

RIKKA



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Poetry Editor: Gerry Shikatani
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EDITORIAL NOTES

MULTICULTURALISM is probably the most important social policy of any society that seeks to be pluralistic.

This issue of *Rikka* contains articles that critically analyse the Canadian experience of multiculturalism from 1971 to 1981.

Each contributor examines the topic from a particular or special standpoint and though every writer is critical of given aspects of the Canadian government's approach, none of them is against the general concept of the policy.

The perspective of **M. L. Handa** is unique in this collection because he alone focusses on the responsibility of ethnic communities and he actually proposes the formation of a third force political party to put forth the point of view of the non-Anglo-Saxon and non-French segment of Canada's population. Handa is Associate Professor of Education, Ontario Institute for Studies in Education.

Patrick Hunter, a researcher and analyst, argues in his article on Party Politics that there is a crying need for affirmative action programs within the established political parties. The parties have a veritable stranglehold on federal and provincial politics and so conscious accommodation will have to be pursued if minorities are to get representation as members of Parliament. Multiculturalism would have to be first practiced within their own political parties if politicians are to be expected to carry out such a policy throughout the nation.

William Doyle-Marshall is a journalist and publisher who views multiculturalism from the vantage point of who gets funded how much. An analysis from this viewpoint is possibly the most sensible in terms of understanding what government really means by 'multiculturalism.'

Victor Ujimoto, a sociologist from the University of Guelph, takes a broad look at the policy. He is troubled by the categorization of visible minorities as "Orientals,"

"Asians," or "Blacks," which militates against the significance of Canadian citizenship. He suggests that one way to eliminate this problem of categorization is through altering attitudes and perceptions by having a wider variety of ethnics as role-models in key institutions.

Alan Anderson has an impressive background qualifying him to deal with multiculturalism. He has taught at various universities as professor of sociology and has edited several publications on the topic. In his short article, *Multiculturalism — Policy and Reality*, he looks at the historical development and antecedents of the policy. He is factual and objective but at the same time he is provocative with the proposition that 'multiculturalism' may be used by governments to contain, control and co-opt ethnic communities, thereby perpetuating a form of colonial pluralism.

Sam Elder is the only contributor who analyses the concept of multiculturalism without reference to Canadian or any other national experience. He speaks of universal values, is somewhat poetic and certainly very deep. His piece will have to be pondered to derive full benefit. Elder is a professional engineer who builds bridges but one would never guess that from this philosophical contribution.

George Bancroft is an academician who went into the world of government bureaucracy. His charming contribution entitled, *From the Other Side of the Bridge*, indicates that he brings a non-formalistic approach to his position as a policy-maker with the Ontario government. He says that care must be taken with any program so as to avoid setting up alternative structures that keep individuals in self segregated ghettos.

Unlike other contributors to this issue who are professional sociologists of the academic world, **Allan Sparrow** is a well known Toronto activist. He mobilizes people to bring community pressure on the powers that be. He is a man of the people and a high-powered agitator with a low-key style. He has championed the right of visible minorities and other disadvantaged groups at great personal sacrifice. He is a North American authority and historian on policing. Rikka is proud to have his contribution.

Kermot Moore is a Canadian Native. As a writer he is gifted. His article does not deal

with multiculturalism because that may not be an appropriate concept where Native People are concerned. He speaks of national rights. He examines the place of the aboriginal people in Canada's new constitution. He is fighting mad about the colonial status of his people to whom his piece is addressed. He lives in northern Ontario and has a long record of struggle and service to his people.

The article by Sri Lankan-born Canadian **Suwanda Sugunasiri** is adapted from an address given to ESL (English as a Second Language) teachers. Simply put, his thesis here is that in essence multiculturalism is a broad minded attitude not afraid to question the holy cows of cultural traditions.

The contribution of **James Fleming** is really excerpts from notes for a speech he delivered. Mr. Fleming is the federal Minister responsible for Multiculturalism. We wrote him for a special contribution and received a generous packet of materials from which we selected these excerpts. The caption of the article is Rikka's.

George Yamada is a printer and publisher. He was born in the USA but left that country 28 years ago for Mexico where he studied and worked as a printer before moving to Canada in 1970. He now resides in Manitoulin Island.

Rob Rolfe is a progressive librarian active for many years in solidarity actions with liberation movements and the struggle against racism. We are indebted to him for the bibliography.

I am pleased to be guest editor of this edition of **Rikka**. I am a Toronto-based lawyer. The article, *Sanctions for Multiculturalism* is an examination of the laws that are available to give teeth to the policy. The piece *Canadian Apartheid* cautions against the divisive potential of certain aspects of multicultural policy. George Yamada created the titles for these two pieces as well as others in this issue.

We have here a wide range of contributors but we will be criticized for having no women, which came about in spite of our concern and efforts. You will find the writers to be academics and activists, government officials and outside critics, with ethnic backgrounds as varied as Native Canadian, Black, East Indian, Japanese, European and Sri Lankan.

— **Charles Roach**

THE ROLE OF ETHNIC COMMUNITIES

TEN YEARS ago in 1971 the Canadian federal government announced the policy of multiculturalism. This is a discreet enough length of time for a stock-taking of what has been the impact of this policy. This paper will focus on the role of ethnic groups in preserving multiculturalism and extending the conceptual frontiers and everyday practice. Since my own active role has been in the South Asian community my observations would obviously be conditioned by this experience, I am sure that there are some elements of general interest in this experience. But before I concentrate on this a few observations seem to be relevant.

Firstly, although multicultural policy was *formally* announced ten years ago it does not mean that it was then the *reality* of multicultural character of Canada started. Canada is a country of immigrants. In every generation 'New Canadians' have poured in who have brought with them much treasured baggage: the customs, outlooks, habits, cultural and religious mores of the country of origin. *Culture is as much a part of people's psyche as are skin and bones to their bodies.* Humans are social beings, it is said, and being so they bring the specific social reality of the society from where they come.

Second, immigrants not only brought their culture with them, they preserved it. Culture is not, in other words, a temporary baggage which a typical immigrant is willing to give up in preference to a better local culture. In fact one of the most foolish ideas is

Multiculturalism is ethnics' own existentialist reality, and practice.

to think that there is anything like a superior or inferior culture. Culture is just culture — a mixture of many habits, not an intellectual design of anyone but a complex product of a particular history. People do not trade, barter or exchange culture, they simply live it. Culture is experiential reality and as such cultural practices do change but slowly, even imperceptibly. The most loud fact about culture, therefore, is its durability, its persistence and *not* its dissolution. *Those who thought of a 'melting pot' and 'assimilation' were simply oppressive people* and these are oppressive ideas. It is also anti-democratic or fascistic to think that people should dissolve their cultural identity. Any democratic society must respect its cultural diversity. For any student of Canadian history it should strike as a remarkable fact that in spite of the official policy(ies) of assimilation — as practiced through immigration policy, law enforcement, labor market and educational practices — Canadian ethnics perceived their cultural identity. Canadian reality was multicultural while the Canadian government and establishment was officially and formally assimilationist. This perspective is central to what is developed below: that multiculturalism is ethnics' own existentialist reality and practice, it is tied with their own social struggle in this country and it is not a product of some policy decided from the top.

To say that Canadian *reality* was multicultural while Canadian establishment's *conception* was assimilationist is not to say that the multicultural policy of 1971 is not a definite step forward. Not because such a policy catches up with Canadian history, which it does, but it does open up further possibilities. As a concrete achievement what this policy does is to recognize that preserving culture is not just an act of "resistance" on the part of the ethnic minorities but a social "right." Ethnic communities do not have to face fear or reprimand for preserving their

cultural heritage but can do so with aid from the federal and provincial agencies. To belittle this concrete step forward would be lacking a historical perspective on Canadian reality. Within a span of ten years the climate of cities like Toronto and Vancouver — the test grounds of Canadian multiculturalism — is quite different and for the better (notwithstanding the emergence of groups like the Ku Klux Klan).

Thirdly, it should be kept in mind that in its present conception multicultural society is not a classless society. We talk of equality in the field of cultures, not in the economic and political spheres. *Cultural pluralism* is juxtaposed or *to be fitted into a capitalist class structure system*. This consideration would not have any significance if there was no connection between ethnicity and class in Canadian society. Actually we know by now that there exists a fundamental link between the two. There is an ethnic base to the Canadian mosaic. At the top of the economic and political pyramid sits the Anglo-Saxon.

With these observations in mind let us focus on the experience of the South Asian community. Our community faced the onslaught of racism, the "Paki bashing" and slurs about ten years ago. The immediate reaction was of shock because the prevailing conception among the immigrants coming directly from the Indian sub-continent was that racism in the white man's own world is racism against the Blacks. Soon a realization grew that our own history in Vancouver, which was the belt where East Indians came around the turn of this century was full of humiliating tales of racist oppression and a brave resistance against it. Here was a saga of struggle by courageous men and women who discovered a connection between their rights in Canada and the freedom from British colonialism in India. It is significant that the Indians got citizenship rights to this country only when India became independent. Not only were East Indians victims of racism but so were other Asians, including Chinese and Japanese — and the list seemed to get longer as a broader understanding emerged about Greeks, Poles and other East Europeans as well as Italians, Irish, Jews, etc. The history of Canada spoke loudly of ugly racism, the narrowness of the Anglo-Saxon mind and its hegemony over the French, the second founding people and, of course, the real inheritors of this land the native Indians, and all other people. Such a perspective

raises serious questions relating to Canadian historiography, central to which is how to interpret Canada's past. This discovery of the history of our own people in this country and other immigrants suggested two major conclusions about the Canadian reality: (a) that there exists racist Canadian structures — in the economy, the State, the educational system, etc. — which works discriminatively in varying degrees in relation to minorities, especially colored minorities; (b) that there exists 'racist consciousness' — a way of looking at social reality and social relations in racist terms. The two, of course, reinforce each other.

In the context of this historical perspective on Canada, that it is a racist society, announcement of multicultural policy in 1971 did obviously appear as a significant event. The inauguration of this policy raises many issues but two are particularly relevant to the discussion in this paper: (i) If the above characterization of Canada as a racist society is, more or less, correct then what explains the emergence of multiculturalism? (ii) with the commencement of this policy what happens to the racist Canadian reality? Briefly, the following explanations exist about the origin of multicultural policy:

The leaders (the elites) of society provide leadership in various spheres and in this case the Canadian leadership in the person of Trudeau 'gave' the vision of multiculturalism to Canada. It was done by other leaders in the past. For instance, McDonald 'gave' Canada



M. L. Handa

the railways to unite the country. In this elite conception of history the role of people is left out.

(ii) There has been a general trend towards pluralism in western societies, as industrialization has advanced, and multiculturalism in Canada is a reflection of the acceptance of the view that social reality is pluralistic and also that pluralism is preferable to assimilationist or melting pot views. In this conception, multiculturalism appears as an aspect of the general advancement of the democratic processes in western societies.

(iii) Another interpretation is that multiculturalism was a 'device' by the federal government to meet the challenge of Quebec separatism.

(iv) In a more extreme version of this, some leftists have described multiculturalism as a conspiracy of monopoly capital to divide the Canadian working classes. Emphasis on 'consume your own culture' on one end works as a sweetener to keep people's mind off the main problem of Canadian society and on the other creates an 'ethnic cleavage' among the working classes. Multiculturalism is thus seen to divide.

(iv) The most prevalent explanation is that at the time of the Bilingualism - Biculturalism (B & B) Commission, minorities were able to articulate their views and prevail on the Commission for the recognition of minority cultures. This, of course, assumes that rights can be won "rationally" and it would also suggest that in some manner reason must be lacking in the past among the minorities because they could not convince the establishment to deflect from their Anglo-Saxon perception of Canada. This is, obviously, nonsensical. This leads us to another explanation which is quite often neglected.

(vi) Multiculturalism is not so much "given" to the ethnic communities as it is a "right won" as a result of prolonged struggle. This combined with the fact of political freedom from British colonial rule created a new set of world conditions in which Canada had to fit itself. Also the decolonization in Africa had a positive effect on the Blacks' struggle against racism in the United States. In this new world set up it is understandable why Canada adopted a more liberal attitude to immigration and multiculturalism. With respect to the former, for instance, we can hardly have a situation when East Indians

Racist reality did not disappear with the inauguration of multicultural policy.

are officially denied rights of equality or citizenship and not expect the national government in free India to react correspondingly. To a great extent the rights of Indians, Chinese, Japanese were won as a result of the developments in those countries. In short, *the struggle for equal rights in Canada and the anti-colonial struggle has been inseparable* historically.

This anti-colonial attitude on the part of a lot of immigrants from the 'Third World' countries puts them in a position at odds with the Anglo-Saxon attitudes. To cite only one example, Canada, not being a republic and accepting the Queen as the head of State is obnoxious to the South Asians' sense of a modern society. With our struggle for national freedom in India we left behind the vestiges of royalty and became convinced republicans. As another example, the British hegemony in the past or the U.S. hegemony (such as U.S. control of the Canadian economy) appear as contrary to the interests of a free people. Again I have seen the Indian subcontinent burn in the fire of communal hatred and racism looks to me like another name for the same type of hatred. This is the political heritage we bring from India. Our own historical position puts us in a radical stance with respect to a lot of issues. This perspective also suggests that while multicultural policy is a desirable development, it is extremely inadequate to deal with the Canadian reality which, as we said above, is a reality of racist social structure and racist consciousness, the two reinforcing each other. Putting it another way, racist reality did not disappear with the inauguration of multicultural policy. In fact, not even the proponents of this policy claimed any radical restructuring of the Canadian society.

We ethnics know well that multicultural policy cannot be the lever of transforming existing social reality into any desirable version. If we look at the experience of the

past ten years we may conclude the following opposing trends: (a) The cultural life of Canada in the major cities has been enriched a great deal. Toronto is one of the most exciting cities where the city reverberates with the music of seventy-five nationalities and all that goes with everyday culture of the people. The ethnic communities have become aware of their rights and the idea of 'anti-racism' has been legitimized. Mechanisms have evolved to 'resist' racism. (b) On the negative side, racist groups like the Ku Klux Klan have raised their ugly head and at the basic level mainstream society is still racist.

The big question is 'What is to be done?' One type of answer to this question would expect the government to do something. In my own understanding of the way most societies work, the governments only respond at best, the governments rarely lead. Continuous and critical role to preserve multiculturalism and extend its frontiers remains with the ethnic communities. But what precisely is that role? To answer that question it may be useful to look briefly at where the South Asian community is in terms of its struggle during the past decade, especially in the Toronto area. The first thought that comes to mind is: Can we meaningfully speak of a South Asian community? A community is not any conglomerate of people; it is a living, pulsating organism held together by some common bonds of culture, language, religion, economy or polity. When we judge by the common criteria we find that the South Asian community is very diverse. It is composed of a number of sub-communities: the East Indians from the Caribbean, from East Africa, the Ismalis, the Pakistanis, Bangladeshis, Sri Lankans, the people from India with the Sikhs forming a distinct sub-community, etc. There are dozens of languages and religious identities. To add to the complexity the immediate past history of the sub-continent — the communal tension and the wars — stands in the way of any easy alliance among them. What of course binds them together is the negating idea, i.e., the perceptions by others that all South Asians are the same — the brown-skinned people. As a generic expression they are all called 'Pakis.' That threat, whenever it becomes pronounced, brings the South Asians together and whenever that 'fire-fighting' exercise of fighting racial violence is over there is slipping back into sub-communities' mores.

One third of the total Canadian population is non-Anglo-Saxon and non-French but what is its representation in the political and economic structure of Canada?

The big task in which, for instance, my own best energies have gone during the past number of years is: how to forge a South Asian Alliance. Such a coalition can, of course, become a building block for a coalition of visible and other minorities. To this point I will return at the end. What are the stumbling blocks in the process of forming a broad alliance? Why doesn't significant development take place in this respect? At the level of *analysis* it is a very serious challenge to social theorists and social psychologists, which is beyond the scope of this paper. At the *practical* level three observations seem important:

- (a) There are a large number of organizations, maybe close to a hundred, and forming a federation of these is a hopeless task. Also, for communitarian politics we have to devise a new cooperative and participatory model of social organization rather than rely on the competitive model of organization which is the prevailing model that divides as much as it binds. There has been very little realization of this problem and very little headway made in this respect (a few examples of this new attempt are 'Nirvan Bhavan' and 'South Asian Working Group').
- b) Much of the politics is personality based, not issue based. This is linked with the injurious practice of courtier style contact-making with Government officials and Ministers. A strange colonial mentality has reproduced itself here, with a strife for small gains.
- c) Finally, we have very few resources, financial and human, in relation to the problem we face. On the cultural front our achievements are rather remarkable of

course. The reason is that our ethnic economy supports a lot of our ethnic culture. Outside the area of economy, such as creating a cultural centre or preserving language, our achievements are not great. Religion, of course, holds sway. The net result is that while culture survives, on the civil and political front there is very little community success. And this seems to be the story not only of the South Asian community but of other ethnic communities too. Fifty-one percent of the population in the city of Toronto is non-Anglo-Saxon, but what is the political representation in City Hall? Again close to one third of the total Canadian population is non-Anglo-Saxon and non-French but what is its representation in the political and economic structure of Canada?

At this level of understanding of the larger reality and the potential power of this "Third Force" in Canada — the demographic reality of non-Anglo, non-French people — it becomes clear to me that each ethnic community has to come out of its shell and feel itself a part of the larger whole. For the South Asian community to remain confined to itself will weaken its position in the long run. If ethnic communities remain isolated from each other they will be just so many small entities without making any significant impact on the way power works in this country. It is important to understand that the way three major political parties work in this country and the way they are structured is not separable from the racist history of Canada. The political parties are themselves embedded in the racist history of this country.

