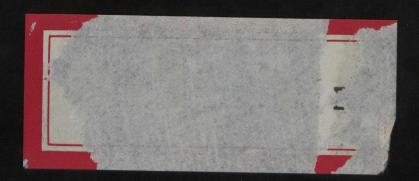


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Breakfast interview with the
Honorable Marc Lalonde, Minister of
State for Federal/Provincial
Relations, February 10, 1978.
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Room 800-A, No. 11 Dupont Circle Conference Room - Foreign Policy Magazine Washington, D.C.

FRIDAY, February 10, 1978

BREAKFAST INTERVIEW

- with -

THE HONORABLE MARC LALONDE

MINISTER OF STATE
- for FEDERAL/PROVINCIAL RELATIONS

INTRODUCTION BY:

SANFORD J. UNGAR, Managing Editor, Foreign Policy Magazine

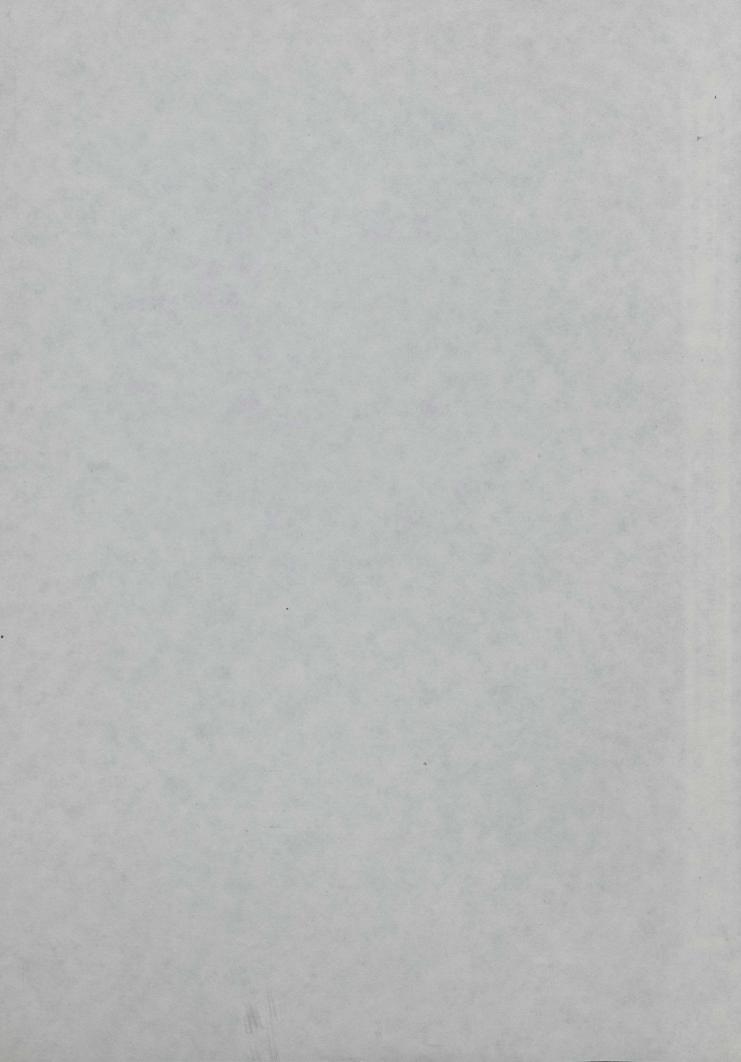
TENDING:

ROBERT J. MC GAVIN,
First Secretary [Information]
Canadian Embassy

AND:

MEMBERS OF THE MEDIA

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MR. UNGAR: Good morning. I am Sanford Ungar,
Managing Editor of the Foreign Policy Magazine.

I welcome those of you who are new, today -as well as some of our "regulars" -- to these Foreign

Policy Magazine breakfasts. Let me remind everybody, at
the outset, about the ground rule -- the major ground rule -of these breakfasts, which is that everything that is
said here is considered to be "on the record".

We would also appreciate it if any remarks arise out of these breakfasts, that you mention that the remarks came at a breakfast sponsored by the Foreign Policy Magazine.

Our guest today is a Member of the Canadian

Federal Cabinet, Mr. Marc Lalonde. He has had a long

career in public life, both in Quebec and in the Confederation of Canada. He has a classic Quebecois background and, since 1972 -- when he was elected to the Canadian

Parliament from a Seat in Montreal -- he has been in the Cabinet.

At an earlier \$tage, he was a Policy Advisor to Lester Pearson: head of the Task Force on Corporate Disclosure and Security Regulations: an active Member of the Bar in Montreal; a member of several Royal Commissions—and in other public duties.

Beginning in November of 1972, he was appointed

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Minister of National Health and Welfare and then, two years later, in 1974, he took on the additional job of being Minister responsible for the Status of Women.

In 1977 -- last Fall -- events being what they were in Canada -- Mr. Lalonde left his Office as Minister of National Health and Welfare, and he has been Minister of State for Federal/Provincial Relacions which, as you know, is a very important issue in Canada today.

The origin of his being with us today is that we ran two pieces in the Winter Issue of Foreign Policy Magazine about the price of Separatism in Canada; and I think he may want to talk around that subject -- or would be glad to be questioned on that subject -- today, as well as other things that are breaking in the news; although I think we would like to talk, first, about the matter of Separatism in Canada. That was the original purpose of this session, although I am sure that the Minister would be glad to talk about other subjects later on.

I might thank Bob McGavin -- Press Counsel for the Embassy -- for his help in setting up this breakfast.

I might also introduce Patrice Merrin, who is Mr. Lalonde's Press Secretary in Ottawa.

We have asked Mr. Lalonde to make a few introductory remarks, briefly, and then welcome questions. thister of netional Health and welfare and then, two years later, in 1976, he took on the additional top of being it. "Star responsible for the Status of Nomen.

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MINISTER LALONDE: Thank you very much.

My remarks are going to be very short, indeed!

I think we will probably have a more fruitful meeting

if I don't launch into a long speech.

As you have said, I have been appointed Minister of State for Federal/Provincial Relations in September. We have not had a position in Canada like this for quite a long time. As a matter of fact, I used to think that I was the first one to be appointed to such a position--until I checked the record in history and found that in the beginning of the Confederation in 1867, there were three different Ministers responsible for Federal/ Provincial Relations! Each of them lasted about one year and, after three years, Sir John Macdonald -- the Prime Minister at the time -- had enough of these people, I suspect that it was done, in the early apparently! part of the Confederation, to help implement the new system that followed the active Union, and the Prime Minister needed somebody to see to it that the new system that was being implemented would function reasonably smoothly.

I suppose it is to the credit of the system that they could dispense with the Minister responsible for that area so quickly!

The fact that I have, indeed, been assigned this particular function; and that the Prime Minister created this

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function last September is probably, also, a reflection of the times -just as my predecessors, 110 years ago, were appointed to see the implementation of a new system.

I suppose that my appointment is related to changes that are in the making and which -- I think unavoidably -- will be taking place in the Canadian Constitutional system over the next few years.

affairs in the area of Federal/Provincial Relations.

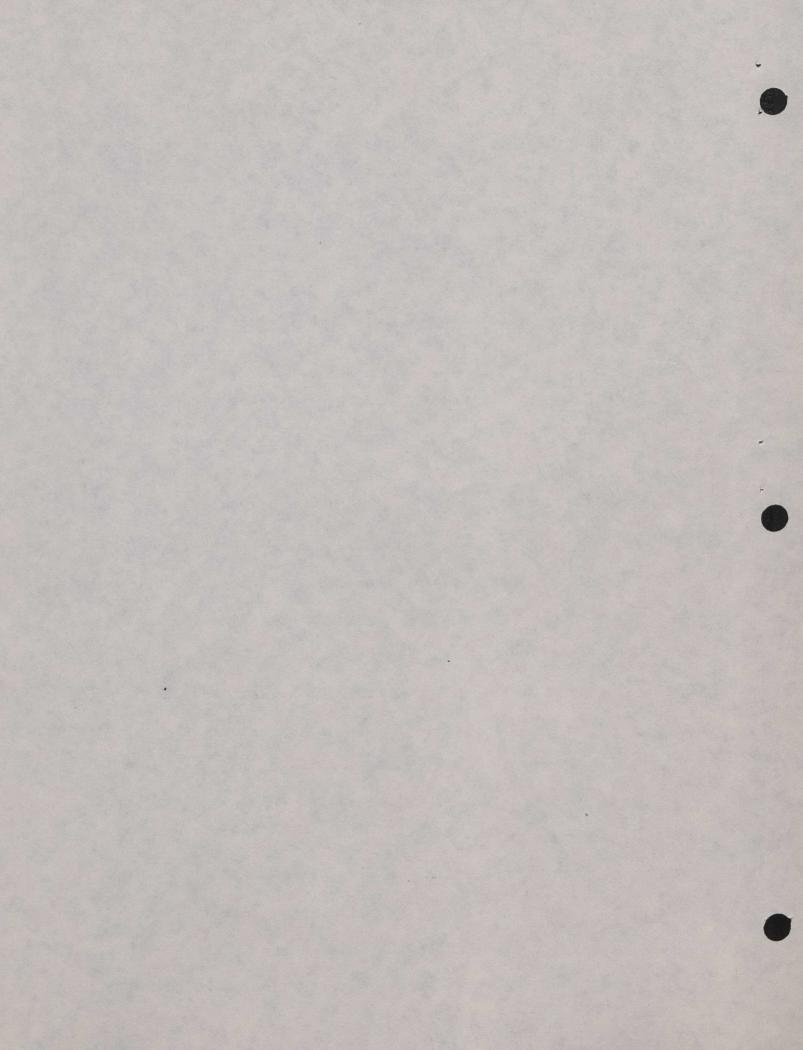
This is an area -- if I might compare it to the United

States, for instance -- which has been growing very,

very extensively over the last ten or fifteen years.

It is estimated, for instance, that we have something like about 400 Federal/Provincial meetings a year, of all kinds, at the Ministerial level or at the Offical level. It is estimated that, with any reasonably large province, we have over 300 Federal Provincial Agreements in operation. So this gives you an idea of the extent of the close, direct relationship that there is between the Provincial level and the Federal level in Canada.

In addition, obviously, to try and coordinate this great network of relationship, there is, obviously, the responsibility of supervising the work having to do with our crisis in unity in Canada and, particularly, the



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development of new Constitutional proposals, and making proposals to the Cabinet in the general area of National Unity, which, obviously, will go--and should go--further than strictly Constitutional aspects.

These, I suppose, Mr. Chairman, would be the introductory comments which I would like to make--in terms of what my role is. I used to be, as you said, Minister of Health and Welfare with about 30% of the budget and something like 12,000 employees -- which is quite a lot for Canada. Now, I have no staff and no budget!

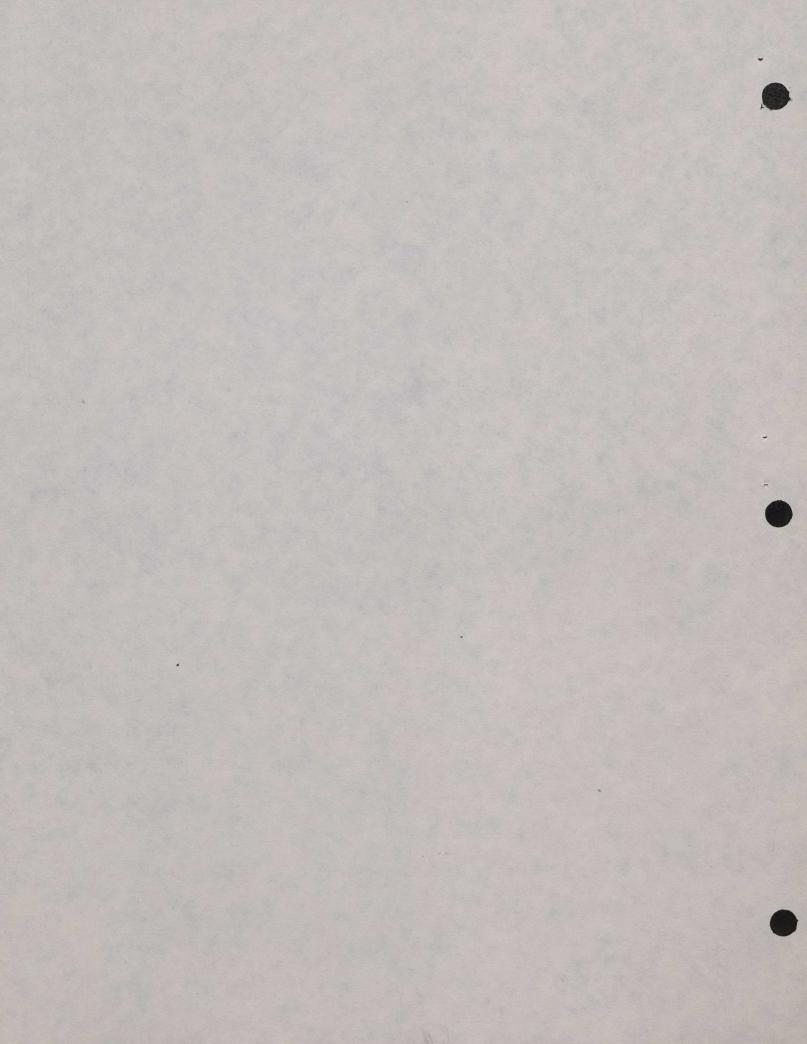
[Laughter]

I am what we call a Minister of State. I have no Department as such. My officials are working in what is called the Privy Council's Office--which is really the Department of the Prime Minister. As such, they are responsible to the Prime Minister, still; but I try and help along in the whole operation.

So, with those introductory comments, I think I will leave it to you to raise the first few questions; and we can elaborate as we go on.

MEMBER OF THE PRESS: Mr. Lalonde, maybe I could ask a kind of general background question covering the last ten years.

When Mr. Trudeau took office as Prime Minister, certainly Mr. Pearson and many others felt that he was



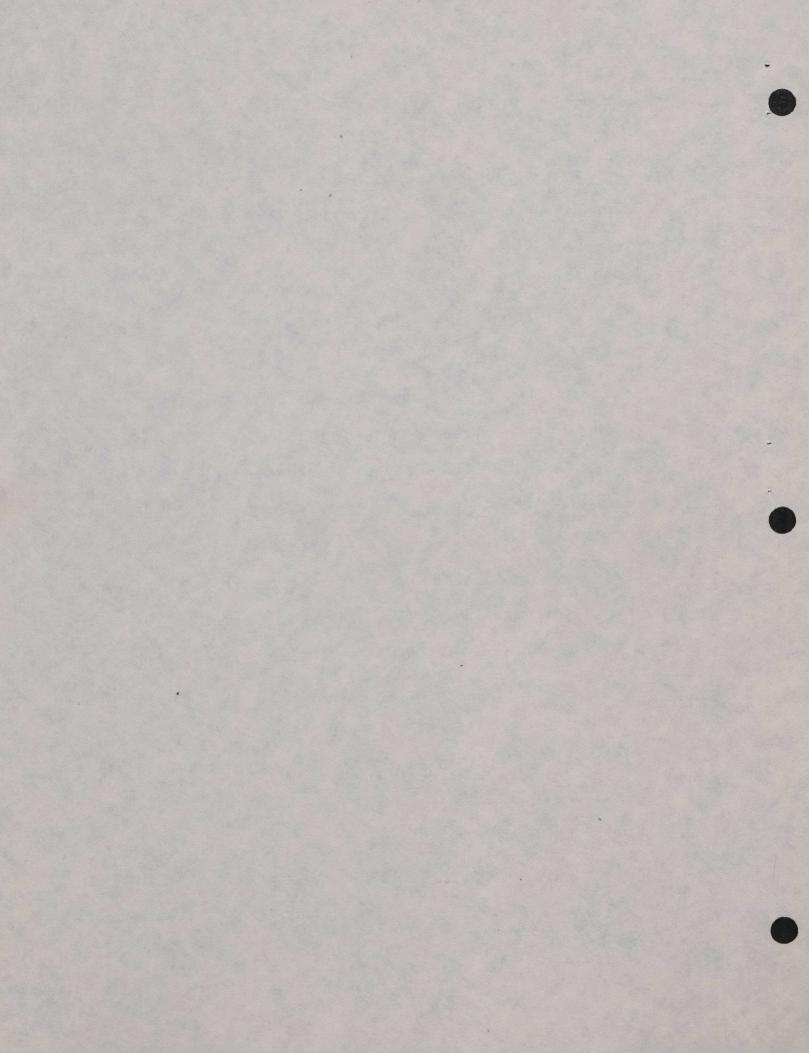
exactly the right person; or that he and the group of you who came into Federal politics in the early 1970's were the right group to galvanize the forces of Federalism in Quebec Province that everybody seemed to think were there.

We now are ten years along and we have a P.Q. government in power in Quebec City!

Mhat is going wrong with this scenario that so many Canadians felt would come about in Canada at the time of Mr. Trudeau's accession ten years ago?

MINISTER LALONDE: The phenomenon of Separatism started, as you know, around the early part of 1960 -- in the 1960's -- and it developed over time. If you look at the support for Separatism in the South, in Quebec, over the last 15 years, there has been no substantial growth in terms of support in the population. All surveys done over the last 15 years indicate that the level of support has maintained itself between ten and twenty percent. It has moved cyclically: sometimes as high as 20%, according to surveys, at times; and as low as 11% or 12%, at other times.

The support for separation, itself -- for independence -- is not one that has grown in the population; and when the Parti Quebecois ran for office on the platform of Separation, or Independence, it was trounced and opposed.



