking Toronto as an urban utopia requires a commitment from every citizen to learn to navigate the city better, more progressively. (Wilcox and McBride 47)

The argument in the excerpt is that hipsters have to learn to experience the city as a state of the mind on the move. Movement means progress in the understanding the place they inhabit. Flaneurs' responses to the urban spaces as aesthetic entities have to be generated in their bodies. This can be achieved by walking, but the experience becomes more exciting and intense when distances are covered at ever greater speed. It is no wonder then that one of the attributes of the contemporary bohemian is a bike. The streets in big cities are nowadays swarming with bearded men wearing plaid shirts and women in dresses with loose hair, all of whom pace the city streets on fixed gears that are a popular trend among hipsters and a symbol of their status. In *Chairs Are Where the People Go*, Misha Glouberman makes a point that cyclists and pedestrians are in a privileged position vis-a-vis suburbanites. This is a result of the fact that hipsters do not have to commute to their workplaces located downtown by means of cars or public transportation. A he or a she hipster has the freedom to live in an affordable apartment and do a menial job close to his or her home (Glouberman and Heti 104).

This is precisely the case of one of the characters in *What We All Long For*, Carla, who makes cycling her lifestyle. She is a courier who loves her job, mainly because it allows her to express her love for Toronto with her body:

The handlebars of the bike were like her own bones, and like her bones she bent the brace toward the park itself. Perhaps there she might burn off the pace of her legs up the inclines and through the trees. But she was out of the park before she knew it. The trees held nothing. The manicured circle of flowers, the false oasis of the park, only made her sicker. Before long she was out on Bloor Street again, speeding east toward the centre of the city, flinging herself through the lights at Keele and bending southward to the lake: the bellowing horn and pneumatic brake of an eighteen-wheeler flinched her sinuous back, but she didn't stop for the trucker yelling curses at her. She left the drama of the shocked driver and skewered traffic behind. If she could stop, she would have, but she was light and light moves. (Brand 29)

Regardless of the hazards of the street traffic, Carla wants to fully experience the city. The bike is her tool in that process and becomes an integral part of her body. The last sentence of the excerpt above is a play on words. On the one hand, the character feels “light” because of the physical sensation in her body and of the clarity of her mind. On the other hand, light as a noun stands for great speed and unstoppable energy. The flow of that energy creates a bond between the hipster and her urban environment. The same metaphor of body as light is used in Zoe Whittall’s novel when her character wanders the streets barefoot. After her first date with Josh, Billy goes back to her apartment feeling high and looking at her surroundings from a different perspective:

I glided home, stopping to take off my impossibly high heels and walk barefoot down Argyle Street. I paused outside my old apartment, the one I had shared with Maria, and noted the new curtains, the toys in the yard. I cut down to Queen Street, and smiled at the guy panhandling outside the bathtub store. I even smiled at the assholes outside the Social and the jerk faces lined up to get into the Drake – everyone got big grins from me. I stopped to pet small dogs on leashes. I felt light light light. (Whittall 121)

Billy feels high, elevated by the crush she has on Josh, but also by her love of the city. The feeling of positive reinforcement, combined with immersion in urban space, becomes like a medicine for the anxiety disorder and frequent mood swings she suffers from.

Another way of experiencing the city presented in the three novels is wandering about the city under the influence of drugs. In one of the scenes in *How Should a Person Be* a couple of hipster friends, Sheila and Margaux, decide to look for a new way of experiencing the urban environment. They take drugs to explore an alternative and a deep way of relating to the place. The following excerpt depicts the characters entering the narcotic trance and feeling the sensation of relating anew to the city space:

Though it was cold, we’d pace through the city at night. Now in one direction, now another. Always changing direction. Should we go down this alley? Fine. Do you want to go up this alley? Yes, let’s do it. But we just came down this alley. That’s okay, we’ll go up it again. We went up it and down it, up it and down. If we keep walking through this alley, we’ll tread a rut into it. That’s okay, I prefer pacing to getting somewhere. Up it and down, up and down. Then in the mornings Margaux would paint, and I would wash the walls. It was getting colder. We told ourselves that these were the happiest days of our lives. (138)

Their nighttime walks, become a ritual for Margaux and Sheila. The simple act of wandering around the streets without purpose makes that period in their lives the best time they ever had. They are artists who seek new sensations in

order to live their lives to the fullest. A similar need is expressed by the characters in *Holding Still For As Long As Possible* . In the key scene of the novel the lives of two main characters, Amy's and Billy's, are transformed by combining the two ways of experiencing the city – drug taking and bike riding. After doing drugs and drinking alcohol, the two women decide to go for a bike ride. They do it in order to experience the city. But, their experiment ends up in a tragedy. The city confronts them with its reality in the form of a truck which collides with the girls' bikes.

The three novels explore experiencing the city both physically and mentally. The gist of the first kind of experience is movement and physical effort that produce the endorphins that deepen one's love for one's place. That is why Brand's Carla loves her job while Whittall's Billy regains the joy of life by walking barefoot and smiling at people, something she rarely does because of her anxiety disorder. The alternative way to get a new perspective on familiar urban spaces is by taking drugs. Sheila, the protagonist of *How Should a Person Be* , concludes that the time when she wandered the city on drugs was the happiest time in her life. Both ways have a similar impact on the hipsters, leaving them ever more aware of and ever more pleased with the place they inhabit.

Works Cited :

- Brand, Dionne. *What We All Long for* . Toronto: Vintage Canada, 2005.
- Edwards, Justin D., and Douglas Ivison. *Downtown Canada: Writing Canadian Cities* . Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2005.
- Glouberman, Misha, and Sheila Heti. *The Chairs Are Where the People Go: How to Live, Work, and Play in the City* . New York: Faber and Faber, 2011.
- Heti, Sheila. *How Should a Person Be?* Toronto: House of Anansi, 2012.
- "Toronto Hipster Map A Godsend For Everyone Else." *The Huffington Post Canada* . 23 Jul 2013. http://www.huffingtonpost.ca/2013/07/04/toronto-hipsters-map-yelp_n_3546704.html. 14 Mar. 2014.
- Niedzviecki, Hal, and Darren S. Wershler-Henry. *The Original Canadian City Dweller's Almanac: Facts, Rants, Anecdotes and Unsupported Assertions for Urban Residents* . Toronto: Viking Canada, 2002.
- Whittall, Zoe. *Holding Still For As Long As Possible* . Toronto: House of Anansi, 2009.
- Wilcox, Alana, and Jason McBride. *uTOpia: Towards a New Toronto* . Toronto: Coach House Books, 2013.

Jagoda Tuz graduated from Maria Curie-Skłodowska University in Lublin. She wrote her BA thesis on the topic of the New York City subway system as described in John Wray's *Lowboy*. In 2013, she went to Canada to participate in *Thinking Canada Study Tour*. There, she also worked on her MA thesis devoted to hipsters in contemporary Canadian novels. While doing the research, she interviewed Sheila Heti, Zoe Whittall, one of the *Globe and Mail* columnists, and attended lectures on the Canadian urban literature at the University of Toronto. Currently, she is an MBA student at the Lublin University of Technology.

Comptes rendus / Reviews

Józef Kwaterko

Université de Varsovie

**JANUSZ PRZYCHODZEN (2014). *DE LA SIMPLICITÉ
COMME MODE D'EMPLOI. LE MINIMALISME EN
LITTÉRATURE QUÉBÉCOISE, QUÉBEC, LES PRESSES
DE L'UNIVERSITÉ LAVAL, 185 PAGES.
ISBN : 978-2-7637-1620-6; PDF 9782763716213***

Janusz Przychodzeń, ancien étudiant de l'Université de Varsovie et de l'Université McGill, aujourd'hui professeur agrégé à l'Université York de Toronto, est spécialiste de la littérature québécoise et francophone ainsi que de la littérature comparée des Amériques¹. Son récent ouvrage sur l'écriture minimaliste dans le roman québécois contemporain analyse le roman de Louis Gauthier, *Voyage en Inde avec un grand détour* (2005), la pentalogie romanesque de Aki Shizimaki, romancière d'origine japonaise : *Tsubaki* (1999), *Hamaguri* (2000), *Tsubame* (2001), *Wasurenagusa* (2002) et *Hotaru* (2004) ainsi que deux romans des années 1980 déjà abondamment discutés par la critique : *Volkswagen blues* (1984) de Jacques Poulin et *Comment faire l'amour avec un nègre sans se fatiguer* (1985) de Dany Laferrière.

Dans son « Introduction/Deux ou trois petites choses », Janusz Przychodzeń explique la notion de minimalisme à partir des réflexions

¹ Parmi ses ouvrages, mentionnons, *Vie et mort du théâtre au Québec. Introduction à une théâtritude*, Paris, l'Harmattan, 2001; un ouvrage sous sa direction, *Écritures québécoises, inspirations orientales. Dialogues réinventés?*, Québec, Les Presses de l'Université Laval, 2013, et plusieurs ouvrages collectifs qu'il a codirigés : *Imaginaire social et discours économique*, ouvrage collectif en collaboration avec Mauricio Segura, Pascal Brissette, Paul Choinière et Geneviève Lafrance, Département d'études françaises, Université de Montréal, coll. « Paragraphes », 2003 ; *L'Afrique et son cinéma. Regards et perspectives sur le cinéma africain francophone*, Montréal, Mémoire d'encrier, 2006 (en collaboration avec Sathya Rao) ; *Que peut la métaphore ? Histoire, savoir et poétique*, Paris, l'Harmattan, 2009 (avec François-Emmanuel Boucher) ; *L'Ésthetique du beau ordinaire dans une perspective transdisciplinaire. Ni du gouffre ni du ciel*, Paris, l'Harmattan, 2010 (avec François-Emmanuel Boucher et Sylvain David).

éthiques de Theodor W. Adorno dans *Minima moralia* (prédilection pour les formes erratiques et indéterminées au détriment de la pensée identitaire et systémique), et, au plan esthétique, à partir de la pratique littéraire des auteurs groupés autour des Éditions de Minuit (partisans du ludisme, de la superficialité et insignifiance). Selon l'auteur, les études critiques qui sont parus à leur sujet aux États-Unis (Fieke Shoots, Warren Motte) et en France, dans les collectifs dirigés par Marc Dambré et Bruno Blanckeman, Sabine Bedrane, Françoise Revaz et Michel Viegnes, puis par Frank Baert et Dominique Viart – ont révélé toute une gamme d'aspects du minimalisme, surtout au plan poétique, tels que discontinuité de la narration, déconstruction des relations causales, réduction du contenu narratif, intrigue rudimentaire – et, au plan stylistique et thématique : inaction et absence de l'événement, tonalité neutre, attention excessive aux détails, actes et personnages sans motivation psychologique, nomadisme (déterritorialisation spatiotemporelle) ainsi que ludisme et désengagement social de ces derniers. L'auteur discute également les travaux parus au Québec, ceux de Frances Fortier et Renée Mercier, Pierre Ouellet ou de Marie-Pascale Huglo et Kimberley Leprik, qui portent sur les œuvres littéraires québécoises dans lesquelles, à l'opposée des écrivains minimalistes de Minuit, domine une sensibilité naïve, marquée par le goût pour le dépaysement et l'intimisme. L'« Introduction » sert aussi l'auteur à donner certains balises de sa démarche où le minimalisme, dans le corpus québécois, sera capté à travers l'impossibilité de l'aventure (Louis Gauthier), la retenue esthétique et la déconstruction à la « japonaise » de la métaphore (Aki Shizimaki), les figures identitaires marginales et le récit d'aventure minimal inscrit dans espace-temps « maximal » (Jacques Poulin) et l'usage des stéréotypes et lieux communs qui creuse l'ambivalence identitaire (Dany Laferrière).

Le premier chapitre, consacré au *Voyage en Inde avec un grand détour* de Louis Gauthier, montre comment ce roman s'inscrit en faux dans le modèle classique du roman d'aventures ; l'aventure s'y déploie sur un mode virtuel (le héros malgré son désir de la découverte n'a rien d'un aventurier ; il s'embarque sur un navire en direction de l'Afrique, sans jamais pouvoir arriver aux Indes), « mineur » (déconstruction de l'aventure sentimentale, contradictions entre le désir latent de l'aventure et l'habitude du confort, le refus du danger, du voyage « hasardeux ») et « paradoxal » (tension entre la réalité et l'imagination, le potentiel de représenter le réel et l'action est dû au langage et son épuisement ainsi qu'à la métafiction qui retarde l'action et crée un « espace méditatif » où s'exhibe l'acte d'écrire). Cette analyse du « non-sens » et de l'insignifiance, comme traits majeurs de l'écriture minimaliste chez Gauthier, s'appuie habilement sur les travaux philosophiques de Maurice Blanchot et Gilles Deleuze.

Le second chapitre interroge la pentalogie d'Aki Schimazaki (avec une analyse focalisée principalement sur *Tsubaki*). Janusz Przychodzeń y observe, de façon nuancée, une « poétique japonaise ». Chez Schimazaki, cette dernière tient surtout dans le caractère élémentaire de l'intrigue et des répliques, dans le rapport esthétique du sujet à l'état de la nature et dans la dédramatisation de la mort individuelle et collective – le parricide commis par un enfant ; la bombe atomique lancée sur Nagasaki. Tous ces aspects étant de surcroît dominés par la figure de l'enfant qui pose un regard sur le monde en apparence naïf, dépourvu du jugement moral, poétisent et rendent sublime l'horreur et le mal, et, en même temps, nous permettent d'accéder à leur connaissance et vérité au moyen d'une stylistique minimaliste. Comme dans le chapitre précédent, l'analyse proprement littéraire est ici nourrie avec à propos par des réflexions philosophiques d'Adorno, Heidegger, Ricœur et Habermas sur le rapport entre l'éthique et l'esthétique ainsi que par des analogies entre la poétique du mal chez Schimazaki et la pratique de la poésie « après Auschwitz » chez Paul Celan.

Le troisième chapitre, consacrée à *Volkswagen blues* de Jacques Poulin, commence par l'observation du rôle du vide dans *San Francisco Blues* (1995), recueil de poèmes posthume de Jack Kerouac (issu d'une famille canadienne-française dont le patronyme renvoie à des ancêtres bretons), et dans le roman de Poulin. Ici et là le vide semble signaler l'impasse existentielle et l'écroulement du sujet. Or, comme l'observe Janusz Przychodzeń, chez Kerouac le vide est récompensé par une hypertrophie de la lumière qui connote une sorte d'illumination verticale (« divine »), alors que chez Poulin le peu de lumière et de couleurs se pose à rebours à l'expérience américaine de deux héros – Jack Waterman, écrivain québécois en panne d'écriture, et Pitsemine, jeune fille amérindienne qui l'accompagne. Les deux héros de Poulin traversent l'Amérique de Gaspé à la Californie sur le trace de Théo, le frère de Jack, et, à la fois, figure idéalisée du nomadisme américain et celle de l'échec et de la déchéance existentielle. Le minimalisme des descriptions de la lumière va de pair avec des expressions minimales et des formules négatives récurrentes chez Poulin (comme « quelque chose », « rien » ou « cela ne fait rien »). Ce type de réduction stylistique limite d'une part le potentiel de la communication et banalise en apparence le rapport au réel ambiant. Mais, d'autre part, il possède la capacité de créer sur un mode implicite des effets ironie et d'autodérision à l'endroit de toute certitude identitaire, et d'inviter par la même le lecteur à « louvoyer entre la lucidité gnostique sans participation vécue et la participation ontique sans lucidité. » (115), comme le dit Vladimir Jakélévitch, souvent convoqué dans ce livre. Dès lors, Janusz Przychodzeń passe à une analyse approfondie de l'investissement ironique et ludique dans *Volkswagen bleus*, qui est un procédé extrêmement souple,

travaillé et conscient, tant au niveau du langage qu'au niveau de l'historicité inscrite dans le roman. A cet endroit, l'analyse démontre que l'aventure épique de la traversée des paysages américains en quête du frère mythique bute progressivement (au cours du voyage et de la lecture de divers documents par les protagonistes) sur le dérisoire (la ruée vers l'or des immigrants fut des plus prosaïques), la déconstruction de la mémoire historique et nationale québécoise (le héros mythique de la Nouvelle-France Étienne Brûlé s'avère être un traître) et amérindienne (la découverte par Pitsémine des massacres perpétrés entre les tribus amérindiennes). Le roman échappe ainsi à la dimension épique du roman d'aventures et, grâce à la place donnée au sensible, devient une épopée minimaliste et polysémique. Comme le dit bien Erich Auerbach, cité dans le livre « [le roman] minimalise la portée de la connaissance historique tout en la rendant plus complexe » (135).

Le dernier chapitre offre une étude du roman de Dany Laferrière sur lequel on a déjà beaucoup écrit. L'originalité du propos de l'auteur est d'interpréter en profondeur l'usage systématique des clichés et des stéréotypes comme pratique ludique : une écriture minimaliste qui retourne les effets esthétiques de *primitivisation* et du style télégraphique, fondés sur la parataxe et la métonymie (énonciations sans verbe, exclamations, allitérations, accumulations, usage de listes et de slogans) en une écriture métaphorique. A ce niveau d'interprétation, l'hypertrophie des intertextes chez Laferrière, des effets rythmiques de la syncope, des références au jazz et au blues, à l'automatisme sexuel, à l'instinct brut – toute cette écriture explosive et frénétique fraye le passage au sensible et, sans donner dans une négritude victimaire, construit une métaphore filée de la chosification et du grand désordre social et moral, à la frontière du fantasme et du réel.

