

Invoking of War Measures Act

Some hon. Members: Oh, oh!

Mr. Douglas (Nanaimo-Cowichan-The Islands): This is exactly what they want. They want a confrontation between themselves and the government of Canada. They want to be recognized as a revolutionary force with which the government of Canada must deal, and because of whom the government of Canada must mobilize all its resources to declare war. They want the government and the people of Canada to consider that we are now engaged in a civil war with the FLQ. This is exactly what they want. The Prime Minister (Mr. Trudeau) very properly said this morning that these actions fall within the established pattern which is planned by revolutionaries.

What happens? If we examine what has happened in other countries we find that revolutionary movements begin by associating themselves with the disadvantaged in the community and by espousing their cause. Then, acts of violence and sabotage follow which is responded to by police repression. That gives rise to demonstrations, maybe strikes and further police repression until, bit by bit, all the freedom and democracy is pushed aside and there are two armed camps. This is the polarization and confrontation which revolutionary movements in the world have sought to bring about.

The government has fallen right into the trap. The government has done exactly what the FLQ hoped they would do. All across this country students, workers and alienated groups will be told "See what happens when we fight on your behalf? The government immediately brings in repressive measures".

Some hon. Members: Oh, oh!

Mr. Douglas (Nanaimo-Cowichan-The Islands): I say to the government that we cannot protect democratic freedom by restricting, limiting and destroying democratic freedom.

The government has two tasks before it. I sympathize fully with their desire to cope with civil disturbances and with any anticipated sabotage, but the government has two tasks to do before they are going to be successful in this regard. The first is that they must use the democratic process in seeking to stop sabotage, kidnapping and acts of violence. They must work within the framework of the democratic system. If we are going to tell people that we value democracy and that democracy is the way of dealing with social change, we must use the democratic procedures and not revert on our part to the very kind of violence which we are condemning on the other side.

Mr. Sharp: Do you not condemn it?

Mr. Douglas (Nanaimo-Cowichan-The Islands): The second is that stringent measures by themselves, and I agree that stringent measures are necessary, taken through the democratic process will not cure this situation. We must go back to the root cause. A revolutionary movement has to have a base. Where is the base of the FLQ? The base of the FLQ lies in the disadvantaged and unfortunate people in the province of Quebec.

[Mr. Douglas (Nanaimo-Cowichan-The Islands).]

Some hon. Members: Shame.

Mr. Douglas (Nanaimo-Cowichan-The Islands): Where is the support coming from?

Some hon. Members: Shame.

Mr. Speaker: Order, please. Will the hon. member kindly resume his seat? I just wanted to assist. At the moment the hon. member who has the floor should be allowed to make his speech.

• (12:10 p.m.)

Mr. Douglas (Nanaimo-Cowichan-The Islands): Thank you, Mr. Speaker. I would think that even with the War Measures Act proclaimed we ought still to have the right to express our views in this free Parliament.

Some hon. Members: Hear, hear.

Mr. Douglas (Nanaimo-Cowichan-The Islands): I am suggesting to the government that no revolutionary movement can become a menace unless it has the support of the disadvantaged and alienated groups. Who are some of these people? The Lapalme workers who were callously and shamefully thrown out of work by a callous government without any thought of what would happen to these men—

Some hon. Members: Oh.

Mr. Douglas (Nanaimo-Cowichan-The Islands): The unemployed, many of whom have now been out of work for a long time and who plead in vain for some action by this government, yet none is forthcoming; the people who live in slums, the people who live under appalling conditions.

Mr. Trudeau: This does not excuse violence.

Mr. Douglas (Nanaimo-Cowichan-The Islands): The Prime Minister says this does not excuse bombings. Of course, it does not. But I would point out to the Prime Minister that the best way to stop people turning to violence is to remove the root causes which make them frustrated with the democratic process.

Mr. Trudeau: And let Quebec separate? That is what they want.

Mr. Howard (Skeena): That is not so, and you know it.

Mr. Douglas (Nanaimo-Cowichan-The Islands): This government should know that police action alone will not prevent discontent, and will not remove the sense of grievance and injustice which is felt by people. It takes positive measures alongside firm administration of the law. The government will make a great mistake if it thinks that merely by resorting to wider police control powers the problem of the FLQ will go away. It will not go away until we deal with the discontent and the frustration in the hearts of five or six million Canadians who feel that this country is not giving them a fair chance.

I say that the government's action today is an action of panic. In the hysteria which people feel, the government