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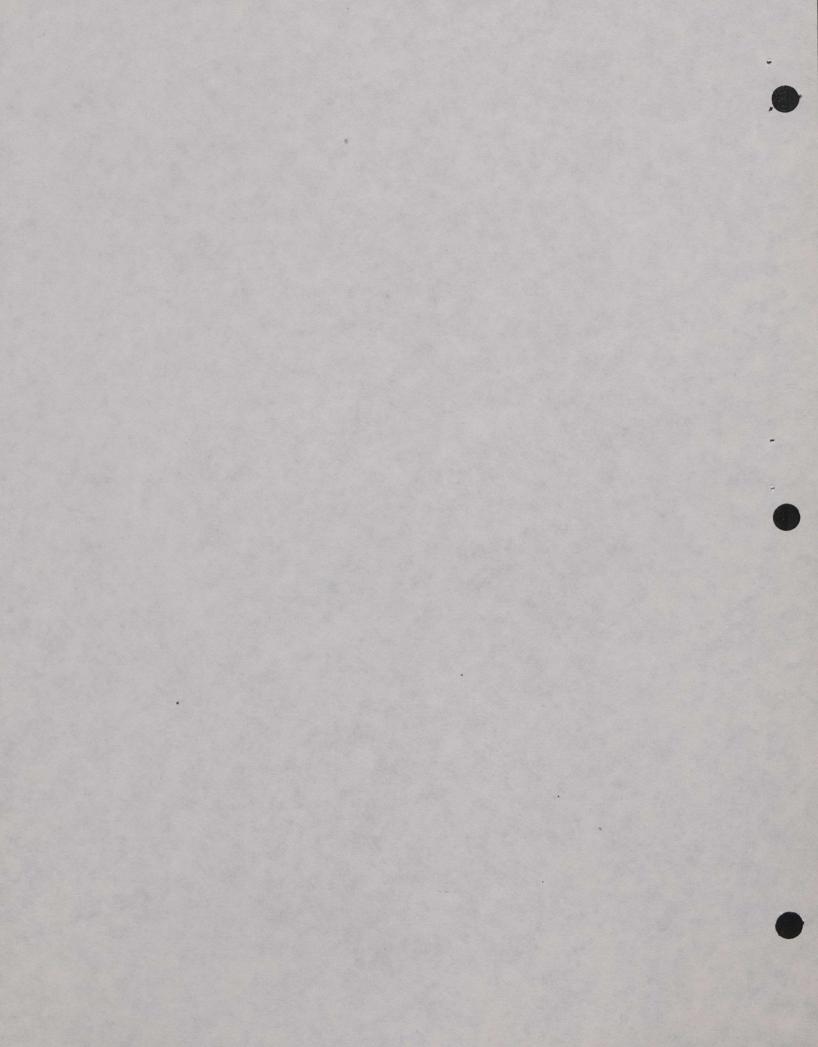
They got nowhere in 1970 and, in 1973, again, they had -- if I remember well -- eight or nine Members elected.

What happened during that period, provincially, is that we have had a polarization, however; and that the Provincial Liberal Party got all of the Federalists' support and, in the meantime, we got the traditional -- more traditional -- Nationalist Party, called the Union Nationale in Quebec, which was squeezed out.

And, knowing the rules of Democratic alternatives: the moment you had the traditional Nationalist Party squeezed out, it was bound to happen that, one day, people would get fed up with the government they had and replace it.

Parti Quebecois was clever enough to realize that stressing separation or independence as a <u>platform</u> would not get them very far. So what they did was to do two things:

One was to split the issue of their running for office and the issue of separation or independence; hence, the introduction of the notion of a referendum; and they ran their last election on the basis of providing good government for the Province of Quebec, with telling people, "Don't worry. There is no question about separation unless the majority of the people in Quebec so desire, through a referendum."



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And, at the same time, there was a lot of dissatisfaction with the Provincial government in operation
-- in office -- a very high degree of dissatisfaction!
And you know what happened at the last election!

Now, this is -- in terms of what happened inside Quebec -- strictly political -- what went wrong in terms of the efforts of the Federal government since 1968 -- in that context.

There had been an effort made before 1968, under Mr. Pearson, and subsequently, to insure that the French Canadians and the French speaking Canadians would become full partners at the Federal level, at least in Canada.

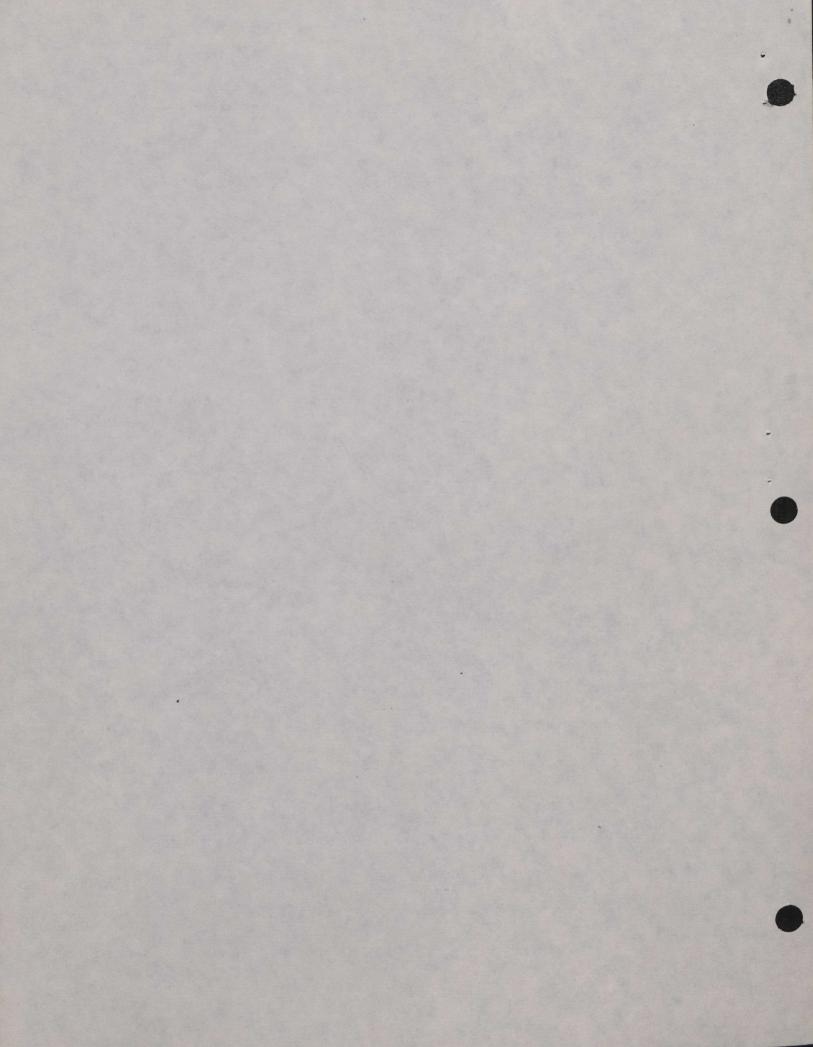
This has been attempted through the Official Languages Act.

This has been attempted through insuring equality of opportunities inside of the PUblic Service; and things like this.

These policies have met, occasionally, with resistance in some areas of the Country, and not very much cooperation from English speaking provinces.

New Brunswick has been making great strides, and has taken very positive steps in that respect.

Ontario -- particularly Ontario -- which has
a large French speaking minority--has been moving rather



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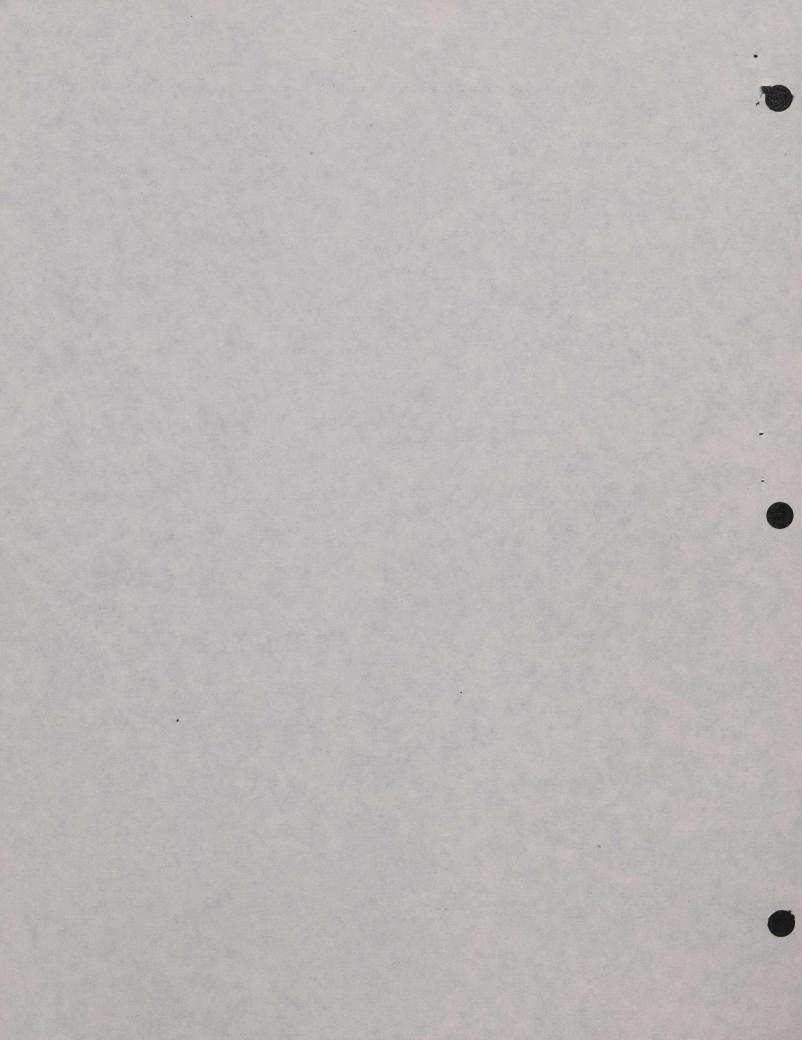
PHONE 1202) 347-0224 LL REPRODUCTION RIGHTS RESERVED slowly, comparatively, and our efforts have been seen, in many respects, as concentrating very much on language; as if it were, you know, the only solution to the whole question of Quebec Nationalism.

Language is a very important element in the question. It is a basic question of Social justice, in our opinion. But it is <u>far</u> from being the end all and be all of our situation in Canada, vis-a-vis French Canada, in particular.

There has been discussion about re-distribution of powers under our Constitution--between Federal and Provincial Governments; and all that.

In terms of the French speaking community in Canada, I would like to think that it is not so much a redistribution of powers between governments—as the sharing of power between the two large linguistic groups. And the fact is that you have a French speaking society—particularly in Quebec—that has come of age; that has come into modern times in the early Sixties, very, very quickly. We have gone through a big socio-economic revolution; and the fact is that the instrument that we could use, as French Canadians, for that promotion, and that "revolution", was, essentially, the provincial state.

The private sector was one in which we, as French Canadians, were not very present. As a matter of fact,



it was partly blocked to us in the large financial institutions--even in Quebec.

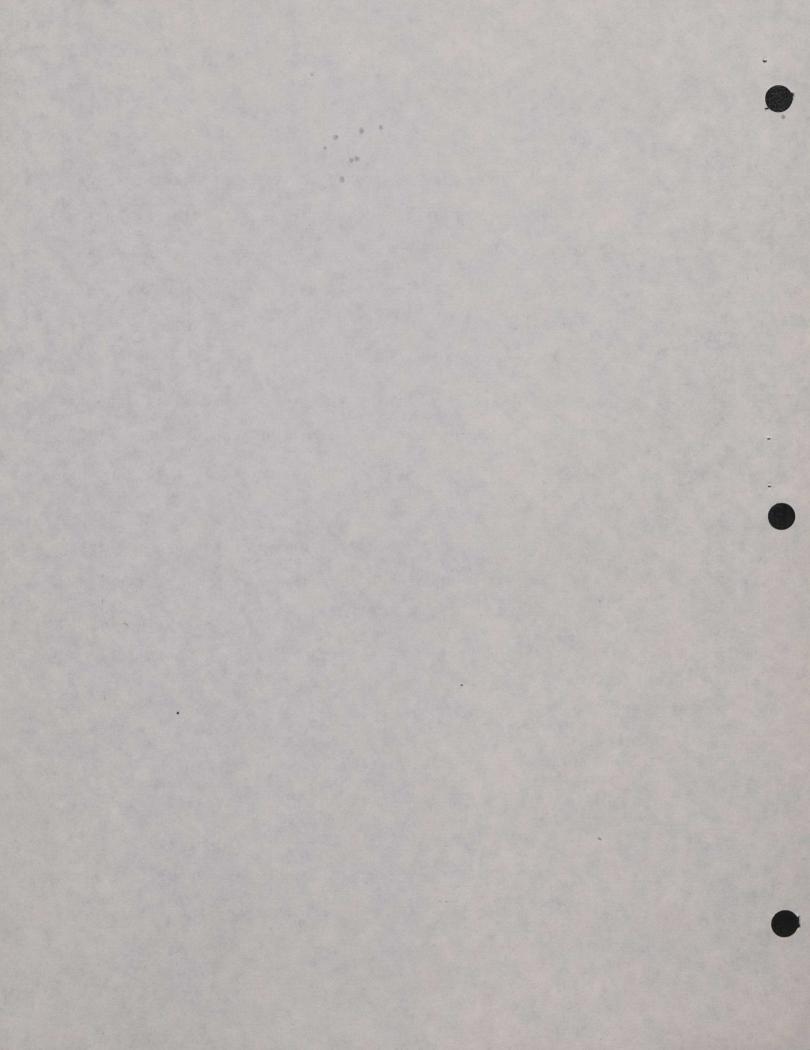
The Provincial state was an instrument that we could use very readily; and we did use it. The Federal state is an instrument that we could use, and the French Canadians have been playing larger and larger roles, not only in the political field, but in Administration at the Federal level.

But, obviously, one area that the State does not control is the whole private sector of Canada--and that has moved much more slowly. It is understandable that it would move more slowly.

So you have the development of reasonably large French Canadian, or French speaking financial institutions—but the business sector has been much slower to insure the social and economic promotion of French Canadians.

So, when you ask me, "What went wrong", we have gone--in French Canada--through a socio-economic revolution probably as fast as any other social group in the World, that I know of, in the space of about 15 years, and trying to adjust the socio-economic structure, as well as the political structure, to such a change in a Democratic way, to me is something that just could not be done as fast as it should have been done on a purely theoretical basis.

So there is a lag, in terms of the adaptations



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of the institutions, private and public, to the type of socio-economic revolution that has taken place; and that adjustment, in my opinion, will take a few years.

MEMBER OF THE PRESS: Mr. Lalonde, may I ask you about one of the Foreign Policy articles -- one that presented a pretty distressing picture of the strategic implementations.

MINISTER LALONDE: Right.

MEMBER OF THE PRESS: Do you share that view?

Is that a realistic assessment?

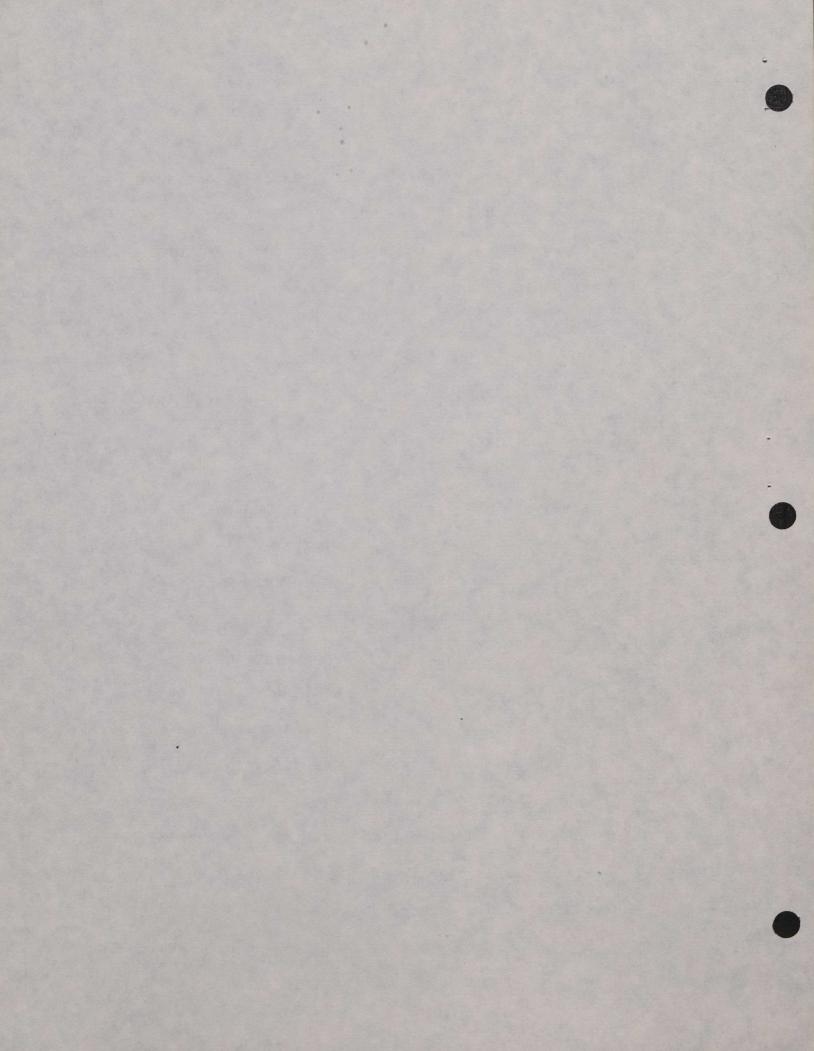
The premise, of course, is based on the assumption that Quebec becomes independent and probably collaborates, in one way or another, with Russia; or at least denies the United States certain access to facilities; and, also, adopts a hostile stance.

Is that at all realistic?

MINISTER LALONDE: I don't think so!

You know, you can make a theoretical analysis and conclude that this would be a possibility. But, frankly, I don't think it is very realistic, would it be only for the fact that I don't think that the rest of North America would tolerate such a development to take place-even for its own security.