In my considered opinion no major breakthrough will occur in the political process in this country from the ethnics' standpoint until there emerges what may be called a People's National Congress which essentially relies on this "Third Force" and articulates these standpoints of this Third Force. This looks like a stupendous task but so is every major undertaking of social change. It is time that a network of concerned persons of this "Third Force" is brought together as a first step to deliberate over the forming of such a national political alternative to the existing three parties.

M. L. Handa

The Immigrant's Handbook A Critical Guide

by the Law Union of Ontario
Black Rose Books, Montreal, 1981

PRODUCED by the Law Union of Ontario, a collective of 200 lawyers, law students and legal workers, this critical guide to Immigration and Citizenship Law in Canada (as of June, 1981) is the work of 18 contributors, members of its Immigration Collective.

The first book published on immigration rights in Canada, this is an extremely well-edited and cogent summary of historical, social and political precedents and background leading to current policies and laws — a book indispensable for immigrants, editors and laymen/women alike.

The Immigrant's Handbook destroys myriad comfortable myths that die hard in this land, among them that of our own humanitarian magnanimity. Gloria Montero states in the Preface: "It is time we were honest with [immigrants] about the motives behind our immigration policies and the arbitrary fashion in which we administer them." Far from admitting immigrants for humanitarian reasons, the authors assert that "Canada needs to attract immigrants for economic reasons. About 75,000 people leave Canada annually, and the birth rate is declining. Without immigration, Canadian population would decrease, and Canadian businesses would be faced with a smaller market for their goods." And "Canada is taking advantage of the badly needed labour of immigrants while refusing them basic democratic rights."

Substantively, the perspective of this collective writing project is panoramic. The *Handbook* surveys — succinctly and thoroughly — subjects as wide ranging as Admissions and Removal; Appeals; Arrest, Detention and Search; Refugees; Immigrant Women and Paid Work; Visitors; and American Draft Resisters. It devotes chapters to the History of Immigration Law and Policy; Immigration: Fact and Fiction ("The real history of immigration is a history of racist and anti-labour laws."); and A Guide to the Rules of the Game; among others.

The above quotations suffice to indicate the broad, humanitarian critique upon which this work is based.

— George Yamada

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HYPHENATED CANADIANS

ON October 8, 1981, Canada's policy on multiculturalism became 10 years old. On that day, I was travelling to Vancouver on Canada's national airline and the rarefied atmosphere provided me with ample opportunity to reflect upon the front page article of the Toronto Star which the stewardess had dutifully handed out to the passengers. This article which was entitled "Ten Years of Multiculturalism — What Has it Achieved?" expressed various views held by Torontonians, mostly negative, but what caught my attention was the comment on multiculturalism by Audi Dharmalingam that "the focus should be on acceptance — that regardless of color we're all Canadians." The significance of this statement was permanently etched on my mind when a fellow traveller asked me how long I had been living in Canada, and again later, when our stewardess spoke to me much more slowly than she did to other passengers to make certain that I had understood there was a choice of tea or coffee. I suppose that being the only "visible minority" on the flight, I was no doubt perceived as a foreigner, an immigrant, or even as a refugee. It was, to say the least, a very disappointing revelation to learn that even after ten years of multiculturalism, many of our fellow Canadians still did not know that Asian Canadians and Blacks have been contributing to the development of this country for over four or five generations.

The term "acceptance" means many things to different people. For those who are seeking some form of recognition or upward mobility, it may mean access to decision-making positions in the various educational, political, social, and economic institutions of Canadian society. For others, acceptance may mean equal opportunities to employment in positions for which they are qualified. And for those visible ethnic minorities nearing retirement or already retired, acceptance may only mean the right to be recognized as Canadian citizens and not as hyphenated Canadians always having to explain

that they too have earned their rightful position in Canadian society. If multiculturalism is to enable members of visible minorities to be accepted as Canadians, to be promoted as a concept which provides a better understanding among various ethnocultural groups and as a source of strength for building a society free of racial conflict, then multiculturalism as a government policy must receive greater recognition and priority.

A quick examination of government action or inaction with respect to multiculturalism as a national policy reveals a rapid turnover of Ministers of State for Multiculturalism. Members of the government-appointed Canadian Consultative Council on Multiculturalism (CCCM) are often heard complaining that the Multiculturalism Directorate and its program are frequently treated only as an appendage to the Secretary of State, lacking Cabinet "clout." Some CCCM members have charged that the Prime Minister has never attended a CCCM national meeting although invited to address the group, and doubt the Prime Minister's sincerity in recognizing the importance of the CCCM and the views presented by the representatives of the various ethnocultural communities. The manifested lack of interest by senior cabinet ministers and the absence of a clear statement of the multicultural policy have severely limited the general Canadian public from participating more fully in terms of multicultural interaction and cooperation at the individual, collective and institutional levels. As a result, instead of a greater understanding of other ethnocultural groups, cultural barriers have continued to exist and there appears to be a move away from the concept of multiculturalism towards a greater emphasis on one's own cultural identification and heritage.

Why have we been unable to achieve a better understanding of other ethnocultural groups in Canada during the first decade of

multiculturalism? It seems to me that a closer reading of the original statement by Prime Minister Trudeau in the House of Commons on October 8, 1971, and subsequent government policy statements will reveal that *there was a lack of emphasis on the desirability for cross cultural understanding and harmony* as an integral aspect of the "capacity to grow and contribute to Canada." As a result, the various ethnocultural groups have concentrated their efforts on the preservation of their own cultural heritage. This may also have been a function of the financial assistance granting scheme which emphasized cultural preservation. In any event, the *lack of emphasis on cross cultural understanding has resulted in the categorization of visible ethnic minority groups into one general category as "Orientals," "Asians," or "Blacks."* Such a convenient categorization of groups based on perceptions tended to subordinate and even ignore the historical, social, cultural, ideological and religious differences of those Canadians who came under the general rubric of visible minorities. Furthermore, by employing such categories based on perceptions, the significance of Canadian citizenship was often lost, as many fourth generation Chinese Canadians or seventh generation Nova Scotia Blacks are quick to point out. The assumption that if one is coloured, then one must be a "foreigner" seems to continue as indicated by questions most frequently asked by other Canadians: "Where do you come from?" "When did you come to Canada?" "Have you gone back to your home country recently?" or worse, "When do you plan to go back to your home country?" This situation exists today because Canadians have been deprived of the histories of ethnocultural groups in Canada during earlier education.

The next question is, where do we start? If we truly believe in a multicultural society relatively free of racial conflict, we must provide an environment in which the basic needs of survival are within reach of ethnic minorities. Conflict in society usually occurs when there is competition for scarce resources, the current outbreak of violence in the United Kingdom can be attributed to unemployment and concomitant deterioration in social conditions. It is important to heed Richmond's observation that "economic insecurity and color prejudice in Britain were closely linked.

The current unemployment situation in Canada is such that securing suitable employment in one's trained profession is difficult. This difficulty is even more severe for those members of the visible ethnic minorities, and again, if one happens to be an immigrant. It has been noted that the immigrant to Canada is faced with several problems: a) the deficiency in the immigrant's training; b) his lack of Canadian experience, and c) his inability to establish Canadian equivalence in his training and experience. Sen argues that "from the socio-economic point of view, lack of Canadian experience belongs to the general area of discrimination" and she states that "if Canadian experience is such a vital factor, then this concept must be thoroughly analyzed and the proper machinery must be set up within the framework of manpower and educational planning in order to help the immigrant overcome the difficulties he faces due to lack of Canadian experience."

It is difficult to establish whether the problems noted by Sen apply to the Caucasian job seeker. In one celebrated case, a White Anglo-Saxon Protestant male was hired to a position for which he was not very well qualified professionally or by experience. Nevertheless, he was hired, the rationale being that the employer was seeking a "generalist without any preconceived ideas!"

The example above illustrates the importance of our problem definition. From whose perspective or standpoint are we defining a given situation as a problem? The social definition of a situation as a "problem" sets the boundaries within which we make decisions. To illustrate, let us consider the case of a Pakistani teacher who came to Canada in September 1968 and thirteen years later, even after obtaining the M.A. and Ph.D. degrees from a Canadian university, he is unable to secure a teaching position. When this teacher first arrived in Canada, he al-

**The proud owner of a Ph.D.
was considered *over-qualified*.**

ready held a Masters degree in Sociology from the University of the Punjab, two years of teaching experience, and several years of administrative experience in the Pakistani civil service as a research and evaluation officer. Immediately, the question of equivalence of the Masters degree became a debate for the hiring committee, and needless to say, the candidate was rejected. Subsequent enrollment at a Canadian university to fulfill Canadian educational requirements only produced more headaches. Although our candidate was now the proud owner of the Ph.D. degree, he was considered to be over qualified for teaching positions available today.

The outcome of the above situation may have been entirely different if Canadian educational institutions had recognized the importance and need for more visible ethnic minority teachers. Studies reveal that the quality of "first contact" is important in the formation of attitudes. From this observation, one concludes that more minority teachers are needed and that classes should have real contacts with visible minorities in the form of speakers or resource persons. The example described above vividly illustrates the fact that the social definition of a situation rigidly establishes the future course of action as well as the processing of existing information. This observation concerning the interaction between the problem definition and our response to it suggests that we have an important task ahead of us if we are to recognize the cultural, social and other contributions members of the visible ethnic communities may be able to make to Canadian perspectives or frame of reference.

In addition to the question of problem definition, another important point to note is the fact that different perceptions of the problem may exist. For example, the current

Asian Canadian immigrant unemployment situation may be perceived as a policy problem in which the objectives set by the policy may not be congruent with the means employed to achieve these objectives. It may also be perceived as an organizational problem in which little coordination exists between the immigration offices abroad and the regional employment offices in Canada. The unemployment problem can also be perceived as a manifestation of discriminatory practices which originate with individuals who are able to exercise control over others. At this particular juncture in our development of a multicultural society, we must recognize the fact that different perceptions of any given cultural, social, or political event in Canada are held by the members of the various ethnocultural groups. These differences in perception occur because the given phenomenon is viewed from an ethnocentric perspective and not from a multicultural perspective.

With reference to race relations issues, it may be argued that the understanding of the issue or problem is in turn influenced by the particular perspective that is used to assess the problem in the first place. This means that both the factors examined as the major causes of the problem and the suggested solutions are a reflection of the perspective employed. For example, it has been noted that when violence is seen as being caused by a deviant individual, the policies developed to deal with it will be quite different from those based on the view that the dominant or privileged group was attempting to maintain the status quo.

Now that we have some understanding of the importance of defining problems and the various perceptions one may hold of a given situation, let us turn to the issue of what can be done in order to facilitate the achievement of greater ethnocultural understanding. We can commence by seriously considering the observation that contact with visible minorities is important in the formation of adolescent attitudes. In this regard, our primary goal must be to provide more visible minorities in key institutions to serve as essential role models. In great contrast to American television and radio networks, the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation does not portray members of the visible minorities in its national programming. There are a few visible minorities employed

Only affirmative action strategies will be able to bring about rapid, effective, change.



Victor Ujimoto

by the CBC on local programs in the urban centres, but, is it not equally important to have a visible minority reporter or newscaster in the rural centres as well in order to get across the pluralistic nature of Canadian society? The lack of representation of peoples of backgrounds other than French and English on the CBC and in other federal institutions has been noted in several recommendations to the Secretary of State by the various Provincial Advisory Councils on Multiculturalism and by the federally appointed Canadian Consultative Councils on Multiculturalism. Since very little progress has been made in this regard during the first decade of multiculturalism in Canada, it is essential to develop new strategies on how we can bring about the necessary changes.

In situations where institutional systems or social structures must be altered in order to accommodate visible minorities *only affirmative action type strategies will be able to bring about rapid, effective change.* We need only to examine the difficulties experienced by the francophones in order to break into the elite structures of the federal government that tended to favor the traditionally dominant cultural group. Similarly, women on executive boards of businesses only came about through initial militant action which alerted the dominant group to the need for change. Multiculturalism, if recognized as a priority issue at the Federal Cabinet level, may be able to initiate the necessary reforms in order to assist the various ethnocultural groups to develop the capacity to deal with both existing and new situations in our multicultural society.

In view of all of the above considerations and the many objectives to be addressed during the next decade of multiculturalism in Canada, one urgent question remains to be asked. Are the existing educational institutions and political bureaucracies capable of developing new and more effective approaches to enable all Canadians to achieve equality of access and equality of participation in Canadian institutions based on a firm mutual understanding of other ethnocultural groups? Our experience during the past decade of multiculturalism as a government policy indicates that improvements must be made and that perhaps it is time to seriously consider the establishment of an independent "think tank" or institute for multiculturalism. Suggestions for such an institute have already been made on previous occasions by Professor John Berry of Queen's University and also by Professor Jamshed Mavalwala of the University of Toronto.

The proposed Canadian Institute for Multiculturalism can serve several related functions without duplicating or infringing upon those areas of activities already adequately served by existing national, regional, and ethnic organizations and associations. As a first order of priority, the proposed Canadian Institute for Multiculturalism must address those issues which are national in scope in order to facilitate the understanding of the multicultural nature of Canadian society. This can be accomplished through informed, scholarly debate and public dissemination of information based on valid empirical research. Unlike the seemingly ethnocentric concerns of existing organizations, the Canadian Institute for Multiculturalism must have a variety of functions to reflect both the diversity, in terms of regional, demographic variations, and the rapid social changes occurring in Canadian society. This means that *cross cultural and compara-*

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culturalism.**

tive studies relevant to social policy issues must also be undertaken. Hopefully, the ultimate outcome will be social policies and programs based on a multicultural perspective and not for political reasons based on regional ethnic strength or other influences.

There are several other areas of concern currently not addressed at the national level and the proposed Canadian Institute for Multiculturalism may serve as a much needed catalyst for further action. For example, research on contemporary race relations and interracial conflict are limited in scope and content and we are not certain to what extent studies conducted in the United Kingdom and the United States are applicable to Canadian society. The few Canadian studies that are available are extremely limited in terms of national distribution and serious discussion. This state of affairs may be due to the fact that *until now, race relations issues were not considered under the rubric of multiculturalism.*

Another area of vital importance is to assist the provincial departments of education in the development of a multicultural curricula, especially in those provinces where such curricula are underdeveloped or totally absent. By facilitating access to multicultural teaching materials and providing incentives for teacher retraining to teach multicultural subjects without a feeling of inferiority or awkwardness the vast differences of multicultural subjects and content taught in a given province may be reduced considerably. The advancement of a relatively standardized multicultural curricula will facilitate Canadians, not only in those regions of Canada where certain ethnic groups are in the majority but in all regions, to recognize and accept the cultural diversity of Canadian society. In this endeavor, the proposed Canadian Institute for Multiculturalism can also serve as the central data bank which can provide immediate access to information related to current ethnocultural research and programs across Canada. This aspect alone should encourage more collaborative teaching and comparative research. It has been noted that before useful outcomes for policy formulation can be obtained, we must be more sensitive to cultural variations, possess a cooperative spirit, and must advance innovative research designs.

— K. Victor Ujimoto

MULTICULTURALISM:

Policy A

A GOOD DEAL of attention has been devoted in the media in 1981 to the "Tenth Anniversary of Multiculturalism in Canada." This seems rather curious in view of the fact that Canadian society has long been multicultural in composition. One could argue that Canada has always been multicultural. Even before the first arrival of European explorers on this side of the Atlantic (their historians have often referred to them as "Discoverers" of North America — a rather ethnocentric and presumptuous claim), the various indigenous native peoples of course did not regard themselves as a single ethnic group. So a correct interpretation of Canadian history would suggest that Canada became *more* multicultural with the arrival of several thousand (eventually to grow into several million) French settlers almost four centuries ago. They were followed by large numbers of immigrants from the British Isles, including English and Lowland Scots in search of free lands or business opportunities, Highland Scots escaping persecution and destitution, Irish fleeing the great potato famine, and Loyalists from former British American colonies. But early settlers also included German Loyalists and Mennonites, Jews and a scattering of other ethnic groups. By Confederation, Canada was already *de facto* multicultural, though it was being vaguely redefined as an independent country within the British Empire. In the next century this "new" country's ethnic diversity would become greatly accentuated with the importation of hundreds of thousands of immigrants representing more than sixty distinct ethnic groups.

What seems extraordinary, then, is that Canada was not pronounced *de jure* multicultural until the federal government announced on October 8, 1971 its new policy of "multiculturalism within a bilingual framework," replacing the earlier policy of

AND REALITY

English-French "bilingualism and biculturalism" (never mind the Native Peoples!) The federal government did not invent or create "multiculturalism," although it may receive some credit for popularizing this rather awkward term. What the federal government has done, very belatedly, is tacitly acknowledged that Canadians could not entirely (in fact less and less) claim British or French ancestors.

In short, official recognition of the ethnic diversity of Canada has been very recent, at least at the federal level, and perhaps even more recent at the provincial and municipal levels. This is not to suggest that Canadian politicians had entirely ignored ethnic minorities. Far from it. In bygone decades they missed few opportunities to warn WASP Canadians of the perils of admitting unassimilable hordes into the country. They fought long and hard against granting French Canadians their right to be educated in their own language, an official language in Canada. They outlawed Asian immigration and even went so far as to imprison and deport Canadian-born people of Japanese extraction. They only belatedly gave the right to vote to Native people and Orientals, although British migrants could vote in Canadian elections whether they were Canadian citizens or not. Any generosity on the part of politicians towards Canadians who were *not* of British (including Irish) descent, i.e., the *majority* of the Canadian population after 1941, was by and large restricted to occasional speechmaking about "this great mosaic of ours" or to token heads at election time in ridings where an ethnic vote might prove decisive.

