their English-speaking neighbours" (180). Many francophones were also concerned that their children would not learn enough English in francophone schools. Such divisions were also evident in Manitoba and Ontario. Behiels notes that these divisions have their roots in deeper sociological transformations relating to secularism and urbanization.

Behiels concludes that a liberal interpretation of section 23 by the Supreme Court, skillful political negotiations by francophone leaders, and the political and financial support of the federal government (including giving provinces millions of dollars to implement school governance) were key factors that led to francophone school governance (325–326). This seems to be a sound summary of his "descriptive analysis." Behiel ends the book with a helpful discussion of the challenges that still face francophone communities outside of Quebec and the legal and political methods that are being developed to meet these challenges.

The book is less convincing and useful in places where Behiels' affinity for pan-Canadian nationalism and a broad judicial interpretation of section 23 lead him to make underdeveloped and unconvincing assertions. For example, in the Manitoba case study, Behiels remarks that the Court of Appeal ruled against school governance because "the justices were too closely bound to their historical, social and political context to render a truly objective decision ..." (213). This suggests that the only "objective" reading of section 23 would incorporate school governance, even though the excerpts from the decision suggest that the judges concluded reasonably that the framers of the Charter, including Jean Chrétien, did not mean to include school governance in section 23. Similarly, in various passages throughout the book (sometimes oddly placed in the case studies), Behiels tries to counter critics of judicial activism by emphasizing how important a broad, but prudent, interpretation of section 23 was to francophone groups and that such interpretations "did not distort the democratic rights of the majority, as many Charterphobes would have us believe" (193). What Behiels neglects to mention, however, is that francophone activists often tried to use Charter decisions and rights discourse to force their own policy preferences on other members of the francophone minority who were not supportive of homogenous French schools and school governance. The debate around judicial activism and rights is a complex one and Behiels does not do it much justice in his book.

Despite this criticism, I would very much recommend this book for anyone interested not only in the history of Francophone groups outside of Quebec, but for those interested in social movements, interest group politics, public policy, education policy and administration, constitutional politics, legal mobilization and/or the relationship between state and society.

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Manitoba's French-Language Crisis: A Cautionary Tale
Raymond M. Hébert
Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2004, pp. xvi, 296

Raymond Hébert, a professor at Collège universitaire de Saint-Boniface, was passionately engaged as a participant-observer in the divisive debate he documents regarding the proposed constitutional entrenchment of French-language government services in Manitoba in 1983–4. When his family settled in Manitoba in the 1880s, the skeletal provincial government operated under a constitutionally bilingual regime in the context of increasingly explosive Ontarian immigration that refashioned provincial society. Forgotten by most followers of Canadian politics, the raucous controversy meticulously examined in this book came close to paralyzing the NDP

government. Hébert's reconstructed imbroglio builds well on documented sources but, oddly, he only interviewed participants supportive of the changes and not their opponents.

Hébert forsakes fitting his narrative into an overarching abstract theoretical explanatory model (he considered but discarded Adorno's "authoritarian personality") and settles on telling a good, sobering story. Nevertheless, he tries in his concluding chapter to understand the crisis in terms of its symbolism and place in the ethnic pecking order that enveloped Manitoba. He points to Raymond Bréton's Canadian application of status symbolism—that individuals expect something of their private identities to be reflected and embedded in their public institutions. He also makes good use of Robert Altemeyer's psychological work on right-wing authoritarianism. The analysis recalls Richard Hofstadter's characterization of American political paranoia: "heated exaggeration, suspiciousness, and conspiratorial fantasy" (211).

Hébert demonstrates how the provincial Conservatives, seeking political advantage, unleashed a populist torrent of ethnic bigotry. Some long-time NDP stalwarts broke with the party, retired Liberal politicians waded in, and sundry unsavoury characters joined the anti-French parade. As in Ontario later in the decade, municipal politicians used plebiscites to delegitimize minority aspirations. Opponents skillfully deployed spurious arguments and code words like "secret deal." Conservative leader Sterling Lyon labelled the proposed constitutional amendment a "form of tyranny" and his party pursued a policy that poisoned public opinion. The Société Franco-Manitobaine (SFM), which negotiated the amendment with the government, had its offices torched, graffiti was sprayed on Saint Boniface buildings, death threats were uttered, and personal insults were hurled at a francophone government MLA. We learn, surprisingly, that the SFM had backed the "Yes" side in the 1980 Quebec referendum. Amidst liberal doses of slanderous venom, mass opposition demonstrations were organized.