So it is a kind of a dark scenario which I don't think the United States would even allow to develop,



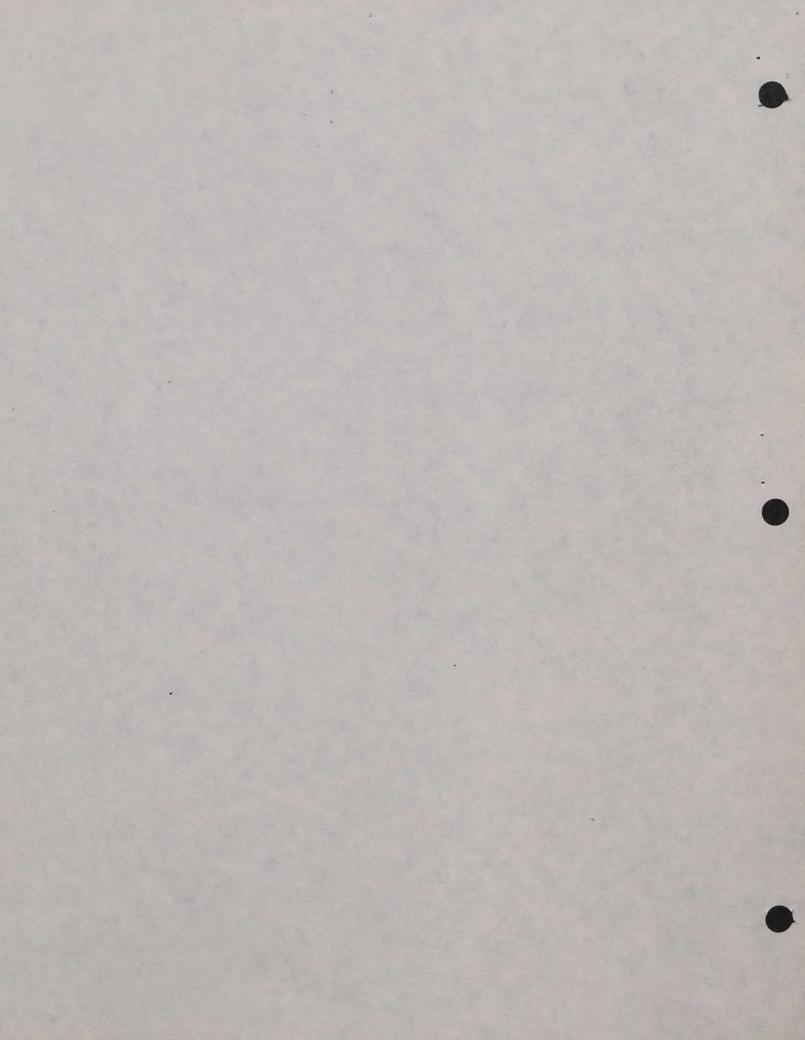
Obviously, there is a Radical Wing in the Separatist Movement. It is vocal and very active! But I cannot imagine it -- I cannot imagine it -- even in the concept of an independent Quebec being in office, as far down the line as I can see--as long as you have a democratic system operating in Quebec. I don't see that scenario developing; and, as I said, I don't see how the rest of North America would tolerate it!

MEMBER OF THE PRESS: Mr. Minister, let me explore the answer that you gave to Mr. Hovey's question.

It seems to me there were three points which jumped out at me from that very complete answer. I would like to ask you if you think this is a fair distillation:

Despite your protest that language is not the only instrument of policy -- your Government's policy -- nevertheless, I think you cited, yourself, the evidence that, for the first eight or nine years of the Trudeau Government, language was the essential instrument of policy in the Official Languages Act and that, in Public Service, bi-lingualism was the policy in Public Service.

Second: It seems to me that you have told us that Mr. Trudeau has been unable to win the support of English Canada for his policy of peaceful co-existence with Quebec; and



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Third, you seemed to have endorsed the complaint of the Pequiste that an English dominated business community in Quebec is not responsive to the French Canadian concerns and evolution.

Does that appear to be a fair summary?

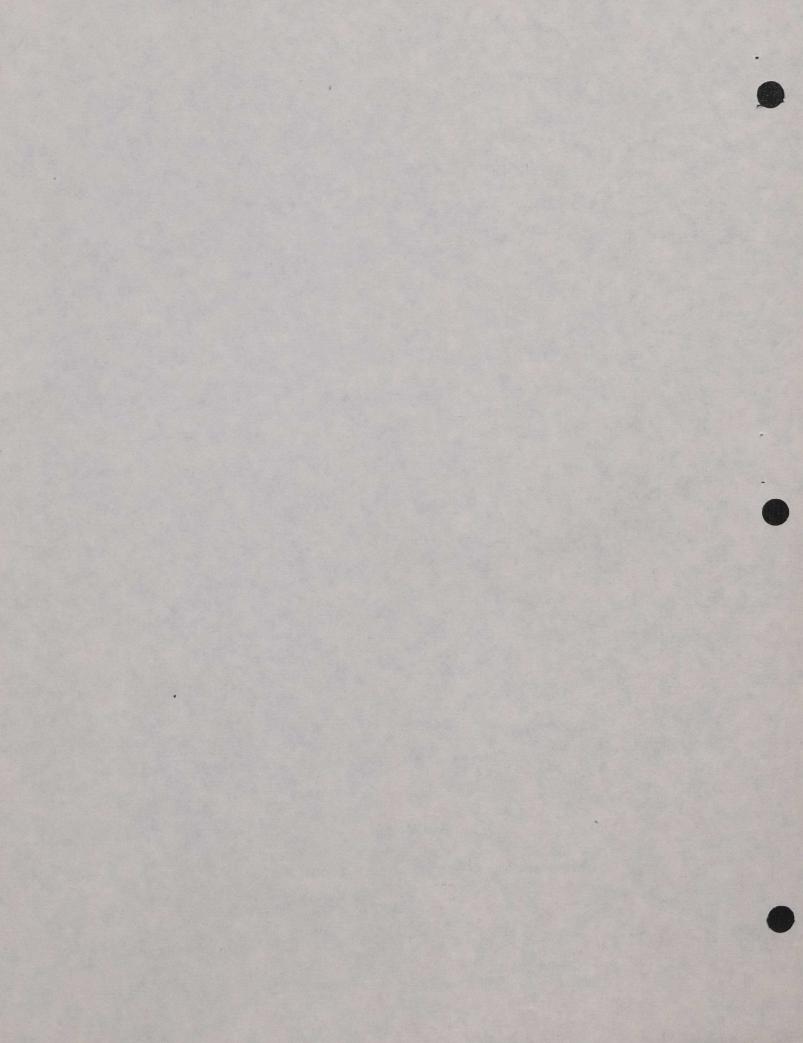
MINISTER LALONDE: I don't think it is quite fair—
in terms of the inability to get support of English
speaking Canada. You know, we have been re-elected three
times since, and I know that people vote for a government
for all kinds of reasons; but our policy on language is a
basic tenet of our political philosophy. And it has been
endorsed — with some difficulty — in 1972, and again
in 1974; and I think it has known ups and downs in terms
of public support.

I recognize that there is still resistance--in
large areas of English speaking Canada--to it but to say
that we have been unable to win their support, I think, is an
overstatement of the situation.

As far as the second point: -- I missed it.

MEMBER OF THE PRESS: The second point was that language has been the cutting edge of Trudeau policy in this area; and not any more than that!

MINISTER LALONDE: In this particular area, I think it is more than "language". It is effective participation and representation.



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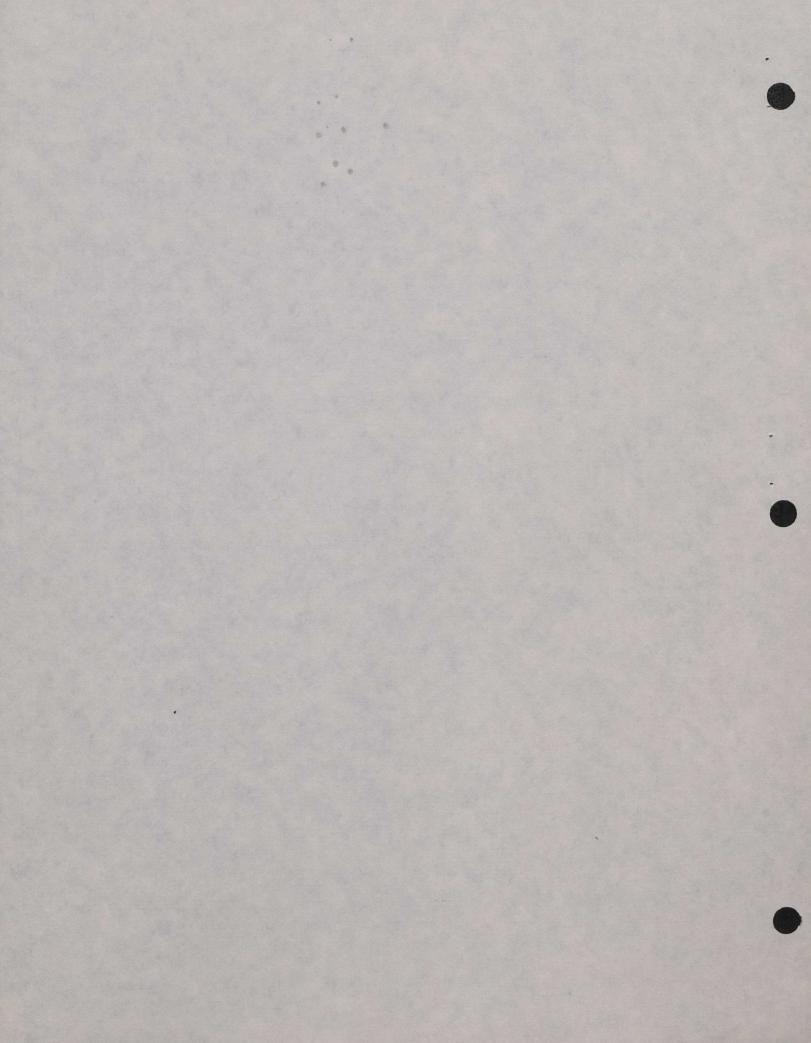
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The number of French speaking Canadians and Francophones in the Federal Public Service has gone from about 18% in early 1970 -- around 1970 -- to 26.6% last year. True, the French speaking Canadians do not have the same proportional representation at the most senior levels. But the fact is--as you look at what has happened -- that middle-management, for instance -- the French speaking representation -- has increased very substantially, so Francophone participation or sharing of actual that Administrative power has taken place. It has not just been a question of having the Francophones learn a second language. It has been giving a real role, a real participation to the Francophones, in the Administration of the Federal State.

The third one: about English speaking business in Quebec, I think is valid. It has historically been true.

There have been some efforts in the last decade or so but they have been very, very marginal. And I am not saying that it is, necessarily, a conspiracy of the English speaking business community. I see this very much more in terms of purely sociological phenomenon—and the blame is not all on the English side, in that respect.

You know, historically, we have been a Society that was oriented toward Agriculture and the traditional professions, and we have come into the business sector--



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and the professions oriented to business,-comparatively late in our history. So we have our own share of responsibility in that respect.

But the fact is that the business in Quebec was largely -- and still is largely -- under the control of an English speaking population.

MEMBER OF THE PRESS: Mr. Minister, how much of a device, in the issue, is Quebec's separatism, politically, in the rest of Canada -- in Greater Canada?

MINISTER LALONDE: How much of a device "inside"-or amongst--the Canadians?

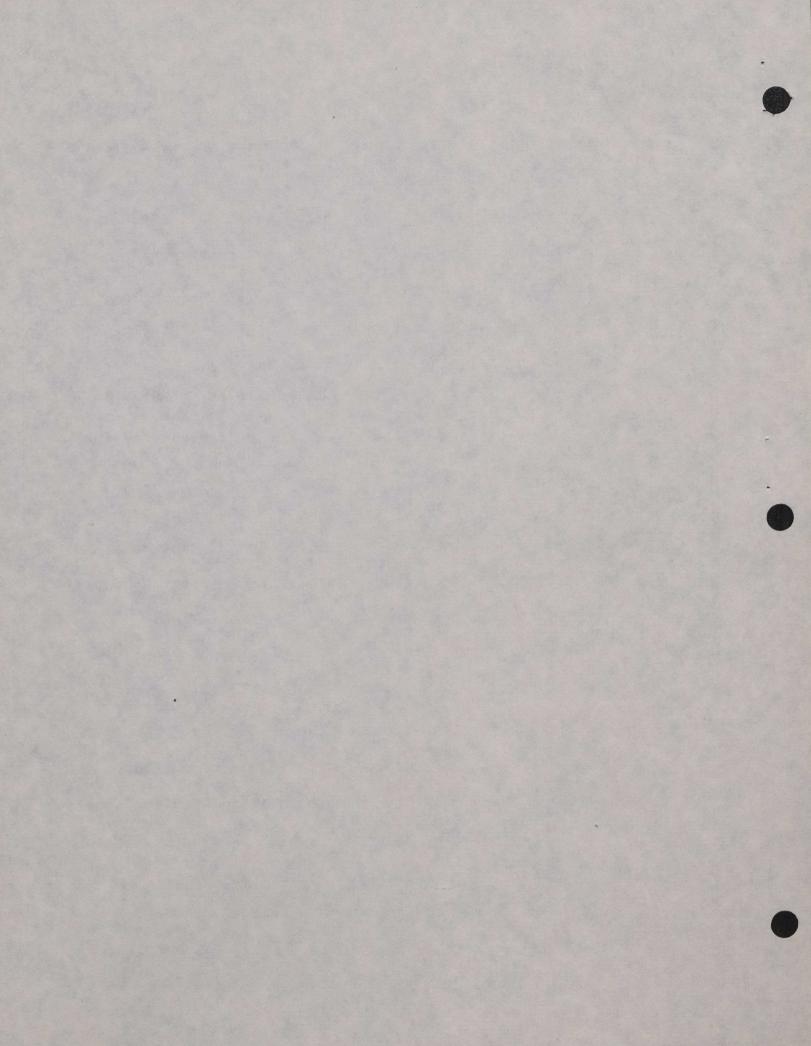
MEMBER OF THE PRESS: Amongst the Englishspeaking Canadians.

MINISTER LALONDE: In the sense that many would say, "Well, let them go"?

MEMBER OF THE PRESS: Or whatever! "Well, let them go", and translate that into critical terms, if you can, of relations between the parties.

MINISTER LALONDE: Well, I think the surveys indicate, again, that the vast majority of English speaking Canadians would like Quebec to stay. But you also have a high proportion -- I think about 30%, maybe, if I remember well -- who say, you know, "If Quebec were to decide to go, we should not hold them by force. Even more than that!

Maybe Canadian correspondents here could



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give me a hand on the actual surveys that have been carried on. I think even a majority of English speaking Canadians -- if I remember well -- would not want us to use force to keep Quebec in, if they wanted out.

But if you ask the English speaking Canadians whether they believe Quebec should stay in Canada, they overwhelmingly say "Yes"! So, the idea of the reaction of, "Let them go" is not one that is very, very spread in terms of political strength. I think there is a willingness to accomodate; and a willingness to make an effort to accomodate.

MEMBER OF THE PRESS: So it really does not translate into a Party political issue in English speaking Canada?

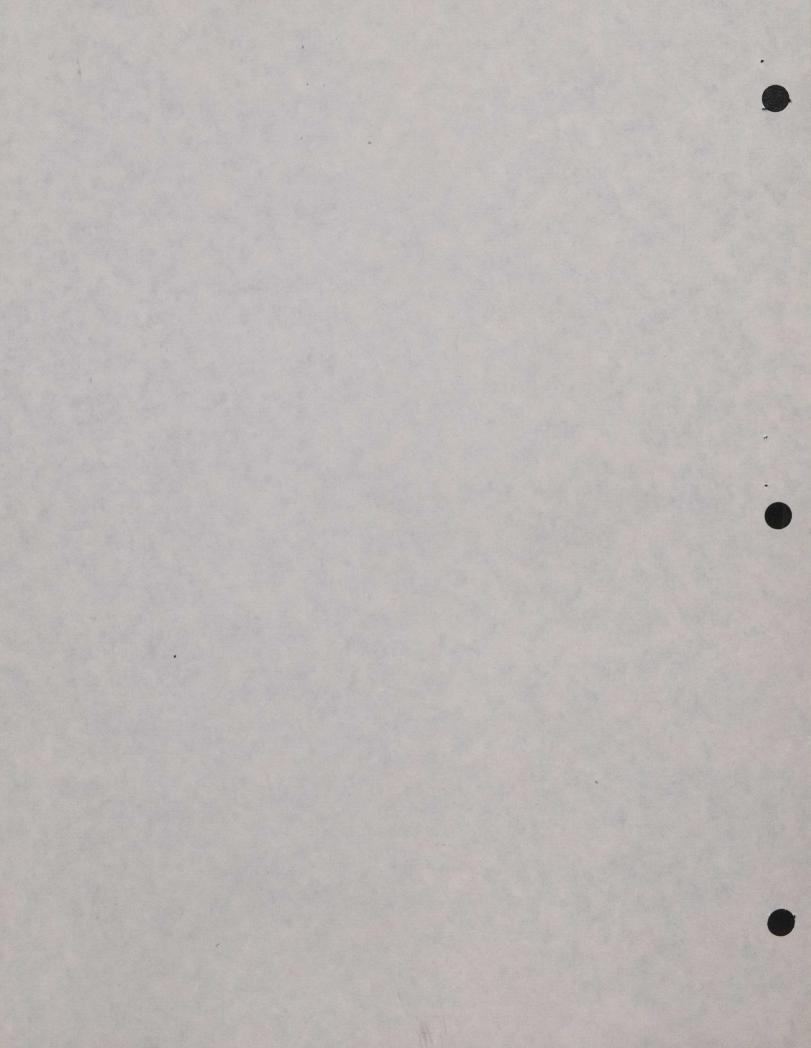
MINISTER LALONDE: Not in English speaking

Canada. There is no political strength that is identifiable at the present time, which would say, "Let's cut it

off", you know. There is no party that is taking that line-and there is no identifiable movement of any significance.

MEMBER OF THE PRESS: Could you garner from that, that the P.Q. says that if they got their independence, the rest of Canada would be bound to allow them all of the economic advantages of the Confederation; and their opponents saying, "This is not true".

What do you think?



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MINISTER LALONDE: It is a very serious illusion.