However, Canada is changing rapidly these days. If Britain still remains the top ranking source country for immigrants to Canada, immigrants from Third World and non-white countries now outnumber those from Britain (and at any rate, some of the

migrants from Britain are non-white). Canadians have not been predominantly British in ancestry for more than forty years now, almost half a century. Metro Toronto averaged about forty thousand immigrants a year during the seventies, resulting in vast immigrant populations in this city: approximately a third of a million Italians, over a hundred thousand Portuguese and Spanish-speaking immigrants, an equal number of Chinese, tens of thousands of East Indians.

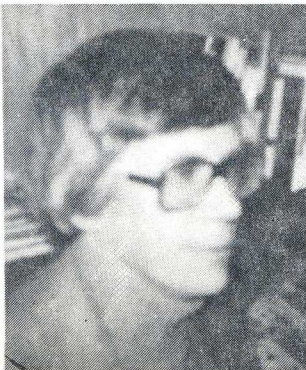
What exactly was this new federal multicultural policy inaugurated in 1971? How has it affected or served Canadian ethnic minorities? Originally, the government proposed to accomplish four objectives: *First*, "the government will seek to assist all Canadian cultural groups that have demonstrated a desire and effort to continue to develop a capacity to grow and contribute to Canada, and a clear need for assistance, the small and weak groups no less than the strong and highly organized — *resources permitting*." The qualifier "resources permitting" of course could be an excuse to do nothing. State funding of ethnic communities has doubtless increased markedly since the inauguration of this multicultural policy. The budget of the multicultural ministry during its brief two-year existence (1972-74) came to over \$14 million. However, the ministry and its successor, the Multiculturalism Directorate of the Department of the Secretary of State, were accused by ethnic representatives of "meaningless squandering" of funds, on the one hand, and of a "miniscule" budget, on the other hand. It is nonetheless noteworthy that the Directorate's budget was increased during a period of widespread government cut-backs.

**Established ethnic groups
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and cultures.**

Multicultural funding should not be devoted primarily to supporting ethnic festivals and a potpourri of ethnic clubs. One might conclude, somewhat sarcastically, that the federal and provincial governments of Canada just want to keep the "ethnics" dancing and singing. Of course, financial support for the performing arts is essential, but this should not be such a dominant feature of multicultural policies.

The federal government has also been accused of catering to ethnic organizations on only a rather selective basis. Some critics have suggested that only partisan (i.e. pro-Liberal, except for several months of Conservative government) ethnic organizations have been funded, thus ensuring support from an ethnic electorate at election time. Multicultural policies may actually serve to contain, control, or coopt ethnic communities; thus a form of "colonial pluralism" may be perpetuated. Spokesmen for the more politicized, progressive organizations to the left of the political spectrum have been quick to point out, not without reason, that governments have tended to favor funding less "radical" ethnic organizations.

Second, "the government will assist members of all cultural groups to overcome cultural barriers to full participation in Canadian society." Note the emphasis here on *cultural* rather than *racial* barriers. In 1976 a dramatic revision of federal multicultural policy was proposed, which would allow more focus on the problem of racism. However, "established" ethnic groups (Germans, Ukrainians, Scandinavians, Italians, etc.) seemed less interested in discrimination than in preserving their language and cultures.



Alan Anderson

Exactly how do federal, provincial, and municipal governments effectively reduce racism and discrimination? Specifically, is there a concerted policy aimed at coordinating agencies and organizations combating racism and discrimination? Apart from the need for a coordinated "common front" there is the question of inadequate financial support for the plethora of agencies and organizations devoted to reducing racial and ethnic tensions. Currently a relatively small proportion of the federal multicultural budget (\$1.5 million) is devoted to fighting racism and discrimination or even spent on public education about racial and ethnic differences or gathering data on racism. The Metro Toronto Committee on Race Relations and Policing has applied to the federal minister responsible for multiculturalism for \$60,000 to cover an advertising campaign aimed at recruiting more "visible minorities" into the Metro police force. In October, 1981, the Ontario Federation of Labour began a television campaign against racism; the O.F.L. and its affiliated unions have become increasingly concerned over racism being antithetical to labour solidarity as well as simply anti-social. Commenting on this step by the O.F.L., Ed Finn, Labour columnist for the *Toronto Star*, has written that "Canada has not given the issue of racism the priority it should have, nor even the same attention it has received in other countries. Instead, we have fostered the myth that, because Canada doesn't have the same large racial minorities as, say, the U.S. or U.K., discrimination against our minorities is not widespread enough to be alarmed about. We also tell ourselves that we Canadians are too nice, too fair minded, too tolerant, to be guilty of racism. . . ."

What exactly does the federal government mean by offering to assist ethnocultural groups to attain "full participation" in Canadian society? Canada has proportionately one of the highest immigration flows in the world: almost a quarter of all Canadians were born outside Canada. Newly arrived immigrants, most of them non-whites or from Third World sources, have faced a vicious circle of problems of cultural adaptation (including language difficulties), underemployment and unemployment, inadequate and costly housing, high expenses in general, racism and discrimination, mutual suspicion and occasional confrontation with police, and a wide range of family and social prob-

SPRING

CHINATOWN IN TRANSITION

edited by Susan Gerofsky

SUMMER

THE PALESTINIAN PRESENCE

Issues and Perspectives

edited by David Jacobs

lems. Not that nothing is being done to resolve these problems; many agencies and organizations, poorly funded, are working hard to fill a void left by government non-involvement or at least inadequate involvement.

Third, "the government will promote creative encounters and interchange among all Canadian cultural groups in the interest of national unity." A principal vehicle for this interchange has doubtless been the Canadian Consultative Council on Multiculturalism. Created in 1973, this rather complex umbrella structure consists of more than a hundred representatives of various ethnic groups who meet every other year to advise the minister on multicultural matters. Aside from this token effort to placate ethnic minority interests, the Multiculturalism Directorate has served as a fairly effective intermediary between the federal government and selected ethnic spokesmen and ethnic media. In an academic vein, the Directorate has financially assisted the Canadian Ethnic Studies Association (which produces two publications with a current circulation of 1,200), as well as a wide variety of academic conferences concerned with Canadian ethnic studies, and has sponsored a series of histories of individual ethnic groups. All of which is to the credit of the Directorate, however surely these meetings and publications should address to a greater extent pressing issues confronting ethnic minorities in Canada today. Typically, at ethnic festivals and at conferences, government spokesmen responsible for administering multicultural policy tend to give rather innocuous and thoroughly redundant speeches about how nice it is to have all these ethnic groups adding so much to our cultural mosaic, salad bowl, stew, smorgasbord (or some such gustatory metaphor).

Fourth, "the government will continue to assist immigrants to acquire at least one of Canada's official languages in order to become full participants in Canadian society." Suffice it to point out that the government has not been quite so enthusiastic when it comes to *non-official* languages. These non-official languages happen to be spoken by more than three million Canadians. It would be unfair not to recall that the Multiculturalism Directorate has, in a variety of ways, supported non-official language retention, such as through grants to publications in these languages. The problem is that the sphere of education lies primarily in provincial jurisdiction, not federal. Only a single province — Alberta — already has far-ranging implementation of multiculturalism in the school and university systems, evidenced in use of non-official languages in numerous schools and in some cases right through to university: In teaching English as a Second Language, publishing textbooks in non-official languages and in teaching ethnic history and other courses designed to increase appreciation of ethnic diversity. Yet Ontario, British Columbia, Saskatchewan and Manitoba have also made significant strides in this direction. The province of Quebec has made certain concessions, but discriminates against ethnic minorities' languages as part of a strict "francization" policy.

Without doubt political turnover as well as annual revisions of the budget have affected negatively the smooth functioning of a federal multicultural policy (within the first ten years, the Ministry changed four times, the budget every year). Clearly, if the federal government is to take the multicultural policy seriously, this policy — in all its manifold aspects — must be funded generously. Federal policy must be coordinated with provincial and municipal policies, particularly in the areas of education, immigrant problems, housing and racism, or discrimination. Moreover, corporate businesses and trade unions could work more closely with governments to facilitate effective multicultural policies. It is essential that multicultural policies should be closely coordinated with related policies such as immigration, "francization," and the Native rights movement. Above all, any multicultural policy must be in tune with the ever changing multicultural reality of Canadian society.

— Alan B. Anderson

Philosophical PREMISES

OF EPIC MULTICULTURALISM

VIEWED from a position of unity, multiculturalism offers a spectrum of sunbeams, the essence of each is of the nature of that central principle which, uncreate in itself, is yet the author of the enfoldingment. If we detach our consciousness from whatever culture we espouse, and survey its heritage we realize that it converges, becoming part of a central shining. If we examine other cultures we see too that they also start on the same first basis.

Each culture is precious and special. In turn, each individual of that culture is precious, and special. Every culture is the sum total of the experiences of its member individuals who, in gathering knowledge of life source, seeks its rhythmic purpose. Banded together in loose but tangible areas of endeavor they find the rhythms in the matrix that realizes itself in forms that have a particular appeal to the group. Given a different set of circumstances, the matrix would impress its forms in equal distinction to the difference, but with the central principle dominant.

Why do cultures tend to separate rather than unite one with the other? Why does one culture express itself at the cost of another?

A comparative study of cultures would confirm that each culture has its origin in Universal Myth, abounding in soul satisfying Epic, and exalting in its respective Song of Life. The root of each culture is ultimately a common tradition which has the capacity to captivate the high and the low within its matrix. When a culture is at the bottom of the cycle some forms speak of a bygone greatness in spite of the disappearance of a common language.

There is a tendency to look for a straight line development of culture that is always in a cyclic pattern. It seems that we do not look backwards to Universals until we are forced by great problems to do so. We then abandon the straight line idea of progress and allow our consciousness to seek stability in a cyclic return to the origins, the source.

Our optimum creative thinking is undertaken when we are in trouble. Social disorders catalyze us into action; then we quest for and seek the optimum solution. And eventually we discover that the right result in any enduring form will only come about through the use of proven principles. We meet our real challenge when we utilize the ideas of constructive development.

If we examine history in terms of the growth of culture we observe that history produces a social and economic foundation that aligns itself in a certain direction. It is only when unrest produces an intellectual striving, however, that action moves from the academic to the area of everyday life with solutions attempted. We are now in this period. It is the time when actions taken will in turn make their mark on history's next cycle.

If the thinking process of the advanced members of our race springs from the effervescence of an earlier renaissance, the curve of the cycle will move upwards, and assume qualities emblematic of that renaissance. Epic stories and tales from the effervescence will also enrich the present, and germinate the seeds of aesthetic ideas and judgements that move humanity upward. The intellectual ferment of the effervescence seems to demolish a layer of ideas which we at first assume to be our exclusive own, but on deeper thought find to be inherent in central truths.

Culture is essentially the uncovering of ancient associations; the degree of success in giving it life corresponds to a battle to make the ideal into reality. That battle is never fully won. It draws together, however, ideas from a cyclic time, actions based on them mirror that past. The historical does not repeat in identical forms. While the pattern can be discerned, the complex problems, and possibilities, allow no simple answer. There are parallels with the dominant central theme. Renaissances come in series however, and behind each renaissance there are always crests back into the endless distances. Without an effort to instill the great ideas of a renaissance there can only be a refinement of old views accompanied by old vices. As we try to implement fresh solutions to problems before us it is urgent to keep steady eyes on the treasures of past classical cultures. This aids the rebuilding of our own cycle.

To understand ourselves today perhaps requires that we must go back to those days when the epic was common property and we could look upwards in exultation and expectation. When natural friendliness was a shared reality we did not bow the head, nor bend the knee to sell our birthright. The search for shared central truths may again find its language and symbols in the effervescence of a high cultural period of the past. It has a sureness and viability as it is at the heart of our natures, and speaks of tomorrow's high possibilities.

Why then do so many today so often address the forms and not the sources? Why do cultures tend to separate rather than unite one with the other? Why does one culture express itself at cost of another? Individuals who associate themselves with a culture only see the forms as dominant; they cease to grow with the rhythms that express the es-

sence. Like man, culture has a birth, a youth, a full time of growth, old age, and a transformation. There is that undefinable reality that transcends the impermanent.

We may question at times why the struggle is so harsh in order to bring a culture to fruition that in the end fills our hearts, makes us aware of ourselves, and encloses us in its fold — a cultural fruition that accepts our moments of joy as well as our desperations, both being part of the drama of the journey.

We become an intimate part of a culture because there is no other way to understand what it is really all about. We would not know what it is unless we go through it. Our identity demands it. How else can we know ourselves? For we are lost in an ocean of life; until we find ourselves we do not have the strength required to face reality. We may even delay the moment by accepting half truths and fantasies, but eventually our path leads us into areas where retreat is impossible. We run out of fantasies. We then realize that others have brought order into their lives even out of daily chaos. Identification with the source restores order — the awareness comes in slow stages.

We realize that every age at some point attempts to rewrite the history and culture of the past, in the process of which it begins to understand itself. At this point numerous awakened ones create a nucleus here and there, to question, to find answers, and collaborate in action. Multiculturalism eventuates in the splendor of the appreciation of all of life. The apex of the cycle will rise again, complementing all past cycles and arise from the same essence.

— Sam Elder



Sam Elder

"FOR although there are two official languages, there is no official culture, nor does any ethnic group take precedence over any other. No citizen or group of citizens is other than Canadian, and all should be treated fairly."

Pierre E. Trudeau

WHERE THE M

THE foregoing was uttered in the House of Commons 10 years ago when the Godfather of "Multiculturalism" introduced his Liberal Cabinet policy to federal parliamentarians.

Determined to see his dream become a reality, he committed millions of dollars to "multiculturalism." Provincial governments have been encouraged to embrace the "multicultural" philosophy which Pierre Trudeau said in October, 1981 was "the most suitable means of assuring the cultural freedom of Canadians."

More than \$12 million were spent in 1980 alone on multiculturalism by the Feds. This was more than triple the Ontario government's investment in multicultural projects between 1975 and 1980: \$4,560,816.00.

Ottawa spent \$7,784,907.81 on expenditures, grants and contributions. Just over 48% — \$3,741,166.22 was applied to Canadian ethnic studies, intercultural communications programs, cultural enrichment programs, cultural integration projects, performing and visual arts, writing and publications and multicultural projects.

A total of \$479,149, or 6.16% of the Liberal budget, got into the hands of Canada's Jewish community. It was utilized on many of the cultural areas but the largest chunk was on schools: \$239,147.00

According to the spirit of multiculturalism, one group of people is supposed to share its cultural heritage with the rest of the society. Whether Jewish schools are open to all of Canada or whether the rest of the community is aware that they can attend Jewish schools is not something that has been made public.

The Italian community received \$461,500, or 5.9% of the multicultural budget. Like the Jews, this community concentrated mostly on its schools with an expenditure of \$212,065.

Also featured in the big grant figures were members of the Chinese community. They were awarded \$405,615 in grants to be divided between cultural integration programs,

schools, performing and visual arts as well as operation of their organizations and planning of projects.

Other significant federal contributions were as follows:

Arcadian	\$300,000
Blacks	\$257,237
Ukrainians	\$249,150
Germans	\$245,770.80
Native Canadians	\$231,032

This is how the multiculturalism monies in 1980 were spent by 49 ethnic groups:

Projects	\$1,944,529.95
Writing & Publications	389,285.00
Performing & Visual Arts	681,704.00
Cultural Integration Programs	1,168,625.00
Schools	1,138,250.00
Cultural Enrichment Programs	225,545.00
Canadian Ethnic Studies	497,470.86
Operation of Ethnic Organizations	177,760.00
Intercultural Communications Program	1,261,738.00
Chair	300,000.00

It is interesting to note the highest expenditure area — Cultural Integration, \$1,168,625; and the lowest — Cultural Enrichment, \$225,545. In both spheres, Ontario received the largest amount of money. The province was awarded \$363,640 to fund 55 cultural integration projects and \$603,443 to undertake 249 cultural enrichment support activities.

With this sort of expenditure one would expect to witness a flourishing of cultural diversity and cultural harmony at every level of society in Ontario. But such a boast cannot be made.

MONEY GOES

At the Ontario government level, multicultural funding has not been as generous as on the federal scene. Figures for the period 1975 to 1980 indicate a rising and falling tendency — 1975-76, \$385,500; 1977-78, \$500,000; 1978-79, \$469,127; 1979-80, \$525,000 and up to October, 1980 \$2,681,189.

In the province, the focus seemed to be on multicultural celebrations where the government pumped more than \$900,000 through its Wintario program, with matching funds required.

Among the groups to benefit for festivals were: University of Toronto for a visiting Bulgarian Bagpiper; 10th Anniversary of Seneca College; Brant Citizenship Council; Lithuanian World Festival; Eastern High School's Print Multicultural Event; Prince Edward's Horticulture's Promotion of Citizenship and the Encounter Latin America Organization to stage multicultural celebrations.

Amidst all this statistical record which demonstrates the government's "financial commitment" to multiculturalism, there is vivid evidence that something is missing. At a conference by the Ministry of Culture and Recreation's Multiculturalism and Citizenship Branch, a prominent speaker and scholar noted flaws in Canada's multicultural policy.

Professor Ralph Garber, Dean of the Faculty of Social Work, University of Toronto, said, "We have more than one century of experience in Canada that tells us that people of colour are not readily assimilated, if ever. We have more than two centuries of experience that tell us that people of another language, French, are urged to assimilate and not be recognized for their uniqueness.

One cannot help but shudder at the thought that multiculturalism and its funding

are tools for sophisticated public relations. Whose benefit? Surely not the general Canadian public. Despite the multicultural parade at every drop of a hat, Canadians still speak to themselves rather than with each other.

How many Jamaicans attend annual Polish celebrations? Do you often see Africans attending Scottish-Canadian activities? The world knows of the situation with French Canada.