A côté de la démonstration du minimalisme dans la fiction québécoise, toujours « myope » et au ras du texte, un des grands atouts de l'étude de Janusz Przychodzeń est d'appuyer ses microanalyses sur un grand éventail de travaux philosophiques dont l'argumentation est souvent basée sur des exemples littéraires. L'intérêt d'une telle démarche interdisciplinaire est indéniable. Elle offre tout un « espace de possibles » aux croisements explicites et aux intersections plus souterraines qui s'avèrent primordiales pour comprendre la spécificité du roman et, dans ce cas précis, « la simplicité comme mode d'emploi » du roman québécois contemporain.

Maria Palla

Eötvös Loránd University, Budapest

**JUDIT MOLNÁR (2013). *NARRATING THE HOMELAND:
THE IMPORTANCE OF SPACE AND PLACE IN CANADIAN
MULTICULTURAL ENGLISH-LANGUAGE FICTION.***

DEBRECEN, DEBRECEN UNIVERSITY PRESS.

118 PAGES. ISBN: 978-963-318-369-4

This recently published book by Judit Molnár, one of Hungary's leading Canadianists, offers the in-depth critical assessment of works by five contemporary immigrant writers now residing in Canada. For those well-versed in vexillology it is enough to take a glimpse at the eye-catching front cover to identify the authors' countries of origin as well as their adopted home signalled by their respective flags. The map of Canada has not been placed there by mere chance either, as cartography, a significant theme in postcolonial theory, will play a crucial role on the pages to come. All this gives an early indication that it is the spatial aspects of literary works that will be the springboard of the analyses here.

The complexities of the issues to be revealed are also pointed out in the title of the volume where the word 'multicultural' calls attention to the fact that these authors of various ethnic backgrounds come from five different countries and have deliberately been selected for the diversity they embody: Austin Clarke, usually regarded as Canada's first major black writer, is from Barbados, Rohinton Mistry comes from India, Michael Ondaatje's home country is called Sri Lanka today, Neil Bissoondath, born in the Caribbean like Clarke, is from Trinidad, while the last author is Nino Ricci and is of Italian descent. In fact, this is the order in which they appear in the study. Admittedly, Ricci is quite different from the other four writers since his ancestral home is not a former colony and he is a second-generation immigrant unlike the other four, who were all born outside Canada.

It is not only the places of origin that distinguish these writers but also their modes of literary expression. As the book progresses, it becomes quite clear that the extent to which the real life experiences gained in the various homelands are fictionalized is much greater in the novels by Bissoondath and

Ricci than in the works of Clarke or Mistry. This implied organizing principle provides Professor Molnár's study with a clear logical structure.

On what grounds are these different writers grouped together in this study then? As the title suggests, all of them share a thematic concern which also marks a shift in the Canadian literary canon: these authors, now in their new country, look back on the years of their or their ancestors' lives spent in their homelands and, apparently, rely on the idea of return migration, which, in Ondaatje's case, turns into even something more, a circular migration, as a major topic in their works. It also becomes obvious that the autobiographical impulse is very strong in all of these works. It is crucial for these writers to try to come to terms with the situation left 'there' in order to find a sense of belonging, to establish their identity 'here', which often turns out to be based on multiple cultural identities. This search for self-definition in geographical space is usually accompanied by an attempt to understand the forces of history at play and the resulting power relations. This is how, as a consequence, topoanalysis supports psychoanalysis since, as Professor Molnár convincingly argues, place is an all-pervasive condition of experience (16).

Although Judit Molnár's book is thoroughly grounded in research focussed on a remarkable spectrum of spatial and geographical theories as formulated by Bachelard, Carter, Foucault, Lefebvre, Tuan and others, she moves among them with great ease. Yet, the methodology of her work, as she explicitly describes in her "Preface," emphasises the close textual analysis of the books selected to allow "the spatial theory implicit in them (...) to be released" (Kort quoted in Molnár 16). This is a welcome departure after the proliferation of studies imposing theories on literary texts sometimes to such an extent that the original texts become forgotten in the theorizing.

The concluding remarks draw further parallels between the five books, highlighting the overall significance of some specific locations, most importantly the houses, these very intimate, private places, serving as the ancestral homes of the protagonists. Other similarly prominent edifices include schools, churches, walls, gardens and places of burial.

The school plays an especially noticeable role in Clarke's memoir set in colonial Barbados because formal education as provided by the colonizing power was among the most influential, though very subtle, means to oppress the local people and immerse them in an alien culture making them forget the value of their native traditions. Consequently, the title of Clarke's book *Growing Up Stupid Under the Union Jack* becomes especially meaningful. In contrast, outdoor places in the natural environment such as the beach or the sugar cane fields, while unmistakably Caribbean, provide a sense of liberation, yet they may also remind readers of the Neo-Romantic tradition of the time in which Dylan Thomas, in the imperial centre on the other side of the Atlantic,

expressed similar sentiments with similar effects in his lyrical recollections of his childhood in some of his poems.

The part about Rohinton Mistry is the longest self-contained section in the study and it is also an exceptional one for focussing on two books by the same author, who, being a Parsi from Bombay, like some of his protagonists, is a double migrant in Canada. This chapter truly abounds in significant places categorized as personal spaces, communal spaces, shared spaces, guarded spaces, gendered spaces, cosmic spaces, and sacred or spiritual spaces. It is here that Judit Molnár makes the best use of Foucault's theory of heterotopias as well as Bakhtin's idea of the chronotope. What is claimed to be the dominant visual image of the novel *Such a Long Journey* is the wall, of which Professor Molnár provides an excellent analysis synthesizing and supplementing the views of several critics on its meaning.

It is in Ondaatje's magic realistic travel memoir *Running in the Family* that maps and cartography take on significance as instruments of colonial control and appropriation of the territory of the island. The search for its true aspects by actually visiting the place and by remembering its history together with that of the author's family there turns into a way of trying to affirm one's self, which is a need characteristically expressed in much multicultural writing. Although the return to the homeland becomes a mixed experience here, it is a necessary one in order for the protagonist to gain a full sense of life.

In his *Casual Brutality*, Neil Bissoondath also deals with the various possibilities involved in interpreting maps, the use of cartographic strategies and the changing of place names implying political control and ultimately leading to a sense of dislocation for those native to a particular place thus concerned. But this novel, more often than the previously mentioned ones, contrasts life in Casquemada on the imaginary island in the Caribbean with experiences in Toronto and, unlike the above novels, ends with disappointment at the fate awaiting the protagonist on his return to his birthplace. It comes as no surprise that in the end the answer to the vexing question 'Where is home?' is much more uncertain in this book.

In her examination of the last novel, Ricci's *Lives of the Saints*, Judit Molnár proves that some of the features she has identified as typical of postcolonial writing – most prominently the trope of the return journey to one's national place of origin – can be located in immigrant writing as well. The problems arising from a dual nationality and a split identity as well as the way places shape individual and communal identity also appear in this novel. Here again attention is called to the character of the different places such as the stable, the school or the family's dwelling as well as pastures and market places to reveal how closely they are connected to the mindset of their occupants.

That is how, after all, this insightful and theoretically most sophisticated book, with its diverse subject matter, becomes a completely unified whole, in which, through the contrasts and comparisons made between the descriptions and the functions of places and spaces, an illuminating and thought provoking reading of some of the seminal works in contemporary Canadian fiction is offered.

Magdalena Paluszkiewicz-Misiaczek

Jagiellonian University

**ANNA BRANACH-KALLAS (2014). *URAZ
PRZETRWANIA: TRAUMA I POLEMKA Z MITEM
PIERWSZEJ WOJNY ŚWIATOWEJ W POWIEŚCI
KANADYJSKIEJ*. TORUŃ, WYDAWNICTWO NAUKOWE
UNIwersytetu Mikołaja Kopernika. 268 PAGES.
ISBN: 978-83-231-3192-2**

The monograph by Anna Branach-Kallas belongs to the vast array of publications commemorating the 100th anniversary of the outbreak of World War I. However, the aim of this particular book is not to devise yet another historical and literary study of the Great War. Through the analysis of the motive of trauma in a few, well selected war novels, the author draws the readers' attention to the deconstruction of the myth of World War I taking place in Canada throughout the 20th century. Such approach is truly innovative. It allows readers to realize how historical memory and knowledge about war events can be manipulated. Such awareness of changes in narration concerning historical events is of utmost importance, especially when dealing with the "difficult past".

In Poland, the knowledge about Canadian participation in the conflict is virtually non-existent, apart from a limited group of readers who got acquainted with the Polish translation of *Rilla of Ingleside* – the last volume of Lucy Maud Montgomery's saga about red-haired Anne and a small circle of subject-interested academics. Thus, the decision to write the book in Polish was certainly most appropriate, for the sake of popularizing Canadian literature and history among wider spectrum of Polish readers. Equally apt was the decision to precede literary analysis with a thorough, multifaceted, yet synthetic historical presentation of Canadian participation in WWI, and a concise outline of the history of changing approaches towards war trauma, both before and after the conflict. These parts greatly facilitate reading of the subsequent chapters devoted to the examination of particular literary works.

Literary analysis proper begins with works published either during or shortly after the war. From a multitude of the early 20th century novels the author decided to choose Ralph Connor's *The Sky Pilot in No Man's Land* (1919) and Lucy Maud Montgomery's *Rilla of Ingleside* (1921) as the ones which vastly contributed to creation of the myth of WWI in Canada. They were showing romanticized and idealized picture of the conflict, promoting the concepts of honour and courage of the soldiers, as well as sacrifice and patriotism of those who stayed at home. *Generals Die in Bed* (1930) by Charles Yale Harrison and *God's Sparrow* (1937) by Philip Child are presented as the first examples of realistic war prose, written by former soldiers, who did not pass over the negative aspects of war – cruelty, barbarity, suffering and broke down with the stereotypical notions of manly courage or brave and heroic soldiers, who did not succumb to the feelings of terror and panic.

The problem of war trauma and tragic confrontation of a sensitive and caring individual with the insane reality of war is further developed on the basis of *The Wars* (1977) by Timothy Findley and *Three Day Road* (2005) by Joseph Boyden. In the end the author decided also to refer to the novels presenting WWI from rather uncommon perspectives. In Frances Itani's *Deafening* it is a stretcher-bearer from Canadian Medical Corps. In Jane Urquhart's *Underpainter* (1997) it is a nurse from Canadian Army Nursing Corps. In Jack Hodgins' *Broken Ground* (1998) and Jane Urquhart's *The Stone Carvers* (2001) these are veterans fighting for return to civil life or civilians whose beloved were either killed or returned permanently scarred – physically or mentally.

Approaching such a wide selection of texts may pose considerable challenge, yet their careful and well thought out selection allowed Anna Branach-Kallas to build a multi-faceted and complex picture. It is showing how the perception of “the war to end all wars” was undergoing change in the course of the 20th and early 21st centuries, and how the evolution of approach towards the conflict helped to begin gradual uncovering of the problem of war trauma among the soldiers and their families. The book demonstrates also how participation in European military conflict influenced Canada as a country. It presents the role of war propaganda, censorship as well as government policy of post war commemoration of war heroes in the creation of the war myth. The style of the book is flowing, involving and attractively plain. Brilliant translations of well chosen fragments of the novels, which have not been published in Polish, constitute yet another of its assets – encouraging readers to reach out to the original texts. All things considered, Anna Branach-Kallas did a meticulous work and wrote a book which is lucid, well balanced and truly pioneering. I am sure it will be of great value for promotion of knowledge about historical and literary aspects of Canadian participation in the Great War.

Karol Pluta

Jagiellonian University

JAROSŁAW RÓŻAŃSKI, OMI (2012). *POLSCY OBLACI WŚRÓD INDIAN I INUITÓW (POLISH OBLATES AMONG THE INDIANS AND INUIT)*. POZNAŃ: MISYJNE DROGI, 240 PAGES. ISBN 978-83-92-1781-8-7

The book by Professor Jarosław Różański *Polscy oblaci wśród Indian i Inuitów (Polish Oblates among the Indians and Inuit)*, released in 2012, is the embalmed record of the pastoral work of Polish Oblate missionaries in Canada. The author is a professor at the Cardinal Stefan Wyszyński University in Warsaw where he serves as the Head of the Missiology Section at the Department of the History of Missions. He attended numerous missions, including in Chad, Sudan, and Madagascar, and based on his experience and research he wrote several books which contributed to the creation of an insightful image of environmental and cultural diversity of the visited countries. The author is a leading specialist in the field of missiology and an expert in terms of describing the missionary activity, especially that run by the Congregation of the Missionary Oblates of Mary Immaculate. This congregation was established in 1816 in Aix-en-Provence, France. Its founder Eugène de Mazenod – seeing the destruction of faith and morals after the French Revolution – decided to re-evangelise the country. Gradually, the pastoral activities of the Oblates were spreading to other countries, especially where the order saw a need for the Christianisation of the residents. Already in 1841, Eugène de Mazenod sent the first missionaries to Rupert's Land. They were pioneers in the development of the church structures and bringing European models of education, reaching up to the northernmost human settlements.

Różański's book provides detailed descriptions of the Rupert's Land fauna and flora, as well as the everyday challenges faced by the people of what today is Yukon, the Northwest Territories, and Nunavut. The narrative is based on the unique accounts of the Polish Oblates working among the Indians and Inuit. Using the collections of numerous monastic and church archives, the author gained the access to unpublished letters of missionaries, their diaries and records. He frequently quotes personal memories (saturated with

factual information), which helps readers understand the nature of the Oblates' work. The book reveals an unknown face of the missionary activity (making attempts to integrate with native people), but, most of all, everyday duties of priests, including hunting, seizing meat, cutting and processing forest trees in sawmills.

The book presents a clear and logical layout; it is divided into six chapters: *Zarys przeszłości i ewangelizacji Kanady (Outline of the past and the evangelisation of Canada)*, *Misjonarze Oblaci na Północnym-Zachodzie (Oblate missionaries in the North-West)*, *Praca polskich braci Oblatów na Północnym-Zachodzie (Work of Polish Oblate brothers in the North-West)*, *Praca o. Leona Mokwy wśród Indian Północnego-Zachodu (Rev. Leon Mokwa among Indians of North-West)*, *Nowy zastęp polskich Oblatów wśród Indian, Polscy Oblaci wśród Inuitów (New group of Polish Oblates among Indians, Polish Oblates among Inuit)*. Each of them represents a compositional whole, highlighted by the chronological approach. The book, however, uses outdated data on demography, which suggests that it might have been written more than a decade before it was officially printed (Róžański 13). The second chapter, because of its vagueness and superficial approach to history (e.g. chronological inaccuracies in the description of the process of colonization of Canada) may impede reading, especially for those unfamiliar with Canada's history (13-22). However, the author in certain fragments, devotes too much space to mention specific dates and locations, so the story becomes tedious. The lack of maps, illustrations, and photographs which would allow readers to visualize described places and events, may also be a drawback.

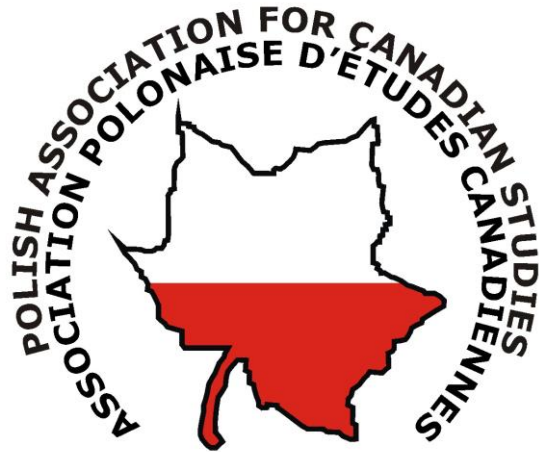
It is worth noting that Róžański gives an over-detailed account of the Polish Oblates, such as Brother Antoni Kowalczyk, Brother Michał Dąbrowski, and Father Leon Mokwa. In contrast, Fathers Paweł Andrasz and Paweł Zając, are only presented in a brief and fragmentary way (179-225). Moreover, the content reveals a subjective nature of the narrative and the idealization of the attitudes of missionaries in relations with the Indians and Inuit (45, 49). This is especially visible in the part of the book describing 'the tireless' work of Brother Antoni Kowalczyk. The description of his unceasing dedication, even after the amputation of his hand, is filled with heroism – the author wants to emphasize Brother Antoni Kowalczyk's achievements and compares his experiences to the sufferings of Jesus Christ (51).

Although the book is written in rather simple and clear Polish, the author does not avoid certain stylistic lapses, typical for Polish diaspora in North America, such as the erroneous inflections of geographical names (for example Edmonton) (47) or by using terms such as: "mendicancy" (colloquial term meaning "to beg for alms"), "black dress" (pejorative term used to describe a priest and his cassock).

