

*The Address—Mr. Goyer*

already impossible. But in that case, we would have not two centres but ten or eleven.

Any external policy must also be clear and efficient. In foreign policy as in other fields, the "principle of non-contradiction" should prevail. If ten or eleven voices from Canada are heard abroad, there will follow a multitude of views and representations which will, to a large degree, neutralize each other. Our influence would be that much reduced in international circles. There would then be little need to pay any attention to us.

Now, one difficult but essential thing at the present time, is indeed, to carry weight. In the face of the super-powers, Europe realizes the scope and the urgency of the problem, although it has not yet devised its solution. For a medium-sized power, it would amount almost to political suicide to squander its means of action in many important fields in a host of representations and initiatives. Ten provinces working separately in foreign countries, even if they did not mutually neutralize their action, would not have the same power or the same influence as a Canada putting all its energies behind unified representations.

A balkanized policy would be terribly vulnerable. Foreign countries would prove to possess superhuman virtue if they did not exploit in their own interests the marvelous possibilities for manoeuvring that a fragmented presence of Canada abroad would offer them in many important fields. It would be possible for them to play provincial interests against each other, to attract customers, to use Canada in all freedom and in good conscience, in short, with our permission. We only have to remind ourselves of recent events that occurred at home to support this assertion. The most serious thing in all this whole matter is this: should it be applied, the thesis of the external sovereignty of the provinces would threaten the internal life of Canada. The sharing of external sovereignties would permit *in aeternum* intrusions in the constitutional and, therefore, in the internal life of Canada. The future of Canada would thus be decided, not by means of rational constitutional debates, before public opinion and in the light of all the problems, but through the changing and divergent interests of the international community. We would thereby have a constitution forever made abroad. Could Canada survive? It would have instead very good chances of disintegrating without the electorate having wanted it.

It is high time that the people of Quebec realise that, even though they do not want to

be separatists, the supporters of this thesis follow a policy the consequences of which might well ring the death knell of Canada. Those who pursue this aim should declare themselves and those who are opposed to it should say so.

It seems obvious to me that the provinces will have enough common sense to act within the Canadian context, avoiding to adopt those political programs which would threaten to disrupt Canada's foreign policy and Canada itself. But should they for all that resign themselves to playing no role in our external relations, to disappearing totally from the world stage? Is it Ottawa's policy to crowd them out of its external relations? Is it necessary to sacrifice the provinces and their interests on the altar of national unity? Not in the least.

What the provinces want, I think, is in short to see their aspirations and interests reflected in Canada's foreign policy and, should the occasion arise, to participate in the presentation and diffusion of that policy aboard, to be included in the activities of international conferences and agencies, to get proper recognition for their role and contribution to the Canadian common effort, whether it be in education, culture or technical and social cooperation. For this, there is no need for them to call for a disastrous distribution of the external sovereignty.

Canadian federalism offers them all necessary means. Within the present constitution, the federal government has been working on a flexible formula of co-operation with the provinces. This is no pious concession from the federal government, but a necessity imposed by a sincerely applied federalism. Some areas of consultation and co-operation have already been defined. The federal formula contains possibilities which allow for increased provincial participation in the Canadian effort abroad. Instead of wasting precious energies in disagreements abroad, it would be much more profitable if the provinces worked with the Canadian government to extend and better define the ways of consultation and co-operation.

● (12:30 p.m.)

Let us talk plainly. What is that formula?

For some time already, the federal government has made a point of consulting the provinces on various questions concerning the drafting and implementation of treaties. It is then possible to attune the interests of the federal and provincial governments and to