It is useful to refer to some recommendations from the conference at which Professor Garber spoke. One group of participants felt that the Ministry staff should attend courses concerning "contemporary society, in subjects such as ethnicity, religion, socio-economic factors such as sex and age, race issues and problems of the disabled." Others called for establishment of a "Multicultural Commission that will have more teeth than the present Advisory Council to monitor government and private sector activities." Perhaps a very significant recommendation which emerged from that provincial conference was one urging the Ministry to develop a "lead role to ensure that stereotypes and labels are avoided by the Ontario government."

That's how the first decade of Canada's multicultural policy went. Cultural enrichment programs, intercultural conferences and multicultural celebrations — all funded at federal and provincial levels. Now we await the fruit that ought to be the product of this multicultural family tree that Canada has been pushing as an official policy.

William Doyle-Marshall



William Doyle-Marshall

PARTY POLITICS

IT HAS been ten years since the Liberal Government introduced a federal policy of multiculturalism. If, as one believes, and as the Prime Minister stated back in 1971, that multiculturalism is designed to break down the barriers between the newly-arrived Canadian and the rest of the population, then the Canadian political system is not a reflection of the policy's success.

A cursory glance at the floor of the House of Commons in Ottawa, or any of the provincial legislatures, and one would be hard-pressed to find a member of the minority. The situation is not much different in the upper echelons of the political parties themselves.

There are two possible interpretations of this state of affairs. One, is that the parties have not done an effective job of trying to recruit members of the visible minority groups. Two, is the degree to which the members of the visible minority, or other minorities, involve themselves in the political process.

The Liberal Party of Canada, which was responsible for the introduction of the policy at the federal level, still goes after the name people to become candidates for their party at election. The same may be said for the other two parties represented in the House. As a result they are frequently accused of parachuting their choice candidates into a particular riding when they are convinced that the seat will be a safe one.

There are two prominent cases in recent times which can serve as examples for this procedure. A few years ago, following the retirement from politics of the sitting member for Rosedale, Donald Macdonald, Ann Cools, a Black woman sought the nomination for the by-election to fill the seat on the Liberal ticket. The party elite made it known that they wanted former University of Toronto president, John Evans, as their

candidate. Overtures were made to Miss Cools to withdraw from the race, which she refused to do.

More recently, in the federal riding of Spadina, the sitting Liberal member was promoted to the Senate to make available a safe seat for the long-time Trudeau aide, Jim Coutts, to attempt another entry into elected politics.

In the first instance, Miss Cools was not the supported candidate, although she was the first to declare her candidacy for nomination. In the second, the candidate was "parachuted in" without a chance being given to the residents of the riding and the riding association to groom a candidate of their own choice.

The Liberals, moreso than any other party, is notorious for this latter action. Under ordinary circumstances, it would have been the perfect chance for the Chinese population in that riding to put forward their own candidate, and the party which launched a multiculturalism policy would have had at least the gratitude of observers for its efforts to bring this about.

The Apathy of New Canadians

There is what one may consider a myth that new Canadians are apathetic with respect to the political system. In most societies there is always an apathetic minority. However, to label most minorities as apathetic is to misunderstand their circumstances.

For the immigrant to vote in an election requires Canadian citizenship, which effectively stall them for at least three years. There is also the fact that taking out membership in a political party in their native country is not necessarily a common practice. For instance, membership in a political party is frequently a state of mind and belief, as opposed to actual card-carrying

membership. Nevertheless, they still remain faithful and are interested in the behavior of the political party with which they ally themselves.

In the Canadian context, there is a process to be learnt. One has to appreciate the way the political system itself works, what the principles of the political parties are, and more specifically, what being involved in the political system means. This is one of the major failings of the political parties on any of the levels of politics. They have failed to bring the properties of the party to the attention of the new Canadian and to demonstrate that the contribution of the new Canadian will be welcomed. The average citizen becomes aware of the political party more often at election time and very little inter-election campaigning is carried out.

One of the significant things that political parties have been doing more of recently is providing more multilingual communication to those areas where there is a need. Not only is campaign literature provided in more than one language, but riding and other newsletters are sometimes translated into other languages as well. This in itself is a positive step.

In many ways, the criticisms which were levelled at the federal Liberal Party can also be levelled at the provincial Conservatives in Ontario. The Tories are responsible for the introduction of a multicultural policy at the provincial level. Although "parachuting" may not be as common as in the case of Liberals, they too have their share of problems with respect to entertaining bids by the ethnic and visible minorities to become candidates. A recent attempt by Austin Clarke, a noted Black writer, to seek the nomination for the Tories in the riding of Oakwood was unsuccessful because of alleged internal political fighting.

There are indications however that the parties at the provincial level are now becoming more accomodating of the visible minorities within the inner sanctums of the parties themselves. At the moment, however, it remains at a trickle, if that.

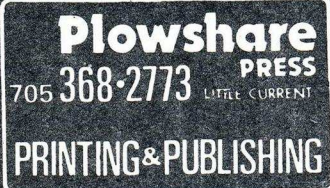
The task of involving visible minorities in the political party system is a two-way street. The party itself has to make a more concerned effort to present themselves to these groups. But there is also a need for the New Canadians to seek out information on the parties and what they stand for. One of

Political parties must make more of a bid to involve more of the minority population

the points that should be made quite clearly is that although there is a requirement in many instances for one to be a Canadian citizen to be able to vote in an election, the same requirement is not necessary to become a member of a political party. This is important because influence on the policies of a party can, and in most cases do, come from the membership. Since every landed immigrant becomes a taxpayer as soon as he starts working, and since voting is restricted to citizenship, this is one way for the taxpayer to have influence on the policies of government.

Finally, it is obvious that the policy as laid out by the government ten years ago is moving quite slowly, but the nature of the policy and the change being effected is one of beliefs and as such the process must indeed be slow. It does not, however, excuse the political parties making more of a bid to involve more of the minority population in the activities of their respective parties. This included more encouragement to this group to present themselves as candidates at election time. That is a major part of the process to make the policy on multiculturalism work.

— Patrick Hunter



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FROM THE OTHER SIDE OF THE BRIDGE

I am not sure if I should characterize the views expressed in this essay as coming from the other side of the bridge, the other side of the mountain, the other side of the fence or the other side of the street. Initially, my preference was for the fence because I wanted to paint for you a picture of how I see a few multicultural issues, programs and policies from the vantage point of now being in the government. But a fence might quickly give rise, in some people's minds, to the notion of sitting on the fence, the image of the mountain to the notion of an almost-insurmountable obstacle up which one struggles desperately; the street — just passing by. The other side of the bridge seems the best image because it suggests that government and community need to build bridges — bridges of effort and of understanding — in pursuing the common task of achieving a multicultural society. And they must do so — that is, build these bridges — in much the same way as the various groups in our multicultural society need to do so among themselves. Some thoughts then on multiculturalism from the vantage point of within the civil service.

When one thinks of the role of government in multiculturalism, one thinks primarily of two things: policy and funding. By "one" I mean the public — individuals, voluntary associations or institutions. There is a policy in place with which many people may be familiar, but there is merit in restating it here. The policy is a summation of three principles: equality of opportunity (that is to say, all residents, whether native, landed immigrant or naturalized, will stand an equal chance to develop themselves to the full; and the cultural background out of which they come, and with which they choose to identify themselves, will in no way be used, or serve, as an obstacle to opportunity).

And where a particular cultural element may so serve, the government will assist in the removal — not of the element but of the disadvantage that that element gives rise to.

Consider for instance language. Any Canadian who is qualified in a given area but comes from another ethnocultural group — Fijian, let's say — will not have his background prevent his/her getting a job in keeping with his qualifications and so lose out in favour of his Canadian born Anglo-Celtic compatriot. However, if the Fijian does not speak English, the government will provide English as a Second Language programs that would help the Fijian learn English, either through Ontario Welcome House in Toronto or by funding voluntary associations. Such funding comes out of the Language and Orientation budget of the Newcomer Services Branch, one of the units of my Division.

Bear in mind that at no time will the government *directly* or *indirectly* attempt to have the Fijian give up his language and culture. Indeed, if the Fijians want to maintain their language among their children of elementary school age and can collect 25 Fijian children to form a class, the government, through the Ministry of Education and the various school boards, will offer support. This is what is called the Heritage Language program. This program falls within the mandate of the Ministry of Education — not that of the Ministry of Culture and Recreation.

In the example given above, there is a second principle of the policy, namely that of equal access to all of the resources of government and participation in the functioning of society. Absence of English or French, the two official Canadian languages, lack of information of services, etc., can prevent such participation; so government has undertaken to help in the removal of barriers to access.

For example, one of the publications, the *Newcomers Guide*, that the Newcomer Services Branch of the Division puts out, can be purchased at a very low price. It is a compendium of a wide range of services, governmental and non-governmental, that exist in our society. This publication, some 300 pages thick, appears in each of several different languages. Consider the cost! And when it comes to participation, the Citizenship Development Branch, through several programs, fosters the intercultural development of the various ethnocultural groups, the better for them to contribute to and participate in our society.

Finally there is the principle of cultural retention and cultural sharing. With regard to the former, many people argue, "Why help these people maintain their culture? If everybody maintains their culture what is going to happen to our *unity* as a people? Will it ever happen?"

The view of the government that supports the principle of cultural retention is that when an individual is forced to jettison his culture, he/she becomes a diminished person, and so a less successfully functioning citizen. It is somewhat like telling an artist who uses his hands to paint to do divest himself of his feet — if it were possible — because he does not need them to function as an artist. But everyone would concede that such a person is better for retaining his feet. (Of course, as with most analogies, there are weaknesses in the comparison!)

Before one leaves the issue of cultural maintenance let me express a concern which arises for me as I go from the functions of one ethnocultural group to those of another: it is the need for the groups to recognize a counter responsibility to Canada or, in our provincial case, to Ontario and its wider society; in other words, regardless of the problems that discourage, one cannot think only or primarily in terms of "back home," and of Ontario only as a place where one hangs one's hat taking from but giving nothing back to society. It is only by reinvesting in a society that that society can become stronger.

Let's face it, our society is not perfect, but a responsibility devolves on the individual who is dissatisfied with it, for whatever reason, to attempt to change it. This, also, is where participation comes in.

Finally there is the principle of cultural sharing. Here is where, in my view, a tremendous amount needs to be done by all of us to get people to share culture more.

A simple anecdote will illustrate the point. In Toronto, Channel 47 is our multicultural channel. I watch two programs from time to time, *Black World* and *Sounds of the East*, because both of these ethnocultural expressions form part of my heritage. One evening I switched on my set and picked up a Chinese program. In the past I had tended to switch a program off because I speak no Chinese. That evening, because the announcer was a very attractive Chinese woman, I stayed with the program. *Then* it dawned on me that I should have tried to stay with the Program anyway, because the program could be seen as an attempt by the Chinese community to share their culture with me. Of course their major interest was their people, but I had a responsibility too to expose myself to a sharing experience.

The grants administered by the Citizenship Development Branch are designed to promote cultural maintenance and sharing or intercultural development, also the development of leadership and of organizational strength.

The principle of cultural sharing is one of several strands that weave their way through three branches that go to form the Division. Here is one example of how, in my view, the principle manifests itself in the Division. (Because of limitations of space, I leave out other divisions such as the Arts, Heritage and Libraries Division.)

The focus of the Native Community Branch is the *first* Canadians, that of the Newcomer Services Branch the *immigrant* in their initial stage of reception orientation and settlement, that of the Citizenship De-

Funding constitutes one of the most complex and difficult areas of activity in the whole multicultural arena.

velopment Branch the cultural interaction of *all* groups in Ontario whether born here or abroad, whether Anglo-Celtic, Franco-Ontario, Guyanese, Asian or from Timbuctoo.

A word about *funding*.

Money is one of the mechanisms which the government depends on to implement its policy — for philosophy (that of the multicultural, multi-ethnic, multiracial as being the society desired for Canada) gives rise to policy, which in turn manifests itself in programs. And programs have to be paid for — hence the issue of funding and the wide range of grants administered by the government. In my view, funding constitutes one of the most complex and difficult areas of activity in the whole multicultural arena.

My division administers, among other, intercultural development grants, leadership development grants, newcomer integration grants, language and orientation grants — and in one branch in particular, the Native Community Branch, grants for economic development.

The criteria in terms of which of these grants are made are readily available from the Ministry. Furthermore, the field consultants — recently renamed our community programs consultants — are willing to advise groups as to either how eligible are their proposals for funding or how best to prepare them.

But three major problem areas in the matter of funding have struck me: First, the differentiation of mandates. Many people do not realize that different ministries have different mandates; indeed within a given Ministry, divisions differ on their mandates; even within a *division*, different branches have different mandates; and when an application for a grant is submitted, one has to be aware of the mandated institutional framework within which it falls. For example, suppose a Guyanese organization was considering applying for a grant to man a program geared to its 13-16 year olds; one would

have to figure out if the program is an "educational" program, hence one for the Ministry of Education, a youth program, hence one for the Ministry of Community and Social Services, or an intercultural development program, hence one for the Citizenship Development Branch of the Multiculturalism and Citizenship Division of the Ministry of Culture and Recreation.

And one should not assume that, as one attempts to get the grant and is sent from one office to the other, one is being given the bureaucratic run-around, for at least two reasons: (a) there is the question of differing mandates; (b) the government wants citizens to make use of the so-called "mainstream" agencies that exist and not isolate themselves *intentionally* in ethnic ghettos — although the government recognises that the "ethnic" community organization plays a significant role in the adjustment, settlement and integration of citizens — indeed, the government works closely with such agencies. But one has to be careful and not set up a number of alternative structures that keep individuals in self-segregated ghettos.

The divisional staff understand the issue from the standpoint of the organizations, that is, that the organizations do not see the individual as consisting of fragmented problems — now this problem, which he has, to be addressed by one ministry, now that problem by another and so on — but the individual as being one of a piece, and all of his/her problems as stemming from a basic source of need: the push for adjustment to and integration in the new society, and the need for adaptation. Incidentally, I do not distinguish here between the immigrant or the native, the mainstream or the minority groups, because all need to work their way through the problems of adjustment, adaptation and integration.

A second issue concerning funding has to do with the budget allocated to grants. Currently the ministries of the government, including the Ministry of Culture and Recreation, are spending about 22 million dollars, a sizeable sum, on multicultural issues. There is an impressively wide distribution of these grants. If all the requests for grants were met, this sum, in my view, would more than triple. There is no problem there, *but* since the only source from which this sum can come, is taxes imposed on the people, a major problem arises.

It may not be money at all that is needed to solve the problem.



George W. Bancroft

Government then finds itself in the difficult position of having to decide how much of the people's requesting it will meet and how high a tax it will impose to meet those requests. Such decisions are political decisions, to be made and defended in the political arena. The decision is not for the civil servants to make — and I work as a civil servant!

The third issue that concerns me is a personal one with which, in my own thinking, I am attempting to come to grips. It flows logically from the preceding one. I often wonder if *money* is really the solution. Suppose, for example, a group applies for a grant of \$15,000 and is recommended by the consultants for it. When the file comes on my desk, I find myself wondering, from time to time, if it is really \$15,000 that would do the job. It may, in the final analysis, be infinitely more; but requests have to be limited; or it may not be money at all that is needed to solve the problem.

So frequently we in North America fall back on material resources to solve an issue; and we desire voluminous amounts of these material resources. But from time to time we need to ask if it is material resources that are really needed.

Participants in a study I conducted on immigrants teaching in Ontario once told me that they were overwhelmed by the massive amount of resources that were available to our students — multiple copies of books, oceans of paper, racks of overhead projects, and photocopy machines; the list can go on.

And many immigrant student entering our schools are lost in the volume of resources they see. But the outstanding British economic historian, the late Professor R. H. Tawney, expressed brilliantly the caution which I express here and it is one which we need to remind ourselves frequently; that is, that a child would learn more from *one* good book in the hands of a *good* teacher than from a mass of books — even in the hands of a good teacher — which, by its massiveness, overwhelms him. By the same token, it seems to me, we need to ask ourselves how much do we *really* need to get us — that is to say, society — an effective program, and how well is the value gotten for the dollar expended.

I began by wondering whether the fence, the street, the bridge or the mountain was the best image in terms of which to build my argument. Probably there are other and better ones; for example, the boat or the ocean, for we are all sailing on the same ocean of human existence. It may be a trite comment, but whether trite or not, the people sailing on this ocean are a multicultural, multi-ethnic, multiracial people. Ontario is one of the several ships a-sailing by; and a fantastic responsibility devolves on those who stand on the bridge to guide the ship aright. The crew has its duties to perform, the passengers their role; and all three must work together for the voyage to be a successful venture. Whatever the specific role they play, the politician, the civil servant and the people must work together to have our multicultural, multi-ethnic and multi-racial vessel sail its course successfully.

— George W. Bancroft

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POLICING AND ETHNIC COMMUNITY

TORONTO is perhaps the most varied city in North America in respect to the ethnic mix of the community. It is also a city in which relations between minorities and the police are the subject of intense community debate.

The problem in Toronto can be summarized and over-simplified as an insensitive government, badly managing a poorly educated and trained, largely white male police force serving an extraordinarily diversified and *polyglot* community.

Many groups within that community are characterized by rising expectations, mobility and assertiveness. Some other communities within this mosaic have youth populations which, by contrast, are characterized by high unemployment and a high degree of hostility towards what they view, often correctly, as a racist and bigoted society.

Under these circumstances, one would expect that the Toronto police department and its political masters would have attempted to adapt to this changing society. In fact, whatever change has taken place has been accomplished slowly and often grudgingly. Some community leaders argue that change has come so slowly and so grudgingly that, in fact, it has not happened at all. Still others believe that there has been a back-sliding and deterioration of relations between the police and minority communities.