The introductory chapter, reviewing the treatment of French-language rights between the 1870s and 1970s, stresses how those negotiated rights were ignored and overridden by courts and politicians notwithstanding some lower court victories by francophones (which were only uncovered in recent years). You would never know from this account, however, that the much-maligned legislation abrogating those limited rights was introduced by a Franco-Manitoban Attorney General or that the Franco-Manitoban Chief Justice described the operative language regime in the courts in the 1960s as "pas de problème." Nor would you know that Franco-Manitobans were overrepresented in the legislature, that French was spoken freely in the legislature and courts despite it being legally *verboten*, and that Franco-Manitoban culture was more vibrant in the first half of the twentieth century, when francophone rights were nonexistent in law, than in the second half when they were resurrected and liberally funded by governments. (See my "The Questionable Relevance of the Constitution in Advancing Minority Cultural Rights in Manitoba," this *Journal* xxv [1992]: 697–721). Nevertheless, Hébert's concluding chapter appreciates how Manitoba changed after the nineteenth century: virtually every resident came to use English as the common linguistic denominator. Franco-Manitobans, who composed roughly half the population at the creation of the province, came to be one of many ethnic groups, outnumbered by Germans and Ukrainians.

The lesson I take from this cautionary tale—one that national politicians foolishly ignored in rushing headlong into the Meech Lake and Charlottetown debacles—is that iterative administrative and statutory measures are more efficacious, practical and politic than the pursuit of formal constitutional change. The high politics of constitutional amendment invites high-blown drama because of its symbolic freight. Indeed, Hébert's penultimate paragraph acknowledges "Only the words 'official lan-

guages' are missing from the *Manitoba Act*; the reality is that in all significant respects, Manitoba is now officially bilingual" (221).

The book's strength and weakness lie in its detail. The riveting shockers like death threats and arson will startle readers who think of Canada as a tolerant, stable, peaceable and reasonable democracy. However, the minutiae of negotiations that bore little fruit and the positions of people whose opinions were of little weight are boring. Overall, this is a solid, commendable work that reminds us how tenuous democracy is when linguistic animosity swirls about. Then again, for Franco-Manitobans and Manitoba generally, there was a happy conclusion: the issue and crisis faded as quickly as they had been stirred up.

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La censure et la littérature au Québec, Des vieux couvents au plaisir de vivre – 1920–1959.
Pierre Hébert (avec la collaboration d'Élise Salaün)
Québec, Fides, 2004, 229 pp.

Dans cet ouvrage, l'auteur propose d'aborder la littérature au Québec en étudiant les cas de censure qui s'y rattachent. Un peu comme s'il voulait reconstruire l'histoire des idées au Québec sous un nouvel angle, celui de la fiction, et de l'interdit face à cette fiction. *La censure et la littérature au Québec, Des vieux couvents au plaisir de vivre – 1920–1959* se veut la suite d'un premier livre du même auteur, paru quelques années plus tôt, et qui couvrait la période allant du 17e siècle jusqu'en 1919. Hébert reprend là où il s'était arrêté pour se rendre jusqu'au début de la révolution tranquille.

La censure, dans cette étude, peut s'illustrer par l'interdit mais aussi par un contrôle du dicible et de l'imaginaire. L'approche herméneutique utilisée par l'auteur consiste à interpréter les textes, ici les produits québécois de la littérature, afin de faire éclore la censure qu'ils contiennent. Cette censure, qu'elle soit de nature constitutive ou institutive, ne prend forme réellement que dans la perception du censuré. « La censure naît, nous dit Hébert, du point de vue de l'individu (ou d'un groupe donné), surgie de la perception qu'une intervention est illégitime, fût-elle légale. »[1] Elle est toujours contextuelle. Il s'agira donc, dans cet ouvrage, d'illustrer cette dialectique conflictuelle entre le pouvoir et le contre-pouvoir sur une période donnée. Hébert tente de montrer qu'entre 1920 et 1959 on est passé de la primauté du « culte de Dieu avant le culte de l'intelligence » à « la conscience éclairée du lecteur ».

Hébert observe d'abord une certaine accalmie en ce qui à trait à l'interdiction d'ouvrages au début des années 20. En effet, de 1914 à 1934, date de la mise à l'index de l'œuvre de Harvey, *Demi-civilisés*, aucun ouvrage ne semble s'attirer les foudres du clergé. Est-ce à dire que cette période se caractérise temporairement par un plus large espace de liberté? L'auteur n'adhère pas à cette thèse. La littérature de cette époque, dit-il, n'a rien d'exutoire ni de libertaire. Le début des années 20, marqué par une littérature du terroir, une littérature régionaliste, témoigne d'un primat important du réel sur l'imaginaire. La fiction a cédé la place au récit du quotidien catholique canadien-français, dans une tyrannie de l'unique. La censure pendant cette période consiste donc à *faire dire* la réalité, et la littérature qui en émerge pourrait être qualifiée, dit Christian Salmon, de « *Tombeau de la fiction* »[2].

Dans les années 30, on observe une éclaircie dans cette obscurité du terroir, « un feu d'artifice au-dessus du crépuscule », avec l'émergence du roman d'intérieur : scénarios plus introspectifs, questionnements identitaires. C'est ce qui fait dire à