



# CANADIAN WEEKLY BULLETIN

INFORMATION DIVISION · DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS · OTTAWA, CANADA

Vol. 22 No. 44

November 1, 1967

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## A DYNAMIC NATIONALISM

*The following address was given by the Minister of Forestry and Rural Development, Mr. Maurice Sauvé, at Ste-Foy, Quebec, on October 19:*

Two weeks ago, when I last spoke in Quebec, I devoted my speech to the constitutional questions which now face Canada. My concern was to outline the Federal Government's policy on the procedures for discussing constitutional reform, and indicate, as forcefully as possible, the readiness of the Canadian Government to discuss any constitutional proposal put forward by a province at the constitutional conference which is envisaged for early next year.

But, as I said two weeks ago, the *fundamental* problem facing us is not so much that of constitutional arrangements. It is rather the problem of relations between English-speaking and French-speaking Canadians — and the way that problem is tackled — that will determine for better or for worse the future of this country. For, as French Canadians, our great concern is not simply whether the constitutional arrangements which delineate the division of powers between the provinces and the Federal Government are satisfactory. Our concern is whether there is going to be in Canada a real, not symbolic, sharing of power between English-speaking and French-speaking Canadians in business and industry, in politics and the civil service, in cultural and social life. For us then, the question is whether, at the centres of decision-making in almost all areas of Canadian life, English Canadians are prepared to relinquish to French Canadians an important partnership in influence, power and decision.

The question is inescapable, even if English Canadians wished to escape it, because of the dominant force now moulding French-Canadian society. That force, the motive force in French Canada, is French-Canadian nationalism. The nationalism — that sense of a strong and unique identity — which, throughout our past, has bid us to endure as a people and preserve our society — no longer permits us simply to survive but insists that our culture thrive and flourish.

### STRAINS OF FRENCH NATIONALISM

But French-Canadian nationalism is not a simple thing. Looking back throughout our history we can detect two strands of nationalist thought — one outward, the other inward-looking.

The outward or open tendency in French-Canadian nationalism has been there since the beginning of our history. It was the dream of making the whole of the North American continent a home for the French language and culture which encouraged the settlement of New France, inspired the long and lonely voyages of French discoverers, led eventually, in 1867, to the creation of a Confederation in which French Canadians hoped to find a framework for a country which welcomed and respected their culture.

This French-Canadian nationalism, open and not defensive, concerned to look not only inward but outward to what it can both give and receive from other societies, this constructive but not aggressive nationalism is still an important strand in the fabric of French-Canadian society. The concern over the

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.

## UN DAY MESSAGE TO U THANT

The following message was sent by the Secretary of State for External Affairs, Mr. Paul Martin, to the Secretary-General of the United Nations, U Thant, on United Nations Day, October 24:

On this anniversary of the United Nations, I wish to extend my warm wishes and those of the Canadian Government and people to you and all the staff members of the United Nations system of organizations.

Anniversaries of every kind are traditionally a time for congratulation, but they should also be the occasion of thoughtful reflection. It would be illusory to imagine that the nations of the world, gathered under the United Nations do not confront problems as difficult as they have ever faced. But it would be equally untrue, and a disservice to the record of the past, to claim that nothing has been achieved. The United Nations is too easily blamed for the words and actions of its members.

It is through the United Nations that the goals before mankind have been imprinted on the conscience of the world. The United Nations, having revealed

the immensity of the task, is then unjustly held responsible for failing to tackle it with unreserved vigour. But the fault lies not in the United Nations, which is but the creation of its members. To move forward in a comprehensive attack on the roots of conflict, while preventing or subduing its armed expression, the United Nations must receive not only on its anniversary, but every day of the year, fresh infusions of creative thought and action from its member states. Some encouragement may be gained from what has been accomplished so far; we must now transform that encouragement into action, and give our hopes for "better standards of life in larger freedom" concrete form.