Unfortunately, the latter view is probably the more accurate one. The police establishment has opted for "add on" public relations changes rather than widespread internal reform measures. *White "Ethnic Squads"* and "Pilot Projects," based on creating community forums around individual police stations, are recent additions to the Toronto

police scene, they tend to mask the day to day problems which ethnic and minority communities have with the police. The majority of officers, not involved with these token programs, have to rely on two days of training, at the beginning of their careers, related to relations with minority communities. Otherwise, they are left to be submerged into the all pervasive police sub-culture which is heavily laced with racist, sexist, bigoted and homophobic tendencies.

Those widespread attitudes were most clearly represented in a series of articles which appeared a few years ago in *News and Views*, the internal publication for the over 5,000 members of the Police Association. Jews, Blacks, Pakistanis, Gays . . . even Catholics were smeared one way or the other.

Those tendencies can be controlled in a well managed and disciplined police organization where senior management has a commitment to keep others in check and to try to correct them.

Unfortunately, in Toronto, the provincial government, which controls the Police Commission, the Police Commission and senior management of the police department have not provided the leadership, discipline, training or incentives to justly control and then laterally to root out racism and bigotry inside the police department.

To the contrary, various spokesmen from the political and police establishment have publicly attacked people calling for police reform as malcontents, vigilantes and unrepresentative of their communities. Invariably the establishment has not acted effectively on the community's calls for reform.

What does all this mean to the cop on the beat? It means simply that any officer with a tendency to view minority group

members with hostility and contempt, has that tendency reinforced and intensified. In plainer language, it strengthens the informal but very strong notion within some sectors of the police department that one of their primary roles is to "keep immigrants, commies, unions, niggers and queers in line."

The composition of the police force exacerbates these tendencies. There are few women (about 2%), few non-whites (statistics aren't kept but the figure is extraordinarily low), few persons with employment experience outside of police or military work and few university graduates (again less than 2%). Ironically, a significant number of police officers are immigrants . . . but largely white immigrants from the United Kingdom with previous police experience in a country where some high-handed policing techniques are alleged to have contributed to recent social unrest. Police officers who have learned their trade in the streets of Brixton or Manchester are unlikely to be useful in easing race relations in Toronto.

In recent years, three minority communities in particular have taken their complaints to the Ontario government, the Police Commission and to the streets of Toronto. The East Asian community, the Black community and the Gay community have been extremely clear, articulate and reasonable chronicling police abuses directed against people in their communities. In some cases the Police Commission has enacted cosmetic changes and then only under pressure. In other cases, the Police Commission has been downright hostile and abusive.

The end result of this hostility and lack of action by the Police Commission and their political masters at Queen's Park has been to create a climate in which the use of unwarranted violence and abusive language by the police appears to have intensified.

This type of conduct has been further strengthened by the Police Commission's support of lawsuits and public mischief charges against people who have the tenacity to complain about police misconduct and whose complaints are "unsubstantiated." Police officers are now acutely aware that they can pursue complainants through the courts and maybe even make some money out of it.

So what are the solutions to this deteriorating situation? The answers have been on the tables of the Ontario government and

the Toronto Police Commission for a long time now. A more representative police commission under local, not provincial, control, a truly independent civilian review board to deal with allegations of misconduct, better recruitment and training programs, the application of some rudimentary modern management techniques . . . The answers have been around for a long time. So, unfortunately, has been the Tory government at Queen's Park, a government characterized by not so carefully disguised antipathy to minorities — a government not above scapegoating minorities.

Until the politicians decide to act, public pressure and community organizing around police reform are the two main instruments for achieving change. For example, minority communities have been heavily involved in establishing the Citizens Independent Review of Police Activities (CIRPA) which was formed in the summer of 1981 to compile and publicize data on police misconduct and to support persons abused by the police.

In Toronto, police reform is a long-drawn-out process of attrition. We may be half way there but if we are it still means another five or six years of struggle before we can achieve significant change.

Allan Sparrow

Allan Sparrow is a former Toronto Alderman who has helped form groups such as the Working Group on Police Minority Relations and the Citizens Independent Review of Police Activities. Sparrow is currently involved in establishing a new consulting company, DOMICITY Ltd. He is also writing a ten-year history of the Toronto Police Department.



Allan Sparrow

CANADIAN APARTHEID?

MY main point is that multiculturalism as practised in Canada tends to separate the races. While it is a conceptually sound idea, "multiculturalism" in fact has promoted the development and preservation of ethnic cultures in a way that induces insularity and isolation rather than expose each culture to the Canadian populace for the ends of bringing about interculturalism.

In the late sixties and early seventies alienated minorities such as the French in Quebec, Blacks, Hispanics and Native Indians across North America made a strong surge for recognition. There were revolts in major American cities and in Quebec. It was the time of Black Power, Red Power and the F.L.Q. Governments responded with force. In the U.S.A. the police were slaying Black Panthers while in Canada Martial Law or the War Measures Act were invoked.

But governments at municipal, state, provincial and federal levels developed a sophisticated and more humane tactic to deal with potential social unrest — funding minority community projects. This response was in effect saying: Here's some money; you can have your own roost to rave as you wish.

The sugar-coated brand name "Multiculturalism" as patented by the Trudeau government turned out to be a code word for an operation to pacify minority demands to share power. The issue was switched from sharing in economic and political power by substituting a cultural carrot.

Multicultural grants have funded a range of activities in minority communities. One such grant, for example, enabled a contingent of Black performers to attend Festac, a festival of Africans, in Lagos, Nigeria in 1977. A quarter of a million dollars was spent on this venture so it appeared that the Canadian government was really boosting Black culture. However, there was no exposure of this creative talent in the mass media



Charles Roach

here at home. Some people felt that the government was saying to them, "We'll fund you to dance in Africa . . . but not on prime time C.B.C. TV."

The mass media remains as impenetrable to national minorities as ever. If all of your information about Toronto was gained from the *Globe and Mail*, the *Toronto Star*, the *Sun* or the CBC and CTV networks you would never dream that there are in Toronto over 300,000 Italians, about 180,000 Blacks and some 80,000 East Indians; or 100,000 Chinese, a considerable number of Japanese, Latin Americans, Native Indians and many other ethnic groups, or that any of these groups were capable of anything cultural or newsworthy.

It is true that multiculturalism has encouraged the ethnic press, radio and television. This way the clamor to get on prime time CBC programming and page one of the *Toronto Star* is forestalled. Multicultural television and radio are not on the agenda of the masses of Canadians: exposure of minorities only in the ethnic media is not unlike the electronic age version of riding at the back of the bus.

For ethnic minorities, official Multiculturalism has become the chief obstacle to a break-through in the mass media, the national television networks and publications. It has tended to make ethnics satisfied with church basement programmes, cable television productions at obscure hours and on-and-off newsmagazines with miniscule ethnocentric circulation.

Ethnic minorities have been placed in a dilemma. If they don't apply for their share of multicultural money they are stultified in their cultural development because of lack of money from other sources, yet as they opt for multicultural money it becomes more difficult to break down the barriers preventing their programs from getting into the Canadian mainstream.

It is not enough to know and love one's own culture in a multiethnic country like Canada. We must know other peoples' cultures. And they must know ours. Multiculturalism has not been aimed at interculturalism or broad exposure of ethnic cultures to the Canadian masses. Ethnic minorities remain inscrutable to rank and file Canadians and will continue to remain so in the absence of their access to the mainstream.

But there are other contradictions in the policy of official Multiculturalism:

It has fostered a sense of inferiority in ethnic minority youth through their subconscious perception that their culture was relegated to tenuous after-school, church-basement programs, not good enough to be learned in the big school.

It coopted the most progressive ethnic minority leaders who might otherwise have been demanding radical reforms of the system, thus serving to protect the status quo.

It fostered the myth that there could be cultural preservation without economic power or material guarantees.

It funded competing projects in the same community so as to weaken and divide that community, a case in point: the National Black Coalition of Canada was weakened by government funding of other umbrella groups in the Black community.

It has deadened political consciousness, fostering the delusion that government sponsored conferences allowed cross fertilization since these conferences are attended only by a miniscule number of ethnic mandarins.

It has made people believe that separate is as good as equal.

It has undermined the Quebeckers struggle for autonomy, linguistic and cultural rights by putting them on the same political level as other minorities.

Orlando Patterson, a native of Jamaica and a professor of sociology at Harvard, in his book, *Ethnic Chauvinism: The Reactionary Impulse*, considers the concept of multiculturalism as an essentially conservative threat to humanism.

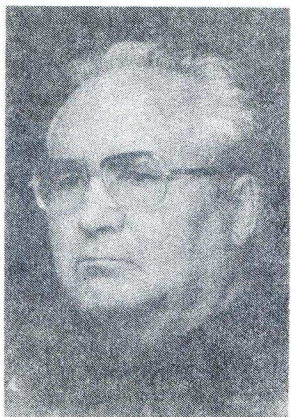
The basis of Multiculturalism is not the value judgment that a pluralistic society is desirable or that the salad bowl is better than the melting pot. Rather, it is the pragmatic response of those in power to maintain the status quo. Those who control the media of mass communication call the cultural shots. The economically powerless are condemned to cultural extinction.

Conceptually, Multiculturalism is like motherhood. As practised by the Canadian government it is an expression of apartheid.

— Charles Roach

A Letter to Canada's Native People Regarding
the Country's Proposed Constitution

EXTINCTION OR SURVIVAL CHALLENGE TO NATIVE UNITY



Kermot Moore

MY COUNTRY 'TIS OF THY PEOPLE YOU'RE DYING . . .

In that song Buffy Sainte-Marie laments the distortions and the omissions of history in the United States of America – the propaganda of church, school and the movie screen – the censorship and lies of statesmen and historians alike to cover-up “the genocide basic to this country’s birth.” The recital is realistic and provocative for it speaks of the robbery and violence upon which the American Dream was founded and the hypocrisy that remains.

My country, my people. There is a profound lesson in that song, a lesson that projects from the similarity of aims of the Canadian and USA governments that seem intent upon destroying the natural identity of this continent. The USA attempted to do it with bullets, starvation and disease. Canada has not been innocent of those tactics either, but today the move is much more subtle. The same ends are being sought under the guise of constitutional law. After all, a thin line divides the attitudes of the two governments – an unnatural arbitrary border.

A bill called the “Canada Act” was sent to the Parliament of the United Kingdom on December 8th, 1981, for legislative approval and Royal Assent to Canada’s independence. Acceptance was achieved. By signature of the Queen the Canada Act became our Constitution, our fundamental law, even though the bill was designed to erase Native human rights in this country.

At the outset we find this statement:

Whereas Canada is founded upon principles that recognize the supremacy of God and the rule of law:

Whose god, and whose law? For the present, however, we might better deal with the temporal aspects of this resolution. From an indigenous perspective we see the question of whose law as a matter of utmost importance. We see settler law as an aberration of natural law. We see lawlessness in the way that our forests are being raped, our lakes and rivers poisoned and blocked with excrement and industrial waste, and our wild life and livelihood destroyed in the mad rush to expropriate our natural resources.

As an example, let us consider the situation of the Native people of the Nelson and Churchill rivers: Not many years ago the then premier of Manitoba, Edward Schreyer, *authorized* into law the building of dams on the Churchill and Nelson rivers, over the protests of the Native people who live there. The dams diverted one river system into another and caused massive flooding of South Indian Lake, the center of Native settlement in the region.

That law authorizing the ensuing dams irrevocably damaged the lakes and rivers by turning them into mercury-poisoned stagnant reservoirs that have no shorelines. The result is that the food chain and the resources upon which the lives of the Native people depended were destroyed.

Remote communities that used to be independent and self-sustaining must now beg welfare from governments in Winnipeg and Ottawa, a phenomena common to colonial exploitation and expansion.

Premier Schreyer was promoted to the post of Governor General of Her Majesty's Canadian Dominion, the seat of supreme privilege in the hierarchy of the country's colonial elite. Is it any wonder that we speak of genocide and lawlessness with regard to the rule of law in this country and the precepts upon which the Canada Act are based?

The Canada Act rests its credibility upon this preamble:

The Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms guarantees the rights and freedoms set out in it subject only to such reasonable limits prescribed by law as can be demonstrably justified in a free and democratic society.

From a Native viewpoint that statement discredits itself. The first is the question of law, with which we have already dealt. The other is the presumption of a *free and democratic society*.

In a free and democratic society we would expect government to set just standards for representative participation. The House of Commons, with 282 seats, has only *two* Native representatives. The Senate, a body of 104 political patronage appointees, has two token Natives.

No commitment has ever been made for genuine Native participation in the government of Canada. Consequently, Parliamentary agendas are couched in imperialist imperatives and there can be no honest or factual debate of Native problems — only a stance on how to quell them. That was also the message we got from the constitutional debate. Thus, if a Native person is elected to the Commons or bestowed a Senate seat he soon learns that he must become either a patsy or a quisling, or leave.

AN EXAMPLE FOR CANADA

It is interesting to note here that the new government of Zimbabwe, a country of recent decolonization, has seen fit to allot 20 seats in her parliament to the nation's former masters, in recognition of settler rights and as a commitment to peace and harmony.

The parliament of a sister commonwealth country, New Zealand, allows for the discussion of its colonial reality and of the dichotomy which exists between indigenous and settler rights, in Parliament, through the institution of Maori representation. We can see why something like this is necessary in Canada also – to create an atmosphere of free and open discussion – as a step toward representative democracy.

Nevertheless, our exclusion up to this time has a positive side. It has given us an opportunity to observe and assess the mentality of those who would presume to be the purveyors of rights and justice. After following the process and examining the Canada Act a strong feeling develops that the greatest threat to human rights in this country is not the perfidious nature of the Canada Act, but instead the mentality that fashioned it.

We might best describe this mentality as dogmatic colonialism. It stems from a theory of racial superiority that was invented in the flowering days of European colonialism, to ease the consciences of the conquerors and to justify the enslavement of indigenous peoples. In Canada the dogma persists. Settler governments conceive of themselves as having a god-given right to rule, and by the same token, the power to restrict the human rights of Native peoples, including their status and level of participation in the everyday life of the nation.

And that is what we are stuck with regarding the precepts of the Canada Act: a wierd paradox, an anomaly of colonial times, where government, in pretending to search for equality, violates the principle that "all human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights." Unless Native people are prepared to put up one hell of a fight to bring out the truth of our struggle, at home and abroad, we will end up with a pretty rotten constitution.

An example of dogmatic thinking is the decision handed down by the Supreme Court of Canada upon the legality of the Canada Act. It dealt with three questions involving whether the provinces must accept amendments that affect their powers. The Court ignored the primary issue of fundamental justice in Canada, *the rights of indigenous peoples*, and occupied itself instead with settler government conventions, which translate to colonial dogmas.

That the *Supreme Court* of this land did not look to international case precedents in judging the legality of the Canada Act

in this twentieth century world where human rights have become the guiding principle of law is ethically unacceptable and morally indefensible.

The workings of this dogma were again brazenly displayed in the November 5th accord of ten first ministers. According to news reports provincial premiers bartered well into the night, in the secrecy of hotel rooms, through a haze of alcohol fumes and tobacco smoke, to abolish the rights of aboriginal peoples as their price for agreeing to a Canadian Constitution.

'Fair is foul, and foul is fair:
Hover through the fog and filthy air.'

Macbeth

Closet racists came out into the open the following morning before the glow of TV lights, but the media did not put a single question to the Premiers that would have explained this craven deed. Let us not have any false hopes about governments' intent with this constitution, nor the part that a biased media plays in clouding and distorting the Native issue.

Does trust and good faith live anywhere in government? It appears not, if the Ministry of Indian Affairs is to be taken as a model. It has no rationale to validate its existence other than colonial dogma. Therefore, anyone who fills the post of Minister is bound to a strategy of oppression and suppression in the exercise of his various mandates. For instance, in the Yukon and Northwest Territories that contains 40% of Canada's land mass and where, coincidentally, Native peoples are the majority, that same minister is also the Minister of Northern Development and of the Environment. A conflict of interest, if interest ever existed in the first place. These manipulations make him a virtual dictator and an obvious detriment to the establishment of democratic and social justice in the area. Oppression.

Suppression: when Native peoples protest these injustices. In September 1974, a group of Native young people from across Canada marched on Parliament Hill in a peaceful demonstration. They were challenged, and in some cases beaten with clubs by the Royal Canadian Mounted Police riot squad and the army. This action was requested by the Minister of Indian Affairs. It was the first time in the history of the RCMP that a riot squad was called out to quell a peaceful demonstration.

Incidentally, the only government institution in Canada that can boast of Native representation is the penal system. Native prisoners outnumber all other inmates, on a per capita-based ratio of eight-to-one. The cutting edge of the sword of colonial rule. This situation does not lend much credence to the assumption of a free and democratic society.

On December 10, 1948, the United Nations General Assembly proclaimed a Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Rights and freedoms were defined by 30 articles in the Declaration – economic and social rights as well as political rights – that were set out in an international universal declaration, applying specifically to the individual as a human being. Canada as a member state of the UN and a signator of that Declaration has an obligation to respect and uphold those individual rights and freedoms.

The Canada Act would violate individual rights and freedoms by omitting principles of the Declaration and constrict others – by combining freedom of thought, conscience, religion, opinion and expression; and, the rights of peaceful assembly – to one article in the constitution, as a definitive statement of all our fundamental freedoms.

It omits principles that are vitally important to Native people, such as Articles 15 and 17 of the UN Declaration:

Article 15. (1) Everyone has the right to a nationality.

(2) No one shall be arbitrarily deprived of his nationality nor denied the right to change his nationality.

Article 17. (1) Everyone has the right to own property alone as well as in association with others.

(2) No one shall be arbitrarily deprived of his property.