I have little doubt in my mind about that! The P.Q.s

are verstating their case very, very considerably in this

respect. Quebec is much more dependent on the rest of

the Canadian market than the rest of the Canadian economy

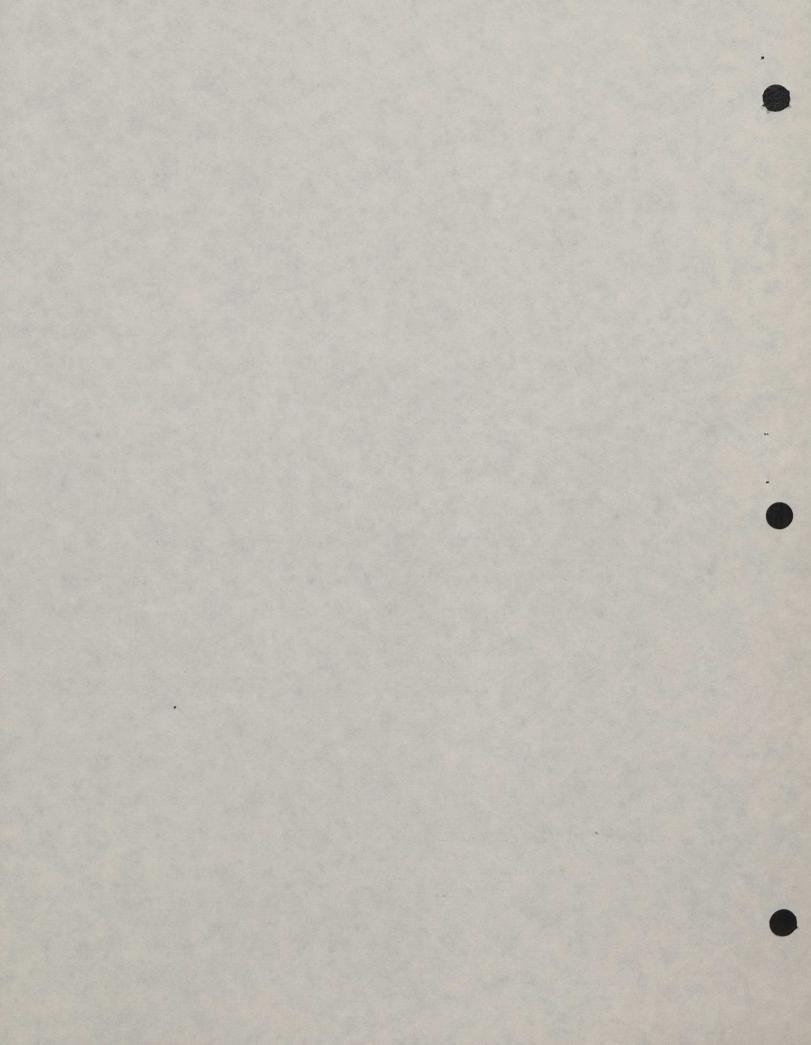
is dependent on Quebec!

Quebec is much more dependent on the Ontario market than Ontario is dependent on Quebec.

The basic manufacturing industries in Quebec benefit from high Canadian tariffs, or have, traditionally, benefitted from high Canadian tariffs on shoes, furniture; and that tariff has benefitted Quebec-where those industries are concentrated. So it is really questionable whether the rest of Canada would want to continue such tariffs—which, in effect, are protecting mainly Quebec at the present time, in those fields—assuming there is a wish for independence—and potential economic association, subsequently.

in terms of negotiation for an economic association again -- is a dangerous illusion. Quebec would be negotiating from a position of weakness; -not from a position of strength--in such a situation.

And this is our argument with our Separatists: that, really, Quebec has much more leverage inside the



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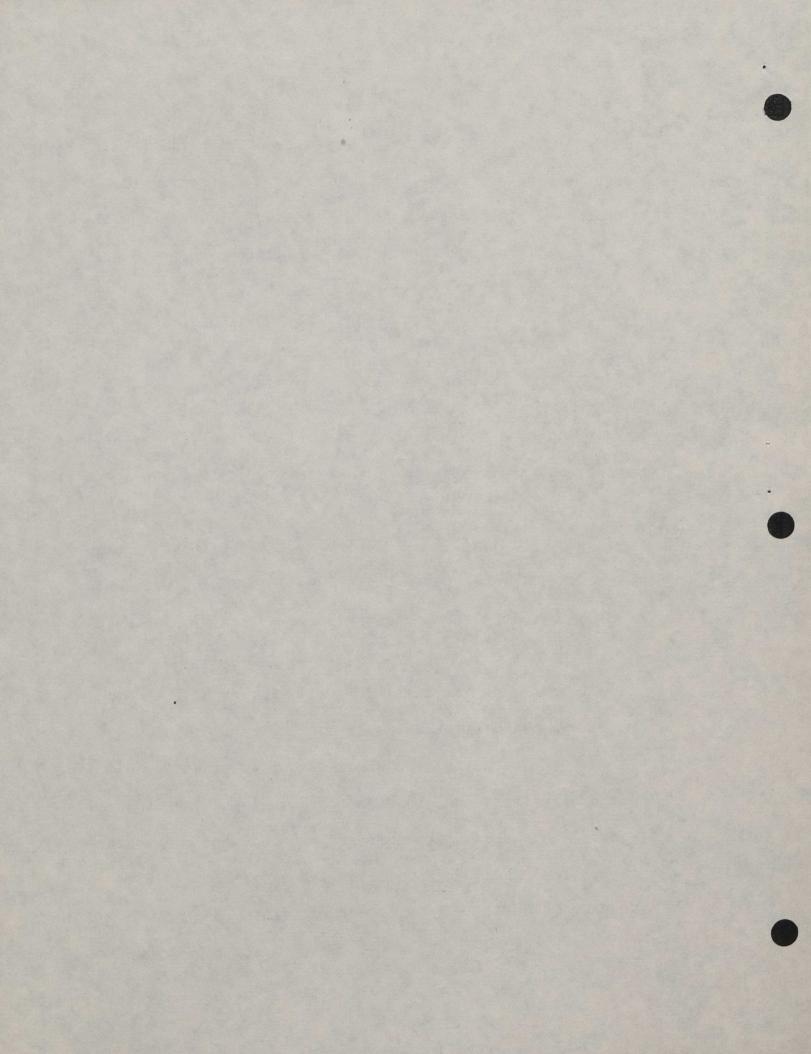
Federal system as it is at the present time, than it would have in the hypothesis of separation; or negotiating some kind of "independence-with-association" -- whatever that means -- a free trade area; Customs union; or a common market. I don't know. But the economic cards of Quebec and the political cards of Quebec -- in terms of such an association -- are not those that the Separatists claim that they are!

MEMBER OF THE PRESS: Mr. Minister, I wonder to what degree do the economic problems that Canada is having, right now, contribute to this polarization that you identified earlier?

MINISTER LALONDE: Oh, I think those problems were in existence when Canada knew a rate of growth which was higher than the one we have known lately; and which was lower in unemployment and lower in inflation. So I don't think you can attribute this just to high unemployment, or high inflation, at a particular time.

One could even argue, with that, that the difficult economic situation in Quebec is not helping the Separatist cause; that people are getting more and more concerned about the consequences of the type of political education we have known in Quebec over the last few years.

MR. UNGAR: What is the unemployment figure in Quebec?



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PHONE (202) 347-0224 LL REPRODUCTION RIGHTS RESERVED MINISTER LALOHDE: "Unadjusted," it was 11-1/2% last month. On an "adjusted" basis; I cannot remember, exactly. It would have been around 10%, I believe. So it is high; and Quebec is the only Province, last month, in Canada, which knew an increase in its adjusted rate of unemployment. All other regions of Canada have shown a decrease in their adjusted rate, last month.

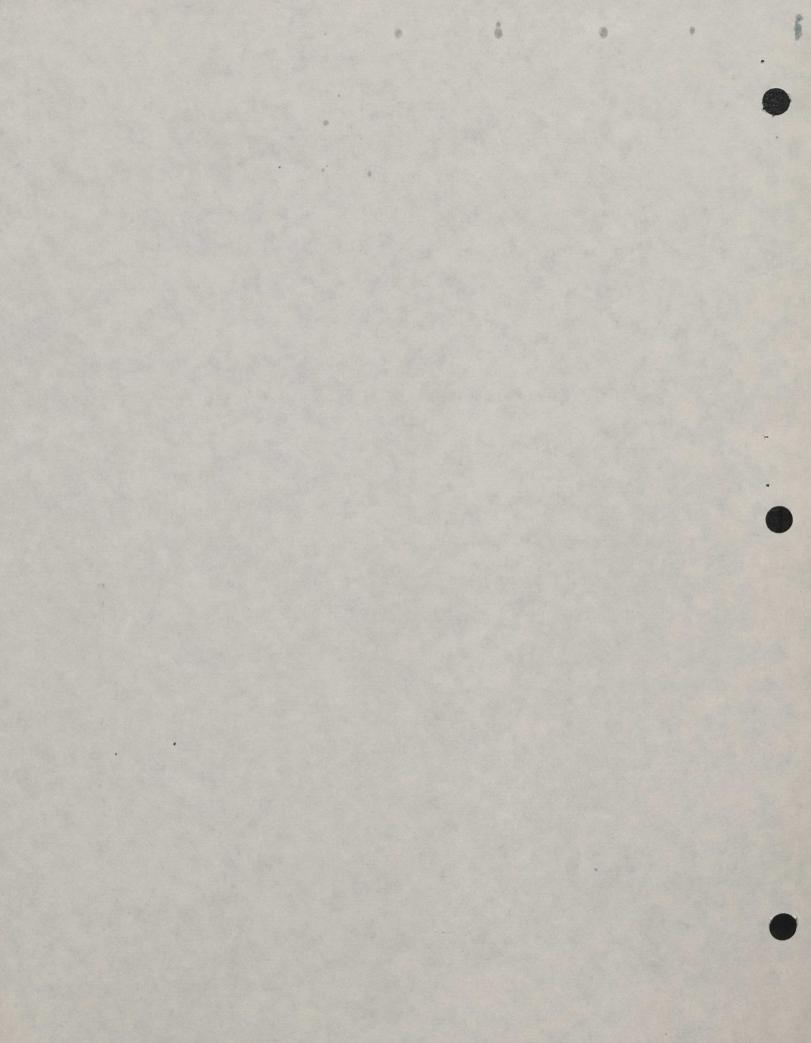
There, again, there was some trend in terms of unemployment that has taken place in Quebec in the last year.

So I would not say -- to come back to your point
-- I would not make, certainly, a direct relationship
between the economic evolution of the situation in Canada
over the last ten years -- or even in the last five years
-- and the particular political developments.

I don't think this is correct.

MEMBER OF THE PRESS: Mr. Minister, did the policy of the Carter Administration toward this question seem to be more one of moral support at this point, without direct involvement? The business community, I am told, is in a static situation: waiting and seeing what is happening.

If the situation were to move closer towards an actual break, or a crisis, would your Government feel that this was an adequate response by both the Administration



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and the business community?

If not, what steps do you think that the Administration and the business community might take to pressure Quebec into remaining in the Federation--without causing a reaction that might push it out?

MINISTER LALONDE: I think the attitude of the business community, and the Carter Administration, is the wise course; and I don't see any necessity for that course to be changed in the future.

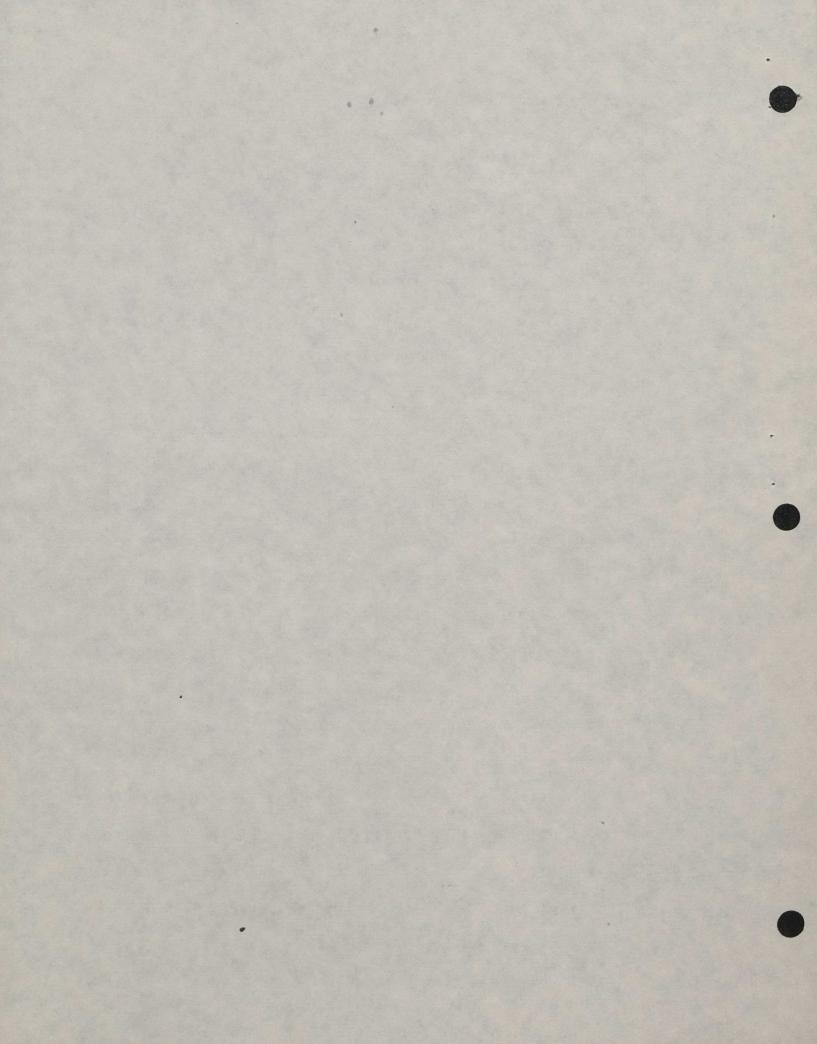
This question is going to be resolved among

Canadians. It is being debated in a democratic way.

We have not known political violence in Quebec since 1970—
in any shape or form. I think there has been more political
violence in the United States, comparatively, during the
same period. I think this thing is going to be resolved

— I am convinced it is going to be resolved — through
the democratic process in Canada. I don't see any
necessity for a change of posture.

you indicated in response to another question that had to do with the Securities aspects of the Separation question, that if Quebec were to follow the dark scenario that you don't think is likely, and become -- well, take a non-active role in NATO, and so on, that the United States would not allow it! Doesn't that indicate that you



can envision some more active stance by the United States in that question?

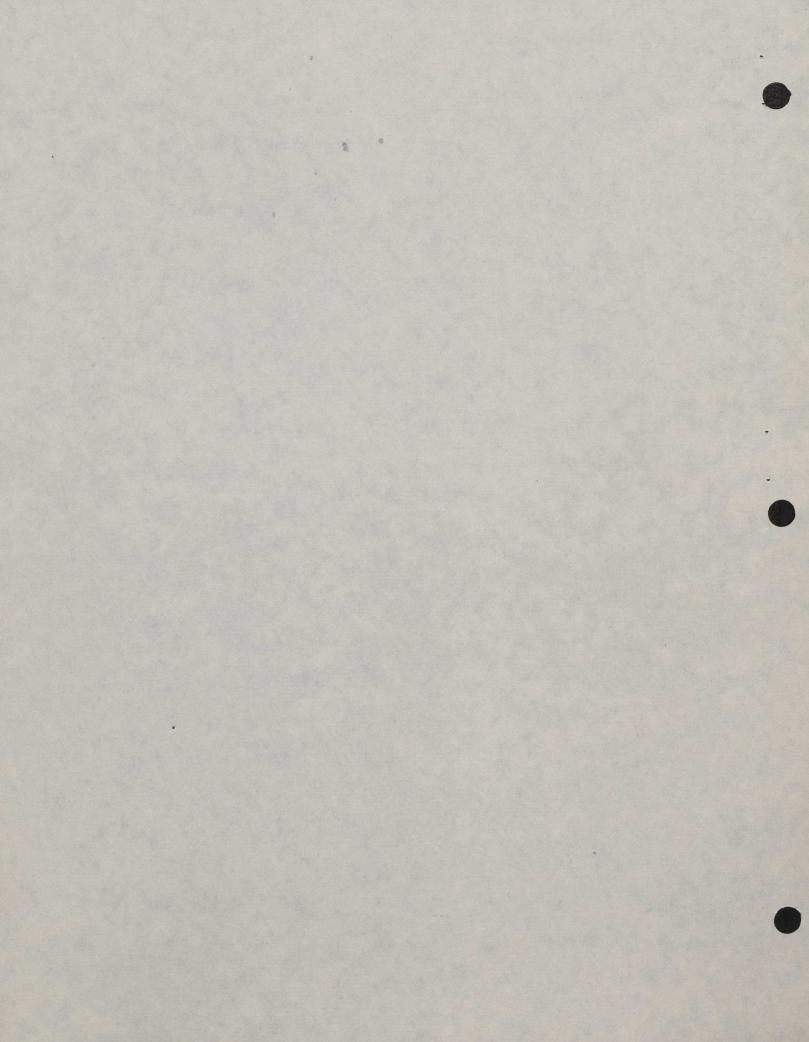
MINISTER LALONDE: Youare talking in terms of a post-independence scenario. I don't believe it will ever happen. I suppose there is an old rule that politicians should never comment on hypothetical questions. May I break it?

MEMBERS OF THE PRESS: Yes. Yes!

MINISTER LALONDE: But, let's assume that.

As I said, I think that in the first period in the "scenario of independence", you would not see a significant change in terms of Foreign Policy -- whether it is NATO, or NORAD, or all that.

But down the line, I still don't believe that the dark scenario is the likely one. But, assuming that it is, I am sure that then you would be in a different context. You are talking, then, in terms of Quebec as an independent State. Surely the United States and the rest of Canada would not hesitate to take the necessary steps to protect their own security if they felt it was threatened! I don't know whether it would take the form of coercion; but, certainly, there could be a lot of economic pressures. And I don't suppose that the United States would behave, necessarily differently in that case than it has behaved in other cases, with other Countries in the past.



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MEMBER OF THE PRESS: May I follow up on that?

You said that nothing would happen if separation
took place. Yet the fact is that you are here; and we
have had Quebec Ministers -- particularly in New York;
and, also, a new Quebec Office here.