In this imperative endeavour, I wish to affirm on behalf of the Canadian Government and people our continuing support for the United Nations as it begins its twenty-third year. In doing so, I wish also to express once again Canada's appreciation of your distinguished contribution as Secretary-General and to renew our pledge to the principles and purposes of the Charter.

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## KEY NOVA SCOTIA FIRM TO CLOSE

The Sydney, Nova Scotia, steel mill of the Dominion Steel and Coal Corporation will close down before the end of April 1968. The mainstay of the Cape Breton Island city, and a key industry for the province, the big mill today employs 3,200 workers and has a payroll of over \$23,500,000. The closely allied Cape Breton coal industry, another important employer of Cape Breton labour, will be "phased out" of operation over the next 15 years.

Neither Doseco nor Hawkey Siddeley Canada Ltd., which owns 77 per cent of the Corporation, can continue, it is announced, to absorb the losses now being incurred - \$4,300,000 (before income tax adjustments) in 1966 and \$6,400,000 during the first half of this year. These losses have been attributed to high production costs and an uneconomic location.

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## CANADA-SOVIET FISHERIES

Fisheries discussions begun earlier this year when Canadian Fisheries Minister, H.J. Robichaud, was in Moscow were resumed recently when the Minister of Fisheries of the U.S.S.R., A.A. Ishkov, visited Canada. The talks were concerned mainly with conservation and with problems caused by the close proximity of Canadian and Russian vessels during fishing operations, particularly in the North Pacific. The two Ministers agreed that discussions between fishery administrators and scientists of both countries should begin within a few months with a view to preparing a draft agreement.

In the North Atlantic, co-operative research is in progress on fisheries of interest to Canada and the Soviet Union, under the International Commission

for the Northwest Atlantic Fisheries and the International Council for the Exploration of the Sea. In the North Pacific, on the other hand, there are no formal agreements for co-operation in the investigation, development or management of sea fisheries other than those for marine mammals. To fill this need, it was agreed that Canadian and Russian administrators and scientists should meet to exchange statistics, data and publications on commercial fisheries and to study the creation of co-operatives in oceanography, marine biology and resource development.

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## PENSIONS INCREASE

Increases in old age security pensions, guaranteed income supplement payments and in benefits and contributions under the Canada Pension Plan were announced recently by Health and Welfare Minister Allan J. MacEachen and Revenue Minister E.J. Benson.

Mr. MacEachen said that the pension index had increased from 1967 to 1968 by the 2 percent maximum allowed by the legislation. He pointed out that a most important principle had been established by linking pension payments to the pension index.

"We are all aware of the difficulties faced by persons who must rely on fixed incomes for their support as they watch the purchasing power of their fixed dollars dwindle over the years," said Mr. MacEachen. "Now, for the first time, beginning in January 1968, we have the means to up-date pensions and benefits in pay under the Old Age Security Act and the Canada Pension Plan to reflect increases in the cost of living. This is done by multiplying a benefit or a pension by the ratio of the

pension index for the current year to the pension index for the previous year."

#### OLD AGE PENSIONS

As a result of the pension index increase of 2 per cent for 1968, old age security pensions will increase from \$75 to \$76.50 a month next January. Some 1,360,000 pensioners will benefit from the increase in this pension in January, when the eligible age for pension is reduced to 67 years. Approximately 800,000 old age security pensioners will benefit from increases in the guaranteed income supplement. The maximum supplement payable will rise from \$30 to \$30.60 a month in January. For those receiving the maximum supplement their combined benefit will be \$107.10 compared to \$105 a month at present.

#### PENSIONABLE EARNINGS

Mr. MacEachen said that the maximum pensionable earnings would increase from the present maximum of \$5,000 to a new maximum of \$5,100. From January 1968, contributions will be made on earnings between \$600 and \$5,100, instead of on earnings between \$600 and \$5,000 at present.

The increase in the maximum pensionable earnings will mean that maximum yearly contributions by employers and employees will be \$81 instead of \$79.20, and maximum yearly contributions by self-employed persons will become \$162 instead of \$158.40.

