

remains a lively and integral part of Canada today for the same reason. The clearest and truest message coming to the rest of us from Quebec today is a new claim, a new insistence upon the Quebec presence in Canada. After a century of turning inward, of being an enclave, a sort of state within the state, Quebec is turning outward toward Canada and the whole world. Canada must now come to terms with itself as a country with two majorities, one national, the other regional. Our French-speaking fellow-citizens no longer see themselves as a French-speaking minority in an English-speaking Canada but as an integral part of the great, universal French culture sharing Canada on a basis of equality with those of English expression.

There is no longer any question of "doing something for" Quebec, or "giving something to" Quebec. That very phraseology betrays a basic misunderstanding of what has happened and what is happening. It is the sort of misunderstanding that gives rise to the fatal question that so rightly infuriates Quebecers - What does Quebec want? The right question is: What kind of Canada do we want?

If this is the question that is put, the problems that arose out of the concept of a "special status" for Quebec can be seen in perspective. Such widely differing men as Bob Stanfield, Tommy Douglas and Claude Ryan seized upon "special status" as a kind of sovereign specific for all the ills of Quebec. They all dropped it very quickly, in part because it proved to be incapable of definition but, I think, in essence because "special status" was a return to the mistaken idea that something had to be "done for" or "given to" Quebec.

I have expressed my confidence in the survival of the Canadian unity, but if it is to survive there are certain requirements that must be met, by Quebec and by the rest of us. We must all subscribe fully to the national aims I quoted earlier. Quebec must pursue its special aims and aspirations within the disciplines that life in a federal state imposes upon all its constituent parts. There is room to spare for this if the will is there. The rest of us must learn to adapt ourselves to the new Canadian reality, to living in a country with two majorities.

As your discussions proceed you will be dealing in depth with separatism in Quebec. What I want to suggest to you tonight is that Quebec separatism will be easier to understand if it is clearly recognized to have two different expressions. There is the political movement which is a highly-visible threat, though not the only threat, to the Canadian unity. There is also a kind of spiritual separatism in Quebec. Every Canadien is at heart un peu séparatiste. This arises, quite naturally, I believe, from a sense of particularism, the