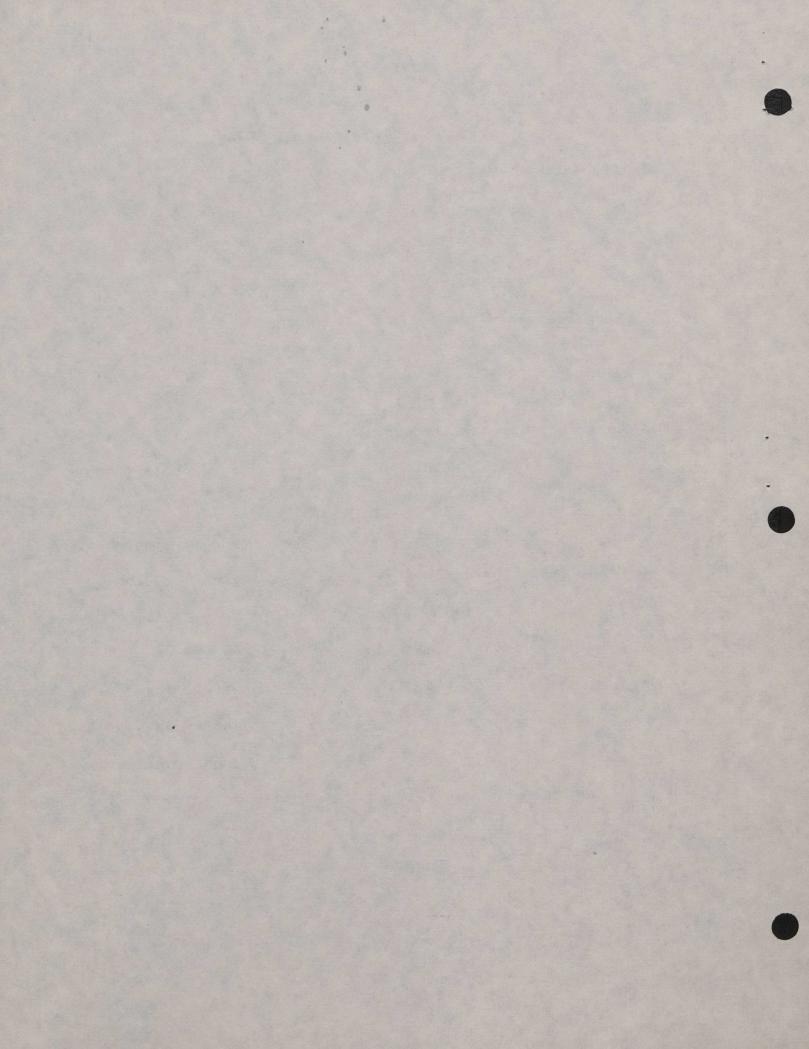
How important <u>is</u> it to Canada and Quebec that Americans understand what is going on?

Why are you paying so much attention to what we expect is just a sort of benign presence--until the Canadians make their decision?

the meantime, anyway, that the American public be well aware of what is going on north of the Border. There has been a long tradition of ignorance -- maybe benevolent ignorance -- by the United States vis-a-vis Canada.

I think it is important that the American governments, the American media, the American people, be aware of what is happening; and not be apt to react in a panicky way -- over-react to events: see them in their proper perspectives, nistorical perspectives; and, I think, avoid generally, the type of over-reaction that could be very damaging to Canada, and to Quebec, itself.

So I think that it is important that \underline{we} , as Canadian politicians, should be quite willing to spell it out as we see it; and we will see what happens.



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MEMBER OF THE PRESS: You are not looking for support for the Federalist position?

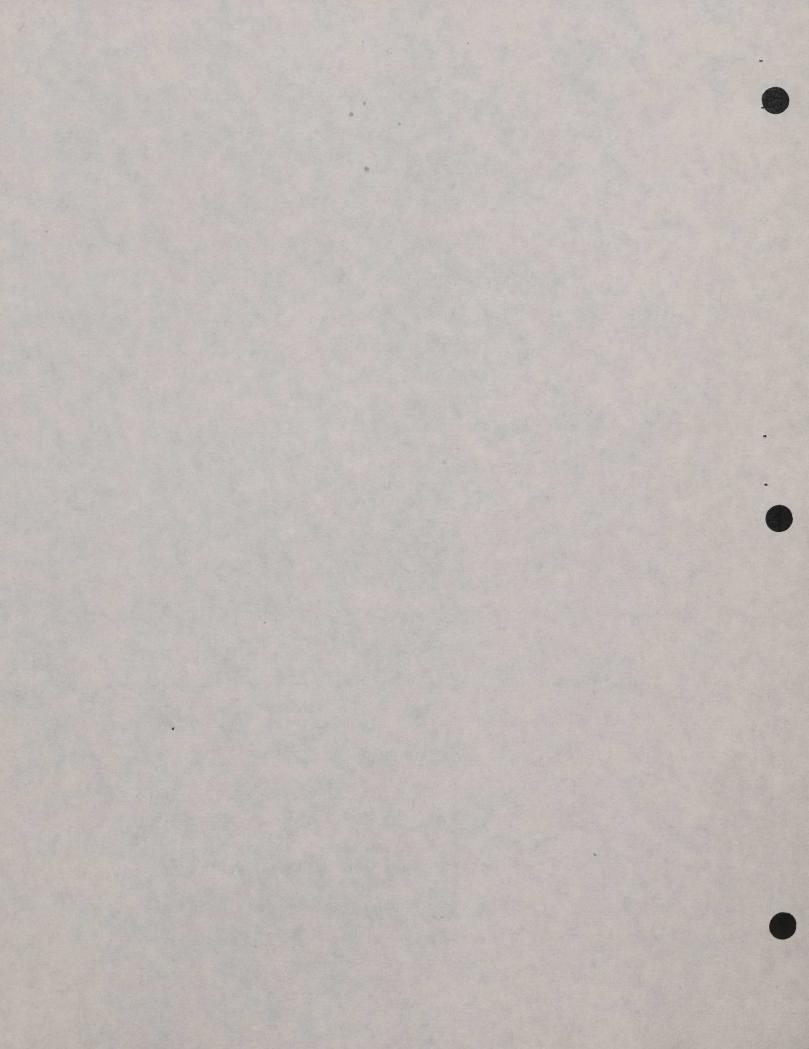
Federalist position is there, whether we come or not.

This is a Federal Country. In the United States, I think there is a great deal of support for Federalism as a form of government in the United States, and there is great support-for Canada as a unified Country-in the United States.

I don't know of any -- again -- identifiable movement in the United States -- in the media, in the Administration, or in the public at large -- that would prefer to see Canada break up.

So. you know, I am not concerned and, as a Federal government, we are not concerned about the Parti Quebecois' attitude of Federal government, or Federal institutions, vis-a-vis the future of Canada. We are convinced that there is strong support for a Federal form of Government...and a United Canada.

MEMBER OF THE PRESS: Supposing that your scenario -- which, I take it, is envisioning an evolutionary process -- that this problem will eventually be solved in a peaceful way, and Quebec will remain and get more satisfied with the rest of Canada in working with it; supposing it does not turn out:



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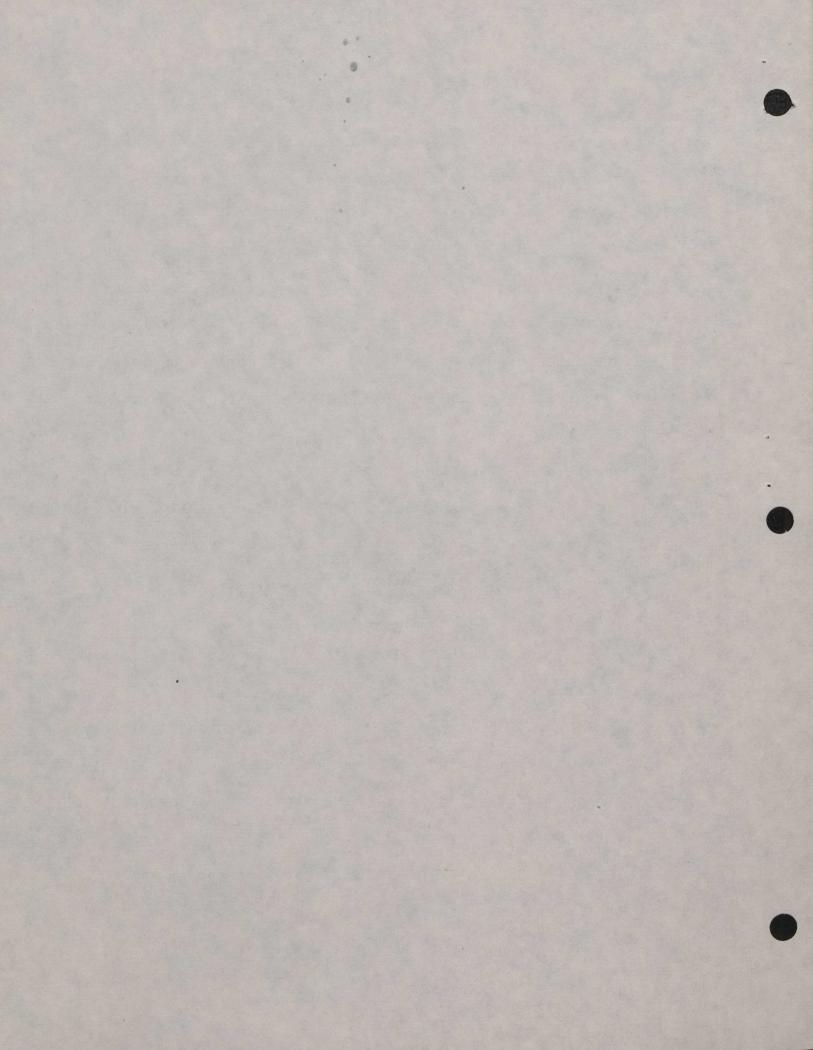
stand in that respect: that we, as a Federal Government, would not resort to force to keep Quebec in, if the people of Quebec, in a substantial majority, were to decide that they don't want to be in. We would certainly resign as a Federal Government. I don't know what another Government would do, but you know, for us, it would be a political defeat of great substance and significance. It would mean that everything we fought for we have not succeeded in; and so, as a Government, we would certainly resign in a case like this.

But our commitment is not to resort to the use of force to keep Quebec in.

I don't know what another Government would do.

That is, again, speculating on the future. But, again, this is speculating in the darkness of scenarios which I don't believe will happen.

MEMBER OF THE PRESS: Mr. Minister -- again, on the economic issues: Could you comment on what steps the Government can take to try to stem the movement of capital and business out of Quebec; and out of Canada in



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MINISTER LALOADE: There is comparatively little we can do. This issue is going to be unresolved; and we have urged the Quebec Government to call its referendum as soon as possible -- the sooner the better.

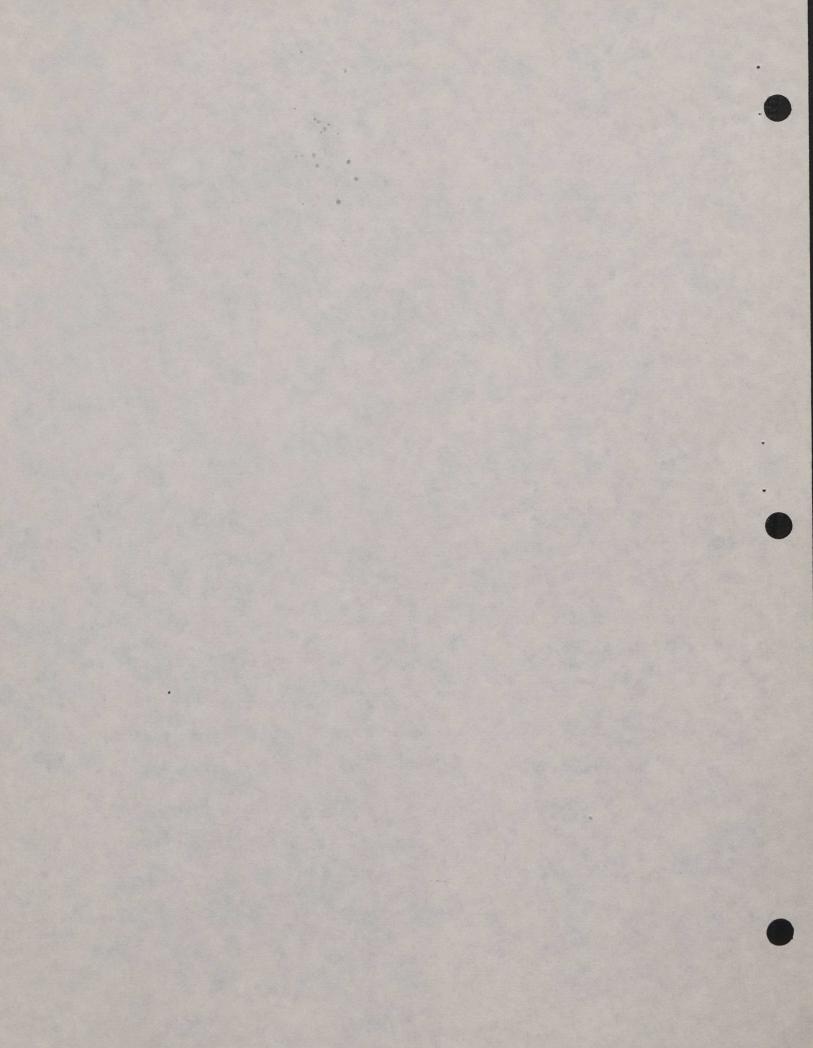
You know, there is nothing that capital fears more than uncertainty, and this has been very bad for Quebec; and not good for Canada. As long as this climate of uncertainty is going to be around, it is going to hurt the Quebec economy indirectly.

If Quebec were to delay, indefinitely, its referendum, because they are afraid that they may not win it -- we might follow along that line.

I intend to introduce -- the Government intends to introduce a Federal Referendum law during the course of the present session; and we are likely to have, in our Statute, the authority, before the end of the year, to call a referendum of our own. So, if there is evidence that the Quebec government is dragging its feet, indefinitely maintaining uncertainty, and that we see a very serious negative economic impact arising out of that situation, we might --

MEMBER OF THE PRESS: On a nation-wide referendum-or Quebec only?

MINISTER LALONDE: It could be nation-wide. It



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could be Quebec, only. We will have authority to call referendums on a regional, or a national basis.

MEMBER OF THE PRESS: Who gets to write the question?

MINISTER LALONDE: We do!

[Laughter]

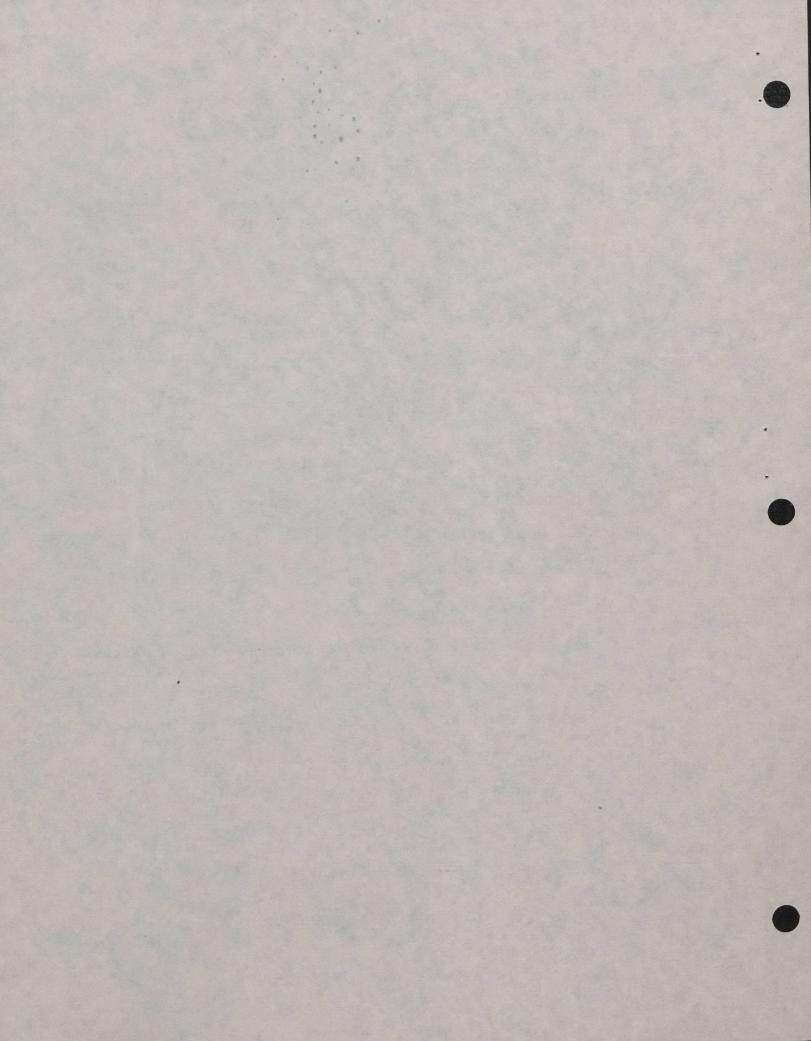
MINISTER LALONDE: Well, it depends on which level [for]
of government calls/a referendum. If the Provincial
Government calls it, they ask whatever question they want.
If we do, we will do the same.

MEMBER OF THE PRESS: Mr. Minister, a few weeks ago Sun Life [Assurance Company] of Canada, which, as you know, is a big English-controlled insurance company of Montreal -- the head office is in Montreal -- announced that it was going to relocate out of Montreal into Ontario, I believe. The Government of Canada intervened, successfully, I think. They have deferred this relocation.

What were the Government's motives in intervening?
What do you think was achieved?

MINISTER LALONDE: Well, I should come back to your question, in retrospect, I think I gave you a rather short answer. I should have gone on to say what we can do.

In the Economic field, we have taken some steps to support the investment in Quebec. For instance,



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Montreal has been designated as a Special Area with some support for capital investment for new plants—or the expansion of plants. It is part of our general Regional Economic Expansion Policy in Canada, that we have for lower developing areas, whether they are in the Atlantic Provinces or some areas of Quebec. That is another thing that we can do.

The second thing we can do is keep close contact with the business community, and encourage them not only to stay on, but to carry on business-as-usual.