#### RETIREMENT PENSIONS

All Canada Pension Plan retirement pensions will be increased in January. Those which become payable for the first time in 1968 will be slightly higher than they would otherwise have been because of the increase in the earnings ceiling. On the basis of the new ceiling, maximum full retirement pensions, first payable in 1976, will be increased from \$104.17 to \$106.25.

The flat-rate orphans' benefit and the flat-rate portion of the widows' and disabled widowers' pensions will be \$25.50 a month rather than the \$25 that would otherwise have been payable. In addition, the earnings-related portions of widows' and disabled widowers' pensions will also be affected by the increase in the earnings ceiling.

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#### NEW BIBLE FOR FORCES

The Canadian Bible Society, which for years has made pocket-sized editions of the King James version of the *New Testament* available to servicemen, has prepared a new edition of the *New Testament and Psalms*.

The new edition has been published with larger type than that used in earlier editions. Each is bound in a dark blue cover bearing the Canadian coat-of-arms, and the wording *New Testament and Psalms*, and *Canadian Armed Forces* in gold lettering. The first 60 copies were presented to the graduating class of the Royal Military College, Kingston, during the summer and copies will be available to members of the Forces on enrolment.

#### DEVELOPMENT LOAN TO PAKISTAN

Mr. Paul Martin, Secretary of State for External Affairs, and His Excellency Mirza Sikander Ali Baig, Pakistan High Commissioner to Canada, recently signed agreements to provide two development loans worth \$11 million to Pakistan.

One loan, for \$5 million, will be used to purchase \$4-million worth of fertilizer and \$1-million worth of sulphur, while the second, for \$6 million, will provide copper (\$2,900,000), aluminum (\$1,600,000), asbestos (\$600,000), wood pulp (\$700,000), and sulphur (\$200,000).

#### EMPHASIS ON AGRICULTURE

The loan for fertilizer, which is the first large agricultural allocation to Pakistan by the External Aid Office, complies with the increased emphasis placed by Canada's 1967-68 aid programme on agricultural production.

The commodities will be used to help Pakistan's industries operate at high capacity and will also save the country's foreign-exchange funds.

Pakistan will buy direct all the items from Canadian suppliers.

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#### MUSEUM WORK WITH JAMAICA

A programme of cultural co-operation between the National Museum of Canada and the Institute of Jamaica began this summer when Canadian museum personnel visited Jamaica for a month to train personnel of the Institute of Jamaica and collect specimens for both national museums.

Dr. A.W.F. Banfield, Director of the Natural History Branch of the National Museum, said that a "successful start" had been made. There would be an attempt, he said, by the National Museum to strengthen its ties with the Commonwealth countries of the West Indies.

During the visit, a Canadian taxidermist trained two Jamaican technicians in his art and collected more than 100 bird specimens which will be mounted and divided between the two museums.

With the assistance and guidance of staff from the Institute of Jamaica, another Canadian expert collected 850 Jamaican reptiles and amphibians, a detailed report on their identification of which will be prepared by the curator. Part of the collection will be returned to the Institute for its reference collection, and the rest will be kept at the National Museum in Ottawa.

#### INTERNATIONAL INTEREST

The project, which resulted from a discussion between Dr. Banfield and C. Bernard Lewis, Director of the Institute of Jamaica and a subsequent request from the Jamaican Government, indicated a widening of the Museum's interest in international research.

A number of Jamaican scientists, including an archaeologist, entomologist and a botanist took part in expeditions. Field trips were made into the forests surrounding the Institute's biological station in the Blue Mountains.

## NUCLEAR WEAPONS REPORT

In a statement issued on the release of the UN Secretary-General's report on nuclear arms, the Secretary of State for External Affairs, Mr. Paul Martin, said that it represented "an important and constructive contribution to the continuing international discussion on the effects of nuclear weapons and the implications of the acquisition and further development of such weapons".

Part of Mr. Martin's statement follows:

...The report comprises three sections. The first section examines the effects of the use of nuclear weapons. It discusses the destruction produced by relatively small nuclear weapons and the widespread devastation which would follow the use of more powerful weapons of which there are now substantial numbers. These effects have been considered in relation to both the civilian population and military targets.