If we allow the omission of the principle stated in Article 15 of the UN Universal Declaration of Human Rights from our constitution, we would concede to the colonial concept of Canadianism, which does not recognize Native nations and peoples. There is certainly no evidence of any Native person ever giving up his indigenous nationality in favor of the colonial version, nor is there any evidence that the Canadian government ever considered this indigenous right.

The omission of the UN principle of property ownership will limit ownership to concepts that are colonial and thus enable settler governments to dispossess Native peoples of their traditional lands and properties by merely enacting legislation for that purpose under the Canada Act.

As we leave the Fundamental Freedoms of the Canada Act, we plunge headlong into a list of rights that would seem more at home in a multinational corporation plan. We are confronted with Democratic Rights, Mobility Rights, Legal Rights, Equality Rights, Official Language Rights and Minority Language Education Rights that come at you like a shopping list for the enablement of free and easy access to the natural and human resources. In other places it degenerates into petty detail that appears somewhat misplaced.

HUMAN RIGHTS ARE NOT NEGOTIABLE

The application of the principles of human rights offers mankind the greatest hope for the creation of equality and justice and therefore our future. You may ask, why human rights instead of aboriginal rights? The answer is that human rights and aboriginal rights are one and the same. Aboriginal rights are simply the human rights of aboriginal peoples. To determine what that means in everyday terms we need only take the principles of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and apply them as inherent rights of aboriginal peoples. The violation of those rights by foreign interference is the phenomena we generally call colonialism.

In order to free the victims of colonialism, the United Nations, Canada included, have ratified Covenants that recognize "the right of all peoples to self-determination and to enjoy and utilize fully and freely their natural wealth and resources." This is the essence of aboriginal rights, as it is of human rights, but the term *human rights* is better understood, everywhere.

Our government does not lack experience in dealing with human rights for indigenous peoples. Indeed, Canada has supported the struggle for freedom in Asia and Africa ever since the inception of the Universal Declaration. Furthermore, Canada is presently a member of the "Contact Group" that is negotiating the decolonization of Namibia. To claim at this point, as does the Canadian Government, that it does not know the meaning of aboriginal rights is absurd.

In the search for equality we must face the reality that no colonial power, throughout world history, has freed its captive peoples through its own volition and its own initiative. Freedom is never bestowed; it must be paid for in blood. At least that was the way it was until India gained its independence through a non-violent movement led by Mahatma Gandhi.

A significant difference here is that we are not looking for independence as a nation; we are looking for equality within Canada. And the success of our quest will depend primarily upon whether this nation has attained a level of civilization that will allow the recognition of human rights for Canada's first peoples in a national constitution.

Native peoples must take the initiative; there are realities that we must face squarely. First and foremost is the fact that government strategy is to superimpose settler rights over Native rights with the Canada Act. Secondly, government intends to create respect for the Act by instigating publicity campaigns, media hype and a resort to colonial dogma.

For example, the article pertaining to Official Languages reads, "Everyone has the right to English or French in any debates and other proceedings of Parliament." Immediately following that statement is this one, "Everyone has the right to use English or French in any debates and other proceedings of the Legislature of New Brunswick."

Are we to understand that the people of New Brunswick are being treated differently from other Canadians, or are we pandering to narrow political expediency?

Can we believe that the following is an excerpt from the Sixth Schedule of Part VI, Article 51, of the Canada Act:

Primary Production from Non-Renewable Natural and Forestry Resources.

(b) production from a forestry resource is primary production therefrom if it consists of sawlogs, poles, lumber, wood chips, sawdust or

(b) production from a forestry resource is primary production therefrom if it consists of sawlogs, poles, lumber, wood chips, sawdust or any other primary wood product, or wood pulp, and is not a product manufactured from wood.

It is difficult to see how detail on wood-cutting is likely to enhance individual freedom or national justice. Immediately following that side trip into forest exploitation we have this weighty decree:

52. (1) The Constitution of Canada is the supreme law of Canada, and any law that is inconsistent with the provisions of the Constitution is, to the extent of the inconsistency, of no force or effect.

FARCE

The impression is created that the people who wrote the Canada Act became so obsessed with the extinguishment of Native rights that they overlooked principle, and ended up writing petty contrivances instead. This thought was brought home resoundingly by Article 33. Article 33 gives the federal and provincial governments the power to suspend the rights and freedoms of any group in society. It is obviously aimed at indigenous peoples, but it could be used against any minority group, individual, or segment of Canadian society.

Parliament was almost unanimous in support of this bill. Only two members opposed it on the grounds that it would obliterate Native rights. The wonder is that government would take such extraordinary measures to ensure its control of peoples who probably comprise less than 10% of the population. Will this be our contribution to global enlightenment, a constitution that will guide us with hope and equality into the twenty-first century?

In order to withhold consent to the Canada Act, Native Peoples should refer to it always as "colonial," which means that any recognition of a constitution so designed should be prefixed by that word. Parliament becomes the colonial parliament; the colonial governor-general, the colonial supreme court, the colonial jail system – etcetera; and even a colonial justice minister. It is not a response that will sit well with the public, but it may force some Canadians to think. We have no choice in the matter. To the indigenous people, this is not a constitution; it is an imposition.

A plan to achieve Native rights will have to be put forth. It should include: the appointment of a Native representative in the Canadian delegation to the United Nations; the creation of a Native political party in Parliament; the admission of agendas for discussing Native rights and issues in Parliament; and the establishment of a Ministry of Decolonization to replace the Ministry of Indian Affairs.

To achieve these ends we will need the support of all people of good will – multicultural organizations, human rights commissions, civil liberties chapters, religious groups, ombudsmen, and the network of labor and church groups. In fact all people who would wish to see rights and freedoms apply equally in Canada, human rights that will conform to the Universal Declaration.

UNITY

A unity of purpose must be created within the Native community and the only thread around which that unity can be built is our common heritage. We are not people who just happened to be here when the Europeans arrived, nor are we misplaced, alien and exotic races as the labels *Indian* and *Eskimo* imply. We are the first Canadians, our roots are in this soil. We have indigenous rights.

We have never united before. It was physically impossible in the past. There were barriers of language, of mountain and of waterway, vast distances that separated our homelands, and simply different lifestyles and aspirations. But now modern technology and the English language makes communication possible from coast to coast and into the high Arctic.

SURVIVAL

The Challenge to Native Unity is the challenge for Survival. We are face to face with extinction. If we do not unite around this cause we may never have another chance.

– Kermot Moore

SANCTIONS FOR MULTICULTURALISM

IN this essay, I should like to consider how the ideal of multiculturalism is reflected in Canadian laws and discuss the manner in which official power could be used to help bring about equal dignity for ethnic minorities in Canada. By official power I mean all laws and actions of governmental agencies, be they administrative or judicial, as well as the action of private individuals and corporations insofar as such is sanctioned by or identified with government.

Essentially law is a form of cultural expression emanating from customs and traditions of the people subject to its control. It in turn can protect, perpetuate and fashion culture. As law develops it is elaborated upon by statutes made by elected legislators. Even where there is a despotic form of government, law remains substantially a codification of culture with few aberrations. But some would argue, not without merit, that law always tends to express the will of the most powerful classes within the state and often represents only what a small segment of the community desires.

Multiculturalism is an ideal which seeks to bring about equal dignity of all ethnic groups within the multi-ethnic, pluralistic state. Experience indicates that it is difficult to achieve equal dignity in a society where some groups are rich and powerful and others are poor and weak. It is easy to express and preserve your culture if you are rich and in political control. So multiculturalism as government policy is directed to benefit those ethno-cultural groups under-represented in fields of politics, finance and commercial development.

Before considering Canadian laws, I should mention that there is considerable recognition of the principle of multiculturalism in international law. The United Nations Organization Charter, the Universal Declaration of

Human Rights, the International Convention for the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination, and many other conventions acknowledge the right of the individual to equal dignity irrespective of race or nationality. Of major importance are the International Convention on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights and the International Convention on Civil and Political Rights, both adopted by the General Assembly of the United Nations Organization in 1965. In the latter Convention, it is stated that "in those states in which ethnic, religious or linguistic minorities exist, persons belonging to such minorities shall not be denied the right in community with other members of their group, to enjoy their own culture, to profess and practise their own religion, or to use their own language."

Later I will come back to examine whether Canada has fulfilled its international law obligations in observance of international treaties and conventions and also its voting performance at the United Nations on issues involving racism, apartheid and self-determination — issues related to multiculturalism in a more direct way than many might imagine. But I want now to consider what support for multiculturalism can be gleaned from the provisions of the Canadian Constitution Act (1981).

This Act contains a Charter of Rights and Freedoms, which probably does not extend any new rights to Canadians but which

**The idea of a hereditary
monarchy is essentially racist.**

makes clear that Canadians enjoy freedoms of assembly, association and equality before the law without discrimination based on race, nationality or ethnic origin. More interesting, the Charter recognizes and provides for affirmative action programs and says that equality before the law "does not preclude any law, program or activity that has as its object the amelioration of conditions of disadvantaged individuals or groups. . ."

The Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms does not go so far in the recognition of cultural rights as does the International Convention on Civil and Political Rights, yet it provides that the "Charter shall be interpreted in a manner consistent with the preservation and enhancement of the multicultural heritage of Canadians." The Charter proclaims English and French as the official languages of Canada and seems to encourage the advancement of equality of status of French and English.

During the constitutional talks and parliamentary debates in the Fall of 1981, there was a frightening public display of insensitivity on the part of Canada's top politicians with respect to ethnic questions. It became clear that the provincial premiers and the Prime Minister and his assistants were willing to engage in trade-offs of constitutional guarantees of women's and aboriginal rights. The draft constitution stated, "the aboriginal and treaty rights of the aboriginal peoples of Canada are hereby recognized and affirmed . . . aboriginal peoples of Canada includes the Indian, Inuit and Metis people of Canada." In negotiations, the Federal Government and the Provincial leaders agreed to delete this provision altogether. It was only after an international clamor made by Native people that the Charter was again amended to reintroduce protection of aboriginal rights, but in a watered-down fashion.

In the constitutional bargaining, the *Quebecois*, Canada's largest ethnic minority, must have felt alienated when their Province was left out of the concord between the chief ministers of the Federal Government and all other provinces, who deemed that Quebec's consent was not necessary for the passage of the Constitution Act. This was a remarkable threat to the fragile unity of Canada, but the impact of it might have been softened because both the Prime Minister and his Minister of Justice were themselves French Quebecers.

With the new Constitution, Canada remains a constitutional monarchy with the Royal Family of Great Britain functioning as monarchs of Canada also. There is a serious question as to whether ethnic minorities can enjoy a sense of equal dignity with such an hierarchy. Almost all non-white people in Canada emanate from countries that were colonies of Great Britain and Europe. Some of them are descendants of slaves of the British. The monarchy is a permanent reminder as to which nationality is the master and which the subject.

For most French Canadians the English monarchy remains a symbol of defeat by the English on the Plains of Abraham. It means much the same for indigenous people. The idea of a hereditary monarchy is essentially racist as it means that non-English Canadians will be precluded forever from ethnic representation in the most visible public office in this country. A republican form of government would be less problematic in a multi-ethnic state.

As important as the constitution is it is still only a small part of the body of rules and regulations that affect a citizen's life. Family, criminal, commercial and real estate law as they appear in statutes and in the common law are of a more immediate everyday importance to the individual. These laws naturally tend to protect the culture of stronger ethno-cultural groups. Some examples: there are statutory holidays for Christians and Jews, but no legal protection for absence from work for religious reasons by Moslems and other denominations. The criminal law prohibits cultural forms of gambling by minorities, such as the Chinese, but permits gambling in the form of lotteries, paramutuels on horseracing and bingo. And Lord's Day Acts in various provinces impose observance without formal regard for various ethnic cultures.

Native concepts of land use and ownership cannot coexist with that of Anglo-European law.

The situation of indigenous people is instructive as to the manner in which law relates to culture and the difficulties of having a viable multicultural policy where one form of law dominates the state. Indigenous people have occupied lands in Canada from prehistoric times, living a nomadic lifestyle before the French and English came as settlers. There was no reason for them to hoard the lands and they had no concept of land being owned by individuals anymore than the sky, air or lakes being owned by individuals. They had a concept of use of space as opposed to individual title to parcels of land meticulously surveyed and mapped and held by individual owners to the exclusion of others. That was an idea imported from Europe and the laws and courts of Canada use Anglo-European concepts of law and do not explicitly recognize aboriginal traditions.

Very obviously the Native concepts of land use and ownership cannot coexist with that of Anglo-European law. If both parties are to maintain their own cultural values, there must be separate territories with areas where Native people can have their own nations. But as it is now, the Native has to give up his lifestyle and culture and integrate into the urban scenario, resulting in an annihilation of his social, cultural and economic dignity. Native lifestyle cannot coexist with development such as nuclear proliferation, interest on borrowed capital and many aspects of urbanization and white man's civilization, all of which have the power of commercial and private ownership law to fortify them.

Sometimes, the administration of certain federal statutes have particular impact on racial minorities. Those that immediately come to mind are the Immigration Act, Citizenship Act and the Criminal Code.

The passage of Canada's present Immigration Act which became effective in 1978 was preceded by a national debate including a commission of inquiry by the Joint Parliamentary Committee visiting cities from coast to coast, a process not seen even in the formation of the Constitution Act. Coinciding with this commission on immigration or the Green Paper Debate as it came to be known, was a rise in racial feelings in Canada's urban areas. The debate centered largely on the issue whether an immigrant from the Third World with 'novel and dis-

One of the endemic problems facing the realization of multiculturalism is that Canada's visible minorities are not visibly represented in legislative and public offices of the various levels of government.

tinctive features' was as good as an immigrant from the traditional European source countries. Of course there was a more sophisticated formulation of the issue. Racial passions were worked up during the time of the debate and there were street demonstrations and numerous racial attacks, particularly by malicious strangers against East Indians.

The effect of changes in the Immigration Law has been to remove racist provisions of the prior Act and bring into being a statute appearing on its face to be egalitarian. However, the Immigration Act gives wide discretionary power to enforcement officials without sufficient explicit guidelines for its use. This permits a broader scope for arbitrary treatment at the administrative level. Lawyers and consultants engaged in assisting immigrants from Asia, Africa and Latin America seeking to get relatives to join them in Canada, would confirm that there are oppressive and discriminatory practices on the part of the Immigration Department in processing applications. Delays of many years in dealing with applications for sponsored dependents and failure to recognize family relationships acknowledged in the source country are among the chief problems.

The policy of the Canadian Government towards persons claiming refugee status is uncertain and not predictable. This is an area of immigration policy where legal principles have no application in fact and where government discretion is supreme. What is certain is that persons claiming re-

fugee status from countries with which Canada does not have commercial relations, bank loans or corporate investment such as Vietnam, Poland and other socialist countries are generally immediately accepted and in some cases even solicited. Thus in the summer and fall of 1981, East Indians from the Punjab region of India where there was civil unrest in a struggle by Sikhs to have an independent homeland — Khalistan — were treated quite differently from Poles. The Poles were in some cases invited to claim refugee status and immediately granted working permits, while large numbers of Sikhs were jailed and their claims were all rejected. In addition, the government moved to make it necessary for Indian Nationals to have visas before coming to Canada.

Mass deportations of certain minorities such as Black West Indian domestics — 56 were ordered deported in 1976 — after being permanent residents in Canada, in some cases for periods of almost five years, and Haitians from Montreal in 1973 and 1974 are remarkable in that those threatened with exclusion were all from non-white underdeveloped countries. No mass deportations of white people have been observed.

Immigration regulations permit persons who are not permanent residents to work in Canada on work permits. Domestic, farm workers and other trades-people form the overwhelming majority of persons allowed to come into the country for the purpose of working temporarily. The immigration laws as they are now structured, enable these people to be exploited as they are easily deportable if their employers discharge them. They are not protected by social security provisions nor do they derive any benefits from such sources as Canada Pensions and unemployment insurance funds — to which they contribute.

Probably immigration law is the best thermometer of the state of Canadian government tolerance towards minorities and multiculturalism. In 1972 just after the Canadian Government committed itself to a policy of multiculturalism, the budget for the immigration department was drastically restructured. Where previously the greater portion of the budget was spent on recruitment and selection of new immigrants, after 1973 the bulk of the budget went into enforcement and control, which includes raiding classrooms and work places with the hope of finding undocumented aliens.

Multicultural parity without economic parity — is it achievable?

Canadian immigration laws and stated policy are now so highly sophisticated they can give an appearance of being non-discriminatory while at the same time implicitly maintaining the covert policy of keeping the non-white population in the country to a seven or eight percent level.

In 1946, Canadian citizenship became a reality. Prior to that time persons in Canada fell into three categories: Indians, British subjects or aliens. Until recently, British subjects — white people from the United Kingdom — were able to come to Canada and take up residence with full voting rights and privileges. And this still holds true in some areas. Since 1967, when non-white British subjects began to migrate to Canada from Commonwealth countries, the idea of British subjects being immediately able to have full rights with citizens born in Canada has been gradually shifted to the point where these non-white British subjects find themselves in a different category from white British subjects of an earlier period.

It would be ideal if all persons legally resident in a country had equal rights. However, the result of changes in the Citizenship and Immigration Act is that there are various classes of legal Canadian residents with various kinds of political rights. Legal residents are classified either as 1) citizens, 2) permanent residents, or 3) temporary residents on visas. Legal obligations and the duty to pay taxes is substantially the same for all classes of residents but their political rights are very different. There should be progressive steps to bring about equality.

