

*Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement*

I will try to answer that because I think it is worth thinking a great deal about. Again I speak primarily not to my fellow politicians in this House, most of whom have thought it through on different sides and made up their minds, but to the people of our land. I want them to think through the implications of this deal for the future of our children and our children's children.

I ask: How could the present Conservative Prime Minister and Conservative premiers from coast to coast turn upside down the life dream of Sir John A. Macdonald? The question has to be answered. There is an answer to it and it is this. The Conservative Party today has no goal of nation-building that would distinguish our country from mainstream U.S.A. It has no goal precisely because, in my view, it has completely abandoned one of the guiding principles of conservatism.

There are in the history of Conservative movements here in Canada and abroad two important principles. In this debate and in the speeches we hear from the Premier of Saskatchewan, the Premier of Alberta, the Premier of British Columbia, and their eastern Canadian equivalents, there has been abandonment of one Conservative tradition in favour of another. I believe both here and abroad there are two traditions in the Conservative Party, normally competing for ascendancy, one with the other, and what we have seen here is the victory of one of those traditions over the other. We should be thinking about that and thinking about it a great deal.

On the one hand there is, for Conservatives of tradition, the importance of continuity and community and nation, of a sense of values based on a shared common past. According to this view, other values, like those of the market economy, are seen to be subordinate to the primacy of the historical common good of all in society. This view has been the kind of conservatism invoked by Disraeli in the 19th century when he made a critique of the ravages of industrialism. It was the conservatism of Sir John A. Macdonald who used government power to build a separate Canadian economy because he had a different vision of the future of this part of North America from what existed to the south of us. It is the conservatism that at one time supported the CBC and Air Canada. It was the conservatism of a Prince Edward Island Premier who, I remember very well, in the early part of this decade opposed putting property rights in the Constitution because he saw the possibility of its negative impact on a decision affecting the common good.

It was the conservatism of Harold McMillan's attack, and a brilliant attack it was, on Margaret Thatcher's policies in Great Britain. It was the conservatism of John Diefenbaker who brought in a national hospitalization program in this country because he knew if left to individual action in the market-place we would never have had such a plan.

**Some Hon. Members:** Hear, hear!

**Mr. Broadbent:** If there is this one kind of tradition of conservatism, as I think there is, and I believe it is at the core of most Canadians in varying degrees, there is another, stronger Conservative tradition in the Conservative Party. This

tradition, while I believe it has normally been the stronger of the two in the history of the Conservative Party here and abroad, in the present historic circumstances, unfortunately for Canada, has gained complete and utter dominance. This Conservative tradition puts exclusive emphasis on the market-place. Instead of market values being subordinated to those of the community good, those of the common good are subordinated to those of the market-place. To put it perhaps more precisely, for Conservatives of this tradition, consciously or unconsciously, the common good is virtually defined in terms of market values.

This Conservative tradition, in contrast to the one I spoke about a moment ago, was seen in the original opposition by Conservatives to government pensions and medicare. It is revealed in the ideology of privatization and deregulation, in the belief that a national program for child care can actually be achieved by giving people tax breaks. It is espoused by Milton Friedman, practised by Margaret Thatcher, trivialized by Ronald Reagan, and has been put into the heart and soul of this trade deal by Brian Mulroney.

**Some Hon. Members:** Hear, hear!

• (1820)

**Mr. Broadbent:** I believe that we have before us a deal which does not protect our water or our regional development programs, gives away control of our energy, puts in jeopardy over the next five to seven years and beyond our social programs, is indifferent to foreign ownership, and ignores the claims of Canadian culture precisely because these matters are totally subordinate to the claims of the market-place for the Conservative Government here in Ottawa and, regrettably, subordinate to the claims of the market-place for every Conservative Government anywhere in Canada today.

**Some Hon. Members:** Hear, hear!

**Mr. Broadbent:** Having abandoned the civilizing aspects of conservatism, they seek to establish an uncaring Canada. We will soon see that the people of Canada will abandon an uncaring political Party in the forthcoming election.

**Some Hon. Members:** Hear, hear!

**Mr. Broadbent:** Sir John A. Macdonald subordinated, because he saw the necessity of it, the forces of the continental market in his original dream of Canada. He understood that there was then and would always be an inevitable tension between Canada and the United States, between a Government in Canada that had a different concept of a future from that of the United States. He understood that to build with a market economy he had to have the state play a major role fundamentally to break the continental forces of the market if we were to have a nation called Canada at all. He understood that when a smaller country totally integrates its economy with a larger one it will also inevitably take on the values, norms, and customs of that larger nation. Would that we had a Conservative today who understood that reality.