Unfortunately, the author does not manage to liberate himself from the Eurocentric perspective in the presentation of issues related to the Indians and Inuit. Focusing on the life and work of the Polish Oblates resulted in a significant reduction of descriptions of the Indigenous cultures, languages and beliefs. In Canada, starting in mid-19th century, First Nations' children were directed, often forcibly, to "residential schools," where they spent ten months each year. Schools were subject to the jurisdiction of the government, although most were conducted by Protestant and Catholic churches (also female and male orders). The main goal of the development of this type of education was to assimilate and acculturate the Native population. It becomes noticeable that the author tries to omit the issue of the Canadian Indian residential school system, which is mentioned only under the abbreviated name of "schools" (68). On the other hand, thanks to the archival work of the author and his critical attitude, it is possible to know the stereotypical views of the missionaries on the lifestyles of Indigenous people used in the 19th and in the beginning of 20th century. The quotation clearly shows the missionaries' paternalistic view of the Native Americans lifestyle lacking any 'civilized' grounds: "They were very susceptible to the disease [tuberculosis], they ate poorly, sometimes too much, and sometimes too little, they couldn't arrange their life and didn't care about tomorrow. It is just their nature (...)" (86)¹.

The book is one of the first Polish attempts to present the works of hitherto unknown Polish Catholic missionaries, but also to give first-hand account of unique aspects of life in the Canadian North. This book is more a missionary calendar than a strictly historical publication, so to understand the content in full it is necessary to firstly read one of the Canadian history textbooks. Another value of the work is the rich bibliography (e.g. the missionaries' accounts from French). The author's great achievement is to interview Father Leon Mokwa – the distinguished Polish Oblate, working for over 50 years among the Indians and Inuit. The book can also be a great complement to other works devoted to missions in Canada. It helps to trace the history of the region and widens the knowledge about the missionary activities.

¹ Original quotation: "Byli bowiem bardzo podatni na tę chorobę [gruźlicę], odżywiali się słabo, raz za dużo, raz za mało, nie umieli urządzić sobie życia i nie dbali o dzień jutrzejszy. Taka już ich natura (...)"



POLISH ASSOCIATION FOR CANADIAN STUDIES

NEWSLETTER / BULLETIN DE L'APEC

7. 2014

TransCanadiana

GENERAL NEWS

GENERAL NEWS

The formula for the newsletter

To improve the process of distributing information, PACS decided to slightly change the newsletter formula. Since the 2012 edition the newsletter covers information from the last calendar year (2014 in the case of the present newsletter) or the information relating to the year 2013, which was not published in the previous newsletter.



PACS Executive

President – Dr. Marcin Gabryś
Deputy President – Prof. Anna Branach-Kallas
Treasurer – Dr. Ewelina Bujnowska
Secretary – Dr. Tomasz Soroka



**POLISH ASSOCIATION OF
CANADIAN STUDIES
HONORED BY GOVERNOR
GENERAL** – Krakow, 25 Oct.
2014



His Excellency Governor General of Canada David Johnston met at the Jagiellonian University's Collegium Novum with the representatives of the Polish Association of Canadian Studies and the authorities of the Jagiellonian University. Recognizing the PACS' contribution for the facilitation and promotion of Canadian studies and knowledge of Canada, **His Excellency honored PACS with the Medal of the Governor General.** PACS is the first Canadian studies



association awarded by a Governor's General decoration.



7th Congress of Polish Canadianists – *Canada at war / Le Canada et les guerres/* will take place between May 19 and May 21, 2016, at Nicolaus Copernicus University in Toruń, Poland. It will focus on how the tension between Canada as a peacekeeping nation and Canada as a warrior nation is reflected in historiography, politics, literature, film, visual arts, and other cultural discourses. Papers to be presented there include, but are not limited to, the following:

- war traumas and their consequences on the level of identity and community
- early historical conflicts at the colony and conquest stage
- Canadian participation in external conflicts and geopolitical rivalries

- Canadian military history; Canadian peacekeeping missions
- the reintegration of veterans
- linguistic, ethnic, racial, and religious conflicts in Canada vs. the policy of multiculturalism
- marginalized perspectives on conflict: women's, ethnic minorities, various "outsiders"
- multicultural discourses: wars and conflicts in geographies situated beyond Canadian territory
- parody and fictionalization of historical events
- alternative historical visions
- the politics and poetics of commemoration.

During the Congress new PACS Executive will be elected.



PACS GRANTS

Until May 2012 PACS offered programs allowing support for research trips within Poland and abroad, and for conference participation. The programs (incl. conference, international travel, library research, and lecture tours grants), however, were suspended due to Canadian government's decision to cease financial support of Under-standing Canada Program (incl. financial contribution to PACS budget). They might be partly rene-wed in 2016 given the promise of a new funding from the International Council for Canadian Studies.



EU-CANADA STUDY TOUR AND INTERNSHIP PROGRAMME THINKING CANADA

“Thinking Canada” was an initiative of the European Network for Canadian Studies, funded generously by the European

Commission – a three-and-a-half week study tour to Canada for European students, followed for selected participants by two-month internships. It was preceded by a couple of days of briefings in Brussels on the EU and EU-Canada relations. The aim of the study tour was to offer its participants a unique in-depth experience of Canada through an intensive programme of visits to major private and public institutions, government bodies, think-tanks and NGOs. At each place, the students received briefings and had the opportunity to exchange views with representatives of these bodies, many of them leading experts in their fields. 2013 was the last year when the program operated. It expired due to Canada's government's withdrawal from funding the initiative.



**2013 EU-Canada Study Tour
“Thinking Canada”, ENCS and
European Commission
program:**

Awardees: Jagoda Tuz (Maria Curie-Skłodowska University, Lublin), Mateusz Krycki (Cardinal Stefan Wyszyński University, Warsaw).



**NANCY BURKE BEST M.A.
THESIS AWARD**

Objective: to foster a new generation of Canadianists by rewarding high-quality research at M.A. level. The award is given every year to the author of the best M.A. thesis in Canadian Studies in Poland (written in Polish, English or French). Details: http://www.ptbk.org.pl/nagroda_ptbk,18.html

2014 Nancy Burke Best M.A. Thesis Award: Kamila Scheithauer (Niemiec) (University of Silesia, Sosnowiec): *Coming Back to the Roots: Struggle Against the Colonial Educational Legacy and the Process of Rediscovering Aboriginal Knowledge in Contemporary Canada.*

2014 Nancy Burke Best M.A. Thesis Award: Agata Sieroń (Université de Silésie, Sosnowiec): *Traduire la littérature québécoise postmoderne: problèmes traductologiques dans la traduction du « Vengeur masqué contre les hommes-perchaudes de la Lune » de François Blais.*

2014 Honourable mention: Jagoda Tuz (Maria Curie-Skłodowska University, Lublin): *The Hipster in Three Contemporary Canadian Novels.*



Sep. 2014 – **Prof. Anna Branach-Kallas**, PACS Vice-President becomes a member of the Editorial Board of the *International Journal of Canadian Studies / Revue internationale d'études canadiennes*



NON-PACS GRANTS

ICCS Pierre Savard Award

(intended to designate exceptional books, which, being based on a Canadian topic, contribute to a better understanding of Canada) for the for the monograph *Uraz przetrwania. Trauma i polemika z mitem pierwszej wojny światowej w powieści kanadyjskiej*.

Awardee: Anna Branach-Kallas
(Nicolaus Copernicus University,
Toruń)



OPUS grant of the Polish National Science Center (NCN), DEC-2013/11/B/HS2/02871, for the project: *The First World War as Cultural Trauma in English, French, and Canadian Literatures*.

Awardee: Anna Branach-Kallas
(Nicolaus Copernicus University,
Toruń)

Grant of the Polish National Science Center (NCN), PRO-2012/05/B/HS2/04004, for the project: *The Aesthetics and Politics of the North American Female Memoir (1990-Present)—Multicultural Perspectives*.

Awardee: Dagmara Drewniak
(Adam Mickiewicz University,
Poznań)



2014 bourse de l'Association Internationale des Études Québécoises – soutien financier à la participation au colloque « Re-penser le manifeste “Pour une littérature-monde en français” », Université Simon Fraser, Vancouver, Canada.

Lauréat : Michał Obszyński
(Université de Varsovie)





2014 Bourses du Ministère des Relations internationales, de la Francophonie et du Commerce extérieur du Québec offertes aux professeurs de français langue étrangère: Stage en didactique du français, culture et société québécoises (du 5 au 25 juillet 2014)

Lauréate: Anna Żurawska (Université Nicolas Copernic de Toruń)



2014 INKULTUS EU program : travelling grant

Awardee: Joanna Durczak (Maria Curie-Skłodowska University, Lublin)



2014 Bourse du Conseil international d'études canadiennes d'Ottawa, Programme de bourses de rédaction de thèse ; séjour scientifique à l'Université d'Ottawa sous la tutelle de Rainier

Grutman du 2 septembre au 31 octobre 2014

Lauréate: Agata Trociuk (Université de Limoges, France, Université de Montréal, Canada)



2014 Junior Fellowship at the Krupp Wissenschaftskolleg Greifswald, Germany; Project: "Queer Identity in Ukrainian-Canadian and Ukrainian Literature"

Awardee: Weronika Suchacka (Szczecin University)



2014 Banff International Literary Translation Centre 3-week residency programme offered to international translators working on literature from the Americas.

Awardee: Krzysztof Majer (University of Łódź)



PUBLICATIONS

Branach-Kallas, Anna.
Uraz przetrwania. Trauma i polemika z mitem pierwszej wojny światowej w powieści kanadyjskiej. Toruń:
Wydawnictwo Naukowe
Uniwersytetu Mikołaja Kopernika,
2014. 268 pp. ISBN 978-83-231-3192-2.



The aim of this study is to analyse the literary representations of trauma in Canadian novels about the First World War as well as the (de)construction of the myth of the Great War in Canadian culture and fiction. Although situated thousands of miles across the ocean, at the beginning of the 20th century,

Canada was a British dominion and, as such, part of the British Empire. Therefore, when the war broke out Canada entered the conflict automatically and sent over 600 000 volunteers to Europe, 30% of whom died or suffered severe wounds on the front. Until recently, the Great War functioned in Canadian historiography as a momentous historic event that allowed the Canadians to define their national identity. In spite of the high number of casualties, the Great War was placed in the framework of *the colony-to-nation narrative*. This perspective was challenged only in the 1970s, which saw the publication of many historical studies questioning the achievements of the Canadian Corps. After several decades of silence, the Great War became also an important literary theme at the turn of the millennium. Anna Branach-Kallas emphasises in the introduction that her intention is not a thorough study of Canadian fictions of the Great War. Novels by Charles Yale Harrison, Peter Child, Timothy Findley, Joseph Boyden, Jack Hodgins, Frances Itani and



Jane Urquhart have been carefully selected to illustrate various aspects of war trauma among soldiers and civilians. The author refers both to individual and collective traumatisation, using classical Freudian psychoanalysis, Nicolas Abraham and Maria Torok's more recent reinterpretations, trauma theory (Cathy Caruth, Dominick LaCapra, Dori Laub, Shoshana Felman, etc.), and sociological approaches to collective traumatisation (Piotr Sztompka, Jeffrey C. Alexander, etc.). Branach-Kallas shows that, by reimagining the Great War, contemporary novelists reinterpret its symbolic and affective meanings. Nevertheless, in her view, the role of fiction in this context is not only to revision and to commemorate, but to bear witness to difficult historical truths. Her book is a profound enquiry about the ethics and the representations of war, showing that the radical change in the conceptual frameworks following the Holocaust and other genocides in the course of the 20th century makes it, perhaps, possible only today to verbalise and narrate the trauma of the First World War.



Branach-Kallas, Anna ed.
Niuanse wyobcowania.
Diaspora i tematyka polska w
Kanadzie. Toruń: Wydawnictwo
Naukowe Uniwersytetu Mikołaja

Kopernika, 2014. 187 pp. ISBN 978-83-231-3101-4.

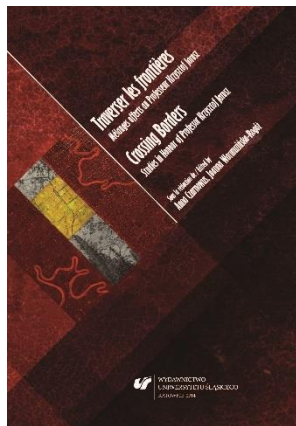


This collection of essays explores the historical, literary and psychological landscapes delineated by the concept of Polishness in Canada. An in-depth introduction to the historical development of the Polish-Canadian community opens the volume. Apart from works created by Polish immigrants in Canada and their descendants, the authors of the collected articles also interpret the theme of dislocation as imagined by poets and writers indirectly connected with Poland through Central European and Jewish migrations. Exile, homelessness, nostalgia, deterritorialization, in-betweenness, post-memory, trauma are key terms used in the collection to situate the experience of diaspora against the larger background of transcultural dia-logues and debates.



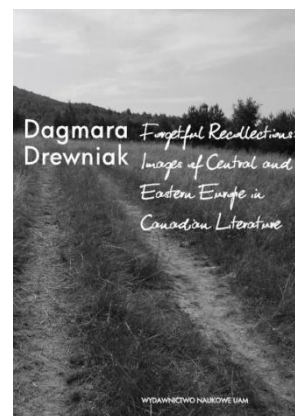


Czarnowus Anna, Joanna Warmuzińska-Rogóż (dir.), *Traverser les frontières. Mélanges offerts au Professeur Krzysztof Jarosz / Crossing Borders. Studies in Honour of Professor Krzysztof Jarosz*. Katowice: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Śląskiego, 2014. 200 pp. ISBN 978-83-226-2298-8.



Publikacja dwujęzyczna przygotowana z okazji jubileuszu 60. urodzin prof. dra hab. Krzysztofa Jarosza, romanisty i quebecysty z Uniwersytetu Śląskiego, kierownika Zakładu Badań Kanadyjskich i Przekładu Literackiego, tłumacza, wieloletniego prezesa PTBK. W książce znalazły się teksty skoncentrowane wokół szeroko rozumianej tematyki przekraczania granic: w kontekście literatury, szczególnie francuskiej, ale także francuskojęzycznej rodem z Quebecu i kanadyjskiej, a także w kontekście kultury i przekładu.

Drewniak, Dagmara *Forgetful Recollections: Images of Central and Eastern Europe in Canadian Literature*. Wydawnictwo Naukowe UAM, Poznań, 2014. 222 pp. ISBN 978-83-232-2777-9.



The present study is an attempt to explore the position of the memory and postmemory of Central and Eastern Europe in contemporary Canadian literature. The analysis is inspired by Simona Škrabec's concept of the 20th century Central Europe seen as diverse and evolving "space of dispersion." In this context, the book situates the novels and memoirs, published in Canada at the turn of the 20th and 21st century and written by immigrants and their descendants from Central and Eastern Europe, as the texts which try to recreate the images of "Old Places" filtered through the experience of living in



transcultural Canada. The analyses of the selected texts by Janice Kulyk Keefer, Lisa Appignanesi, Irena F. Karafilly, Anne Michaels, Norman Ravvin, and Eva Stachniak are predominantly based on Marianne Hirsch's idea of "postmemory" and Pierre Nora's "lieux de mémoire". These two concepts capture the broad spectrum of attitudes to the past, remembering and forgetting, and sites of memory as exemplified in the discussed texts. While all of the chosen novels and memoirs explore the problem of post/ memory and un/belonging caused by immigration, poverty, and the trauma of World War II, they try to address the question of identity of immigrants (or their descendants) created on the border between the memory and postmemory of the past and the contemporary reality of transcultural Canada. As a result of this, the post/memory and the recreated after/images of Central and Eastern Europe offer both therapy and consolation as well as testimony to the past and its sites of memory.

(Wydawnictwo Naukowe UAM, www.press.amu.edu.pl)



Gabryś Marcin, Magdalena Modrzejewska (red.), *Państwo i społeczeństwo: kanadyjska myśl społeczna, polityczna i prawna / State and society: Canadian social, political and legal thought.* Katowice: Agencja

Artystyczna PARA, 2012. 337 pp.
ISBN 978-83-61061-89-2



Contemporary Canadian political, social, legal and economic thought is deeply rooted in the country's historical context. (...) This interdisciplinary selection of texts aims, at least partly, to fill the gap of primary sources availability on Canadian 19th and early 20th century thought. By this publication the authors provide a highly valuable material for the Canadian studies related courses taught in Poland. The publication is trilingual, the original French and English texts are translated into Polish and each of the original sources is accompanied by a short introduction presenting a historical background, the author and the context within which the source material can be analyzed. The most relevant supplemental readings are also suggested. This publication should be of interest for lawyers,

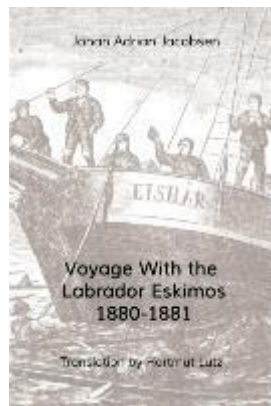


political scientists, sociologists or philosophers.

(From the review by Prof. Marta Kijewska-Trembecka)



Jacobsen Johan Adrian.
Voyage with the Labrador Eskimos 1880-1881. Transl. Hartmut Lutz. Gatineau: Quebec: Polar Horizons, 2014. 86 pp. ISBN 978-0-9936740-5-1.



Translation from Norwegian-German into English of the diary of captain Adrian Jacobsen from his voyage from Hamburg to Canada and back, when in 1880/81 he brought eight Inuit from Labrador to Europe, where they were exhibited in zoos (!) and all died of smallpox.



Kijewska-Trembecka Marta
(ed.), *Kanada na przełomie XX i XXI wieku. Polityka, społeczeństwo, edukacja.*

Kraków: Księgarnia Akademicka, 2013. 288 str. ISBN 9788376384375.