Citizenship rights should be granted to all persons who are permanent residents in the same fashion as it was automatically and customarily granted to people from the British Isles who came to this country as permanent residents. While permanent residents can now normally take out citizenship

after three years continuous residence in Canada, there are still provisions for denaturalization which could strip them of citizenship and expose them to deportation. It is difficult to understand the rationale for deportation of residents once one is committed to the concept of brotherhood of persons of all countries and races.

With respect to the criminal law, it appears that the criminal justice system is overwhelmingly engaged with the more primitive kinds of offences such as robbery, theft and assault. To a much lesser extent is it concerned with corporate and white collar crime. If there is a law for the rich and a law for the poor, then, judging from the inmates of Canadian penitentiaries, one might guess that the law for the poor is the criminal law. Native people of Canada are grossly over-represented in the prison inmate population. The visible minorities are grossly over-represented as defendants in the criminal justice system. It is a frightening reality that the vast majority of persons injured and killed by police officers are racial minorities and immigrants. Undoubtedly, provisions for greater social security, better education, training and employment opportunities for the populace at large would alleviate that situation.

The politicians responsible for managing police forces have not been sufficiently elastic in responding to rapid changes in the cosmopolitan makeup of urban areas like Toronto. Throughout the seventies the Royal Canadian Mounted Police permitted and instigated attacks on the homes, business places, places of worship and even the personal character of various minority leaders. In the spring of 1976 my law office was broken into and paint dumped on books, files and furniture. I was surprised to learn a year later that it was the RCMP who instigated that attack. Their agent, one Robert Toupe, claimed that he had to do such things in order to gain credibility to infiltrate the Western Guard.*

There is much that I should like to say about judicial decisions and multiculturalism, such as the Supreme Court's 1981 decision in the Bhaduria versus Seneca College case, which declared racism is not a tort for which one can sue in civil courts; or the 1978 federal court decision holding nothing wrong with secret directives of the

Immigration Department known as the 'East Indian Control Program' and the 'Rastafarian Control Program' which stipulated special stringent application of immigration regulations to certain minorities — but space does not permit more than a few more words on Canadian civil rights legislation.

The Multicultural Department is run in the manner of a public relations operation inviting voluntary participation by those who so choose and encouraging ethnic groups to preserve and be conscious of their own cultures. On the other hand, there are human rights laws and agencies for the protection of ethnic minorities. Human rights legislation in Canada is a relatively new phenomenon. Ontario's Human Rights Code, the first to be established in this country, is just 20 years old and the federal Human Rights Commission was only established in 1978. Human rights legislation is unquestionably conducive to multiculturalism because while it does not promote multiculturalism in the manner of the Department of Multiculturalism, such legislation is designed to enable persons to be free from differential treatment because of their race, color, nationality or ethnic origin. The Human Rights Commissions, however, have not taken on some of those laws and traditions which I have been discussing.

For a long time certain minority groups in Canada have been pressing for legislation to ban the dissemination of racist literature and communications from groups such as the Ku Klux Klan and various brands of neo-Nazism. The media in Canada gives access to spokesmen from such groups on the basis that it would be a violation of their rights of freedom of speech to deny them access to the media. Many of the attorneys-general of the federal and provincial governments have said that while they disapprove of the dissemination of racial propaganda, they could do nothing to prevent or put down such organizations.

It is interesting to note that the United Nations Declaration of the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination, proclaimed by the General Assembly in November of 1963, sets out in Article 9 that all propaganda and organizations based on ideas or theories of the superiority of one race or group of persons of one color or ethnic origin with a view to justifying or promoting racial discrimination in any form shall be

* a neo-Nazi party.

prosecute and outlaw organizations which promote or incite to racial discrimination. Yet in Canada organizations promoting racial superiority have been able to operate openly. Those holding official power in Canada have not as yet accepted the principle that equal dignity is the most fundamental of human freedoms. They seem to place freedom of speech in a higher rank, which is one reason for the rise of neo-Nazi propaganda in Canada. *No fundamental freedom must be used to undermine another's fundamental freedoms.*

Racial minorities are sensitive to the foreign policy of the Canadian government. The level of security they feel living in this country is directly related to Canada's behavior with respect to issues in southern Africa, Latin America and the Middle East. For example, Canada has failed to acknowledge the existence of 4,000,000 Palestinian people by failing to recognize the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), the sole body that represents Palestinians. Canadian politicians are vociferous on issues like Polish martial law enactments, but much more quiet on Israeli repression in the West Bank or bombing of Beirut. Canadian corporations are allowed to violate United Nations' resolutions for sanctions against South Africa. The Canadian Radio and Television Commission allows the media to give extended coverage to actions of governments of Poland, Iran and Afghanistan and little or no coverage of the repression by the governments of South Africa, South Korea, Chile, Haiti and other trading partners of Canada.

Canada's voting record at the UN shows that she will pay lip service to the struggle against apartheid but on resolutions calling for economic sanctions or an oil embargo Canada supports South Africa.

One of the endemic problems facing the realization of multiculturalism is that Canada's visible minorities are not visibly represented in legislative and public offices of the various levels of government. The essence of multiculturalism is the opportunity to live one's own life to the fullest extent, to have fullest liberty to practise one's culture, coextensive with the rights of others to do the same. If multiculturalism is to be a Canadian ideal, the laws would have to reflect this to a greater extent.

Human Rights Commissions need much better funding. Legislation should make re-

spondents liable to prove themselves innocent of charges of racism in cases where arbitrariness or unequal treatment is established. This reverse onus device is used for some offences under the Criminal Code and under drug and narcotic laws.

But we are still tinkering with the problem if we really expect multicultural parity without economic parity. Is it achievable?

— Charles Roach

ASIAN-AMERICAN POETRY ANTHOLOGY

Thanks to a grant from the National Endowment for the Arts, The Greenfield Review Press will publish in 1983 a major anthology of poetry by Asian-American writers. The anthology, as yet untitled, will be at least 240 pages in length with approximately 8 pages devoted to each poet (including photo, a page of either bio or a poetics statement, and about 6 pages of poetry). Payment to each writer will be \$10 plus 2 copies of the anthology.

The Greenfield Review Press has already published a number of volumes of poetry by such Asian-American poets as Alan Chong Lau, Ronald Tanaka, Geraldine Kudaka, Alex Kuo, Mei-Mei Berssenbrugge and David Wang — as well as a special Asian-American writing issue of *The Greenfield Review* (Spring 1977).

Asian-American poets wishing to submit work to the anthology should send a selection of what they feel to be their best work (published or unpublished) with SSAE. (If previously published poems are submitted, permission to reprint such poems in the anthology must also be included with the submission.) Send to:

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The Greenfield Review Press
P.D. 1, Box 80
Greenfield Center, N.Y. 12833

Deadline for submissions is December 15, 1982

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CROSS FERTILIZATION AND CULTURAL PLURALISM

SINCE Prime Minister Trudeau's announcement in 1971 of the adoption of multiculturalism as official policy, we have been bombarded with the term 'multiculturalism.' But perhaps there has been more sound than light; for it is rarely that this concept of multiculturalism comes to be explained with any clarity. I should like to share with you my own attempts at understanding this somewhat elusive concept.

Before we understand multiculturalism, let us understand the term 'culture.' What is culture? There is, of course, the more common meaning of dance, music, literature, art and architecture, etc., of a people — what is sometimes called fine arts. But perhaps a more comprehensive meaning of culture is the way a given group of people think, behave and speak, to use a Buddhist breakdown. This latter meaning, of course, includes the narrower meaning, because the fine arts is a reflection of a group's thinking and artistic behavior.

What then is multiculturalism? The prefix 'multi' in the word perhaps hints at one aspect of the meaning. 'Multi' means 'many'. So a literal translation of multiculturalism may be the -ism (or state or reality) of many cultures. Here in Canada there are many cultures, reflecting the presence of many cultural groups. There are the native people who have inhabited this country for over 10,000 years. The English and the French — 'les deux nations' (the two 'founding peoples') — the charter groups who arrived in the beginning of the early 1600s. Not far behind were the Scots and the Welsh. Then, in later decades, going into the turn of the century, a whole lot of others: the Jewish people, the loyalist Blacks fleeing from the U.S., the Ukrainians, Poles, Germans, Italians, and other European groups. Then, during the last decades of the 19th century and going into the 20th century, we have the Chinese, Japanese, Indians, and other Orientals, ending up with other Third World immigrants today from Latin America, Africa, Asia and the Middle East. Is multiculturalism, then, the presence of many such groups? One might say so, except for the fact that there is this other term 'cultural pluralism.' So let us try again.

Given the multiplicity of cultural groups in Canadian society, we, as individuals, are bound to mix with each other. But there are good ways of mixing with others and bad ways. If, for example, a group, or an indi-

vidual of a particular cultural group, mixes with another group, or an individual of another cultural group, in a domineering, intimidating or self-centered manner, that could hardly be considered multiculturalism. For, implied in such behavior (thought and speech), is a sense of exclusive self importance, which means that there is no consideration of the other's needs. Such a manner of mixing may be more appropriately called, if we must label it, 'ethnocentrism' (from 'Ethnocentrism'), the outcome of which could be racism. None of us of course would like to be called racists! So a first approximation of multiculturalism can be said to be the treatment of each other fairly on an equal footing and with consideration and compassion, regardless of one's color, ethnic origin, religious background, or one's time of arrival in Canada, etc. Indeed there is nothing new in this concept. It is a hallowed democratic as well as a religious — be it Christian, Jewish, Buddhist, Muslim, Hindu, Native or other — ideal. Multiculturalism must therefore mean something more than that.

Suppose we thought of multiculturalism as a growing, or learning process, where each of us tries to consciously adjust to each other in a manner conducive to our mental health and physical well-being. After all, providing for the mental health or physical well-being is the intent of all social systems.

Now where would we begin? Or better, what will we have to adjust to? Obviously, the newcomers to the country will have to adjust to the 'Canadian culture.' But what is the 'Canadian culture'? A professor has just received a grant precisely to answer that question! Ours is a land of immigrants, and there are general cultural strands that have left their mark on the soil. We, of course, know of the British and French heritage. But if statistics are of any help, 47% of Canadians in the Prairies are of non-British, non-

French heritage, and so are 34% in British Columbia (despite the 'British' label). In our own Ontario, 29% of us belong to that category. Something important to remember here is that this minority is not a mono-ethnic minority. In other words, in this 47%, 34% or 29% are many, many different cultural groups. That is both the strength and the weakness of the Canadian reality. It is a strength because we have a very rich pool of resources to draw from. It is a weakness because no single minority group has had sufficient numbers to attract attention to the presence of its culture — not even the Native people who have inhabited the land for over 10,000 years.

The result of this weakness is that despite the presence of many cultural groups, what has emerged as the *dominant* Canadian culture over the years is what has come to be called the Judeo-Christian culture (although my Jewish friends would have nothing to do with it!). Or, more specifically, the white Anglo-Saxon Protestant culture is no better nor worse than any other culture, if we remember our definition of culture as a way of thinking, behaving and speaking. Indeed it is the bearers of this WASP culture who struggled and provided the leadership through the pioneering days and brought this country to the present level of material development. Profit making and the maintenance of their own supremacy may have been their motive, and the material development may have been done on the backs of the Doukhobor and Ukrainian farmers who opened up the lands in the West, or the Chinese, Japanese and Indian laborers who built the Canadian Pacific Railway. The early British pioneers may have been helped in their very own survival by the Native people. And, as we have from the authority of J. Bruce Walker, the Canadian immigration official in London before 1914, some of them even may have been "for the most part not desirable citizens" of England, such as, as another puts it, "drunkards, paupers, loafers and jailbirds" sent here on a one-way ticket. (Fact: "During the single year 1907, more than 12,000 paupers were sent out [to Canada] by the [private and state] charitable organizations of London alone" (William Peterson, excerpted in Howard Palmer, *Immigration and the Rise of Multiculturalism*, 1975:27). But the fact of the matter is that they provided the leadership and direction.

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Given the visible presence of this dominant culture, then other cultural groups have indeed adjusted to it. That was the only possible survival-adjustment they could make. Thus, newly-arrived mothers agree to abandon their babies to the mercy of the babysitter (since there is no grandmother at home) so that they could go out to join the workforce, the children begin to wear jean pants and jackets to school, for play and visiting, the girls begin dating and assist their independence, the family begins to get deeper and deeper in debt in order to have a second car or a two-week vacation in the Bahamas, the children give up their respect for parents, learning, the teachers and the school. Individuals become more competitive, entrepreneurial and aggressive, the children of farmers, fishermen, lumberjacks all aspire to be blue collar workers, and so on. So there is no lack of adjusting to the dominant culture.

With all their eagerness to model themselves after the dominant culture, however, sometimes, and indeed often, these other cultural groups find it difficult to do so one hundred percent. For one thing, they simply cannot grasp every aspect of the dominant culture, much as a new student finds it difficult to find her way in her new school. One reason for this is that a culture is a highly complex and vast phenomenon that came to be internalized only over generations. Would the average immigrant from India, Uganda, Spain, Germany or Poland have had the least suspicion that the simple question all immigrants have been faced with at one time or another, namely, "Do you have Canadian experience?" is a subtle form of racism, as the Human Rights Commission has pointed out. Each of us can add our own examples, of course.

The difficulty of understanding the dominant culture, however, is only one reason why other cultural groups fail to model themselves totally after the dominant culture. Once the initial cultural shock has been overcome and as the settling down process begins, they begin to wonder — as I am sure those of us who are first generation Canadian have experienced — the meaning of what they are doing. “Why is it that I have to kill myself working 65 hours a week?” “Is my child getting away from me because I have no time for him/her?” Or is it because TV has an adverse influence on the children? Or, “Now I have everything I want . . . a detached house with a double garage, two cars and a cottage, so what?” And, eventually, “What’s wrong with doing it our way?”

If such questions come to be asked only by the first generation Canadians, they could of course be considered sour grapes or nostalgic blabberers. But then we find native born Canadians belonging to the mainstream, being in a questioning mood. Some examples: a mother protests she cannot breast-feed her baby in public (a very acceptable form in many rural parts of the world; Michelle Lansberg, *Toronto Star* columnist, spends \$5,000 in three weeks to learn that ‘Third World food’ is, after all, not bad for your health. (Fact: less people in the Third World die of heart attack, cancer, etc.); the Toronto Board of Education prepares a booklet providing alternative readings to the Lord’s Prayer from other religions; white Canadian men and women begin to wear the turban in public and still other white men and women practice Buddhist meditation on a daily basis; Maureen McTeer prefers to retain her maiden name, a practice quite prevalent in Buddhist Sri Lanka, Burma and Thailand; the chairman of the Chamber of Commerce declares that pinball machines tend to corrupt the young! And finally, a researcher says that continued exposure to the strobe lights of discos, and loud music, reduces sexual potency!

What is clearly happening is that the mainstream Canadian has begun to wonder about the meaning and worth of Canadian culture. This, I would suggest, is the first sign of multiculturalism in practice — a questioning attitude toward hallowed Canadian patterns of behavior, thought and speech. Questioning means a readiness to open our doors and windows to other ways of behavior, thought and speech. So how do

we become multicultural? We become multicultural by *promoting this questioning attitude*, and seeking, and learning from others, aspects of culture that are conducive to our mental health and physical well-being. It need not, and should not matter, if we are to be multicultural, whether the behavior, thought or speech that we want to adjust to, or internalize, comes from a Black, brown, yellow or white source, from a Buddhist, Hindu, Sikh, Muslim, Jewish, Mennonite, Catholic or Protestant source, or has its origins in Asia, Africa, Middle East, Latin America, Europe or the U.S.S.R. What matters is whether we as human beings living in a land called Canada can become more human, more considerate, more understanding, more compassionate and wiser.

The process of multiculturalism envisaged above can be shown diagrammatically, thus: (from 1 to 4)

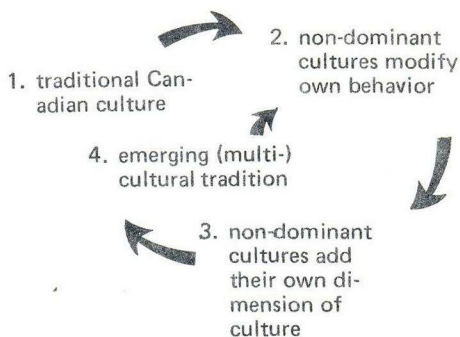


Figure: A model for the emergence of a Canadian multicultural society. At Step 4, both 1 and 3 make their contribution. That is to say, the traditional WASP culture (1) and all other cultures (+) adjust to each other. It also means that each cultural group that makes up the non-dominant culture will also be adjusting to each other. To achieve Step 4, then, is to become multicultural. Once this step is achieved, it continues to have a bearing on all ‘non-conforming’ (therefore non-dominant) cultural groups, or individuals. And, as they come to accept the dominant multicultural pattern of thought, behavior and speech, they will begin to make their contribution to the emerging Canadian culture as well. Thus, the model is cyclical (and Buddhistic, because it is not linear).

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With this view of multiculturalism, how can we help newcomers? Obviously we must impart our culture, not in order to claim that it is better, or to maintain our dominance, but simply to facilitate their transition to the new country. Towards this, we should not only teach English as a Second Language, but also provide the rudiments of citizenship, history, geography, government and the oft-ignored area, the political economy (the relationship between social class and economic status in Canadian life). If we are to be multicultural, however, this process must have a critical approach (i.e., not a criticizing but a questioning one) and we must encourage newcomers to have this same critical approach. English as a *Second* language is not to replace their mother tongue (or risk being charged with linguicide!) but as an addition to their linguistic repertoire in teaching history, we talk about not only Mackenzie King but of Luis Riel; that Blacks and Jews have been in this country for over two hundred years; not only that the British 'won the West' but that a whole community of 250 Beotuks were exterminated by them in a single battle. To give one final example in the area of political economy, suppose we teach about the amortization of a loan (spreading its repayment over a period of up to 35 years), we should hasten to add that on a \$50,000 loan at 13%, amortized over 20 years, we end up paying nearly \$130,000, and that out of a monthly payment of about \$600, only about \$50 goes toward payment of the principal!

