

past decade to break the parochial mould of French-Canadian society, the opening to outside societies and cultures, the desire to establish and multiply relations with other parts of the French-speaking world, the desire to participate in the modern world which culminated in Expo — all these are testimony to the strength of this outward-looking nationalism.

But there is another strain of French-Canadian nationalism which co-exists, often uneasily, in the French-Canadian character. This second form of nationalism is not simply protective — it is defensive. It is inward-looking, unconcerned by — perhaps afraid of the outside world. What we know, it says, we must preserve. Frustrated in the challenge of implanting throughout Canada a society sympathetic and hospitable to French-speaking Canadians, it channels its energies into preserving against a hostile environment the supposed traditional virtues of French-Canadian society. This nationalism — the nationalism of the beleaguered barricade — has obviously dominated a great part of French-Canadian history.

It still thrives, along with that outward nationalism I earlier described, and explains why to some French Canadians the affairs of the province of Quebec are of passionate interest, while those of the rest of Canada are affairs of careless unconcern. For it is the survival of French-Canadian society which is their goal. And disenchanted with the possibilities of the flourishing of that society in the larger institution of Canada they have concentrated their interest, their efforts, their affection on that Quebec which is to them, *faute de mieux*, the citadel and the safeguard of the French-Canadian dream.

NEED FOR OBJECTIVITY

The outward-looking French-Canadian nationalism, however, could lead to a vigorous and progressive Quebec in a revitalized Canada. But for French Canadians to embrace an outward-looking nationalism requires more than a simple act of will on their part. The objective conditions for such a nationalism must exist. And the objective conditions for such a nationalism are an acceptance by English Canadians of a Canada which provides and welcomes from one coast to the other the social and cultural facilities which are necessary for the maintenance of French-Canada's language and culture. It means also an acceptance of English Canada of the necessity of sharing the real powers of direction in Canadian society.

Do these objective conditions exist? Are English Canadians prepared to relinquish their dominant position of control? Is the dream of a bicultural society doomed to frustration and disillusion?

On historical evidence the answer might appear to be "yes". It is, after all, the frustration of the desire to thrive throughout Canada that has turned French Canada inward-looking. One cannot argue that in the past English Canada has been over-zealous in working to create the kind of Canada French Canadians wished to establish.

But we are not, I hope, imprisoned by the past. And an examination of the history of English Canada gives more grounds for optimism than French Canadians often recognize. For just as English Can-

adians have been slow to appreciate the remarkable evolution of French Canada over the past decade I suspect that many French Canadians have been slow to see that English-Canadian society, too, is evolving and at an unparalleled rate.

STRAINS OF ENGLISH NATIONALISM

In English Canada there is also a double strand of nationalism. One strand of that nationalism has been a desire to implant British institutions in North America. That was a spirit which was particularly strong with the arrival in Canada after the American Revolutionary War of the United Empire Loyalists — people who were prepared to give up comfort and home in the United States rather than abandon life as British subjects.

The British tradition in English Canada is strong. But running uneasily alongside that tradition is another impulse — that which does not find the unique Canadian identity in ties to Britain. This, too, has been a recurring theme in Canada's history — the struggle from colony to independent nation. It can be seen in the efforts after the First World War to give Canada a foreign policy independent of Britain, it can be seen in Canadian efforts to resist imperial centralization: its effort can be seen in the Statute of Westminster of 1931.

But while this side of English-Canadian nationalism — the search for a distinctive Canadian identity — has always been part of the English-Canadian character, I believe it has developed since the Second World War with great intensity. Confronted with the friendly but enormous power of the United States, conscious of its economic and cultural attraction, English Canadians searched with desperate yearning for an idea of Canada which would give them identity, a distinct way of life not necessarily better but different from the great magnet of United States society.

It is because of this intense, though perhaps understated, nationalism that English Canada has become over the past ten years more and more ready — in many cases eager — to welcome French-Canadian culture and build a country which will express the ideal of two great cultures living together in respect and harmony and mutual stimulation. It has taken a long time — too long a time — but English Canada has at last moved to accept that great idea of Canada — long held by so many French Canadians and long frustrated in practice — of a Canada which embraces two cultures, a Canada of equal partnership between English- and French-speaking Canadians.

We now have the chance, I believe, as we never have before to bring English Canadians and French Canadians together in support of a Canada which embodies and contains their respective nationalisms.

As I said at the outset, the present dominant force in French Canada is that of nationalism. The development of Canada over the past 100 years has left that nationalism dissatisfied — never more dissatisfied than today. French Canadians are not content with the present working arrangements in Canadian society. They will not be content unless these arrangements change.