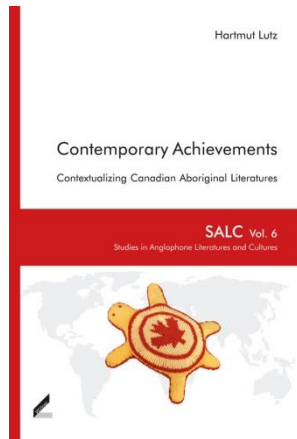


Książka adresowana jest przede wszystkim do odbiorców wnikliwiej zainteresowanych różnymi wymiarami współczesnego kanadyjskiego życia. W szczególności praca ta jest pomyślana jako podręcznik dla studentów różnych kierunków i specjalności, na których prowadzone są kursy dotyczące problematyki kanadyjskiej.



Lutz, Hartmut. *Contemporary Achievements: Contextualizing Canadian Aboriginal Literatures.* Studies in Anglophone Literatures and Cultures, vol. 6, ed. Martin Kuester. Augsburg: Wissner Verlag, 2015. 334 pp. ISBN 978-3-95786-009-5.

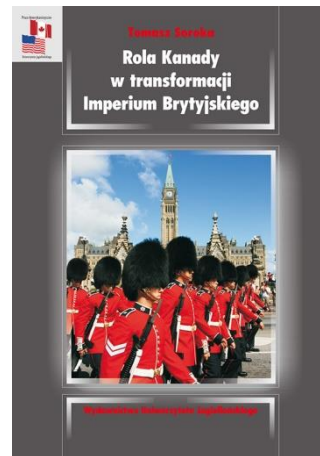




A collection of 13 essays, that were originally published in scattered periodicals and collections within the last decade, which document and celebrate the achievements of Indigenous Literatures in Canada since the 1990's. Essays are arranged according to the following topics: I. Surveys of Canadian Native Literatures; II. Peoples, Stories, and Places; III. Indians and Germans; IV. Métis and Others; V. Inuit and Others.

Soroka Tomasz, *Rola Kanady w transformacji Imperium Brytyjskiego. Analiza stosunków kanadyjsko-brytyjskich w okresie między-wojennym.*

Kraków: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego, 2014. 256 str. ISBN 978-83-233-3730-0.



Historyczna droga, jaką przebyła Kanada od statusu brytyjskiej kolonii do pełnej emancypacji politycznej przebiegała etapami. Kanadyjska odrębność państwowa kształtowała się w wyniku stopniowego uzyskiwania przez Ottawę coraz szerszej autonomii w zakresie polityki wewnętrznej i zagranicznej. Proces ten trwał kilkadziesiąt lat, a największy postęp w dążeniach do suwerenności dyplomatycznej Kanada odnotowała w okresie między-wojennym, za rządów premiera Williama Lyona Mackenzie Kinga. Temu też okresowi relacji kanadyjsko-brytyjskich poświęcona jest niniejsza monografia. Autor przyjmuje tezę o szczególnej, wręcz pionierskiej roli, jaką odegrało Dominium Kanady w transformacji Imperium Brytyjskiego w latach międzywojennych. Swoje ustalenia przedstawia na tle rywalizacji międzynarodowej, skomplikowanej sytuacji wewnętrznej Imperium

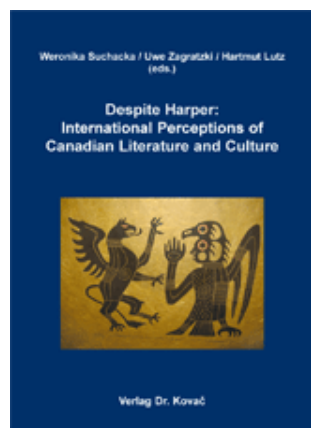


Brytyjskiego oraz podziałów w samym społeczeństwie kanadyjskim (...). Publikacja wnosi istotny wkład w poszerzenie wiedzy o historii politycznej Kanady okresu międzywojnia omawiając zagadnienia, które nie były dotąd wnikliwie opisywane w polskiej literaturze przedmiotu.

(Z rec. wyd. dr. hab. Roberta Kłosowicza, prof. UJ)



Suchacka, Weronika, Uwe Zagratzki, and Hartmut Lutz (eds.), *Despite Harper: International Perceptions of Canadian Literature and Cultures*. Hamburg: Verlag Dr. Kovač, 2014. 167pp. ISBN 978-3-8300-7412-0. Contributors (inter alia): Hartmut Lutz, Weronika Suchacka, Uwe Zagratzki.



The book *International Perceptions of Canadian Literature and Culture* pursues two aims. On the one hand it collects contributions from literature and cultural studies, history, methodology/didactics and geography in the field of Canadian Studies. All contributors are experts in their respective fields of research. Their essays introduce the general reader to special issues of Canadian Studies, but they also address the specialist as they reflect upon current research topics. With the publication of this collection the editors on the other hand have taken a decision in favour of representing the international character of Canadian Studies. Hence the book serves as an indicator of the rapid development of Canadian Studies inside and outside Canada in the recent past, even under impeding economic conditions.



ARTICLES / BOOK CHAPTERS / CONFERENCE PAPERS / INTERVIEWS

The list of articles and book chapters, conference papers recently published or presented by Polish Canadianists.



Berek (Bujnowska) Ewelina,
Université de Silésie, Sosnowiec

« Existe-t-il un Macondo et des Buendía québécois dans le roman historique à la fin du XX^e siècle au Québec? » *Philologica Canariensia* n° 20, 2014 : 27-50. <http://www.servicios.ulpgc.es/publicaciones/JPortal25/images/revistas/philologica20/cap2Philologica20.pdf>

« La radiographie de la société québécoise contemporaine: losers, BS et voyageurs de Google Maps. Document 1 de François Blais ». *Traverser les frontières. Mélanges offerts au Professeur Krzysztof Jarosz / Crossing Borders. Studies in Honour of Professor Krzysztof Jarosz*. Anna Czarnowus, Joanna Warmuzińska-Rogóż (éd.). Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Śląskiego, Katowice, 2014. 59-79.

Colloque : «*Kanade, di Goldene Medine?* Perspectives sur la littérature et la culture juives canadiennes», Université de Łódź, Łódź, 2-4 avril 2014. Communication : « L'Amérique hantée par le passé juif. *Le ciel de Bay City* de Catherine Mavrikakis ». ».



Branach-Kallas Anna, Nicolaus Copernicus University, Toruń

“Reading (Post-) Colonial Terror within Gothic Aesthetics: The Conceptual Limits of Postcolonial Gothic in Canadian First Nations’ Fiction”. *All that Gothic*. Ed. Agnieszka Łowczanin and Dorota Wiśniewska. Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 2014. 63-79.

“Trauma polskości w opowiadaniach Andrew J. Borkowskiego”. *Niaunse wyobcowania. Diaspora i tematyka polska w Kanadzie*. Ed. Anna Branach-Kallas. Toruń: Wydawnictwo Naukowe UMK, 2014. 163-181.



“The Trauma of Multicultural Renunciation: Kerri Sakamoto’s *The Electrical Field*”. *Affinities: Essays in Honour of Professor Tadeusz Rachwał*. Ed. Agnieszka Pantuchowicz and Sławomir Masłoń. Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 2014. 227-236.

“Abjection, Masochism, and Haunting: Traumatic Excess in Jen Sookfong Lee’s *The End of East*”. *Poisoned Cornucopia: Excess, Intemperance and Overabundance across Cultures and Literatures*. Ed. Ryszard W. Wolny and Stankomir Niciejka. Peter Lang: Frankfurt am Main, 2014. 55-66.

“Wojna, imigracja i polska diaspora w Toronto w opowiadaniach Andrew J. Borkowskiego”. *Studia migracyjne-Przegląd Polonijny* XL, 4/2014. 95-108.

Conference: Borderlands, University of Białystok, Krasnogróda, 2014. Paper title: *Phantoms in Borderlands: (Post)Colonial Trauma in J.M.G. Le Clézio’s and Alberto Manguel’s Fiction*.

Conference: North America, Europe and the Cultural Memory of the Great War, Austrian Academy of Science, Graz, 2014. Paper title: *Narratives of (Post)Colonial Encounter: The Old World in Contemporary Canadian Great War Fiction*.

Conference: Canadian Literature of World War One, University of British Columbia and University of Ottawa, Ottawa, 2014. Paper title: “*For the sin of staying alive...: The Great War, Trauma, and Survivor Guilt in Contemporary Canadian Fiction and Drama*”.

Conference: Re-Imagining the First World War: (Hi)stories, Myths, and Propaganda in Anglophone Literature and Culture, Nicolaus Copernicus University, Toruń, 2014. Paper title: *Colonial Wars*.



Czubińska (Pałaniuk) Małgorzata,
Université Adam Mickiewicz,
Poznań

« Kreatywność językowa tłumacza w przekładzie hybrydowej dramaturgii Kanady frankofońskiej na język polski ». *Kreatywność językowa w komunikowaniu (się)*. Katarzyna Burska, Bartłomiej Cieśla (dir.). Łódź: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Łódzkiego, 2014. 69-82.

« Sacres czyli nie(typowe) wulgaryzmy frankofońskiej Kanady w kontekście przekładu sztuk teatralnych ». *Komunikacja międzykulturowa w świetle współczesnej translatologii*. Tom I. Literatura. Ewa Kujawska-Lis, Iwona Anna NDiaye (dir.) Olsztyn: Katedra Filologii Angielskiej UWM, 2014. 251-262.

Colloque: „Kreatywność językowa w komunikowaniu (się)”,



Uniwersytet Łódzki, Łódź, le 25-26 mars 2014, communication: *Kreatywność językowa tłumacza w przekładzie hybrydowej dramaturgii Kanady frankofońskiej na język polski.*

Colloque: „Między Słowami, między światami. Komunikacja międzykulturowa w świetle współczesnej translatoologii”, Université de Warmie et Mazurie à Olsztyn, le 4-5 avril 2014. Communication: *Sacres czyli specyficzne wulgaryzmy frankofońskiej Kanady w kontekście przekładu sztuk teatralnych.*

Colloque: „Dylematy stylizacji w przekładzie”, Académie Technique et des Lettres à Bielsko Biała, le 26-27 juin 2014. Communication: *Stylizacja na język potoczny a przekład frankofońskiej dramaturgii mniejszościowej.*

Colloque: CLASH (Culture, Literature, Anthropology, Sociology History). „Non(appartenance): Re(définition) de l'identité”, Université Adam Mickiewicz à Poznań, le 5-6 décembre 2014,. Communication : *La (re)définition des rôles du traducteur dans un contexte babélien de la drama-turgie minoritaire du Canada.*

Participation au cycle de mini-conférences intitulé „Polifonia” (la francophonie dans le monde entier) à l'Institut de Philologie Romane

UAM à Poznań, le 2 avril 2014. Communication : *Co, gdzie, jak, ile i... w jakim języku? Wszystko, co wiedzieć warto i wypada o Kanadzie frankofońskiej.*



Drewniak, Dagmara, Adam Mickiewicz University, Poznań

“Crossing the Frontiers of Death – a Journey through War Memories and Continents in Anne Michaels’ Fugitive Pieces.” *At the Crossroads of Literature and Culture.* Ed. Jacek Fabiszak, Ewa Urbaniak-Rybicka and Bartosz Wolski (eds.) Berlin – Heidelberg: Springer Verlag, 2013. 181-190.

„Obrazy miast polskich w twórczości pisarzy kanadyjskich polskiego pochodzenia.” *Nuanse wyobcowania: diaspora i tematyka polska w Kanadzie.* Ed. Anna Branach-Kallas. Toruń: Wydawnictwo Naukowe Uniwersytetu Mikołaja Kopernika, 2014. 93-110.

Conference: Kanada, di Goldene Medine? Perspectives on Canadian-Jewish Literature and Culture, University of Łódź, 2014. Paper title: *Addicted to the Holocaust – Bernice Eisenstein’s ways of coping with troublesome memories in I Was a Child of Holocaust Survivors.*

Conference: Re-Imagining the First World War: (Hi)stories, Myths, and Propaganda in Anglophone



Literature and Culture, Nicolaus Copernicus University, Toruń, 2014. Paper title: *The Great War as a Trigger for Growing up and Gaining Maturity in Rilla of Ingleside*.

Conference: Autobiography, Södertörn University, Stockholm, 2014. Paper title: *It's our shared memories... The stories we tell' Politics and Identity in Two Memoirs by Hungarian-Canadians*.



Durczak Joanna, Maria Curie-Skłodowska University, Lublin
„Ekokrytycznie o Kanadzie”
Wiadomości Uniwersyteckie.
March 2014. 34-36.



Figas Ewa, Université de Technologie de Silésie, Gliwice

« Les modalités de la littérature-monde ». *Traverser les frontières. Mélanges offerts au Professeur Krzysztof Jarosz / Crossing Borders. Studies in Honour of Professor Krzysztof Jarosz*. Anna Czarnowus, Joanna Warmuzińska-Rogóż (éd.). Katowice: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Śląskiego, 2014. 113-126 (avec Karolina Kapołka).

Wykład w ramach Nocy Naukowców na Politechnice

Śląskiej, „Sacrés sacres, o przekleństwach w Quebecu”, 18-10-2014.

Spotkanie z baśnią quebecką w ramach Dnia Seminaryjnego w LO w Czechowicach-Dziedzicach, 5-12-2014.

Wykład dla licealistów I LO w Jastrzębiu-Zdroju „Spotkanie z Quebeciem” 11-04-2014.

Wykład o piosence quebeckiej w ramach Dnia Quebeckiego na Uniwersytecie Śląskim « Le voyage au pays de la musique à travers les chansons de Lynda Lemay », 17-12-2014.



Gabryś Marcin, Jagiellonian University

„Polityka wewnętrzna Kanady. Patriacja konstytucji, Quebec, rdzenni mieszkańcy”. *Kanada na przełomie XX i XXI wieku. Polityka, społeczeństwo, edukacja*, M. Kijewska-Trembecka (red.), Kraków: Księgarnia Akademicka, 2013. 15-96.

Conference: International Studies Association Annual Meeting, Toronto, 25-29 March 2014. Paper title: *The concept of a selective power and the case of Canada's role in contemporary international politics* (with Tomasz Soroka and Wojciech Michnik)



Conference: 8th International Congress of Arctic Social Sciences, Prince George, British Columbia 22-26 May 2014. Paper title: *Polish Adventurers in the Northwest Passage in the second half of the 20th century*

Conference: Re-Imagining the First World War: (Hi)stories, Myths, and Propaganda in Anglophone Literature and Culture – Nicolaus Copernicus University, Toruń, 25-26 November 2014. Paper title: *Canada's Politics of Memory during Stephen Harper's Terms in Office*

Seminar: Dzień Arktyki, University of Łódź, 7 March 2014, Lecture title: *The True North strong and free! Historia suwerenności Kanady w Arktyce*

Seminar: Podsumowanie roku 2013 w Kanadzie, Jagiellonian University, Krakow, 2014.

Participation in Tok FM radio programmes: "OFF Czarek" and about various Canadian events (4 February, 25 March, 20 September 2014).



Jarosz Krzysztof, Université de Silésie, Sosnowiec

« Synthèses et analyses ». *Voix et images* (sous la réd. de René Audet

et de Pacal Riendeau) vol. 39.3 (117), Printemps-Été 2014 : 113-117.



Kapołka Karolina, Université de Silésie, Sosnowiec

« Les modalités de la littérature-monde ». *Traverser les frontières. Mélanges offerts au Professeur Krzysztof Jarosz / Crossing Borders. Studies in Honour of Professor Krzysztof Jarosz*. Anna Czarnowus, Joanna Warmuzińska-Rogóż (éd.). Katowice: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Śląskiego, 2014. 113-126 (avec Ewa Figas).



Kwaterko Józef, Université de Varsovie

« Les Polonais en Haïti » in *Dictionnaire Encyclopédique d'Haïti* (sous la dir. de Guy Maximilien et Jacky Lumarque), Centre d'étude de cultures haïtiennes, Presses de l'Université de Quisqueya (Haïti), 2013. 302-303.

« La Pologne », *l'Année Franco-phone Internationale* 2014, 2014, 193-195.

« Écrire la ville dans le roman québécois de la Révolution tranquille ». *Traverser les frontières. Mélanges offerts au Professeur Krzysztof Jarosz/*



Crossing Borders. Studies in Honour of Professor Krzysztof Jarosz. Anna Czernowus, Joanna Warmuzińska-Rogóż (dir.). Katowice. Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Śląskiego, 2014. 31-46.

Colloque international : « Kanade. Di goldene medine ? Jewish Perspectives on Canadian Literature and Culture/Perspectives juives de la littérature et culture canadiennes », Institut d'études anglaises, Université de Lodz, 2-5 avril 2014. Communication : « Orthodoxie et sexualité dans *La Célébration* de Naim Kattan ».



Lutz Hartmut, University of Szczecin

Conference: 35th annual conference of the GKS (Gesellschaft für Kanada-Studien) in Grainau, Germany, February 14-16th, 2014. Paper: *'They Talk, We Listen,' or 'Theory Coming Through Story': Aboriginal Knowledge and Academic Discourse.*



Ładuniuk Magdalena, Maria Curie-Skłodowska University, Lublin

Conference: "Canadians and the Environment: Historical, Cultural and Literary Perspectives", Canadian Studies Department,

English Institute, Maria Curie Skłodowska University, Lublin. Paper: *The Monstrous Nature in Gail Anderson-Dargatz's "The Cure for Death by Lightning"*.

