

*Government Orders*

making it justifiable to have a race relations foundation is something that disappoints me very deeply.

Yet it is perfectly clear that we have learned very little. Even the literature of the 1940s or the 1930s could have predicted the events and the experiences of the Japanese at that time. Even then it was understood that exacerbations of racism and conflict among a diverse population inevitably result when there is some kind of crisis, as there was during World War II.

Others have mentioned that it was not only the Japanese who suffered during that period. The Ukrainian and Italian Canadians also suffered. This relates to another well understood aspect of racism. John Porter, in his *The Vertical Mosaic* pointed out quite clearly that racism is a function of belonging, the creation of "in" groups and "out" groups.

During World War II, in the great campaign to attain Allied victory, it was very easy to bind the country together in a collectivity identified with all the great things. But some were excluded, a significant portion of our own population was excluded. Japanese Canadians were not part of the "in" group because their colour identified them with another nation. Italian Canadians were members of the "out" group, not of the "in" group, because their language and appearance identified them with another nation.

• (1630)

One of the things achieved during the late 1950s, 1960s and the early 1970s was that we ceased talking as if this country consisted of only two peoples and began to identify Canada as a multicultural nation. Thus we defined a whole variety of peoples as belonging to the "in" group of Canadians. No longer was there a notion of bilingualism and biculturalism. It was bilingualism and multiculturalism, a diverse Canadian society made vigorous by its very diversity.

Another thing that John Porter and others who studied racism knew was that, to the extent to which a society in general is civilized and humane in its treatment of all of its people, one will thus encourage understanding and acceptance—not tolerance, but acceptance—as belonging.

This country, over the years, had built up a fabric of institutions, a social infrastructure, and a philosophy of social justice, which contributed as well to the creation of

a nation in which diversity characterized the "in" group of Canadians. If Canada is experiencing an increase in manifestations of racism, perhaps we should look at the fundamental changes in the fabric of the country that have not just happened or evolved. These changes have been specifically imposed upon a nation not ready for such dramatic changes in the relationships among its peoples, its regions, and its linguistic groups.

Most Canadians have a sense that somehow the country is being changed by the government in ways that are terribly fundamental and threatening to their security. This raises another aspect of racism that is well understood and that is scapegoatism. When people are hurting or when they are threatened, they look around for someone to blame, someone accessible, someone vulnerable, someone who can be identified as in some way threatening the security of jobs, income, or whatever, of people. There is abundant evidence all over our nation that this is occurring. In my memory, there has not been so many outward and explicit expressions of antagonism of various sorts in the country before. And so, we are going to have a foundation to study the roots of racism, even though the roots of racism are well understood.

It would be better if more focus was placed on the inaction and the changes that the government has perpetrated, and what has contributed to those outward manifestations of racism and, my God, there have been many of them.

In Toronto, there is outrage in the black community over the shootings, over the last decade, of some four individuals by the police. There is a similar situation in Montreal. These naked facts are not in themselves all that significant, but when members of a police commission in Toronto say that the police are justified in attributing different characteristics with respect to law-abidingness to blacks or Afro-Canadians as compared to the general population and that these crises are justified on the basis of a generalization about the criminality of Afro-Canadians and other black citizens of Toronto, that bespeaks a very dangerous situation.

It is no less dangerous when pins, T-shirts, and posters are circulated with impunity to arouse the antipathy of Canadians towards Chinese, Asians, blacks, and others within our nation. To a very large extent, these are manifestations of the scapegoating that has occurred. That scapegoating is all too often contributed to by the