Both newcomer and Canadian natives must maintain this questioning attitude that is so much a part of multicultural education.

Becoming multicultural in our teaching, however, is not enough. We should consider it our responsibility to ensure that our student, and their families, have equal opportunities in Canadian society. Isn't this the democratic ideal? Of course, research tells us that this ideal has not even been approximated. Some findings: 1) the more educated you are, the more difficult it is for a newcomer to find work at their own level (research based on Toronto and Montreal). 2) "The control and operation of large industrial engineering equipment is almost entirely in the hands of the Anglo-Saxon group in this country. The financing of construction is in the hands of this group and the Jewish group. Small scale contracting has always become very much a special field of French Canadians who employ Italians in substantial numbers" (P. Briant, 1973, cited in Dennis Forcese, *The Canadian Class Structure*, 1980:45.6); 3) The *Toronto Sun* sends a white and a South Asian to find rental accommodation to discover that not all the places offered to the white person were available to the South Asian, and where available, the rent quoted was higher; and finally, 4) "Across the nation, persons of British origin earn approximately 10 per cent more than the national average." In Newfoundland and Quebec, minorities earn 40% of the provincial average. And "consistently, in all provinces, French Canadians earn less than the provincial income averages" (Forcese, *ibid*:44, quoting from Statistics 1969:17). This is, of course, not to say that there are no Frenchmen or Jews or Italians or Japanese or South Asians or Blacks who have "made it" in Canadian society. Simply that there are not enough of them, proportional to their numbers.

This then, should be a serious issue in multiculturalism, not only because the main reason why people from other lands, including from the British Isles, came to Canada was for their socioeconomic betterment, but because respect for others and treatment of others as equals are very much a function of one's socioeconomic level. Philosophically speaking, this should not be the case, of course. We have all heard the statement that we should treat others as equals, simply because they are also human beings. But this of course, is not the reality. Ability to achieve one's socioeconomic and professional goals in the new society is also import-

ant because it is when one's bread and butter issues have been solved that one can think of making one's multicultural contribution to society.

But what can we as employees do about providing equal opportunities? We, after all, do not hire anyone. Should not it be up to business leaders, governments, school boards, the Human Rights Commission, etc. to ensure equal opportunities? Some of these individuals who make up these bodies are our own parents, brothers and sisters, uncles and nephews who belong to our old boys/girls network and we have access to them. So it is up to us as employees to unite and bring community pressure to bear on the powers that be. This is why we, as multicultural leaders, should take it upon ourselves to be watchdogs of our Human Rights Commission. This is a responsibility needed to be taken on by everyone in a multicultural society.

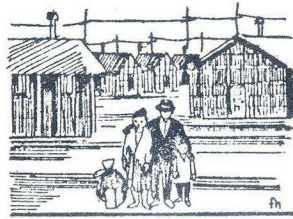
Multiculturalism is humanizing action, personally and socially. Personally, we want to learn and grow, to become better human beings, adjusting multiculturally to each other. Socially, we want to actively work towards ensuring equal opportunity for everyone, helping in particular the ones who cannot help themselves. Let a hundred flowers bloom, to quote the late Mao Tse-Tung, the cross pollination of which only can usher in the maturation and flowering of this land — this multicultural kaleidoscope we call Canada.

— Suwanda H. J. Sugunasiri



Suwanda Sugunasiri

books



Politics of Racism

Ann Gomer Sunahara, *The Politics of Racism: The Uprooting of Japanese Canadians During the Second World War.*

Toronto: James Lorimer, 1981 (pp. xi + 222).

SEVERAL times in my tenure in Toronto I have been approached by young researchers examining the topic at hand. I could easily refer them to numerous works published in the U.S. about the American Japanese WW II experience, but the number of easily obtainable works on the comparable experience in Canada was exhausted quickly. That is a simple reason I welcome Ann Gomer Sunahara's present work.

The end of the thirty year security clause on government documents has allowed Mrs. Sunahara to rummage through the archives on government discussions and the controversies which led to the Japanese uprooting and deportation to the Alberta sugar beet farms or to the isolated ghost towns of the British Columbia Rockies which served as the internment-concentration camps, or to the prisoner-of-war camps at Petawawa and Angler, Ontario. The documents also shed light on the dispossession of Japanese goods, cars, farms, etc., and on the government programs to deport the Japanese Canadians to Japan, a foreign country to the Japanese who were British subjects.

What Mrs. Sunahara uncovers is not necessarily new. That there was collusion against the Japanese Canadians at the highest political levels between British Columbia

and Ottawa, using the emotions of racism in BC to incarcerate the Canadian Japanese, was always known. The government documents tell us about specific involvement of the ministers and MP's. What emerges is the strong opposition from senior police-RCMP and military officials, the latter having had security information from the beginning and throughout the war that Canadian Japanese were not engaged in sabotage — and were loyal to Canada. American intelligence came up with the same information about its residents of Japanese ancestry.

But the senior police and military officials were not the senior politicians, like Prime Minister William Lyon MacKenzie King, or Vancouver Centre MP, Ian Alistair MacKenzie (1930-1948), who saw political opportunity in incarcerating the Japanese. The few senior cabinet officials who stood for British ideals of freedom and adamantly opposed the wartime government policies, soon found themselves in positions of little influence.

When the American and Canadian Japanese experience is compared, one powerful factor emerges. The American Japanese continually used the courts to wage war against the various aspects of racist policies plotted against them. Though I have learned of a few cases in this book I did not know of before, the Canadian Japanese did not fight in the courts. Their battle gained in strength as meagre support groups grew up throughout Canada, scattered though they were as a result of government policy. As they gained support in the larger community, they were able to apply some brakes to the racist government policies until the effect of the War Measures Act and its successor was over.

Mrs. Sunahara reminds the larger Canadian society that present day racial tolerance is relatively new; and that previous Canadian history strikes a different path. She also aims her book at Japanese Canadians themselves, to shed light on the racist tactics at the highest government levels leading to their mass deportation, dispossession and incarceration.

Four decades after the event, younger generations are ignorant not only of their linguistic but of their cultural heritage. That is the price of assimilation. Ann Sunahara's *The Politics of Racism* is a simple primer to educate both the larger society and the Canadian Japanese themselves.

—Roland M. Kawano

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compiled by Rob Rolfe

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MASS MEDIA EXCLUSION OF MINORITY PERSPECTIVES

NON-WHITES are likely to have less good news reported because they're seldom represented in the newsroom, and few white reporters seek out positive feature stories in non-white communities. It's not that reporters are insensitive — most of them sympathize with the victims of prejudice — but they don't know their way around these communities, and non-white activities are rarely considered majority concerns, not, at least, until they become a threat. It adds up to a built-in exclusion of minority perspectives.

And then there's the way the media reports foreign news, which centers on tensions

A brief but valuable account of early Metis history and the continuing fight for Metis and Native rights, by a Metis writer who has been involved in this struggle for many years.

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Rob Rolfe

and political upheaval: revolution in Rhodesia, a coup d'etat in Grenada, civil war in San Salvador, Lebanon, Chad, the list is endless. Such news far outweighs news of progress being made by developing countries in education, health, industry and agriculture. And the message for Canadians is that non-whites are violent and volatile, which could heighten the latent racism in our society.

Most importantly, visible minorities are seldom portrayed as if they belonged here, they're depicted as an aberration, a kind of oddity. This came through clearly in September of 1979 when CTV's W-5 aired a program called Campus Giveaway. Its narrator charged that foreign students were crowding Canadians out of university programs while the camera focused on students of Chinese origin.

The Canadian Chinese community organized a protest. They lobbied for six months against CTV, I talked to the network's executive vice-president, whom I knew, and to CTV's credit, President Murray Chercover publicly admitted using, quote, "distorted statistics," and as an act of contrition, ran a useful provocative program revealing discrimination in hiring practices. But the point is that too often Canada's non-whites are seen as non-Canadians, and one reason is the image we get of this country through the media.

Last spring my directorate commissioned a study of Canadian prime time network television. Its findings were disturbing. Non-whites make up 11 per cent of Metro Toronto's inhabitants, but only .8 per cent of the people shown were Southeast Asians. Blacks were represented by 5.6 per cent, but only because of U.S. programs, which now portray the American population mix with fair accuracy.

Advertising distorts the picture further. Non-whites are rarely seen in TV commercials, again excepting those made in the U.S.

Non-white models rarely appear in Canadian catalogues and magazines. Anyone from abroad watching Canadian television could justifiably conclude that this is an almost pure white society. That's not an image that non-whites can identify with, and it's not one that enables whites to identify with non-whites. It's an image conducive to racism and bias, a barrier to social cohesion and stability.

Our studies also indicate that the media, especially TV, perpetuate stereotypes. There's the quaint little Japanese chefs plugging "reel remon" juice in commercials, Mr. Momma who rolls his eyes and declaims "they treats me likes somebody," the pig-tailed coolies and laundrymen and the wily evil Oriental of Dr. Who seen on TV Ontario, until it was cancelled on Chinese complaints of, quote, "dangerous, offensive, racist stereotyping."

The media respond with quick concern to discrimination, but normal news values inevitably reinforce the idea that race is more of a problem than it really is. A 1974 UNESCO survey of the Vancouver *Sun* and the *Province* by Joe Scanlon of Carleton University turned up 64 stories that year about East Indians. Six of these stories were positive, the rest dealt with violence, crime, white hostility, discrimination, race relations, immigration and unemployment. This survey makes the same point as U.S. and U.K. studies: lining non-whites with violence and problems make them seem a threat and a problem, strengthening bias and anti-immigration attitudes.

The dilemma for the Vancouver papers was that East Indians in that period had by any standard been newsmakers. Rivalry in the Sikh community between orthodox and westernized religious groups had erupted in violent vendettas. But what was missing from media reports, Scanlon concluded, was the story behind the story, backgrounders to make the violence and problems understandable.

The media reports the trees but neglects the forest. They perform a valuable function in spotlighting social justice, but like Pavlov's dogs, they're conditioned to respond only to certain stimuli, which means they have seldom the inclination — or money, or time — to originate stories.

In Vancouver, Scanlon found that there had been no stories published on what an

immigrant from a primitive Indian village undergoes when transported to a strange modern city. No stories on the moral distress when religious customs disintegrate, dividing friends and families, separating those who integrate from those who won't or can't. No stories of fearful children, taunted and beaten in the school yard, of Sikhs harassed and humiliated at work or on the street; of temples vandalized, house windows smashed, landlords who say, "It's just been rented," and employers who say, "Don't call us, we'll call you."

Scanlon reports that the Vancouver media were neither inaccurate nor unfair. But in emphasizing crime, he says, and I quote, "they label East Indians in a way they do not label other racial or ethnic groups."

All the media people in Vancouver said they did not deliberately include the name of a racial or ethnic group unless it was vital to the story, and an analysis of 196 stories on 21 murders showed they were right — except for East Indians. Of the 23 murders, 12 involved white Canadians, four involved Canadian Indians, four involved European immigrants, and three involved East Indians, but except for one quote the only reference to race was to East Indians. The news is a kind of drama, run as a serial, and it seems the media simply accepted racial conflict and violence as part of the East Indian scene in Vancouver.

Consistently, the media opposes discrimination while creating an atmosphere that provokes it. Headlines like "Ku Klux Klan Preparing for War," "Cross Burned By Klan," "Non-whites Go Home — Klan" raise hackles among minority groups while encouraging closet racists.

The media has recently been criticized for sensationalizing Klan coverage. B.C. Labor Minister Jack Heinrich warned that "By running alarmist headlines, you accelerate the concern." B.C. psychologist Don Dutton declared that articles in the Vancouver *Sun* had "considerably more impact than Klan literature." North York Mayor Mel Lastman has asserted that "the inexcusable amount of attention the press pays to these lunatics implies that they number in the thousands rather than in the dozens." At the start the Klan in Canada was a media event, Gunther Plaut has observed, "But once the genie was out of the bottle it assumed a life of its own."

— James Fleming

Minister of State for Multiculturalism

FOR THE SURVIVORS OF TULE LAKE

(Note: Tule Lake was one of ten concentration camps in which 110,000 Japanese Americans were imprisoned during World War II.)

In early 1943, the War Relocation Authority administered a loyalty questionnaire to all internees, male and female, 17 years and older. The crucial questions were Nos. 27 and 28, which caused much confusion and conflict for the Issei and Nisei. The questionnaire was used as a basis for separating the "loyal" from the "disloyal" and Tule Lake was designated as the "Segregation Center" for those who refused to answer "Yes-Yes" or to register at all for the questionnaire.)

This poem was read at the Tule Lake Pilgrimage in May 1979.

Question 27. Are you willing to serve in
the armed forces of the United States on
combat duty, wherever ordered?

Question 28. Will you swear unqualified
allegiance to the United States of America
and faithfully defend the United States from
any or all attack by foreign or domestic
forces and forswear any form of allegiance
or obedience to the Japanese emperor, to any
other foreign government, power or organization?

What meaning loyalty behind
barbed-wire fence
in tar-paper barracks
under surveillance by MPs with
rifles and machine guns in
wooden guard towers?

Those questions did
not need to
be asked

In the yellow dust
illimitable blue horizon
Abalone Mountain's soft brown slope
there were no answers

No answers
except in
faces of our children
simplicity of our being
our dark eyes shining
with love

Voices rose
in resistance
to say,

"NO, I will not serve!
NO, I will not defend this country!"
(Against whom? Our selves? The enemy?)

And so you survived,
thrived, to raise
a bamboo garden out of
the desert land.

To endure,
express ourselves,
build a life that
we may continue.

And now we come together
to reclaim the spirit in
the land
to seek redress from
America
a country warring with
itself
and the war will not cease in

Nihonmachi & Chinatown
Harlem & Watts
Loisaida & Aztlan
reservations of
Native America
(in Golden Gate Park)
graze slowly
rare, majestic buffalo

We come together
to remember
the rage, sorrow,
laughter, loss.

We come together
to tell our stories.

—Richard Oyama

Richard Oyama was raised in New York City where he was Coordinator of Basement Writers Workshop, an Asian American community arts center, from 1974-78, and co-editor of *American Born And Foreign*, an anthology of Asian American poetry (Sunbury Press, 1979). A recent graduate of San Francisco State College in English: Creative Writing, Oyama has been published in *Y'Bird*, *Bridge* and *Contact II*, among other journals.

VASCO

Vasco
A small shopkeeper
Had his head stuck
In a beehive of bills

Writs were served
For weeks
He left his mail unopened

His accountant
Spoke words of comfort
Like a parish priest

The sheriff came
But not to shop

Would bankruptcy
Give him relief?

For six months
The Broker
Found no buyers
For his business

Then one Sunday
His worldly Elder came

“What this place needs
Is a decent fire”

“What do you mean
A decent fire Elder?”

“Full coverage
Full destruction
No inquiry
No suspicion”

Didn't you know
I was only joking
Said the Elder
Just joking?

— Charles Roach

Charles Roach is the author of two
collections of poetry: *Root for the Ravens*
Canada In Us Now

THESE BREAKS IN WEATHER

are what make her sing
there at the window slicing
supper vegetables. Her voice
is a livid thing, opposite
winter. Hillside Drive gleams
with melt and the remaining
snow becomes a church school
fabula of pharaoh's army
washed over by the Sea.
She warbles a hymn for all
the resurrected whites
: angel robes, potatoes, bones
starch drying 'on her knife.

ALL HALLOW'S EVE

Locusts chirr and six common birds
scold to be fed. In two hours
the weekend fathers will bring children
to the outer arc of porch light
and let them, masked and open-handed,
come to the doors.

To the gumbacked hawk in the window
we have added the skeleton and ghost
so much like a penis under a sheet.

Old instincts scratched
the birds stay loudly in the trees.
Tonight only children will go through fear
from generosity to generosity.

— Sam F. Johnson

Originally from the U.S.A., **Sam F. Johnson** spent approximately 10 years in Toronto where he earned a reputation as one of the finest of the new poets in the city. He has published in a variety of magazines, including the highly respected *Poetry* (Chicago). Since 1979 he has been living in Dayton, Ohio with his wife Pat and son Benjamin.

FEDAYEEN ("Those Prepared to Die")

"My friend, you would not tell with such high zest

"To children ardent for some desperate glory

"The Old Lie: Dulce et decorum est

"My friend, you would not tell with such high zest

"To children ardent for some desperate glory

"The Old Lie: Dulce et decorum est

"Pro Patria mori."

Wilfred Owen

These only seem to be children:
they play football & hopscotch, yes,
but only as a cover. The t-shirts
with the t.v. superhero ikons
should give the game dead away.
You'd these soldiers, above all,
would ignore the guise, seeing as
most of them don't shave yet &
still pretend they are prepared
to die, assuming it will never
happen to them.

Whenever a curfew comes down
to give a pretext for random fire,
the adults get rounded up & put
under military wrap. The village young
then flit about the streets,
playing hide-&-seek with patrols,
smuggle messages & throw stones
at armoured cars.

These are changelings, become
what they were born into. All of them
under twelve years old cradle-slept
to lullabies from fighter jets
& woke to the same nightmare.

— Terrence Cox

Terrence Cox was born in northern Ontario and attended Brock and Toronto Universities. He has taught in Africa, at Brock University and most recently at Birzeit University in the occupied West Bank. His journalistic pieces on politics and music have appeared in the *Toronto Star*, *Georgia Straight* and *Saturday Night*; over 100 poems have been published in *This Magazine*, *Fiddlehead*, *Antigonish Review*, *Queen's Quarterly*, and *Dalhousie Review*, among others.

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