

....It was even implied at times that French Canadians are the only "true" Canadians. English-speaking Canadians were often referred to as "les Anglais" or as "les Anglo-Saxons", a term which English-speaking people of Scottish or Irish descent, let alone German or Ukrainian, heard without pleasure but not without surprise. Sometimes it was meant as a term of opprobrium, but more often it was simply an everyday phrase used to describe English-speaking Canadians, just as the latter frequently refer to "the French", meaning French Canadians. At Chicoutimi one speaker remarked bitterly, "All we're doing here is making the English rich...." But at Rimouski another participant talked about "our friends, the English". Whatever the other overtones, such expressions seemed to carry with them the idea that English Canadians were not really rooted in Canada, that they were recent arrivals linked still to another land. The *real* way, the *natural* way, to be Canadian was to be *French Canadian*.....

American proximity was seen by some English-speaking Canadians, especially in Western Canada, as one of the prime reasons against accepting biculturalism and bilingualism as a great issue in Canada. and dealing with it in the light of the concept of equal partnership. The major contemporary problem for Canada, they felt, was rather the question of north-south economic and social relationships, and the weakening of east-west ties. In the case of British Columbia, for example, the Commission had the

mon origin and language, the North American environment and the feeling of belonging to the same "French minority" within the country.

feeling that many B.C. citizens thought of themselves as belonging socially, economically and culturally to the Canadian-American Pacific Coast region, and were thus indifferent to the concerns of distant French Canada....

In summary, many French-speaking Canadians felt intensely that their demands for new conditions must be recognized without delay, and carried out by specific measures; non-French participants disagreed or hesitated. They did not know of the intensity of these feelings in French Canada or they did not understand the reasons for them. They saw the issues in their own and very different terms. Members of some of the other "ethnic groups" were afraid that in the outcome their place in Canadian society might be endangered. Many English-speaking Canadians were fearful that recognition of a dual society might lead to a splintering of the country. And behind all the discussion lay the shadow of the United States of America.....

French-speaking Canadians insistently brought up another problem—their role in the federal Civil Service, where the dominant working language is English. In Sudbury, one French Canadian, in answer to an English-speaking Canadian who had insisted that competence should be the requirement for admission to and promotion within the Civil Service replied: "First of all I want my language to be respected in public places, particularly in federal offices. I am a French Canadian, I am entitled to my language and I want to be able to speak it wherever I think I should, throughout Canada and in everything belonging to Ottawa, and I demand that respect."

Some English-speaking Canadians both recognized and regretted this situation. Some even suggested changes, but the mere thought of bilingualism being officially imposed at this level seemed to cause a feeling of apprehension. Thus in Edmonton a civil servant stated—although in a perfectly cordial tone of voice, that "If you require me, after 17 years of service in the Civil Service, to pass and write an examination, to speak French, simply to keep my job, I am afraid I will have to emigrate to Australia."

Some people wanted regional administrative services of the federal government to carry on their dealings with people in their own language. This point of view also received some support from English Canadians.....

Reference was also made on several occasions to the disadvantageous position in which their language placed French Canadians in the matter of competition; "When there are two people," we were told in Chicoutimi, "with the same level of education, entering one of our factories in Quebec, the English-speaking one has no need to learn a second language to earn his living, whereas the other person has to spend hours, even years mastering the second language... The first one can go ahead and improve himself in the technical field and take advantage of the first promotion that comes up, whereas the other one loses time learning a second language." Or again, "Everyone knows that here (Chicoutimi), where the population is 93 per cent French Canadian, big business has made English the working language and anyone who wants to work his way up at the plant has to use English."