Conference: "Culture and Space: Alice Munro", Toruń. Paper: *Reviser of Her Own Stories: Readings of A. Munro's "Corrie"*.



Majer Krzysztof, University of Łódź

Conference: «Kanade, di Goldene Medine? Perspectives on Canadian Jewish Literature and Culture / Perspectives sur la littérature et la culture juives canadiennes », University of Łódź, 2014. Paper title: *From Painter to Schlockmeister: the Evolution of the 'Doubtful Artist' in Mordecai Richler's Fiction.*



Marczuk-Karbownik

Magdalena, University of Łódź

Conference: "Polityka zagraniczna Polski. 25 lat doświadczeń", organized by Polskie Towarzystwo Studiów Międzynarodowych, Oddział w Łodzi, University of Łódź, 21 November 2014. Paper title: *Stosunki polsko-kanadyjskie – problemy i wyzwania w XXI wieku.*





Moćkun Sławomir

“Redaktor Albert Morski. W służbie komunizmu po obu stronach oceanu”, *Nie tylko niezłomni i kolaboranci... Postawy dziennikarzy w kraju i na emigracji 1945–1989*, Tadeusz Wolsza, Przemysław Wójtowicz (red.), Warszawa 2014. 296-330

„Niechciana prawda: Kanada wobec ujawnienia zbrodni katyńskiej (1943-1945)”. *Dzieje Najnowsze* : [kwartalnik poświęcony historii XX wieku] R. 46 z. 1 (2014). 111-121.

Konferencja: II Międzynarodowa Konferencja Paryż – Londyn – Monachium – Nowy Jork Powrzesniowa Emigracja Niepodległościowa na mapie kultury nie tylko polskiej, Uniwersytet w Białymstoku, Białystok 2014. Tytuł wystąpienia: *Kultywowanie tradycji polskich w Kanadzie przez Polonię i emigrację wojenną w latach 1939–1945*.

Konferencja: Kongres Polonii Kanadyjskiej – 70 lat w służbie Narodowi, Ojczyźnie i Polonii, Uniwersytet Kardynała Stefana Wyszyńskiego, Warszawa 2014, Tytuł wystąpienia: *Przeciw wspólnemu wrogowi: współpraca polsko-ukraińska w Kanadzie podczas II wojny światowej*.



Obszyński Michał, Université de Varsovie

Colloque : Colloque international « Repenser le manifeste “Pour une littérature-monde en français” », Université Simon Fraser, Vancouver, Canada, 2014. Communication: « Manifester la différence: les voix franco-américaines dans Pour une littérature-monde ».



Rybkowski Radosław, Jagiellonian University

“Inspiracja. Polityka kulturalna Toronto.” *Szalony, kto nie chce wyżej, jeżeli może. Księga Jubileuszowa Profesora Emila Orzechowskiego*. Ed. Alicja Kędziara, Łukasz Gawęł. Kraków: Wydawnictwo Attyka, 2014: 325-331.

“Polityka edukacyjna i kulturalna w Kanadzie.” *Kanada na przełomie XX i XXI wieku: polityka, społeczeństwo, edukacja*. Ed. Marta Kijewska-Trembecka. Kraków: Księgarnia Akademicka, 2013: 211-249.



Sadkowski Piotr, Université Nicolas Copernic de Toruń

« Cień żydowskiej Polski w Montrealu. *La Québécoise* Régine Robin i *Hadassa* Myriam Beaudoin.” *Niuanse wyobcowania. Diaspora i tematyka polska w*



Kanadzie. Anna Branach-Kallas (dir.). Toruń: Wydawnictwo Naukowe UMK, 2014. 73-91.

Colloque: *Kanade, di Goldene Medine? Perspectives on Canadian-Jewish Literature and Culture / Kanade, di Goldene Medine? Perspectives sur la littérature et la culture juives canadiennes*, Département de littérature américaine – Université de Łódź; Département des sciences de la religion – Université Concordia, Łódź, 2014. Communication: « *A. M. Klein au Québec français: échos critiques et intertextuels* »

Colloque: Présences, résurgences et oublis du religieux dans les littératures française et Québécoise, Centre d'études canadiennes à l'Université de Graz en collaboration avec Centre de recherche interuniversitaire sur la littérature et la culture québécoises à l'Université de Montréal, Centro di Cultura Canadese dell'Università degli Studi di Udine, Center for Inter-American Studies à l'Université de Graz, Département de langues et littératures romanes à l'Université de Graz, Graz (Autriche), 2014. Communication: « *La fonction hypertextuelle du récit biblique de l'Exode dans Eléazar ou la Source et le Buisson de Michel Tournier et Amerika de Sergio Kokis* »



Soroka Tomasz, Jagiellonian University

„Polityka zagraniczna. Kanada w globalnym systemie relacji politycznych i wojskowych”. *Kanada na przełomie XX i XXI wieku. Polityka, społeczeństwo, edukacja*, M. Kijewska-Trembecka (red.), Kraków: Księgarnia Akademicka, 2013, 97-160.

Conference: International Studies Association Annual Meeting, Toronto, 25-29 March 2014. Paper title: *The concept of a selective power and the case of Canada's role in contemporary international politics* (with Marcin Gabryś and Wojciech Michnik)

Conference: Podsumowanie roku 2013 w Kanadzie – Institute of American Studies and Polish Diaspora, Jagiellonian University, Krakow, 8 April 2014. Lecture title: *Skandal finansowy w kanadyjskim Senacie*

Conference: Re-Imagining the First World War: (Hi)stories, Myths, and Propaganda in Anglophone Literature and Culture – Nicolaus Copernicus University, Toruń, 25-26 November 2014. Paper title: *Canada's Great War: The Rise of Independent Canada*





Suchacka Weronika, Szczecin University

“Canada Abroad’ (at a) Crossroads.” *British Journal of Canadian Studies* 27.2: 217-28.

Conference: Kanade, di Goldene Medine? Perspectives on Canadian-Jewish Literature and Culture, University of Łódź and Concordia University, Łódź, 2014. Paper title: “To come to terms, to find not answers, but acceptance”: *Canada as a place for the Jewish-Ukrainian dialogue?*



Trociuk Agata, Université de Limoges, France

Journées d'études: Les conflits en territoires hispanophones, lusophones et francophones, Université de Limoges, Limoges, 12-13 juin 2014. Communication intitulée:

« Complexité de l'identité culturelle québécoise dans des perspectives territoriale, historique et linguistique ».

Journées d'études: Revisiter le Canada par la recherche doctorale: nouvelles thématiques, nouvelles sources, nouvelles méthodologies? Université de Poitiers, Poitiers, 20 mars 2014. Communication intitulée: « Représentation de la société montréalaise dans le roman québécois hétérolingue ».



Wójcik Marta, Maria Curie-Skłodowska University, Lublin

“The stillness is the time before the change’ – celebrating the Canadian North and Northern environment in Elizabeth Hay's *Late Nights on Air*.” *Lublin Studies in Modern Languages and Literature*, July 2014: 101-109.

“Northern Canadian environment at risk – from Elizabeth Hay’s *Late Nights on Air* to Andrew Nikiforuk’s ‘Canada’s Highway to Hell’.” *Brief – Online Journal of Snippets*, August 2014: 5-6.

Conference: „Canadians and the Environment: Historical, Cultural and Literary Perspectives”, Canadian Studies Department, English Institute, Maria Curie Skłodowska University, Lublin. Paper: *The stillness is the time before the change’ – Celebrating the Canadian North and Northern Environment in Elizabeth “Hay’s Late Nights on Air”*.



Zajac Paweł, Adam Mickiewicz University, Poznań

“XVIII-wieczne obrazy misji katolickich w Ameryce Północnej – między tradycyjną pobożnością a oświeceniową krytyką”. *Kościół w Polsce. Dzieje i kultura* 13 (2014): 67-86.



Conference: Re-Imagining the First World War. Nicolaus Copernicus University, Toruń, 2014. Paper title: *Lost Brothers, Lost Beliefs. Tragedy of the Great War from the Oblate Missionary Perspective.*



Żurawska Anna, Université Nicolas Copernic de Toruń

« Danser avec la Mort au Québec. Les relations du littéraire et du pictural dans l'œuvre de Sergio Kokis », *Le Québec recto/verso, Publifarum* 21 (2014).

„Pejzaż historyczny w Kaléidoscope brisé Sergio Kokisa”. *(Re)wizje*

historii w dyskursie i literaturze. Dorota Gutfeld, Agnieszka Sowińska, Monika Linke-Ratuszny (dir.). Toruń: Wydawnictwo UMK, 2014. 89-104.

„Ocalić od zapomnienia: Teczka Werbowskiego”. *Nuanses wyobcowania: diaspora i tematyka polska w Kanadzie.* Anna Branach-Kallas (dir.). Toruń: Wydawnictwo UMK, 2014. 127-145.

« L'errance de l'artiste dans La Montagne secrète de Gabrielle Roy ». *Quêtes littéraires* 4 (2014) : 103-110.



HABILITATION, PH.D, M.A. AND B.A. THESES

Moćkun Sławomir, Ph.D. thesis: *Kanada i Polonia Kanadyjska wobec spraw polskich w latach 1939-1945*. supervisor: prof. dr hab. Tadeusz Wolsza.

Obszyński Michał, thèse de doctorat, sous la rédaction du Professeur Józef Kwaterko, «Idéologie et poétique. Manifestes et programmes littéraires aux Caraïbes francophones (XX^e siècle)».



Cyber J., M.A. thesis: “Women’s Emigration to Canada in the Early 19th Century: S. Moodie’s and C. Parr Traill’s Literary Testimonies”, supervisor: Joanna Durczak, M. Curie Skłodowska University.

Gosik J., M.A. thesis: “Alice Munro as a (Southern Ontario) Gothic Writer.”, supervisor: Joanna Durczak, M. Curie Skłodowska University.

Gryn A., M.A. thesis: “Ethnic Toronto in the Novels of A. Clarke, N. Bissoondath and D. Brand”,

supervisor: Joanna Durczak, M. Curie Skłodowska University.

Hodurek Dominik, M.A. thesis: „Polityczne spory wokół Alaski do roku 1903”, supervisor: Anna Reczyńska, Jagiellonian University.

Jamroży I., M.A. thesis: “Canadian Travel Writers in Serach of Canada”, supervisor: Joanna Durczak, M. Curie Skłodowska University.

Kaczor Katarzyna, M.A. thesis: “Shedding Skins”: Identity as a Construct in Michael Ondaatje’s *The English Patient* and *In The Skin Of A Lion*, supervisor: Weronika Suchacka, University of Szczecin.

Kopciuch Anna, M.A. thesis: “Ewolucja polityki Kanady wobec parków narodowych na przykładzie Parku Narodowego Banff”, supervisor: Marta Kijewska-Trembecka, Jagiellonian University.

Kosz E., M.A. thesis: “Pre-Internet Brains and 21st Century Minds in Douglas Coupland’s Novels”, supervisor: Joanna Durczak, M. Curie Skłodowska University.



Mazewska Gabriela, M.A. thesis: "Edukacja Indian w Kanadzie od lat 60. XX wieku widziana z dwóch różnych perspektyw", supervisor: Marta Kijewska-Trembecka, Jagiellonian University.

Nowaczek A., M.A. thesis: "Female Identity Formation in Three Novels by M. Atwood", supervisor: Joanna Durczak, M. Curie Skłodowska University.

Rybka K., M.A. thesis: "Albert Johnson vs. the Wilderness and the RCMP: Three Non-fictional Interpretations", supervisor: Joanna Durczak, M. Curie Skłodowska University.

Tuz J., M.A. thesis: "The Hipster in Three Contemporary Canadian Novels", supervisor: Joanna Durczak, M. Curie Skłodowska University.



Baran Anna, BA thesis: "Elements of the Gothic in Margaret Atwood's Alias Grace and Lady Oracle", supervisor: Dagmara Drewniak Adam Mickiewicz University, Poznań.

Bednarczyk Iwona, BA thesis: "(Re)Constructing Memory in The Diviners, Oryx and Crake and Cockroach", supervisor: Krzysztof Majer, University of Łódź.

Bendyk Ewelina, "Irish Immigration to Canada in Jane

Urquhart's *Away*", supervisor: Anna Branach-Kallas Nicolaus Copernicus University, Toruń.

Bilicka Anna, Female silences in selected short stories by Alice Munro, supervisor: Anna Branach-Kallas (Nicolaus Copernicus University, Toruń).

Błaszczyk Agata, BA thesis: "Forging Female Identity in Alice Munro's Lives of Girls and Women and Who Do You Think You Are?", supervisor: Krzysztof Majer, University of Łódź.

Bujanowska Aleksandra, BA thesis: "Female identity in Canadian and American literature as presented in Carol Shields' The Stone Diaries and Henry James' Daisy Miller", supervisor: Dagmara Drewniak Adam Mickiewicz University, Poznań.

Dados Justyna, BA thesis: "Nature in American and Canadian prose of the 19th century", supervisor: Dagmara Drewniak, Adam Mickiewicz University, Poznań.

Fibich Justyna, BA thesis: "The elements of Künstlerroman in Canadian Literature", supervisor: Dagmara Drewniak, Adam Mickiewicz University, Poznań.

Jaros Kinga, BA thesis: "Isolation and alienation of female protagonists in Canadian and



American literature”, supervisor:
Dagmara Drewniak, Adam
Mickiewicz University, Poznań.

Jędraszek Gabriela, BA thesis:
“The Melting Pot and the Mosaic:
North American Identities in Dos
Passos’ 42nd Parallel and
MacLennan’s Two Solitudes”,
supervisor: Krzysztof Majer,
University of Łódź.

Kondziolka Karolina, BA thesis:
“The representation of Native
People in Canadian literature from
native and non-native perspective”,
supervisor: Dagmara Drewniak
Adam Mickiewicz University,
Poznań.

Kościenkow Adrienne, BA
thesis: BA thesis: „Stosunki
kanadyjsko-amerykańskie w XXI
wieku – wybrane problemy”,
supervisor: Magdalena Marczuk-
Karbownik, University of Łódź.

Krzyżańska Weronika, BA
thesis: “The problem of un/
belonging and changing attitudes to
Canada in The jade peony by
Wayson Choy and What we all long
for by Dionne Brand”, supervisor:
Dagmara Drewniak, Adam
Mickiewicz University, Poznań.

Markowicz Marcin, BA thesis:
“Reconsidering one's identity
through psychological and physical
transformations. The
representation of the Self in

Robertson Davies’ Fifth Business
and Margaret Atwood’s Lady
Oracle”, supervisor: Dagmara
Drewniak, Adam Mickiewicz
University, Poznań.

Piechota Justyna, BA thesis:
“The Postmodern Condition in G. F.
Walker’s Risk Everything and G.
Jarzyna’s adaptation”, supervisor:
Krzysztof Majer, University of Łódź.

Stanibuła Małgorzata, BA
thesis: “Failure in adaption to
Canadian reality in immigrant
literature”, supervisor: Dagmara
Drewniak, Adam Mickiewicz
University, Poznań.

Szczerbal Patrycja, BA thesis:
“The influence of relationships with
men on women’s undrestanding of
their own identity in Margaret
Atwood’s Surfacing and Lady
Oracle”, supervisor: Dagmara
Drewniak Adam Mickiewicz
University, Poznań.

Tazbir Jędrzej, BA thesis: “The
Old World and the New:
Assimilation and its Discontents in
Selected Examples of North
American Jewish Fiction”,
supervisor: Krzysztof Majer,
University of Łódź.



CONFERENCES / SEMINARS / EVENTS / GUEST LECTURES

Toruń / Poznań, Poland – 11-13
January 2014 – **Prof. Hartmut
Lutz.** Guest lecture: *Writing Back
or Writing Home? Native
Literatures in Canada Today* –
Nicolaus Copernicus University /
Adam Mickiewicz University.



Kraków, Poland – 21 January
2014 – **Col. Daniel Geleyn.** Guest
lecture: *Canadian Peacekeeping* –
Jagiellonian University.



Warsaw, Poland – 27 January
2014 – **Steve Verheul** (Canada's
Chief Trade Negotiator for
negotiations between Canada and
the European Union in the
Department of Foreign Affairs and
International Trade). Public
lecture: *The Canada-EU Trade
Deal: A Ground-Breaking
Agreement*, followed by an open
discussion moderated by Artur
Gradziuk, PhD, Coordinator of the
PISM International Economic

Relations and Global Issues
Programme – Polish Institute of
International Affairs.



Paris, France – 3 février 2014 –
Prof. Józef Kwaterko.
Communication : *Montréal chez
les romanciers haïtiens du Québec*,
Université Paris-4 Sorbonne-
Nouvelle.



Paris, France – 7 février 2014 –
Prof. Józef Kwaterko.
Communication : *Sociocritique.
Principes et perspectives.*
Université Paris-4 Sorbonne-
Nouvelle. Centre d'études
québécoises.



Lublin, Poland – 12-13 February
2014 – **Canadians and the
Environment: Historical,
Cultural and Literary
Perspectives.**



Canadian Studies Department in cooperation with American Literature and Culture Department at Maria Curie-Skłodowska University organized a 2-day conference addressed to junior scholars and doctoral students interested in exploring Canadian history, culture and literature from environmental perspectives. Keynote speakers: Prof. Kylie Crane (J. Gutenberg Universitat, Mainz, Germany), Dr. Julia Fiedorczuk (University of Warsaw).