The second section analyzes the economic implications for governments of the acquisition of nuclear weapons. The report reaches the conclusion that, especially for the lesser-developed countries, the allocation of technological and material resources necessary to produce nuclear deterrent forces would impose a very heavy burden on the civil economy and would adversely affect standards of living.

The third and concluding section of the report deals with the security implications of the acquisition and further development of nuclear weapons. The examination of the various national and international factors involved leads to the conclusion that a solution to the problem of international security cannot be found in an increase in the number of states possessing nuclear weapons nor in the retention of nuclear weapons by the present powers.

The report supports steps such as a non-proliferation treaty, a comprehensive test-ban, effective measures to safeguard the security of non-nuclear countries and the extension of nuclear-free zones, all of which would help to slow down the arms race and open the way to more far-reaching agreements. It also emphasizes that such limited measures should not be regarded as ends sufficient in themselves but only as steps which could lead to a reduction in the level of nuclear armaments, a lessening of world tension and the eventual elimination of nuclear armaments.

### CANADA'S CONTRIBUTION

Canada played an active part in the discussions which led to the decision to undertake the study and a Canadian helped in the preparation of the report. During the twenty-first General Assembly, the Polish, Norwegian and Canadian delegations cooperated in developing a resolution calling for a study of the effects of nuclear weapons, as well as the security and economic implications for states of the acquisition and further development of nuclear weapons. With Japan, Mexico and Nigeria as additional sponsors, the resolution was unanimously endorsed by the First Committee and subsequently by the General Assembly. In accordance with its terms, the Secretary-General appointed an advisory committee of 12 outstanding nuclear experts, including Dr. Wilfred B. Lewis, Senior Vice-President (Science) of Atomic Energy of Canada Limited. This group met at intervals during the year; these meetings and the correspondence exchanged between the experts culminated in the report which has been released by the Secretary-General in New York.

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## CENTENNIAL ART EXHIBITION

Prime Minister Lester Pearson and Governor-General Roland Michener were among the guests at the National Gallery of Canada recently when the Marquis de Montcalm, of France, descendant and namesake of the Marquis de Montcalm who defended Quebec against General Wolfe in 1759, opened the Gallery's centennial exhibition "A Pageant of Canada".

The display depicts the history of Canada from the beginning to the mid-nineteenth century. Portraits, landscapes, topographical prints and drawings, silver, ceramics, documents and historical objects have been borrowed from private and public collections in Britain, France, the United States and Canada.

The Marquis de Montcalm is lending four items, all of which he inherited: a portrait of Louis Joseph, Marquis de Montcalm-Gozon (1712-1759); the cuirass worn by Montcalm at the battle of the Plains of Abraham; a consecrated altar-stone used by Montcalm throughout the Canadian campaign; and a sedan chair bearing the monogram "L.M." and coats-of-arms of the Montcalm and Levis families.

Other items include Samuel de Champlain's astrolabe, portraits of early discoverers such as Frobisher, Raleigh and Sir Humphrey Gilbert, and a number of royal portraits, from Francis I to Louis XV of France and Henry VII to George II of England.

### MANY UNKNOWN TREASURES

Miss Jean Sutherland Boggs, Director of the National Gallery of Canada, in her foreword to the catalogue, says: "The exhibition is a spectacular assemblage of nearly 300 items. Her Majesty the Queen has graciously consented to the loan of 11 items from the royal collection. Many of the most important museums in France, England, the United States and Canada, including the Bibliothèque Nationale, the Musée de Versailles, the British Museum, the Victoria and Albert Museum, the Metropolitan Museum of New York and the Public Archives of Canada, have sent precious items from their collections, and English private collectors have lent many hitherto hidden treasures. The resulting exhibition puts firmly on the map, for the first time, much unknown visual material relating to Canada's past."