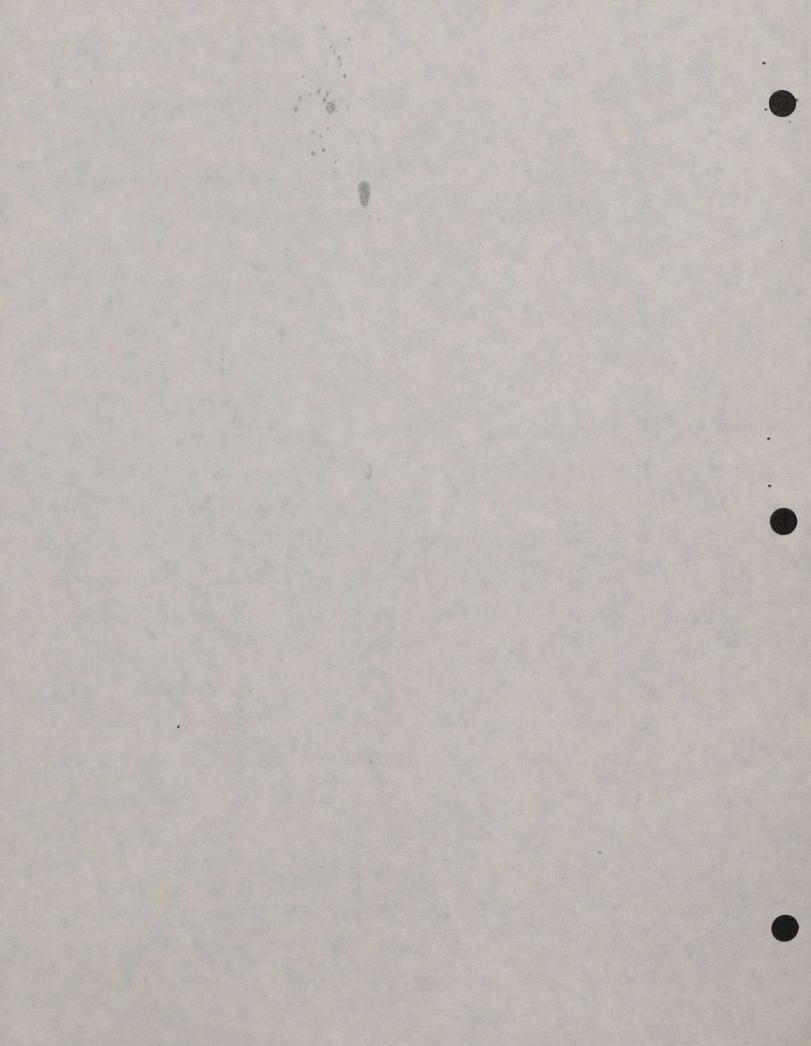
The Minister of Finance has been in the United

States, regularly, talking to business representatives along
those lines; and we have met with Canadian business representatives along those lines; that they should not pull out of

Quebec, and they should carry on business as they used to
do in the past.

This has been our general posture; and this is the posture that we want to keep.

Now, our intervention in the Sun Life case was along the basis of that particular policy: that we felt that Sun Life is an institution that has been in Quebec for over 100 years. It is a significant institution in terms of employment; and we were concerned that the way the decision had been announced—and the decision had been taken—might have a seriously detrimental effect—in terms



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of creating a snowball effect on other large institutions.

So we did intervene, in that case, to show to the business community that, first of all, this is not the type of decision that we felt was appropriate; or one that had the support of the Federal government and, while we could not prevent it, if they decided to go ahead with it, we wanted the business community to realize, quite clearly, that this is not the type of development we find conducive to positive developments in terms of Canadian Therefore, we have not reversed the decision unity. of Sun Life. They have decided to move their Headquarters to Toronto, subject to approbation by a shareholders' meeting, or a policy holders' meeting, later on in the next But they have, however, decided to delay month or two. the transfer of their staff for at least two years -- at least two -- and they have indicated that they might ---- the bulk of, a large majority of their personnel, would stay in Montreal.

MEMBER OF THE PRESS: Is it your point -- if

I may just follow up on that -- that the Government of

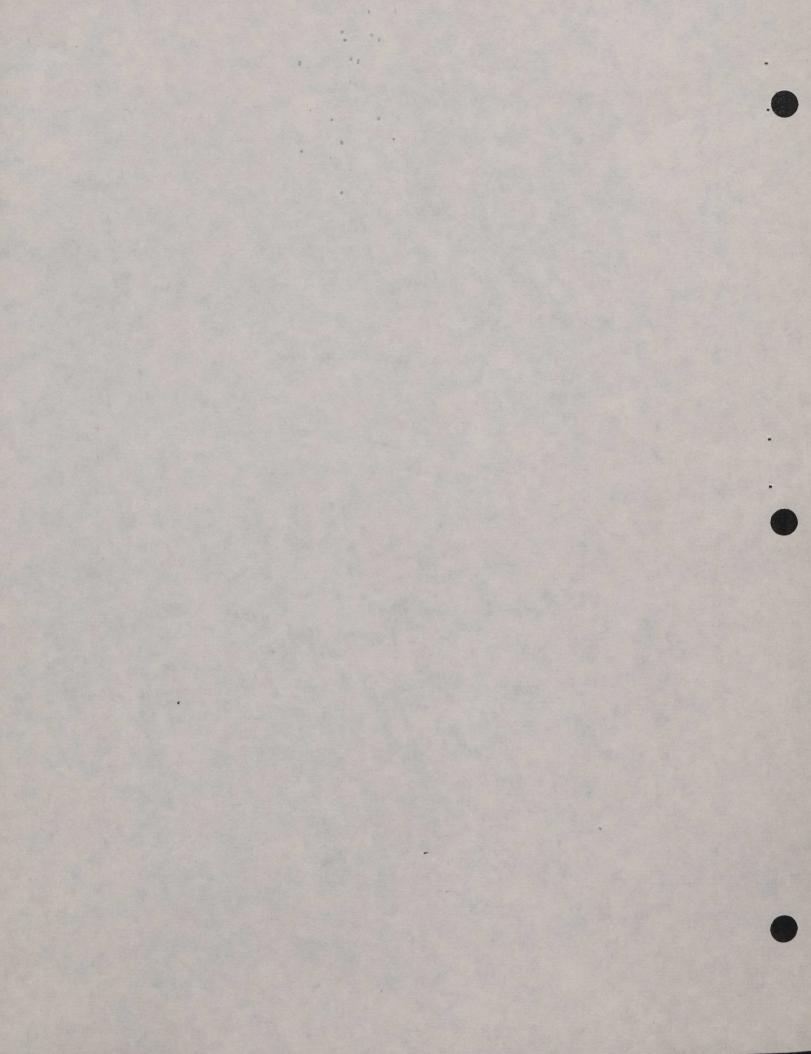
Canada, in this matter, is trying to demonstrate -- and

maybe succeed in showing the people of Quebec -- that it

can be more effective in dealing with the business community

than the Government of Quebec could be?

MINISTER LALONDE: That is what the people of



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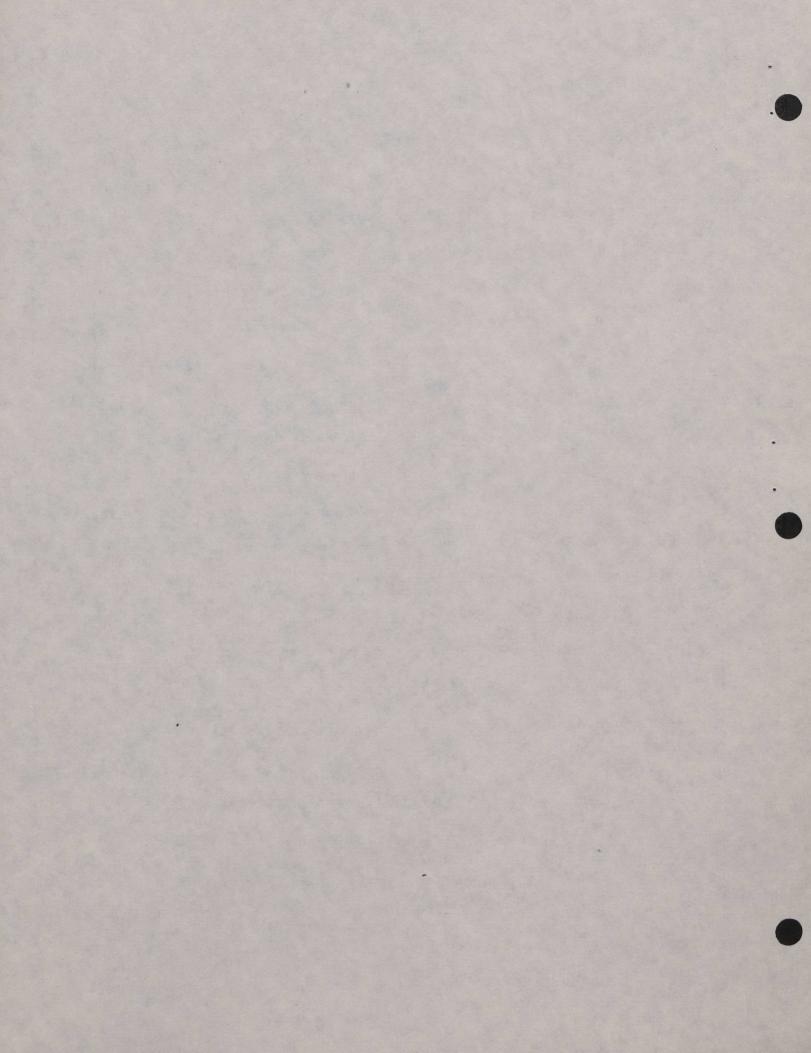
PHONE (202) 347-0224 LL REPRODUCTION RIGHTS RESERVED Quebec do believe. Again, recent surveys show that quite clearly: that, in the economic field, they tend to believe that the Federal government has more power and more leverage than the Provincial government. And what is interesting in the current situation: We had, again, a recent survey, and asked the people who they blamed for the current economic situation. Strangely enough -- or, I don't know; I should not say "strangely enough" -- it came out that way; that about 45% blamed the Provincial Government; 15% the business community; 13% the Labor movement; and 11% the Federal Government.

So, to come back to one of the previous questions as to the implication of who bears the blame for the economic situation, it appears to be different from the one you would expect in a different context.

MEMBER OF THE PRESS: Mr. Minister, you said, before, that the business community has been slow to follow the policy of integrating French speaking people at the top level.

What can you do to help us, in view of the fact that the United States is English speaking?

MINISTER LALONDE: What is interesting is that probably the better citizens in Quebec--in that respect, the corporate citizens--have been the large international



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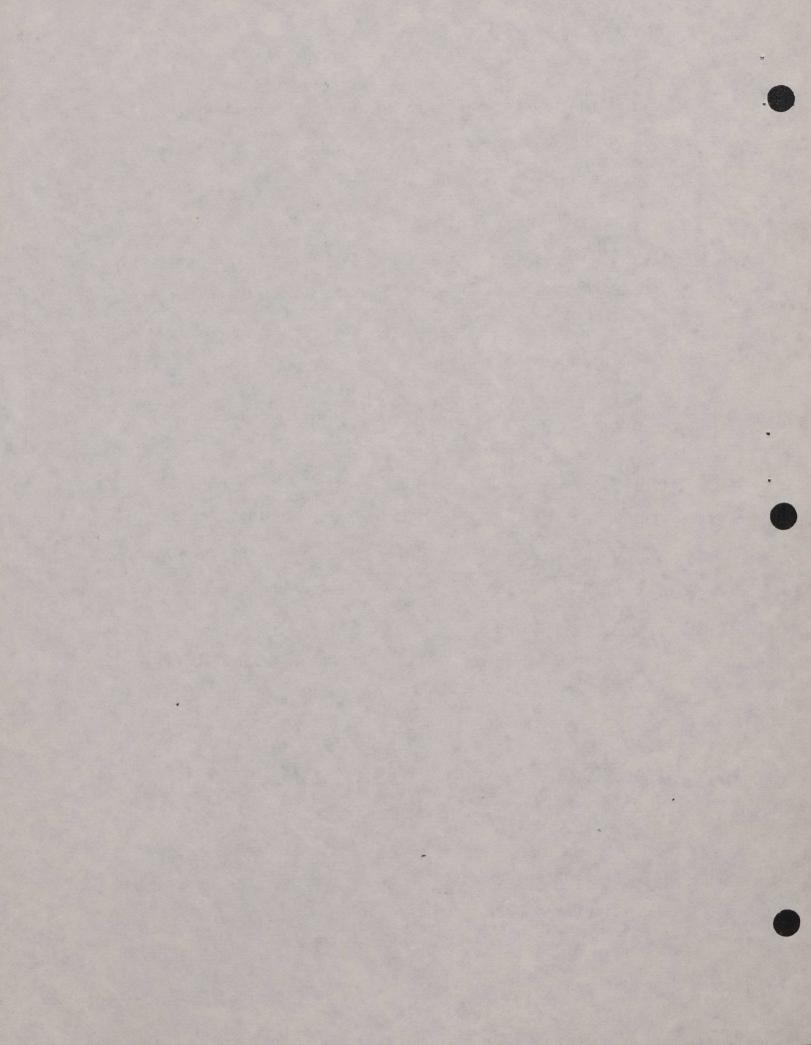
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corporations which are doing business all around the World, and have a tradition of adapting to very different socioeconomic medias, and they are probably more conscious of being foreigners in those Lands, and seem to be making, probably, more effort at integrating, reasonably well, with the media in which they are, and in which they live.

For instance, we have a large General Motors plant in Ste. Therese, Quebec, and they look at that plant it is a reasonably recent plant and it was operating very, very largely in French -- well before the Provisional Government felt it necessary to pass legislation.

It may be that those large institutions, as I said, have that tradition; and, secondly, they are of a more recent start in Canada than in Quebec. So they are not of a long tradition, like the old banks, and all But you have had banks in Montreal. They had quarters in Montreal for 100 years and they never have been able to recruit even a proportional representation of French Canadians, in their senior Administration. were very, very traditional; and their recruitment approach was very much turned inward on, strictly, the English speaking community. They just ignored the environment in which they were.

So I don't think that the international corporations, and the American corporations in particular,



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have behaved worse than the Canadian English-speaking corporations. I would say, if anything, it is probably the reverse.

MEMBER OF THE PRESS: You mentioned a referendum.

Do you have other means to achieve unity in

Canada?

MINISTER LALONDE: Well, some are institutional.

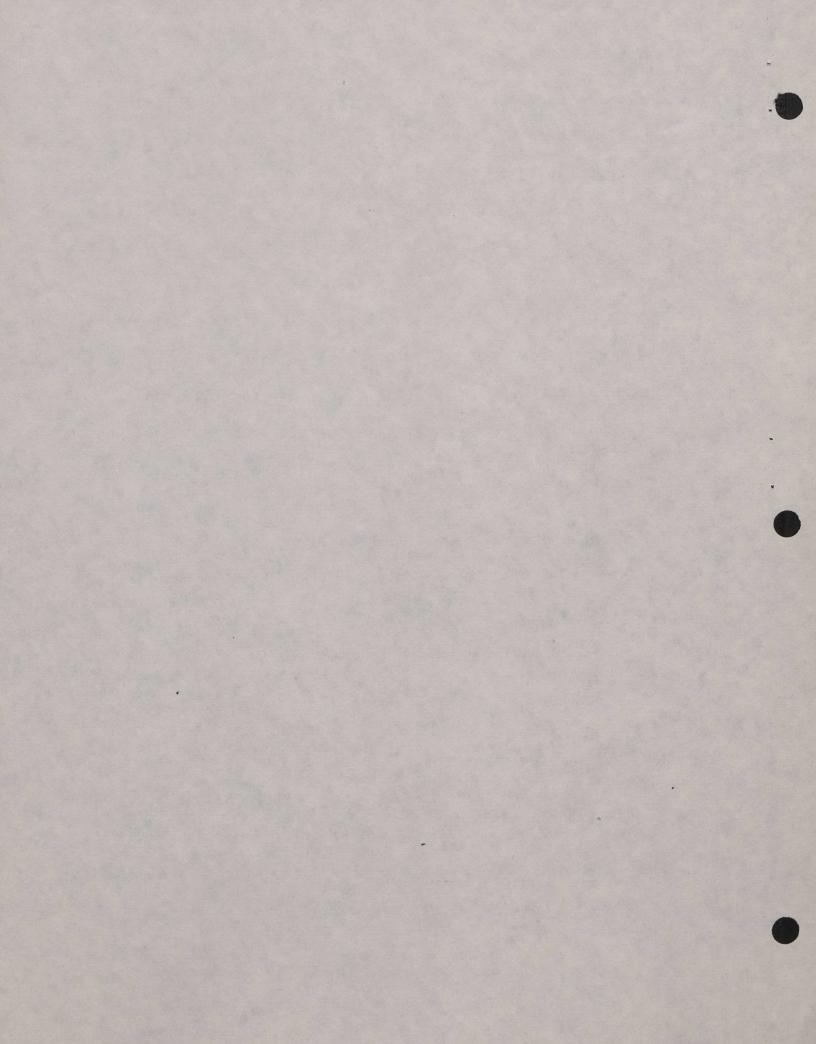
Yes, we are going to put forward, during the course of the present session, a certain number of Constitutional proposals -- Constitutional Reform Proposals -- but, again, I think this is important, and necessary.

You know, what people don't realize is that we have one of the oldest Federal Constitutions in the World! Ours has been going on since 1867, with slight amendments here and there, but, essentially, it is the same instrument -- called the British North American Act. So the title, itself, would, I think, make somebody think it would be time to change something about it!

[Laughter]

But there it is. And so there has to be -- there has to be -- substantial Constitutional reform.

Again, one would be under serious illusions, if one would believe that just playing around with the Constitution is going to resolve this particular issue. I think



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there are socio-economic factors involved which are of a more basic nature, and the feeling of insecurity that the French speaking community has had, traditionally, in Canada is one that has to be resolved.

Separatists intend to resolve it by saying to the French-speaking Canadians and the Quebeckers: "Well, we will have all of the powers here. We will create our own fortress. Ne will be our own Country. We will have all of the powers. Therefore, we will be safe."

We do not believe that this is a good diagnosis of the situation. It is going to be a very costly one, economically and sociologically, and we think the solution lies, better, in the Federal system. than in the single unitary state that would be the State of Quebec.

That is our fundamental difference. But this would imply true Constitutional reform, but through other steps, and steps that take a longer time, and are slower; that the French speaking community will have to feel that it is secure.