Varsovie, Pologne – mars 2014 – **Mois de la Francophonie.** Centre d'études en civilisation canadienne-française et en littérature québécoise, Institut d'études romanes, Université de Varsovie.

Michel Soukar (écrivain et journaliste haïtien) conférence *Le romancier haïtien : entre l'encrage et l'exil* (le 17 mars). N.b. la conférence de M. Soukar tenait compte de l'apport des écrivains haïtiens immigrés au Québec.

Régine Robin (écrivaine, sociologue et historienne, professeure émérite de l'Université du Québec à Montréal); conférence *Écrire le français avec un 'accent'* (le 31 mars).

Mme Alexandra Bugailiskis, Ambassadrice du Canada en Pologne (le 31 mars, visite du Centre).



Poznań, Poland – 7 March 2014 – **Dzień Kanady** – Adam Mickiewicz University. Lecture by: Anna Branach-Kallas (Nicolaus Copernicus University).



Łódź, Poland – 7 March 2014 – **Arctic Day** – Faculty of International and Political Studies, University of Łódź.



The Arctic Day was organized by the Canadian Studies Resource Center and the Department of Transatlantic and Media Studies and took place on March 7, at the Faculty of International and Political Studies, University of Łódź. The Arctic Day started with the opening of the exhibition entitled “Arctic” by the Vice Dean of the Faculty and the Head of the Department of Transatlantic and Media Studies. The Embassy of Canada to Poland, celebrating its chairmanship of the Arctic Council, provided photographs for the exhibition which was a mini version of the one presented in Warsaw. The main lecture was given by Dr. Marcin Gabryś from the Jagiellonian University, Kraków and was entitled: *The True North strong and free! The History of Canadian Sovereignty in the Arctic*. Although the history of independent Canada is not very long, the history of its sovereignty in the Arctic is not so short.

Michał Jarocki, a member of Foundation Amicus Europea, presented some facts on *The Canadian Armaments in the Arctic*. Among others, he asked a question if Canada would be a part in any military conflict in that region. The presentation of Dr. Katarzyna Dośpiał-Borysiak, University of Łódź, was devoted to *The Role of the Arctic in the Climate Policy of Norway*. Norway is a member of the Arctic Council and maintains strong relationships with its other members considering that region very important not only for the climate policy.

The presentations on the Arctic were for the students of the B.A. International Relations program and the students of the M.A. American Studies and Mass Media program.

The folders and brochures informing about the Arctic, Canada, and the Canadian Arctic policy, provided by the Embassy of Canada to Poland, were distributed among the audience.

(Report by Magdalena Marczyk-Karbownik)



Warsaw & Poznań, Poland – 11 / 27 March 2014 – Prof. Radosław Rybkowski. Introductory lectures to the screening of *Mon Oncle Antoine* (part of the Francophonie Festival 2014):



Szkoła Wyższa Psychologii Społecznej, Warszawa (11 March), Centrum Sztuki Współczesnej, Kino Lab (11 March), Warszawa and Dom Bretanii, Poznań (27 March).



Varsovie, Pologne – 18 mars 2014 – la rencontre de **Michel Soukar** avec les écrivains polonais au Pen Club Polski à Varsovie.



Lublin, Poland – April 2014 – open lecture by **Dr. John-Michael Warner** (University of Arizona): “Traces: Land Use and Representation in the American and Canadian West”, Canadian Studies Department, English Institute, Maria Curie-Skłodowska University.



Poznań, Pologne – 2 avril 2014 – cycle de mini-conférences intitulé „**Polifonia**” (la francophonie dans le monde entier) à l’Institut de Philologie Romane UAM à Poznań.



Łódź, Poland – 2-5 April 2014 – **Kanade, di Goldene Medine? Perspectives on Canadian-Jewish Literature and Culture.** Organizers: University of Łódź and

Concordia University (Krzysztof Majer, Justyna Fruzińska, Norman Ravvin). Participants: (*inter alia*): Krzysztof Majer, Józef Kwaterko, Piotr Sadkowski, Weronika Suchacka



Konin, Poland – 7 April 2014 – **II Anglosaskie Spotkania z Kulturą**, Państwowa Wyższa Szkoła Zawodowa w Koninie. Guest lecture by **Dr. Krzysztof Majer**: “CanLit Goes Pop: The Phenomenon of *Canada Reads*”.



Kraków, Poland – 8 April 2014 – **Podsumowanie roku 2013 w Kanadzie** – Jagiellonian University.



Łódź, Poland – 11 May 2014 – students’ conference: **Transformations / Metamorphoses: The Notion of Change in North American Literature and Culture.**



Łódź, Poland – 11 May 2014 – students’ conference: **Music in Literature / Literature in Music: North American Intermedial Exchanges.**





Żory, Poland – 16 April 2014 – Discover Canada, a Nationwide Contest for Polish High School Students.



This pioneering educational initiative aims at broadening the cultural horizons of participating students by encouraging them to explore Canadian culture, history, education, politics, geography and current affairs, as well as introducing them to the Canadian exemplary ways of dealing with diversity in all its forms. In view of Europe's rising multiculturalism, Canada's successful multicultural policies can serve as a model for creating societies that celebrate diversity, difference, and inclusion. Contests such as Discover Canada can contribute to the process of educating future broadminded leaders of the new world who would create societies without prejudice and discrimination.

The patronage of the first edition of the contest Discover Canada 2014, was accepted by the Ambassador of Canada to Poland, H.E. Alexandra Bugailiskis, Minister of National Education Joanna Kluzik-Rostkowska, President of the

University of Silesia Prof. Wiesław Banyś, President of the City of Żory, President of the City of Sosnowiec, and the Chief Education Officer in Katowice.

Discover Canada 2014 met with an immense interest of Polish high school students nationwide. They were provided with reading lists and reliable educational and government sponsored websites which helped them to prepare for the contest. Twelve hundred and seven students participated in the first stage of the project in the form of a written test. Forty students were selected for the second stage which took place at the Institute of English Cultures and Literatures, University of Silesia, on February 28th, 2014. They wrote a high level test on a variety of Canadian topics and an essay on one of earlier published research topics. Twelve students were accepted for the finals of the contest organized at the Municipal Cultural Centre in Żory on April 16th, 2014. They were examined on their knowledge of Canadian culture, politics, history and geography and they presented their well-researched power point presentations entitled 'The Spirit of Canada' in which they explored their understanding of most distinctive and important signifiers of Canadianness. The responses were evaluated for the contents, critical thinking skills and maturity of ideas by Canadianists representing University of Silesia and Polish



Association for Canadian Studies, as well as “Native speakers” of English.

The participants of the second and third stage of the contest showed a very good grasp of many Canadian Studies topics, both in writing and oral responses and presentations. They were very well prepared, highly motivated, and passionate about Canada which is all the more remarkable as they had to learn about this country in extra curricula school activities or individually, as Canadian Studies topics are underrepresented in the Polish high school curriculum and rarely introduced by interested teachers.

The following prizes have been secured for the contest winners: the admission to the Institute of English Cultures and Literatures, and to the Institute of English Language (2 places) (after graduation from high school), and high financial awards (3000 PLN for the first prize, 2000 PLN for the second, and 1000 PLN for the third - sponsored by the President of the City of Zory), as well as book awards sponsored by various publishing houses and the Canadian Embassy which also funded the development and maintenance of the contest website and a post-contest dinner. Several local companies also contributed to the organization of various contest activities.

(Report by Eugenia Sojka)

The contest website:
<http://www.mt-oka.pl>



Sosnowiec Poland – 14 May 2014 – Multiculturalism, the Final Frontier? Representations of Diversity in Canadian Mass Media and Popular Culture.



3rd Annual Graduate Student Conference on Canadian Studies organized by the Student Circle and Canadian Studies Centre at the University of Silesia.



Sosnowiec Poland – 14-15 May 2014 – Days of Canadian Culture.



Conference organized by the Institute of English Cultures and Literatures, University of Silesia devoted to Canadian Aboriginal



Drama, Theatre and Popular Culture. Lectures and workshops by: Eugenia Sojka (University of Silesia), Ric Knowles (University of Guelph), Michelle LaFlamme (University of Fraser Valley), Kaspar Saxena (University of Toronto).



Łódź / Warszawa – 15 / 19 maja 2014 – **spotkania z Jonathanem Locke Hartem** – kanadyjskim poetą, historykiem, krytykiem i teoretykiem literackim.



Montreal, Kanada – 16 maja – 2 czerwca 2014 – **Misja Centrum Dokumentacji Zsyłek, Wypędzeń i Przesiedleń Uniwersytetu Pedagogicznego do Montrealu w ramach projektu IV Kongresu Polskich Towarzystw Naukowych na Obczyźnie Polskiej Akademii Umiejętności.**



W dniach 16 maja – 2 czerwca 2014, pod kierownictwem dra Huberta Chudzio, do Montrealu udała się czteroosobowa grupa, złożona z pracowników Uniwersytetu Pedagogicznego im. KEN w Krakowie. Celem misji było przeprowadzenie wywiadów ze świadkami historii, którzy podczas II wojny światowej przeżyli tragedię zesłania w ostępy Rosji Sowieckiej, a później przez Irak, Iran, Indie, Afrykę, Palestynę, Egipt i Włochy trafili do Kanady, gdzie osiedli na stałe. Wyjazd był częścią projektu Polskiej Akademii Umiejętności, współfinansowanego ze środków otrzymanych od Ministerstwa Spraw Zagranicznych w ramach konkursu na realizację zadania „Współpraca z Polonią i Polakami za granicą w roku 2014”. W ciągu kilkunastu dni spędzonych w Montrealu udało się utrwalić niezwykle losy 25 osób (w tym 22 sybiraków). To kilkadziesiąt godzin bezcennych nagrań w formacie audio i video. Praktycznie każda z opowiedzianych historii nadaje się na scenariusz film dokumentalnego, a nawet fabularnego. Oprócz wywiadów szczególnym sukcesem misji do Montrealu było dotarcie do archiwów domowych



polskich emigrantów, które zawierają bezcenne dokumenty świadczące o tragicznej historii naszych rodaków.

Podczas spotkań w Bibliotece Polskiej, Polskim Instytucie przy Uniwersytecie McGill i Domu Związku Weteranów pracownicy Uniwersytetu zaprezentowali ideę IV Kongresu Polskich Towarzystw Naukowych na Obczyźnie. Wyświetlono również spoty, ukazujące działalność CDZWiP UP. Uczestnicy misji gościli także w polskich audycjach Radia CFMB Montreal.

Działania misji wspierane były przez Konsulat Generalny RP w Montrealu, Związek Weteranów Polskich z prezesem Józefem Foltynem na czele oraz grupę sybiraków, koordynowaną przez Edwarda Krajewskiego.

Trwałym efektem prac dokumentacyjnych m.in. w Kanadzie jest wystawa pt. „Polscy Sybiracy w świetle”

(Relacja: Alicja Śmięgielska)



Łódź, Poland – 17 May 2014 – United Students Society conference: **Music in Literature, Literature in Music: North American Intermedial Exchanges** – Institute of English Studies, University of Łódź.



The conference was designed to address the various correspondences between literary and musical. B.A., M.A. and Ph.D. students were invited to submit conference papers on connections between literature and music in the North American context.



Varsovie, Pologne – 20 mai 2014 – **Prof. Józef Kwaterko.**

Communication: *Jean Jean-Marie Gustave Le Clézio, passeur entre cultures (Jean-Marie Gustave Le Clézio, passeur interculturel)*, Université de Troisième âge, École Polytechnique de Varsovie.



Szczecin, Poland – 27-29 May 2014 – **Canada Day** – University of Szczecin. Organized by *Szczecin Canadian Studies Group (SCSG)*; co-organisers: Prof. Dr Hartmut Lutz, Dr hab. Uwe Zagratzki. Readings and lectures by Henry Beissel on *Canadian Nature: 'Cantos North'* and *Immigrant Experience: 'Coming to Terms with a Child'*.





Białystok, Poland – 29-30 May
2014 - Conference: **Representing,
(De)Constructing and
Translating Borderlands,**
University of Białystok.



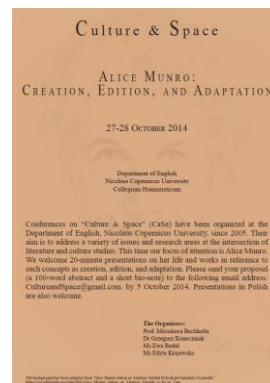
Warsaw, Poland – 5 June 2014 – A
talk by **Margaret MacMillan**
(Warden of St. Antony's College
Oxford and author of the highly
acclaimed book "The War That Ended
Peace"), Dom Spotkań z Historią.



Toruń, Poland – 25-26
September – conference: **Re-
Imagining the First World
War: (Hi)stories, Myths, and
Propaganda in Anglophone
Literature and Culture.**

A conference devoted to the
representations of the Great War in
fiction, history, film and other cultural
discourses, organised by the
Department of English at Nicolaus
Copernicus University. Participants
(*inter alia*): Col. Daniel Geleyn
(Canadian Defence Attaché to
Poland), Prof. Sherrill Grace
(University of British Columbia),
Anna Branach-Kallas, Mateusz
Bogdanowicz, Dagmara Drewniak,
Marcin Gabryś, Brygida Gasztold,
Tomasz Soroka, Katarzyna
Więckowska, Paweł Zajac.

Toruń, Poland – 20-21 October
2014 – conference: **Culture and
Space: Alice Munro.**



Conferences on “Culture & Space”
(CaSe) have been organized at the
Department of English, Nicolaus
Copernicus University, since 2005.
Their aim is to address a variety of
issues and research areas at the
intersection of literature and
culture studies.



Kraków, Poland – 24 October
2014 - International Undergraduate
and Graduate academic conference:
“**Leonard Cohen**”.

The conference focused on Leonard
Cohen’s life and work and was
organized by American Studies
Students’ Academic Society, Institute



of American Studies and Polish Diaspora, Jagiellonian University.



Warszawa – 7-8 listopada 2014 – Kongres Polonii Kanadyjskiej – 70 lat w służbie Narodowi, Ojczyźnie i Polonii, Uniwersytet Kardynała Stefana Wyszyńskiego.

Konferencja poświęcona była dorobkowi Kongresu Polonii Kanadyjskiej, a w szczególności jego działalności na rzecz Polaków w Kraju oraz rodaków mieszkających w Kanadzie, a także na rzecz Kanady – nowej Ojczyzny emigrantów, którzy zdecydowali się zamieszkać w tym kraju i uczestniczyć w jego rozwoju.



Krakow, Poland – 17-21 November 2014 – III Festiwal Kultury Kanadyjskiej – Konferencja Naukowa “Kanada: Ludy Rdzenne”.



W programie m.in. pokaz filmu niemego z muzyką na żywo, wykłady specjalistów z zakresu studiów nad kulturą, historią Native Americans, slajdowisko z prezentacją zdjęć z podróży po Kanadzie. Jednym z kluczowych wydarzeń była dwudniowa konferencja studencko-doktorancka, której tematem przewodnim były zagadnienia związane z Ludami Rdzennymi w Kanadzie.

Program Festiwalu

www.festiwalkulturykanadyjskiej.pl



Alta, Norway – 19-21st November 2014 – Prof. Hartmut Lutz. Keynote lecture at the Association for Canadian Studies in Norway/ Nordic Association for Canadian Studies conference “Connections and Ex-changes: America in an Intercontinental North”, in, September 19-21st 2014. Lecture title: *‘They Talk, We Listen,’ or ‘Theory Coming Through Story’: Indigenous Knowledges and Western Discourse.*



Greifswald, Germany – 26 November 2014 – Dr. Weronika Suchacka. Fellow lecture at the Krupp Wissenschaftskolleg: *“Those Silent, Unspoken Identities”:*



*Ancestral Legacy and Queer Identity
in Marusya Bociurkiw's Works.*



Olomouc, Czech Republic – Prof. Joanna Durczak. Guest lecture (INKULTUS EU program): *Earth-Sandwiches, Two-Headed Geese, and the Pre-Internet (?) Brain of Douglas Coupland.* Palacky University.



Toruń, Poland – 2 December 2014 – Prof. Marzena Sokołowska-Paryż. Guest lecture: *Paul Gross's "Passchendaele": German Canadians and the Cultural Memory of the Great War.* Nicolaus Copernicus University, Toruń.



Sosnowiec, Pologne – 17
decembre 2014 – Dzień kultury
quebeckiej / kanadyjskiej.
Wykłady wygłosili: Ewelina Bujnowska, Aleksandra Chrupała, Dawid Dryżałowski, Ewa Figas, Zuzanna Szatanik.

