



by ANDRÉ ROSSINGER

CANADIAN DIMENSION

Political naivete, even if it is motivated by idealism and a deep devotion to the re-birth of French Canada, can end in tragedy for leaders and followers. It is a fundamental political error to assume that de Gaulle is for an independent Quebec. He is against any steps which allow an extension or strengthening of the reactionary power umbrella of the U.S. establishment in the world. He thinks and acts within this concept. This is also the reason why he is against the entry of Great Britain into the European Common Market. He is afraid that Great Britain, as a senior satellite of the U.S., will renew the old practice of playing one European country against the other to achieve a new goal — to transform the European Common Market into an economic dominion of the U.S. and Great Britain.

Viewed within the grand strategic plan of de Gaulle, his aim is to achieve a disengagement by Canada as a whole from the U.S. power politic, with the full support of French and English speaking Canadians. A peaceful or violent separation of Quebec from the rest of Canada would cause a chain reaction in English speaking Canada which would only increase the domination of the U.S.

It is also a dangerous illusion to expect substantial economic support from France for a separate Quebec, threatened by economic and political blockade by English Canada and the U.S.A. Because de Gaulle is a conservative man in the field of economic policy at home, he is almost impotent when a conflict develops between his international goals and the vested interests in France. A recent example illustrates this point. On Sept. 11th, 1967, only a few weeks after de Gaulle's visit to Quebec, the huge aluminum company in France, Pechiney, informed the business community in the U.S. that the original plan to invest 150 million dollars in a smelter in Quebec had been abandoned in favour of a smelter in the U.S. instead.

De Gaulle's rule in France is a very precarious one. Substantial sectors of public opinion approve his foreign policy but reject his internal and economic policies. Another equally substantial sector is in favour of his internal and economic policy but against his foreign policy. The result is that he is constantly under a barrage of criticism.

There is a great difference between the freedom with which de Gaulle announces some principle and the freedom with which he may act to support that same principle. A very important section of French big business is either intimately linked with U.S. big business or is eager to establish such a connection, and de Gaulle does not dare to antagonize them. It is very important that we see de Gaulle's strength and his direct and indirect contributions to the weakening of the forces of aggression in the world, but we must also realize his limitations.

*Political Blinker No. three:* There are at least fifteen sub-groups within Quebec, with different political orientations, socio-economic interests and grades of awakening and action. Nevertheless there is an English-Canadian version and a French-Canadian version of illusions about homogeneity and unity of purpose in Quebec. Let us see in what field and to what degree this is true.

The two major groups, one in and around the Quebec Liberal Party and the other in and around the Union Nationale Party, have indeed some common features. Both are basically conservative parties dedicated to the preservation and the strengthening of the rule of the power elite within Quebec under new historic conditions. This requires new tactics, new adjustments and first of all a new pact between the French and English-Canadian power elites. Provincial rights and their extension are envisaged as a legal tool to that end. Increased autonomy and self-determination are desired mainly for the benefit

of the newly emerging French-Canadian bourgeoisie, who want a greater slice of wealth from the Canadian pool of capital formation. In order to assure and maintain social support one is willing to share a little bit of it amongst the masses in Quebec in the form of a limited system of social security.

Both parties are basically anti-labour through legislation and its interpretation. Both are open or silent supporters of Canada's participation in the U.S.-led international counter-revolution. Both are interested in such educational reform as would train efficient manpower on all levels, but they are not interested in helping the same people become alert, progressive citizens as well. Both parties maintain an anti-democratic structure in the leader-population relationship.

The difference between the two major groups is of a tactical rather than a strategic nature. The basis of the Liberal Party is in the cities and to a lesser extent in the countryside. In the case of the Union Nationale it is just the reverse. The Liberal Party in Quebec is supported by the main body of the English and French-Canadian managerial class in the service of Canadian, U.S., British, Belgian and German industrial, commercial and communication enterprises. Behind the Union Nationale stands the main body of the old and new French-Canadian rural bourgeoisie and a minority of the urban bourgeoisie.

An important difference of a tactical nature is the fact that the Union Nationale Party is for wider autonomy than the Quebec Liberal Party. However, both regard a new Canadian constitution or a re-interpreted BNA Act mainly as a pact between two power elites. They refuse to envisage a new constitution as a basic document which directs the French and English speaking people in Canada to social fulfilment, national re-birth, true economic and political democracy and genuine international co-operation.

Until now, even the existing measure of Quebec autonomy has never been fully utilized for the social and cultural uplifting of the whole population. The power elite failed to use capital formation in Quebec to buy know-how or direct investment, research and marketing in order to establish Quebec-based industries under Quebec rather than under foreign ownership.

The French-Canadian power elite failed to make the French language the working language of industry and commerce at the beginning of the industrial revolution in Quebec. They failed to take the example from Switzerland, where it is taken for granted that in French cantons the working language is French everywhere and that in German cantons the working language is German. Under reversed conditions, an English-Canadian Quebec within a Canada of Frenchmen from coast to coast would not have waited as long to insist that the working language be English.

Now when the anglicization of the French language threatens the cultural heritage and sense of identity, it is well to remember that the belated steps for remedy are not sufficient. The use of one's mother language not only at home but also at work in Quebec where the overwhelming majority of the population consists of French-Canadians is long overdue. However, this alone will not satisfy the people if it is coupled with continuously depressed wages and poor working conditions. Until now, French-Canadian private and state companies have never pioneered improvement in these fields. On the contrary, they have displayed intransigent reluctance and legal intimidation.