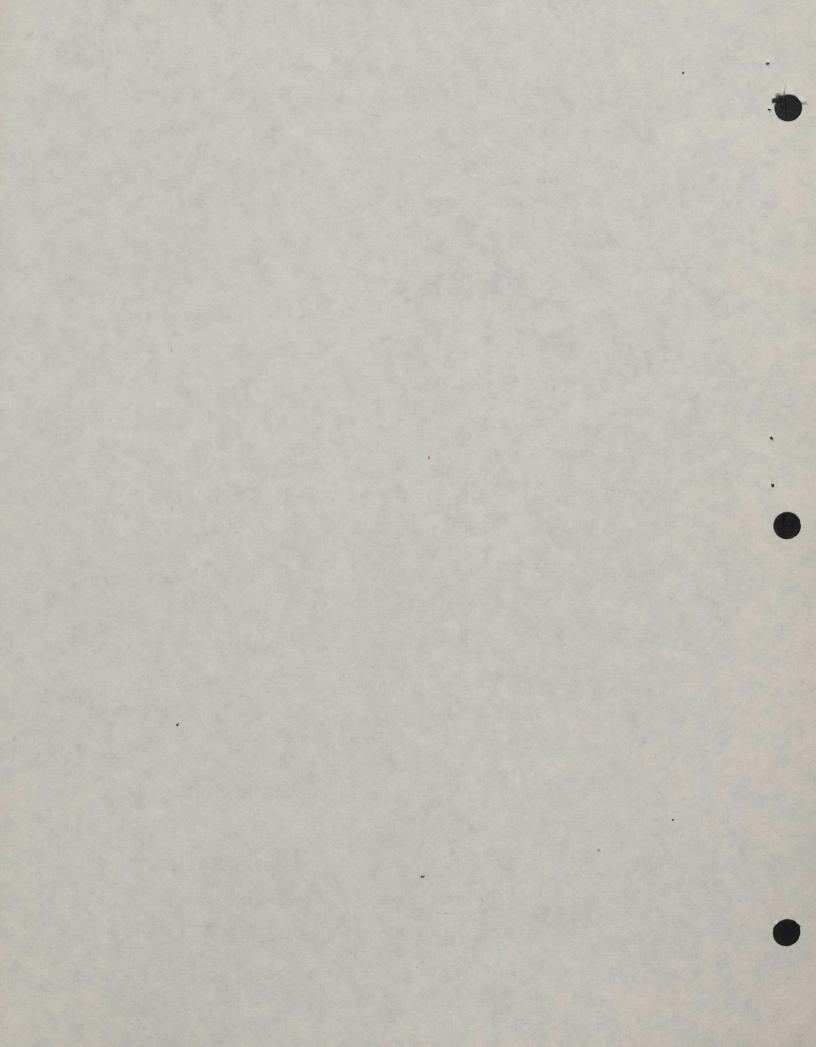
MEMBER OF THE PRESS: Can we change the subject to a current development?

Are you shocked at the spy revelations?

Can you give us any observations about it?

MINISTER LALONDE: I am not particularly shocked...

nor surprised! This has taken place in other Countries.



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I have never believed that Canada would be immune to that type of -- you are talking about the events of yesterday?

MEMBER OF THE PRESS: Yes, sir. Yes, sir.

MINISTER LALONDE: I have never believed that Canada would, necessarily, be immune from this type of event.

MEMBER OF THE PRESS: Then why should Canada be so vulnerable?

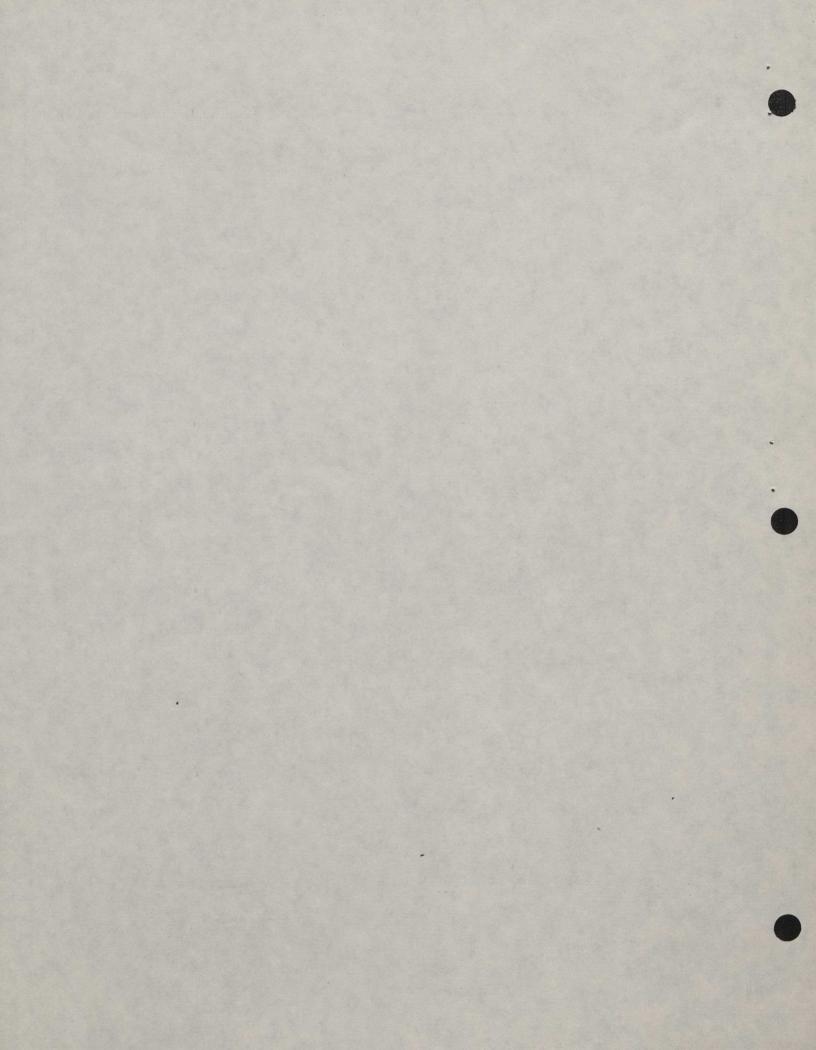
MINISTER LALONDE: We are a pretty open Society. being in Government, we have so little secrets that I was wondering what they were after!

[Laughter]

But it is quite understandable that they would attempt -- that another Country would attempt to infiltrate a Country like ours. We are close to the United States. But I am not saying that there are more attempts at it in Canada than there are in other Countries. I think the experience we have seen in a number of European Countries, over the last few years, would tend to indicate that Canada may not be one that is worse, in that respect, or more exposed, in that respect, than other Countries.

You know, maybe they were looking for Satellite debris!

[Laughter]



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MEMBER OF THE PRESS: What can be the legal ramifications of this ruling in Quebec that the Language Law is unconstitutional as it applies to the Courts --

MINISTER LALONDE: And the Legislature? MEMBER OF THE PRESS: How far down the road did this go?

Is it unconstitutional throughout?

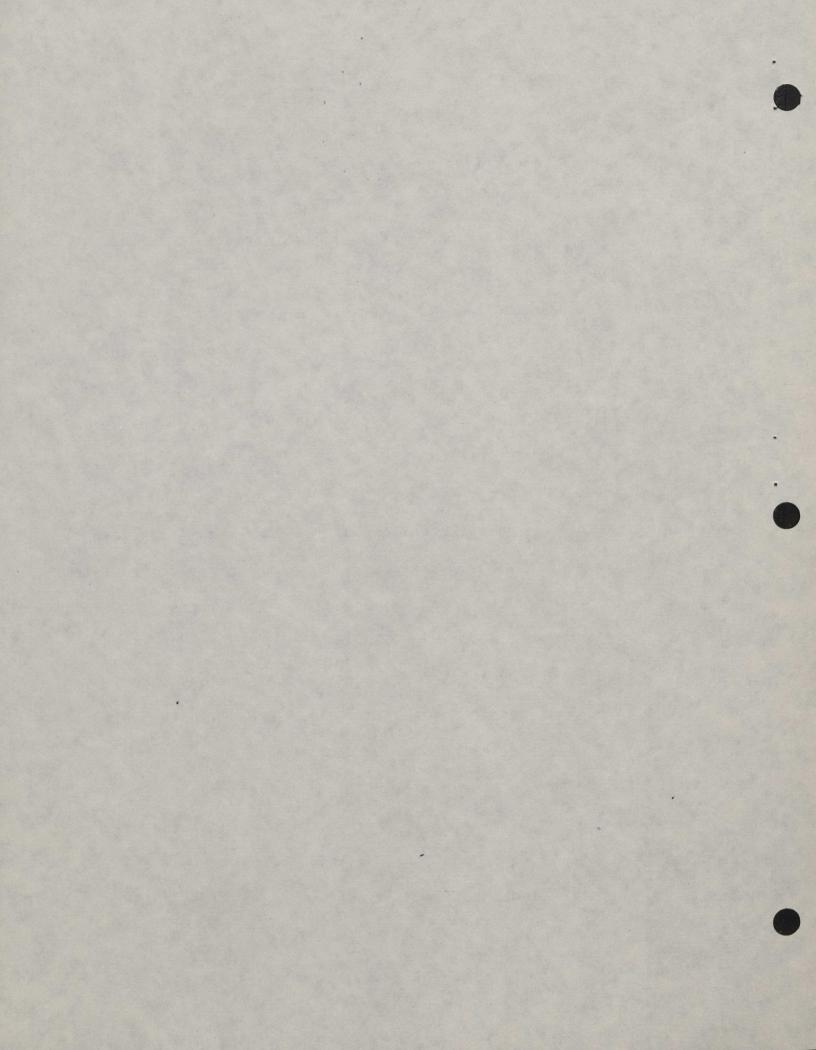
MINISTER LALONDE: No. We have looked at the Educational provisions, and we have indicated that we felt that they might very likely be maintained -- or most of them, anyway, would be supported by the Court -- by a judicial interpretation.

They are ruling out two very significant areas, I would say: that the Judicial and the Legislative systems are not something to be ignored. But, in terms of the daily life of people, I think people are much more exercised and concerned about the Educational provisions, than they are about the ones concerning the language in the National Assembly, or in the Courts themselves.

But they are significant developments.

It will be appealed, I am sure, all the way to the Supreme Court, and it will become part of the Constitutional debate, obviously, in the years down the line.

MEMBER OF THE PRESS: In the House of Lords?



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MINISTER LALONDE: There is no House of Lords on these any more.

MEMBER OF THE PRESS: If you were framing questions to be put to the people of Quebec in a Federally sponsored referendum, how would you put those questions?

MINISTER LALOADE: Well, again, that is a little premature as a question. But I think if you were to ask about the choice, it should be a clear choice between independence and the Federal system, or Federalists. We don't believe — and I am glad to see that more and more Separatists are recognizing this — I think even Mr. Levesque said, recently in an interview, "There is no half-way-house between Federalism and independence."

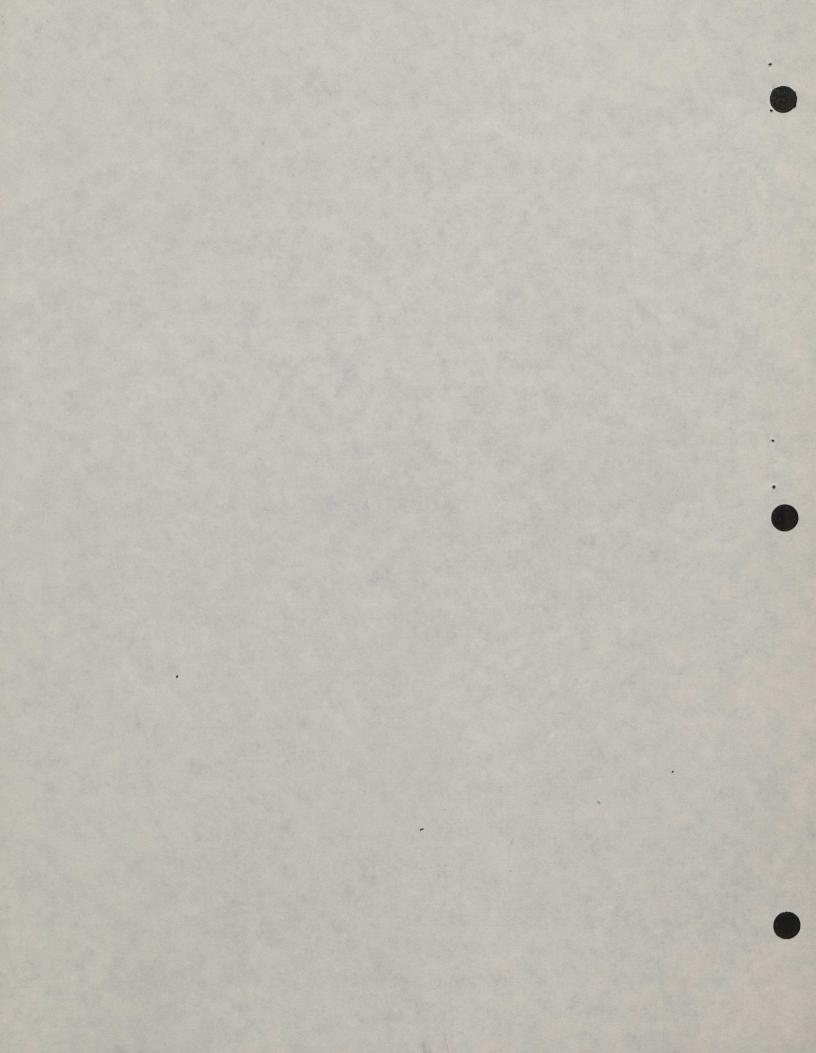
You are living under a Federal system, or you are not; and, in that sense, our question -- if you were to ask one -- should be a fair choice in that respect.

We would not want to fudget the way P.Q. is trying to fudget now with some of the associations in which people are projecting all kinds of interpretations which they have not defined themselves.

MEMBER OF THE PRESS: If you want to go off the record on this, I would still like to have your answer.

What is your guess on how Levesque is going to play this?

He is not an unintelligent man--as all of those



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who have met him know. He surely sees these hazards in the way of a clear cut choice.

How do you think he will behave in that respect?

MINISTER LALONDE: Since this is being filmed,

I will not be off the record.

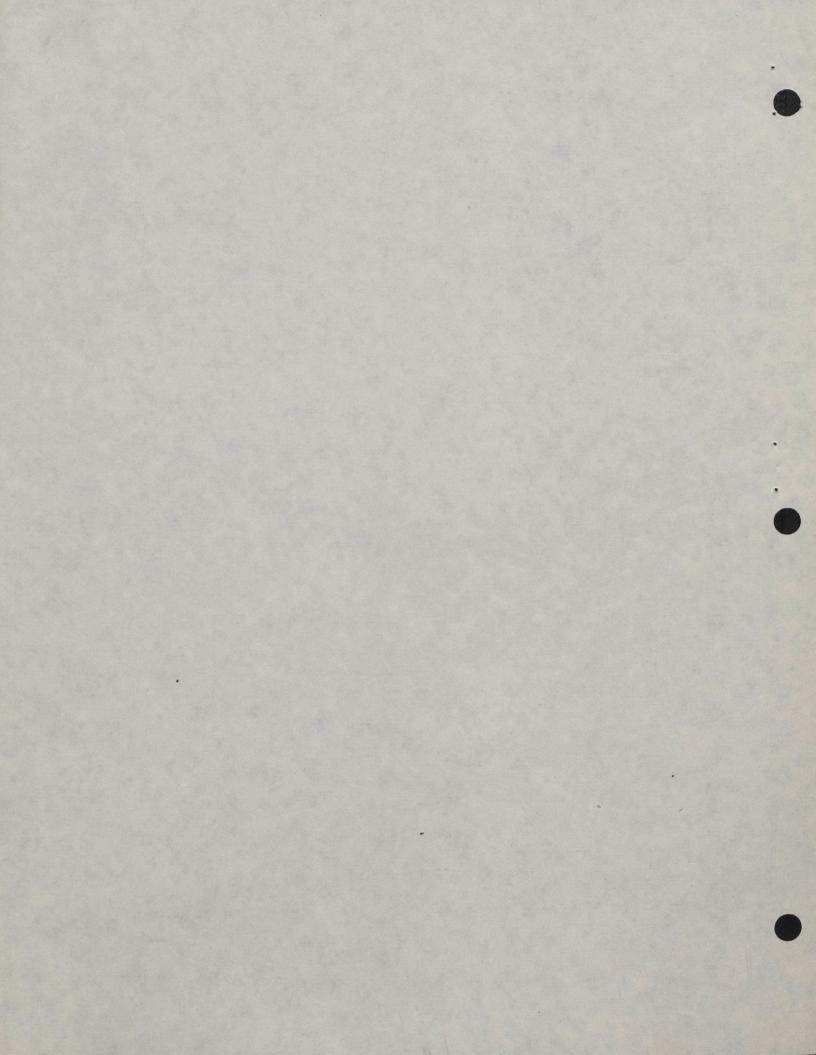
He said he was planning to have a referendum——
at the earliest by Spring of next year, and they are going
to try and phrase the question in such a way as to get
the largest possible number of votes they can get and,
if possible, a majority. But the danger, obviously, is
that it becomes so vague that it will be considered
meaningless by us—or by those who are "opposed" to Separatism.

You know, surveys have been carried, for instance, asking: Would you give a mandate to negotiate a Sovereignty Association?

According to one survey, there would be a majority of Quebeckers who would give a mandate.

This is almost like a Union--I think-- asking for a mandate to strike. It is not very, very significant until you decide to call a strike.

So, how he is going to play it? I think he will try to phrase it in the best possible way for their objectives; and they have been playing around with certain formulations but, again, it is a double-edged thing! If it is too vague, it loses credibility.