"A Pageant of Canada", which will be shown in Ottawa from October 27 to January 7, is the result of over two years' work by the staff of the National Gallery of Canada and the exhibition organizer Dr. Roy Strong, Director of the National Portrait Gallery in London, England. It is the second of two major exhibitions staged by the National Gallery of Canada in celebration of the centenary of Confederation in Canada.

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## PLANS FOR SUPERSONIC AVIATION

The second in a series of meetings with the major foreign airlines serving Canada to discuss the facilities that will be needed by large-capacity and supersonic aircraft at the Montreal and Toronto airports was held last month on the grounds of Expo 67 under the sponsorship of the aviation systems planning group of the federal Department of Transport.

The first meeting was held in Montreal last March. The aim of the talks, Transport Minister Hellyer said, was to plan for entry into service in 1970 of the large-capacity jets and, a few years later, of supersonic craft, and to anticipate changing requirements for servicing these aircraft and handling large increases in passengers and baggage over the next 15 years.

The closed meetings were devoted to reports and recommendations by consultants who have been engaged to prepare studies on Montreal International Airport.

The airlines represented included Air Canada, Canadian Pacific Air Lines, Air France, Alitalia, BOAC, KLM, Lufthansa, and AER LINGUS.

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## RCAF DRIVERS IN EUROPE

Men of the Royal Canadian Air Force handling the mobile support equipment for Canada's NATO Air Division established a remarkable driving record last year.

During 1966, they travelled 4,881,839 miles yet had only 62 accidents — an accident-rate of 1.27 for every 100,000 miles.

The drivers in Europe claim they do not experience the extreme driving conditions of the Canadian winter, but cite the European peculiarity of *verglas* or *Glat-Eis* — an ice-film on roads even though the air temperature may be just above freezing — as being particularly hazardous when accompanied by rain, fog or snow. They also have to cope with narrow country roads and city streets, and the traffic explosion in Europe since the beginning of prosperity in post war-years. The density of traffic in most European cities of comparable size to Canadian cities is equal. And, say the drivers, European rush hour traffic jams can be even more trying than their Canadian counterparts.

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## SEPTEMBER STRIKES AND LOCKOUTS

According to a preliminary summary of strikes and lockouts released recently by the Department of Labour, there were 92 work stoppages in Canada during September, involving 34,282 workers and a time-loss of 449,550 man-days.

Of the total number of stoppages, five were in industries under federal jurisdiction, the rest being under provincial jurisdiction — 34 in Ontario, 25 in Quebec, 12 in British Columbia, five in Nova Scotia, three each in New Brunswick, Saskatchewan and Alberta, and two in Newfoundland.

In the previous month there were 100 work stoppages, involving 30,526 workers and a time-loss of 415,700 man-days.

The estimated number of man-days lost in September, based on the number of non-agricultural wage and salary workers in Canada, represented 0.36 per cent of the estimated working time, compared to 0.29 per cent in August. The corresponding figure for September last year was 0.55 per cent.

Of the September work stoppages 40 involved 100 or more workers. Eighteen of these were terminated by the end of that month.

A breakdown by industry of the September work stoppages shows 49 in manufacturing, 13 in construction, nine in transportation and utilities, nine in trade, five in service, three in mines, two in public administration and one each in finance and forestry.

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## A DYNAMIC NATIONALISM

(Continued from P. 2)

### EQUAL PARTNERSHIP

Some envisage no possible change other than one which must completely disrupt the whole economic and governmental structure which has developed in the northern half of the American continent over the past century. But there is an alternative to that leap into the unknown. There is an alternative to recreating an inward-looking, defensive, barricade society peeping fearfully out on the English-speaking sea which surrounds it.

That alternative recognizes the need for reform. It recognizes that there has, so far, been an inequitable sharing of power between English- and French-speaking Canadians. That alternative is to create a society in which there is full participation by both English and French Canadians in an equal partnership. English Canada now sees, I believe, that this equal partnership is essential to the survival of Canada as a country. It would be a great tragedy if we in French Canada abandoned our dream for a continent-wide country which would be our home at the very moment when the spirit of English Canada was prepared to bring that idea to fruition.