All one has to do is remember some of the long strikes which brought great suffering to those who had no alternative (Dupuis Freres, Hydro-Quebec, teacher and hospital workers).

*Political Blinker No. four:* The nationalism displayed by the top leaders of the Union Nationale and Quebec Liberal Party is not a modern national sense of social identity and concern for all embracing progress for all the people. It is rather a political and tactical means to create an illusion of this identity and progress among the masses to win their support, while their chief concern is their interests as a power elite. All these double plays have been intensified since de Gaulle's visit. Lesage and his friends added a shrill French-Canadian accent to the English-Canadian protests about de Gaulle.

For Johnson the whole thing was an important educational experience. It finally made his role in Quebec clear to him. It is obvious that he intends to develop a Quebec version of de Gaulleism: conservative internal and economic policies in Quebec coupled with politically manipulated French-Canadian national fervour. Together this should obtain the maximum possible concessions from Ottawa for extending autonomy. As in the past this freedom of action will not be used for the socio-economic and cultural liberation of the people but for consolidation of the socio-economic and cultural privileges of the traditional and new power elite.

It is also obvious that, for the time being, the Union Nationale Party and government regard the RIN in Quebec benevolently. They definitely do not want to go as far as the RIN regarding complete separation from the rest of Canada. However, they appreciate the RIN as a pressure group which can indirectly help them to wring concessions from English Canada. When these have been obtained they will turn openly against the RIN for very important reasons. While the power elite behind the Union Nationale is in competition with the power elite in the rest of Canada, it also has a need to maintain good relations with them to guarantee aid should popular unrest threaten the established order in Quebec.

Whatever is the nature, extent and name of the relative autonomy: special status within or beyond the BNA Act, two nations within one state, two states within one confederation, associate state — the most important question still is the following: Autonomy for whom and for whose benefit? Is it to protect, with up-dated methods, the rule of the present power elite; or is it to break the existing monopoly of power and to act with greater freedom for the necessary peaceful reforms in political, economic, social and cultural fields for the benefit of the people?

The recent Conservative Party Convention in Toronto answered these questions. There has always existed an invisible umbilical cord between the Union Nationale Party of Quebec and the Conservative Party of Canada. This bond was made evident by the active participation in Toronto of French-Canadian politicians who support the Union Nationale Party in Quebec. Their presence demonstrated the basic accord which exists between the French and English-Canadian bourgeoisie, regarding socio-economic and foreign policy. When the English and French speaking delegates in Toronto envisaged the "two nation" concept for Canada, they renewed a tacit agreement that it be used to fulfill conservative rather than progressive goals. Because the decision-makers remained the same the seeds were planted once again — seeds which could only grow into frustration for the people.

By practising the dangerous political art of misinterpretation many people will be led to believe that a change in political label means a change in the social, economic content and cultural-moral value system as well.

**CS**  
**CO-OPERATIVE INSURANCE SERVICES**

**John Hudson**  
(HALIFAX)  
Bus. - 422-9309  
Res. - 423-0960

**Percy McGrath**  
(DARTMOUTH)  
Bus. - 463-2242  
Res. - 469-1605

**AUTO - Immediate full coverage**  
**FIRE - Bonus Plan Protection**  
**LIFE - A plan for every need.**

**LAPINETTE**

did we ever tell you the story of how our lapinary compariot, tried to talk us into a special delivery system?

Lappy ponders a placid pecuniary porker.

Well, lapinette likes the idea of piggy-banks, because there is something human about a piggy. So she proposed an arrangement where we would mail your cancelled True Chequing Account cheques back in pigs.

Lappy envisaged the delivery system as a private deal.

Well, goodness knows, we try. So we have decided to give it the old campusbank run-it-into-an-account-and-see-if-it-earns-any-interest.

but we have to modify it a bit, because there aren't enough pigbanks to do justice to Lappy's scheme. but if our plan works out, you can sort of pretend.

but it all hinges on our succeeding in talking the royal mail into painting their trucks pink.

bank of montreal

**campusbank**  
HOME FOR WANTED MONIES & LOANS

spring garden road & carleton street  
branch  
c.d.f. lusby, manager

**The Dalhousie Book Store**  
**Features:**

- Prescribed Textbooks • Stationery Supplies
- Laboratory Supplies • Paper Backs
- Better Quality Sportswear
- Ceramics and Jewellery

One-stop shopping for every student  
Business Hours — Mon. to Fri. From 9 'til 5

**The New DALHOUSIE BOOK STORE** On Campus For Convenience

in the basement of the Chem. Bldg. Extension

**Repetition  
Repetition  
Repetition  
Repetition  
Repetition  
Repetition  
Repetition**

is the  
Key to  
Successful  
Advertising  
try us  
Phone  
**429-1144**

**The  
Tweed  
Shop**

CLOTHES FOR THE COLLEGE GIRL.

from  
CANADIAN AND EUROPEAN MANUFACTURERS

—The Shop of Distinction—  
— 10% Student Discount —  
5469 SPRING GARDEN RD.  
Phone 423-8755

T.A. HICKING PROP.

**CLANCY  
Brothers**

**CAPITOL THEATRE**

**WED. MARCH 6**  
**8:30 p.m**

Prices \$2.20, \$3.30  
Tickets go on Sale  
**THURSDAY, FEB. 29**