**Dzień kultury quebeckiej
kanadyjskiej**



17 grudnia sala 01

9.45-11.15
Zuzanna Szatanik, *Mind Geographies. The Journals of Susanna Moodie*
Ewa Figas, *Denis Villeneuve: From Canada with Thought: About Filmmaking without Borders*
9.45-11.15 (11.00-11.30)
Aleksandra Chrupała, *O tym jak Jacques Cartier przez ocean przepłynął i do krainy Indian zszedł (niektórzy uważają, że nie)*
11.15 (11.00-11.30)
CINE/NOUVEAU CINE/NOUVEAU
11.30-11.50
Ewa Figas, *Au pays de la musique. Voyage à travers les charnières de Lydia Lamy*
Ewelina Bujnowska, *À découvrir: la ville de Québec*
11.30-11.45
Dawid Dryżałowski, *Chodźmy na mecz! Dławiaki, tradycja i zwycięstwo hokeja na lodzie*
11.30-11.50
Scott Pilgrim contre le diable (2010), rec. Edward Wright, Wprowadzenie: Ewa Dziub

 Instytut języków romańskich i historyczny. Zakład Badań Kanadyjskich i Proleksydo i leonkings

ICCS PROGRAMS



Graduate Scholarships

The scholarship is aimed to facilitate the renewal of the community of Canadianists by supporting the work of young scholars, by enabling successful candidates to spend 4-6 weeks at a Canadian university or research site other than their own doing research related to their thesis or dissertation in the field of Canadian Studies.

More information on ICCS website:
<http://www.iccs-ciec.ca/graduate-student-scholarships.php>

All applications must be submitted to PACS by October 24th.



Canadian Studies Postdoctoral Fellowships

The fellowships are aimed to enable young Canadian and foreign academics who have completed a doctoral thesis on a topic primarily related to Canada and are not employed in a full-time, university teaching position to visit a Canadian or foreign university with a Canadian Studies program for a teaching or research fellowship.

More information on ICCS website:
<http://www.iccs-ciec.ca/canadian-studies-postdoctoral-fellowships.php>

All applications must be submitted to PACS by October 24th.





Pierre Savard Awards



The Pierre Savard Awards are designed to recognize and promote each year outstanding scholarly monographs on a Canadian topic. The awards form part of a strategy that is aimed at promoting, especially throughout the Canadian academic community, works that have been written by members of the Canadian Studies international network. The awards are intended to designate exceptional books, which, being based on a Canadian topic, contribute to a better understanding of Canada. There are two categories:

- 1) Book written in French or English;
- 2) Book written in a language other than French or English

More information on ICCS website:
<http://www.iccs-ciec.ca/pierre-savard-awards.php>

All applications must be submitted to PACS by October 24th.

Best Doctoral Thesis in Canadian Studies

This ICCS Award is designed to recognize and promote each year an outstanding PhD thesis on a Canadian topic, written by a member (or one of his/her students) of a Canadian Studies Association or Associate Member, and which contributes to a better understanding of Canada.

More information on ICCS website:
<http://www.iccs-ciec.ca/best-doctoral-thesis-canadian-studies.php>

All applications must be submitted to PACS by October 24th.



CANADIAN STUDIES CENTERS IN POLAND

TORUŃ

**Canadian Studies Centre,
Nicolaus Copernicus University**

Director: Prof. Anna Branach-Kallas

Address: Centrum Badań
Kanadyjskich Uniwersytet Mikołaja
Kopernika Toruń

Collegium Humanisticum C 3.30
ul. W. Bojarskiego 1, 87-100 Toruń

Tel.: +48 56 611 35 55

E-mail:

Centrum.Badan.Kanadyjskich@
maius.uni.torun.pl

Website:

[http://www.maius.umk.pl/ang/
?pid=8](http://www.maius.umk.pl/ang/?pid=8)

The Canadian Resource Centre was established at the Faculty of Languages in 1999 as a joint venture of Nicolaus Copernicus University in Toruń and the Canadian Embassy in Warsaw, with the generous support of the International Council for Canadian Studies in Ottawa. The Centre performs a threefold task: teaching, scholarly research, and

promotion of Canadian Studies (hosts guest lectures and screenings of documentary films on Canada which are addressed not only to the faculty and students of the English Department and the French Department but also to the community of Toruń and the region). Thanks to generous grants from the Nicolaus Copernicus University, the Canadian Embassy, and the Polish Association for Canadian Studies, the Centre has been conducting research, as well as organising book displays and the annual Days of Francophone Culture. The Centre library holdings, approximately 3,500 volumes, are available at the Collegium Humanisticum library.



WARSAW

**Centre d'études en civilisation
canadienne-française et
littérature québécoise, Institut
d'études romanes, Université
de Varsovie**



Director: Prof. Józef Kwaterko
Address: rue Dobra 55, 00-312
 Varsovie
Tel.: +48 22 552 04 32
E-mail: romanistyka@uw.edu.pl et
 kwaterko@uw.edu.pl

Depuis 1997, le Centre est dirigé par le professeur Józef Kwaterko. A partir de 1994, le Centre se consacre à la recherche et à l'enseignement de la littérature québécoise au niveau de BA, MA et PhD. De 1994 à 2007, y ont été élaborés et soutenus environ 25 mémoires de maîtrise et 3 travaux de licence portant sur le roman, le théâtre et la poésie du Québec. Actuellement, 4 thèses de doctorats et 4 mémoires de maîtrise y sont en cours de rédaction. Certains travaux de recherche portent sur un aspect comparé (littérature québécoise et franco-caribéenne). Le Centre possède un riche fonds documentaire pouvant être consulté par étudiant(e)s et chercheur(e)s intéressé(e)s: autour de 2.000 textes et ouvrages de référence, 15 revues universitaires et périodiques d'actualité littéraire et culturelle, environ 20 films documentaires et longs métrages. Le Centre collabore régulièrement avec des centres d'études québécoises et canadiennes en Europe, au Canada, aux États-Unis et au Brésil.

Le Centre a travaillé au ralenti, étant donné le congé sabbatique annuelle accordé en 2013-2014 à son directeur.



KRAKÓW

**Department of Canada,
 Institute of American Studies
 and Polish Diaspora,
 Jagiellonian University**

Director: Prof. Anna Reczyńska

Address: Rynek Główny 34, room 38
 31-010 Kraków

Tel.: +48 12 429 61 57

E-mail: anna.reczynska@uj.edu.pl

Website:

[http://www.iaispl.uj.edu.pl/
 zaklad-kanady](http://www.iaispl.uj.edu.pl/zaklad-kanady)

Chair of Canada is a part of the Institute of American Studies and Polish Diaspora. The head of Canadian Studies Centre, Prof. Anna Reczyńska, is one of the most prominent experts in Canadian history and diaspora studies in the region. Today the Institute of American Studies and Polish Diaspora offers a wide variety of regular and often inter-disciplinary courses on Canadian topics. Among many courses taught there one can find: Introduction to Canada, Canadian History, Society of Canada, Quebec Issues, Canadian Political System, Canadian Higher Education System, Canadian Film, and courses on Canadian Suffrage Movement, Native Peoples and literature, Contemporary Canadian Political Issues. The institute library has an extensive collection



of Canadian books. Academics and doctoral students do their research in Canadian history, women's rights, multiculturalism, Canadian-American and Canadian-British relations. The Institute of American Studies and Polish Diaspora at Jagiellonian University also serves as a statutory office of the Polish Association for Canadian Studies. There are 4 academics (Prof. A. Reczyńska, Dr. hab. M. Kijewska-Trembecka, Dr. M. Paluszkiwicz-Misiaczek, Dr. M. Gabryś) and 1 doctoral student doing research in topics related to Canada.



POZNAŃ

**Center for Canadian Literature,
Adam Mickiewicz University**

Contact person:

Prof. Agnieszka Rzepa

Address: al. Niepodległości 4
61-874 Poznań

Tel: +48 61 829 3520

E-mail: arzepa@amu.edu.pl

Website:

<http://wa.amu.edu.pl/wa/>

Center_for_Canadian_Literature

Canadian literature and culture courses have been taught in the Department of English of Adam Mickiewicz University since the late 1980s, first by dr Jarosław Sokół and since the mid-1990s by prof. Agnieszka Rzepa. Currently, the

Department offers regularly M.A. seminars and elective seminars on contemporary Canadian literature.



POZNAŃ

**Département de Traduction et
de Recherches sur le Canada
francophone, Université Adam
Mickiewicz**

Director:

Prof. Teresa Tomaszkiwicz

Address: al. Niepodległości 4
61-874 Poznań

Tel: +48 618 29 35 61

E-mail:

tomaszki@rejent.poznan.pl

L'activité du Département de Traduction et de Recherches sur le Canada francophone s'inscrit dans le courant multiculturel dominant présentement dans l'enseignement des langues étrangères; face à un développement dynamique des recherches portant sur les pays francophones, notamment dans le domaine de la traduction littéraire, il est d'autant plus nécessaire d'intégrer ladite recherche au sein des projets plus globaux, d'où la création de notre Centre. Ses objectifs se concentrent avant tout autour de l'élaboration des programmes d'enseignement en traduction littéraire prenant en considération la spécificité de la traduction minoritaire, la popularisation du savoir sur la



civilisation et la culture du Canada franco-phonie, avec l'accent sur les minorités francophones de l'exiguïté, la coordination de la recherche dans le domaine de la traduction des textes littéraires provenant des communautés francophones du Canada, ainsi qu'autour de la promotion d'une approche traductologique novatrice, présentant la traduction des littératures minoritaires en tant que processus culturel et ethnique qui prend en compte le discours identitaire dans les œuvres littéraires.



SOSNOWIEC

**Canadian Studies Centre,
Institute of British and
American Culture and
Literature, University of
Silesia**

Director: Dr. Eugenia Sojka

Address: Grota-Roweckiego 5, 41-200 Sosnowiec

Tel: +48 32 364 08 92,

Website:

<http://www.csc.us.edu.pl>

E-mail: eugenia.sojka@us.edu.pl

Canadian Studies Centre at the University of Silesia, chaired by dr. Eugenia Sojka, was founded in 2000. The Centre functions within institutional structures of the Institute of English Cultures and

Literatures. It is involved in the promotion of Canadian Studies via research, cultural activities, conferences, workshops and teaching of Canadian Studies courses.

It hosts specialists in Canadian Studies and Canadian writers, critics and artists who give lectures, readings and participate in cultural events and conferences.

Research profile:

Indigenous and diasporic Canadian fiction, poetry and life writing, Indigenous, diasporic and intercultural drama/ theatre/ performance;

Transcultural, diasporic, post-colonial/ decolonial/ gender theories and methodologies; Canadian film and visual arts; Verbal and visual rhetoric (interarts).

Two agreements of co-operation with Canadian universities: Vancouver Island University and Wilfrid Laurier University, Waterloo, ON., have been signed and developed (e.g. a student research trip to Vancouver Island University – a project entitled: "Transcultural dialogues between Canada and Poland. Educating for ethics of diversity" was completed in 2010). An earlier co-operation agreement of the University of Silesia with the University of Alberta, Edmonton, Alberta, has been still active.

The Institute library boast a growing collection of Canadiana



thanks to grants from the Canadian Embassy and donations from various Canadian publishing houses.

Canadian Studies Student Circle affiliated with the Centre was founded in 2009. Regular meetings of students are devoted to selected Canadian topics.



Chaire d'études canadiennes à l'Institut des Langues Romanes et de Traduction, Université de Silésie Director:

Prof. Krzysztof Jarosz

Adress: Grotta-Roweckiego 5,
41-200 Sosnowiec
bureau 1.6

Tel: +48 32 3640 899

E-mail: jarosz.kanada@gmail.com

En 2003, la Chaire d'études canadiennes a été mise sur pied à l'Institut des Langues Romanes et de Traduction de Université de Silésie par le Professeur Krzysztof Jarosz. Elle dédie ses activités en enseignement supérieur, en recherche, en publication et en animation à son aire de prédilection, la littérature canadienne postmoderne.

À présent, onze chercheurs et chercheuses francophones et anglophones y travaillent. Une monographie portant sur l'œuvre de Robert Lalonde et une anthologie de nouvelles québécoises contemporaines ont

été publiés. Un doctorat sur le roman historique postmoderne et postcolonial au Québec a été soutenu. Une thèse d'habilitation sur la traduction en polonais de la littérature québécoise et trois thèses de doctorats y sont en cours de rédaction.

Aujourd'hui, la Chaire a un objectif plus ambitieux qui est de développer des recherches interdisciplinaires en littérature et culture canadiennes. Les travaux menés par les chercheurs touchent les questions plus vitales de la littérature canadienne des dernières décennies.

Deux colloques internationaux, « La réécriture dans la littérature québécoise » et « De la fondation de Québec au Canada d'aujourd'hui (1608-2008) : Rétrospectives, parcours et défis » se sont tenus en 2006 et en 2008 à l'initiative du professeur Jarosz. Deux volumes portant sur les mêmes thèmes ont été publiés en 2007 et en 2009. La Chaire a également contribué à l'organisation du 5^e Congrès de l'Association polonaise d'études québécoises en octobre 2010 dont le fruit est le collectif sur le multiculturalisme critique paru récemment sous la direction de Ewelina Bujnowska, Marcin Gabryś et Tomasz Sikora. De nombreux chercheurs et chercheuses des universités d'Europe et du Canada s'y sont retrouvés.

Chaque année, des étudiants de français peuvent participer aux



cours de littérature canadienne d'expression française, de langue française au Canada et de civilisation du Québec sur un fond d'histoire et de civilisation du Canada. Des mémoires de licence et de maîtrise, notamment sur la traduction de la littérature québécoise sont élaborés annuellement.

Depuis 2005, les journées québécoises sont organisées et permettent à un grand nombre d'étudiants de se familiariser avec divers aspects de la culture du Québec.



ŁÓDŹ

Canadian Studies Resource Center, Department of American Studies and Mass Media, Faculty of International and Political Studies, University of Łódź

Chair: Dr. Magdalena Marczuk-Karbownik

Address: ul. Lindleya 5A, 90-131 Łódź

Tel: +48 42 635 42 50, 635 42 54

E-mail: marczuk@uni.lodz.pl

Courses on Canada that were taught at the Department: Dr. Magdalena Marczuk-Karbownik, Kanada-Stany Zjednoczone – stosunki bilateralne / Canada – USA – Bilateral Relations; Kanada – historia, polityka, społeczeństwo

/ Canada – History, Politics, Society (Dr. M. Marczuk-Karbownik).



LUBLIN

Canadian Studies Department, Department of English Studies, Maria Curie-Skłodowska University

Chair: Prof. Joanna Durczak

Address: Pl. Skłodowskiej 5, 20-031 Lublin

Tel.: + 48 81 5375 389

E-mail: jodurczak@gmail.com

Website:

<http://amerykanistyka.umcs.eu>

Formerly Canadian Studies Center; since 2012 – Canadian Studies Department, part of the Department of English Studies at Maria Curie-Skłodowska University.

Offers each year one-semester courses in “Canadian literature” (undergraduate level) and “Introduction to Canadian culture” (graduate level). In 2013 launched an MA program in Canadian literature (the first one ever at Maria Curie-Skłodowska University); first batch of students graduated May 2014.

Main research area: Canadian environmental literature and ecocriticism.

4 doctoral students:

- Mirella Czerwiec
- Magdalena Gneciak



- Magdalena Ładuniuk
- Marta Wójcik



SZCZECIN

**Szczecin Canadian Studies
Group, English Department,
Faculty of Philology Szczecin
University**

Address: al. Piastów 40B, 71-065
Szczecin

E-mail: scsg@univ.szczecin.pl

Website:

http://www.us.szc.pl/main.php/canadian?xml=load_page&st=21979

Szczecin Canadian Studies Group (SCSG) was created on November 29, 2011 at the English Department, University of Szczecin. SCSG initiators are staff of the Department: Prof. Hartmut Lutz, Dr. Uwe Zagratzki and Dr. Weronika Suchacka. The main objective of the SCSG is to create a vibrant center of Canadian Studies in the English Department, University of Szczecin.



CONTACT INFORMATION

Polskie Towarzystwo Badań Kanadyjskich

Instytut Amerykanistyki i Studiów Polonijnych

Uniwersytet Jagielloński

Rynek Główny 34

31-010 Kraków

Polska

Tel.: +48 12 432 50 60

Email: ptbk@uj.edu.pl

Website: <http://www.ptbk.org.pl>

CALL FOR CONTRIBUTIONS

(le français suit l'anglais)

With great pleasure we invite submissions for the eighth volume of *TransCanadiana: Polish Journal of Canadian Studies* – a peer-reviewed journal published by the Polish Association of Canadian Studies (PACS). Every issue comprises articles on a subject specified by the editors, as well as short reviews of recent publications in the field of Canadian Studies, and a newsletter presenting information and updates on the activities of the PACS and Canadian Studies Centers in Poland.

TransCanadiana: Polish Journal of Canadian Studies
N° 8/2016

Edited by Weronika Suchacka, Hartmut Lutz, and Anna Kricka

Canadian Sites of Resistance: Solidarity—Struggle—Change (?)

In *Culture and Resistance: Conversations with Edward W. Said*, David Barsamian opens his introduction to the volume with the following words by Said: “I have been unable . . . to live an uncommitted or suspended life: I have not hesitated to declare my affiliation with an extremely unpopular cause.” We hear the meaning of Said’s words reverberating in those by Audre Lorde in her seminal essay “The Uses of the Erotic: The Erotic as Power”: “And this is a grave responsibility, projected from within each of us, not to settle for the convenient, the shoddy, the conventionally expected, nor the merely safe.” Each statement is reflecting upon different matters, yet both speak in the same voice – that of being ready to, as Lorde continues, “begin to give up, of necessity, being satisfied with suffering and self-negation, and with the numbness which so often seems like their only alternative in our society.” This is the voice that speaks loud and clear about disagreement with any form of enforcement and about resistance “against oppression” (Lorde).

