

state will exist long after the present people are gone and perhaps forgotten. Accepting the danger of being misunderstood, I want to deal with the present situation under this bill, a bill without a review procedure, to see what our position is at at this particular time.

Over many centuries nations have learned that there must be a continuous, strong and well understood set of laws which are enforced in a firm and understandable manner if there is to be public order and respect for the law. When laws are unreasonable or poorly enforced, respect for the law disintegrates and public order breaks down. Furthermore, we have learned from many sad examples that releasing power to a government or head of a government in a crisis is almost as dangerous an aberration as convicting several innocent persons in order to catch one guilty person. The powers to act without review in such a situation are even worse.

What has happened during the past six weeks as a result of the government's action? I believe they have polarized positions in the province of Quebec, leaving no place for the moderate who might possibly have got us through the dangerous and difficult days. The Prime Minister (Mr. Trudeau) has gone out of his way to attack those who oppose his policy in this particular instance in an effort to discredit them politically. I am not talking about the FLQ. I am talking about those who favour peaceful evolution in this country.

The government has created a state of fear, hatred and anger in this country which we all love so much. People are now buying out the gunshops for their own protection. This situation is self-escalating. The government should try to cool down the national anger and lessen the use of emergency and repressive laws, rather than building them up. In introducing the legislation now before us, the government has now expended the whole residue of available federal power; first, by calling out the troops; second, by proclaiming the War Measures Act and, finally, by the introduction of the temporary measures bill. What is left if we have a real national emergency or insurrection? The federal government has nothing left. When there is no power to review arrests, there is even less freedom in the country and it is more difficult to return to normal.

In English speaking Canada a backlash is growing, almost unnoticed, because of fears and hatred. I know a few people who do not like Quebec. I have been surprised and humiliated when these people have said to me that the Prime Minister is the greatest man who has ever lived. They certainly misunderstand the situation, either by intent or by mistake. As a nation, this does not lead us anywhere.

Our international image has fallen to a new low. Several members commented today on our international problem and the low regard in which we are held in other countries. We are now known as a land of insurrection, government by aid of troops and war measures. That is the picture from abroad. If the present legislation is enacted and people can be thrown into jail without charge, held without bail, with no provision for review of

the situation, our international image will fall even lower.

According to many sources, Canada has passed a watershed and as a result is a changed and poorer country. When was this watershed reached? Was it reached at the time of the kidnappings of Messrs. Cross and Laporte or was it reached after the proclamation of the War Measures Act and the introduction of this legislation? We do not yet have the answer.

The economic loss in the province of Quebec will result in the federal government pumping millions of dollars into that province. The need has been created and it must be filled. Unfortunately, it will not go unnoticed in other parts of the country. It will not do anything for national unity. In the short run, because of our national humiliation and anger, this repressive measure we are now considering may receive some commendation from those who want to see a repressive government deal with that part of our society that is dangerous and non-conforming. The situation will not continue forever. Some people say that because of this situation unity is being achieved in Canada, but I believe it is unity of anger and hatred, not love or compassion and it will not survive in that form.

The emergency that was, and continues to be, escalated by the government will be escalated even more by introducing measures without review procedures in an effort to show that we are in such a desperate and dangerous situation in this country that we need measures of this repressive nature. I think this escalation of the emergency is wrong. The least we can do is to ensure that the legislation before us is something more normal than a war measure. Surely, any measure that does not have an appeal procedure is not normal. On many, many occasions we in this House have worked for appeal procedures. The minister introduced legislation to establish federal courts which essentially are a great series of appeal courts from all boards and tribunals. Now these are appeals from decisions made in offices concerning matters which many people believe to be inconsequential. Yet we pile on provision for appeal after appeal. And I have no objection; I think it is right. But when we come to a matter affecting fundamental freedoms the government declines to bring in a normal appeal provision, in an attempt to give the impression that the emergency is greater than it really is. In my opinion, the emergency has been escalated to an abnormal degree.

• (4:40 p.m.)

To indicate exactly what I am trying to say I should like to turn to the poll which was run by CTV and released a week ago Sunday. Some of my Liberal friends—and I have some—take great comfort from this poll.

An hon. Member: You might have a lot of them, but you are losing some now.