The capacity to resist dehumanization and to act in solidarity against any forms of oppression constitute defining and fundamental human qualities

throughout the course of history. Faced with our contemporary world of global and local unrest – wars, military interventions, terrorist threats and attacks, economic crises, political and social oppression, as well as environmental destruction – “a grave responsibility” of reacting and taking a stand falls on all of us. Yet, the possibility of any change to a given *status quo* hinges not only on a standpoint one takes but most importantly on the actions that one performs, and these, as history shows, are rarely successful without group solidarity and mutual commitment to the struggle for a common cause.

As the previous volume of *TransCanadiana* has shown, Canada occupies an influential position in the global arena, shaping its international renown of *soft power*, and so while working towards its internal political, economic, social and cultural stability and progress, it “has sought constructive global solutions to increasingly global problems.” Yet as the editors of the previous volume have also rightly pointed out, “There is, however, a darker side of Canada’s international image.” Indeed, Canada’s path to its positive profile worldwide has been quite winding, resting on the largely unacknowledged systemic dispossession of Indigenous populations, and being marked in its history by conflict and struggle against political enforcement, racial and ethnic prejudice, social injustice, economic inequality and the destruction of the ecosystem. Moreover, what many examples from Canadian history and present current affairs in Canada show is that disagreement with and opposition to political, social, cultural and/or economic inhibition has been taking place in Canada from the bottom up, so that grassroots movements have become a crucial dimension of resistance in this country. It is thus from this perspective that we would like to open up a discussion about Canadian sites of collective resistance, their past and present examples, their meanings for the future, but also their potential for or failure at effecting change. Consequently, we would like to examine the reasons and consequences, as well as forms and substance of different instances of group protest and defiance that have taken place not only within Canada but also beyond its borders to see if, how, and to what extent Canada voices and enacts its solidarity “against oppression” in local *and* global terms.

We would like to invite contributions to the eighth volume of *TransCanadiana* from Canadianists and scholars of other studies who want to address the issue of resistance in Canada’s internal and international context. In this way, we hope to create an interdisciplinary exploration of the topic that might include, but is not limited to the analysis of opposing and protesting against:

- a hierarchical structuring of society and social existence;
- class, race, ethnic, and gender prejudice and marginalization;
- heteronormativity and all forms of sexist oppression;

-
- controlling and restricting various means of empowerment, e.g. access to knowledge;
 - political oppression and disenfranchisement, e.g. censorship and silencing;
 - discrimination against people on grounds of age or physical and mental impairment;
 - the damage of ecology;
 - persistence of internal colonialist structures and other forms of (neo)colonialism;
 - linguistic and cultural assimilationist practices;
 - globalization and late capitalism;
 - structural and personal violence.

Brief article abstracts of c. 350 words as well as proposals for book reviews of c. 150 words (with complete bibliographical details) should be e-mailed to the editors by **February 29, 2016**. After the selection process is completed, and not later than **March 31, 2016**, the editors will invite authors to submit completed articles (max. 20 pages, double spaced, following MLA style) or reviews (max. 4 pages, double spaced, following MLA style) by **May 1, 2016**.

Abstracts, proposals for book reviews, articles, and reviews should be written in English or in French.

Submissions in English should be emailed to:

Weronika Suchacka (PhD) at: weronikasuchacka@gmail.com
or Hartmut Lutz (Prof. dr hab.) at: lutz@uni-greifswald.de

Submissions in French should be emailed to:

Anna Kricka (PhD) at: annakricka@wp.pl

APPEL À CONTRIBUTIONS

C'est avec grand plaisir que nous lançons un appel à publication pour le huitième volume de *TransCanadiana: Revue Polonaise d'Études Canadiennes*, journal académique à comité de lecture consacré aux études interdisciplinaires sur le Canada et publié par l'Association polonaise d'études canadiennes (PACS). Chaque numéro comprend des articles sur un sujet spécifié par les éditeurs, ainsi que de brèves critiques de publications récentes dans le domaine des études canadiennes et un bulletin d'information présentant les informations et mises à jour sur les activités de la PACS et des centres d'études canadiennes en Pologne.

TransCanadiana: Revue polonaise d'études canadiennes
N°8/2016

Rédacteurs invités : Weronika Suchacka, Hartmut Lutz, Anna Kricka

Topoï canadiens de la résistance : solidarité – affrontement – changement (?)

Dans *Culture and Resistance: Conversations with Edward W. Said*, David Barsamian ouvre son introduction au volume par les mots suivants de Said : « J'ai été incapable (...) de vivre une vie non engagée ou suspendue : je n'ai pas hésité à déclarer mon affiliation à une cause extrêmement impopulaire. » Nous entendons le sens des paroles de Said se répercutant dans ceux d'Audre Lorde dans son essai pionnier *The Uses of the Erotic: The Erotic as Power*: « Et cela est une grande responsabilité, puisée de l'intérieur de chacun d'entre nous, que de ne pas se contenter des conventions, de la mauvaise qualité, du prévu, ni de la simple sécurité. » Chacune de ces deux déclarations propose une réflexion sur des questions différentes, mais elles ont en commun, comme le dit Lorde, d'être prêtes à « commencer à abandonner la nécessité, le fait d'être satisfaits de la souffrance et de la négation de soi et de cet engourdissement qui semble rester souvent leur seule alternative dans notre société. » C'est la voix qui clame haut et fort son désaccord avec toute forme de contrainte et sa résistance « contre l'oppression » (Lorde).

La capacité de résister à la déshumanisation et d'agir en solidarité contre toutes les formes d'oppression constitue la définition et les qualités humaines fondamentales tout au long de l'histoire. Face à notre monde contemporain fait

de guerres mondiales et locales, d'interventions militaires, de menaces et d'attentats terroristes, de crises économiques, d'oppression politique et sociale, ainsi que de destruction climatique – « une vraie responsabilité » de réagir et de prendre position nous incombe. Pourtant, la possibilité de changer de *status quo* ne repose pas seulement sur un point de vue que l'on prend mais sur ce qui est le plus important, à savoir sur les actions que l'on effectue ; et celles-ci, comme le montre l'histoire, sont rarement couronnées de succès sans solidarité de groupe ni engagement mutuel dans la lutte pour une cause commune.

Comme le volume précédent de *TransCanadiana* l'a montré, le Canada occupe une position influente sur la scène mondiale ; dans l'établissement de sa renommée internationale en matière de *soft power*, ainsi que dans tout son travail visant à sa stabilité et au progrès politique, économique, social et culturel interne, il « a cherché des solutions constructives et mondiales à des problèmes de plus en plus mondiaux. » Pourtant, comme les rédacteurs du volume précédent l'ont également souligné à juste titre, « il y a, cependant, un côté plus sombre de l'image internationale du Canada. » En effet, le chemin conduisant le Canada à établir son image positive dans le monde a été très tortueux, reposant sur la dépossession systémique, largement passée sous silence, des populations autochtones, et marqué, dans son histoire, par des conflits et des combats politiques, par des préjugés raciaux et ethniques, par l'injustice sociale, par l'inégalité économique et la destruction de l'écosystème. En outre, de nombreux exemples tirés de l'histoire du Canada et de son actualité démontrent que le désaccord et l'opposition à l'inhibition politique, sociale, culturelle et/ou économique se sont manifestés au Canada depuis le bas vers le haut, de sorte que les mouvements venant de la société civile sont devenus une dimension cruciale de la résistance dans ce pays. C'est donc dans cette perspective que nous souhaitons ouvrir une discussion sur les topoï canadiens de résistance collective, c'est-à-dire sur leurs exemples actuels et sur ceux d'autrefois, leur impact sur l'avenir, mais aussi leur potentiel ou leur échec à provoquer des changements. Par conséquent, nous aimerions observer les raisons et les conséquences, ainsi que les formes et le contenu des différents efforts des groupes de protestation et de spéculation qui ont été développés non seulement au Canada, mais aussi au-delà de ses frontières, afin de voir si, comment et dans quelle mesure le Canada formule et met en application sa solidarité « contre l'oppression » dans un cadre local et mondial.

Nous aimerions inviter à contribuer au huitième volume de *TransCanadiana* des canadianistes et universitaires d'autres domaines qui voudraient aborder la question de la résistance dans le contexte intérieur et international du Canada. De cette façon, nous espérons stimuler une

exploration interdisciplinaire de ce sujet qui pourrait inclure, sans toutefois s'y limiter, l'analyse de l'opposition et de la protestation contre :

- une structuration hiérarchique de la société et de l'existence sociale ;
- la marginalisation et les préjugés liés à la classe sociale, à la race, aux origines ethniques, au genre ;
- l'hétéronormativité et toutes les formes d'oppression sexiste ;
- le contrôle et la restriction des divers moyens d'autonomisation, par exemple de l'accès au savoir ;
- l'oppression politique et la privation des droits, par exemple la censure et la répression ;
- la discrimination pour des raisons d'âge ou de handicap physique et mental ;
- les dommages écologiques ;
- la persistance de structures colonialistes internes et d'autres formes de (néo-) colonialisme ;
- les pratiques d'assimilation linguistique et culturelle ;
- la mondialisation et le capitalisme tardif ;
- la violence structurelle et personnelle.

Les résumés d'articles (*abstracts*) d'environ 350 mots ainsi que les propositions de comptes-rendus de livres d'environ 150 mots (avec les détails bibliographiques complets) doivent être envoyés par courriel à la rédaction avant le **29 février 2016**. A l'issue du processus de sélection, et avant le **31 mars 2016**, les rédacteurs inviteront les auteurs à soumettre leurs articles terminés (max. 20 pages, interligne double, suivant le style MLA) ou leurs comptes-rendus (max. 4 pages, interligne double, suivant le style MLA) avant le **1er mai 2016**. Les résumés et les propositions de comptes-rendus de livres, de même que les articles et les comptes-rendus devront être rédigés en anglais ou en français.

Les propositions en anglais devront être envoyées par courriel à :
Weronika Suchacka (PhD) : weronikasuchacka@gmail.com
ou bien à Hartmut Lutz (Prof. dr hab.) : lutz@uni-greifswald.de

Les propositions en français devront être adressées par courriel à :
Anna Kricka (PhD) : annakricka@wp.pl

SUBMISSIONS

All submissions to *TransCanadiana* must be original, unpublished work. Articles and book reviews should be double-spaced in 12-point font, and available in Rich Text Format (.rtf), or Microsoft Word (.doc, .docx).

Articles should follow current MLA bibliographic format (*MLA Handbook, 7th ed*). Maximum word length for articles is 7 000 words, which includes endnotes and works cited. Submissions in English must include a brief (max. 200 words) abstract in French and English, a biographical note of approximately 90 words, and 5 keywords. Reviews should not exceed 3 000 words.

Peer-review: *TransCanadiana* uses a double-blind refereeing process (both the referee and author remain anonymous throughout the process), based on initial editor screening. Referees are matched to the paper according to their expertise, and are never affiliated with the institution with which the author is affiliated. The editor might seek further expert opinion in justified cases.

Referees are asked to evaluate whether the manuscript :

- is closely related to the theme of the issue
- is original
- is methodologically sound
- has sound structure
- has results which are clearly and logically presented and support the conclusions
- correctly references previous relevant work
- should be published as submitted, published after revision or rejected

Language correction is not part of the peer review process.

After receiving reviews of the article, the author is obliged to revise the text in accordance with the reviewers' suggestions (changes should be marked in red) and email it as an attachment to the editor within two weeks. The body of the message must include the author's response to the reviews and it should list all the changes that have been made in the final version of the article.

Referees read the revised version and advise the editor, who is responsible for the final decision to accept or reject the article.

Ghostwriting, Guest Authorship and Plagiarism Policy

All cases of

- **ghostwriting**: the intentional failing to identify an individual in a publication who has substantively contributed to the underlying research or the writing of the publication
- **guest authorship**: including an individual in a research publication who has not made a substantive contribution to the underlying research or the content of the publication
- **plagiarism**: using the ideas, data, or language of another without specific or proper acknowledgment

will be documented, reported to the authorities and revealed to the academic community (i.e. the institutions with which the authors are affiliated, academic societies, etc.)

To prevent any cases of such academic misconduct the authors are required to:

- sign a Publishing Agreement with the editor (see below)
- reveal the names and affiliations of all individuals who have made substantial contribution to the submitted Work, as well as the nature of their contribution (concept, methodology, etc.)
- include a financial disclosure statement with their submissions (i.e. report all institutions, societies or other parties that have financially supported research that has resulted in the submitted publication)

Obtaining External Permission on Copyright Materials

It is the author's responsibility to obtain written permission to use any previously copyrighted material, photographs, or artwork that may be included in the Work. The author is responsible for paying permission fees and costs of reproduction.

Publishing Agreements

The PA for scholarly articles signs the copyright over to the journal. In order to **prevent cases of academic misconduct (ghost writing, guest authorship, plagiarism)** the PA includes the author's declaration that she is the sole

Author of the Work; that she is the owner of all the rights granted to the Publisher; that the Work is original and does not contain fragments from previously published texts, which could cause the Publisher to infringe upon any previous copyright.

SOUSSION D'ARTICLES

La revue *TransCanadiana* n'accepte que les contributions originales n'ayant pas fait l'objet d'une publication antérieure. Les articles et les compte-rendus sont à transmettre en format électronique : taille 12 points, interligne double, en formats Rich Texte Format (.rtf) ou Microsoft Word (.doc, .docx) Les articles doivent être conformes au MLA Handbook, 7^e édition. La taille des articles ne dépassera pas 7 000 mots, y compris les notes d'auteur et les références bibliographiques.

Les articles en français doivent être précédés d'un résumé en anglais et en français d'un maximum de 200 mots, suivi d'une notice bibliographique d'environ 90 mots et de cinq mots-clés. Les compte-rendus ne dépasseront pas 3 000 mots.

L'évaluation en double aveugle par les pairs : *TransCanadiana* fait appel à des experts selon la procédure du double anonymat (les rapporteurs ignorent qui ils évaluent, et les auteurs ignorent par qui ils sont évalués) et après une première sélection faite par les rédacteurs. Les articles sont envoyés à des lecteurs choisis par la rédaction en fonction de leur domaine de compétence, ceux-ci n'étant pourtant pas affiliés au même établissement que les auteurs. Les articles pourraient être soumis à une nouvelle évaluation dans des cas justifiés.

On demande aux lecteurs anonymes d'évaluer :

- la correspondance étroite de l'article à la thématique du volume
- l'originalité de l'article
- sa qualité méthodologique
- la solidité de la structure de l'article
- la logique et la clarté des résultats présentés et la pertinence de la conclusion
- l'exactitude des références aux ouvrages antérieurs en matière
- si l'article est à retenir pour publication tel quel, avec modifications ou s'il est à ne pas retenir

Les auteurs sont priés d'assurer la révision linguistique de leur texte. Le rapport du lecteur reçu, l'auteur est tenu de revoir le texte suivant les suggestions faites par le rapporteur (les changements apportés mis en rouge) et de l'envoyer en pièce jointe à l'éditeur dans un délai de deux semaines. Le message doit inclure la réponse de l'auteur au rapport du lecteur et toutes les modifications apportées doivent être énumérées dans la version finale du texte. Après la relecture du rapporteur, la décision finale de retenir ou de ne pas retenir l'article est à l'éditeur.

Il est à noter que

- toute pratique de « ghostwriting » (« écriture en sous-main ») : qui consiste à ne pas désigner une personne ayant apporté une contribution substantielle à la recherche ou à la rédaction de l'article publié
- toute pratique de signature scientifique (« qualité d'auteur honorifique ») : qui consiste à inclure dans un article scientifique le nom d'une personne n'ayant pas apporté de réelle contribution à la recherche principale ou au contenu de l'article publié tout acte de plagiat : qui consiste à s'attribuer les idées, les données ou le langage d'une autre personne sans permission ou avec une reconnaissance insuffisante

sera sanctionné(e), communiqué(e) aux autorités responsables et signalé(e) à la communauté scientifique (soit aux institutions auxquelles les auteurs sont affiliés et aux corps universitaires pertinents).

En vue d'éviter tout cas de fraude scientifique, les auteurs s'engagent à :

- signer un contrat de publication avec les éditeurs (voir ci-dessous)
- indiquer les noms et les affiliations de l'ensemble des personnes ayant contribué de manière significative au travail ainsi que leur apport (concept, méthodologie, etc.)
- indiquer la source de financement (signaler toutes les institutions, sociétés ou autres ayant aidé la recherche qui a abouti à la publication présentée).

Obtenir au préalable l'autorisation pour les documents protégés par le droit d'auteur

L'auteur est tenu d'obtenir l'autorisation écrite des détenteurs de droit d'auteur pour reproduire n'importe quelle photographie, illustration, tableau précédemment publiés ailleurs et comprises dans l'article. L'auteur doit payer tous les frais impliqués par la reproduction.

Contrat de publication

Le contrat de publication exige la cessation de la totalité du droit d'auteur à la revue. Afin **d'éviter les cas de fraude scientifique (pratique de « ghostwriting », pratique de signature scientifique, plagiat)**, le contrat de publication contient la déclaration de l'auteur qu'il est l'auteur exclusif du texte, qu'il détient l'intégralité des droits d'auteur sur son texte, que son texte est entièrement original et qu'il ne contient aucun emprunt aux textes précédemment publiés, ce qui porterait atteinte aux droits d'auteur antérieurs.