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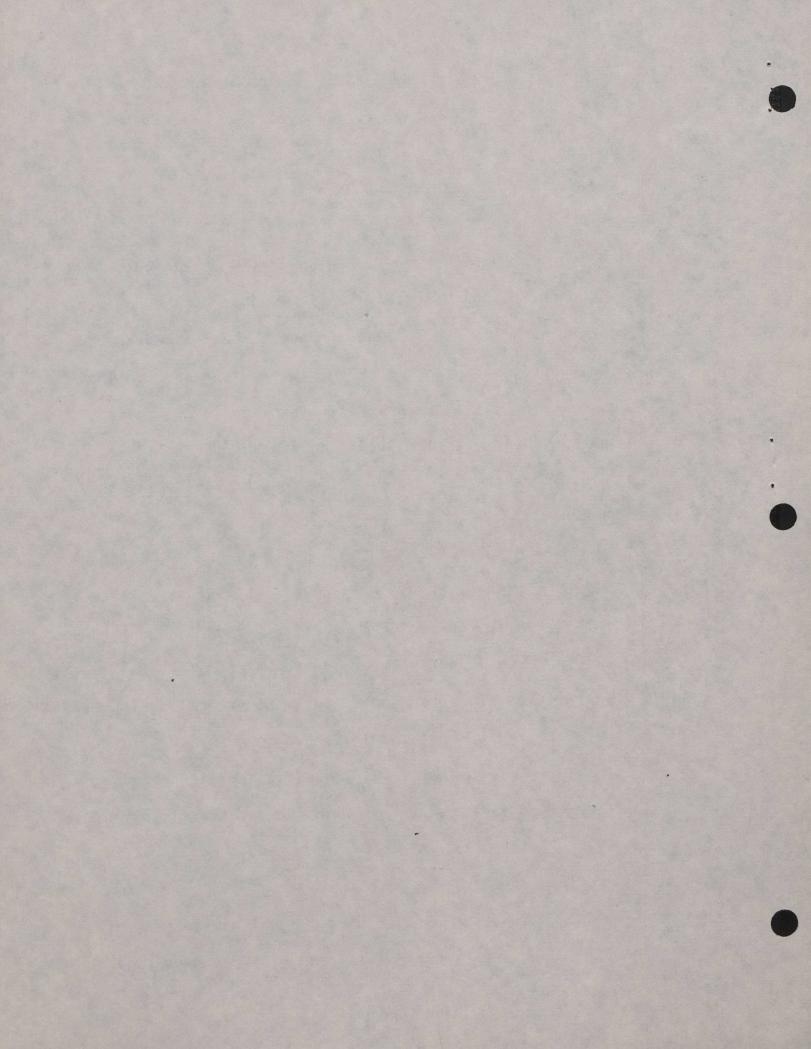
MEMBER OF THE PRESS: Would you anticipate that the P.Q. would call for a boycott of any attempt by the Federal government to have a preemptive referendum with a question of its own phrasing?

MINISTER LALONDE: They might! They might, although they have recognized -- Levesque has recognized -- the right of the Federal government to call a referendum. But boycotts have not been very, very successful. They have tried that at Federal elections, and it did not work. Somehow, people still like to go and put their little cross somewhere. I don't know how much success it would have.

MEMBER OF THE PRESS: Mr. Minister, reliable sources say that there ought to be a Federal election, probably in the Spring or in early Summer. I am entirely serious. Could you speculate on how a defeat of the Federal Liberal Party might affect the evolutionary process that we have talked about in Quebec?

of my own Government! I am fighting for the victory of my own Party -- my own Government -- so I would not speculate on that.

MEMBER OF THE PRESS: I am not quite clear as to what your Government's attitude might be about your own referendum.



Are you going to wait until you see whether they will have a referendum?

Or might you call your referendum first?

MINISTER LALONDE: At the present time, I would rather wait and have them go with their referendum.

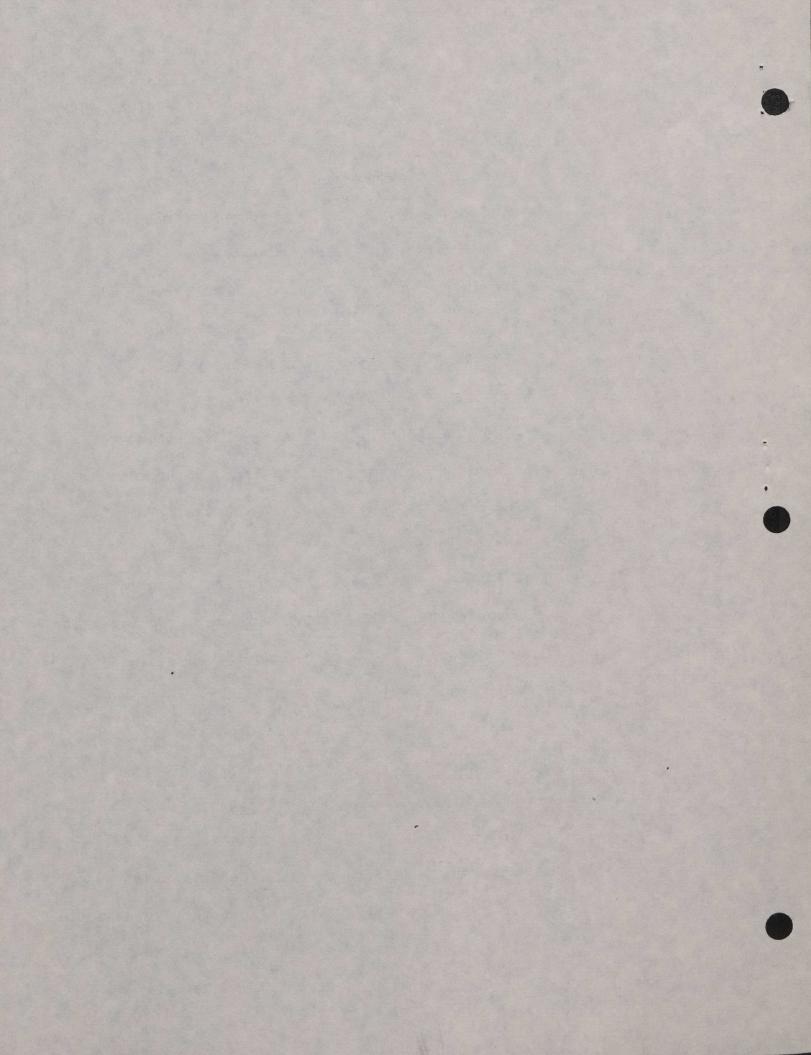
Our intention is not to try to spring one ahead of them just for the fun of jumping ahead of them.

MEMBER OF THE PRESS: But if they wait too long, you will have one of your own?

if you look at the economic implications of the climate of uncertainty that is taking place, you can't just let that deteriorate forever! So there is a time when a decision will have to be made. But there is no intention — I want to make that quite clear — there is no intention by us to hurry up and have a referendum ahead of the Quebec one. It would only be in the context of just extended delays and a situation where, really, the Provincial Government is just bent on maintaining uncertainty and bringing economic disaster.

MEMBER OF THE PRESS: On a totally different subject: Are there any festering U.S./Canadian problems -- maybe of a smaller nature -- but like border television wars; like the tax that discourages conventions in Canada?

That is your observation about the state of

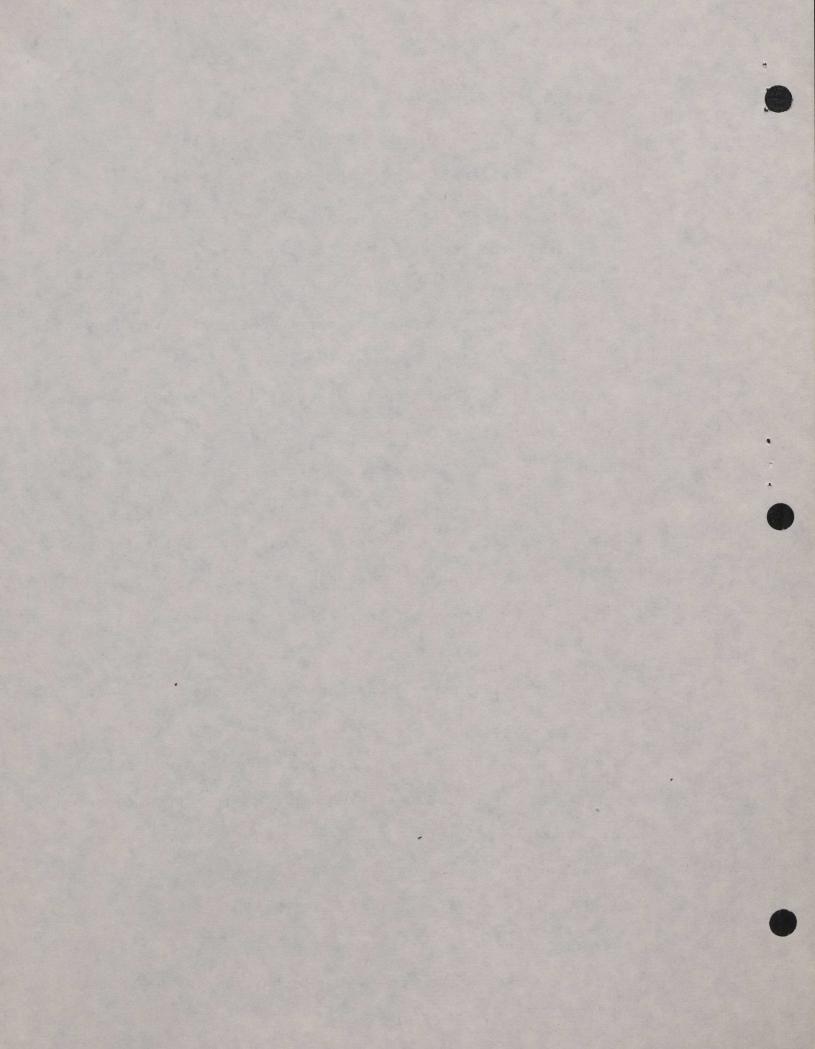


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MINISTER LALOADE: Well, I am not talking, really, just International courtesy here, when I say this; and those who know me say that I can be pretty blunt. I think that the state of relationships between the United States and Canada have never been better! Anyway, in the 15 years that I have been around the Federal government in one way or another, I have never seen the state of relationships between the two Countries in as good a state as they are at the present time—in terms of very open communication. We have our differences. There are quite a few things that are still in negotiations: from Maritime borders; to boundaries; you know, to the issue of broadcasting; and convention expenses.

But frankly, on the large, substantial issues,
we are working extremely well, together. We have a very,
very good relationship, whether it is in the MTN negotiations;
or the negotiations that took place about the pipeline; and
questions of Energy; and broad questions of trade and
economic policies. We are very much seeing the situation
along the same lines. So, in terms of Canada/U.S. relations, I think those relations are going extremely well-at the present time--at all levels. There is very, very
direct and easy relationship. I don't see this as an
area of great concern at the present time; and maybe that



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PHONE (202) 347-0224 LL REPRODUCTION RIGHTS RESERVED is a pity! This gives us more time to be concerned about our own domestic problems.

MEMBER OF THE PRESS: Mr. Minister, to follow up on Bob Newman's question, earlier. From the Canadian point of view, one of the more interesting side lights of this whole thing is the enthusiastic courting of American public opinion since the Parti Quebecois was elected.

The <u>Prime Minister</u> spoke to Congress. <u>You are</u> here. I know that Mr. Levesque is planning a speaking tour.

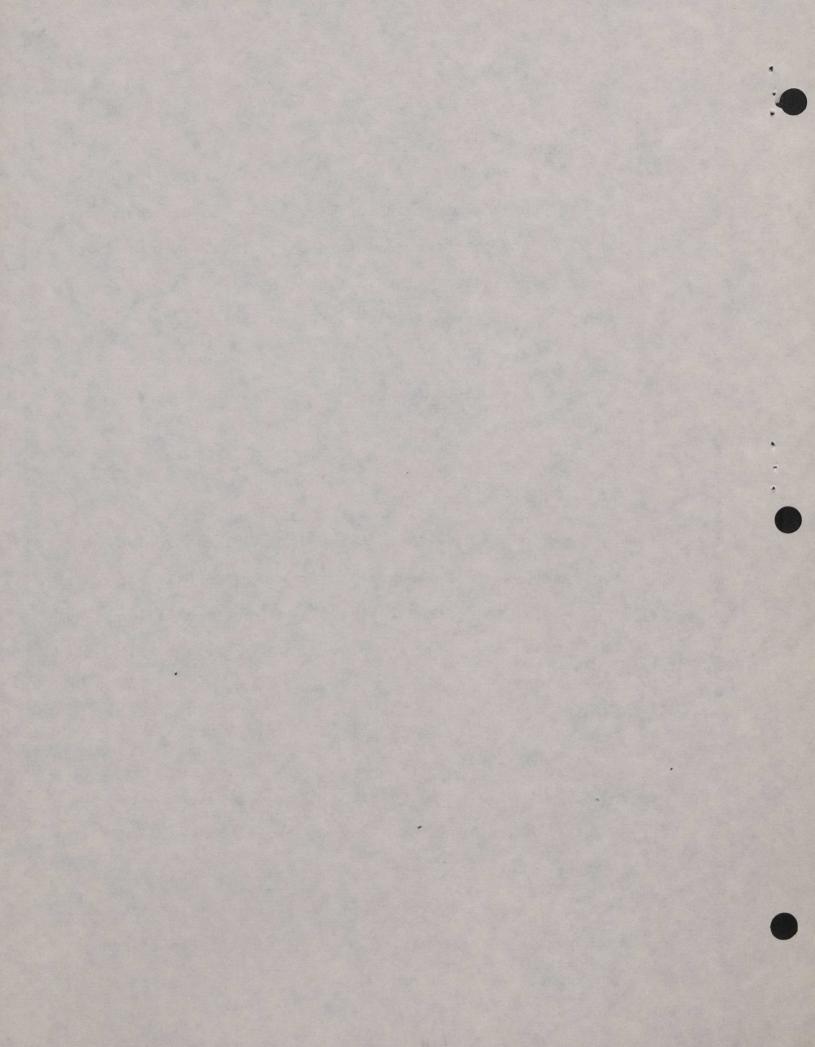
MINISTER LALONDE: Mind you, \underline{I} am here at your invitation!

MEMBER OF THE PRESS: Mr. Levesque is planning a speaking tour of the U.S.-to explain his position.

I am just wondering if you feel that all of this is having a significant impact on what you call the "tradition of ignorance", vis-a-vis Canada.

Do you think Americans better understand the problems of Canada?

MINISTER LALONDE: They certainly know more about it -- quite a lot more! And when you see the National American Networks giving as much prominence to Canadian news, and reports on the Canadian situation, and when you see Time Magazine devoting eight pages to Canada and Quebec in its current issue, I think this is a sign of



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the times; that there is greater interest and better knowledge of the American people about Canada and, you know, you have to look back ten years ago! You would be asking somebody about Canada and the United States; and you would get very strange answers.

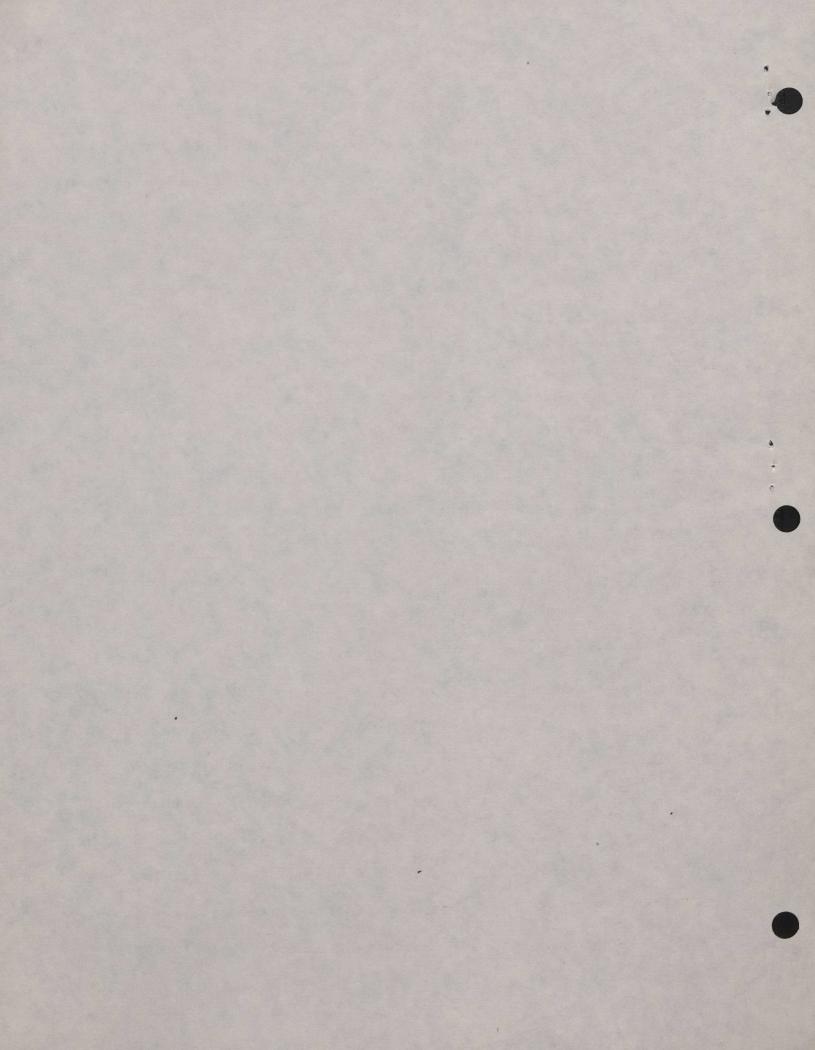
MR. UNGAR: We have time for just a couple more questions.

MEMBER OF THE PRESS: Mr. Lalonde, I read that the Federal Government plans to heavily intervene -- or participate -- in the Provincial politics in Quebec.

I wonder -- I am thinking of developments, such as the decision of Mr. Ryan, former Editor of Le Devoir, to run for leadership and, also, of the fact that, in the past, involvement, perhaps, did not work out all that well.

That is to say: It was told that Mr. Bourassa was supposed to lead the Federal people, and so on. I now wonder whether, perhaps; the Federal government would prefer to let events take their course, so to speak.

MINISTER LALOHDE: Well, the answer to that is the same one I would have given you when Mr. Bourassa was elected the leader of the Party in Quebec. We follow the same policy we followed at that time. That is, this is a Liberal Party -- a Provincial Liberal Party -- as you know; and, as you may know, we are two totally different, autonomous, parties. It is the same political base, but



the structures are totally different.

We did not intervene in the case of Mr. Bourassa and we don't intend to do so in the choice of the next leader of the Liberal Party.

MEMBER OF THE PRESS: There were cases, though, in the 1976 election, Federal Ministers and Members

-- as I recall -- campaigning very actively.

MINISTER LALONDE: Yes. Some of them went to Provincial politics.

MEMBER OF THE PRESS: At the very last minute, and so on.

MINISTER LALONDE: I cannot tell you what will happen in the next Provincial election in Quebec but, in terms of chosing the selection of a leader for the Liberal Party of Quebec, we are not intervening; and we don't intend to!

MEMBER OF THE PRESS: It has been quoted in

Time Magazine -- I think in the February issue -- when

Dr. Brzezinski was Professor at McGill University, he is

known to have toyed with the idea that, in case of

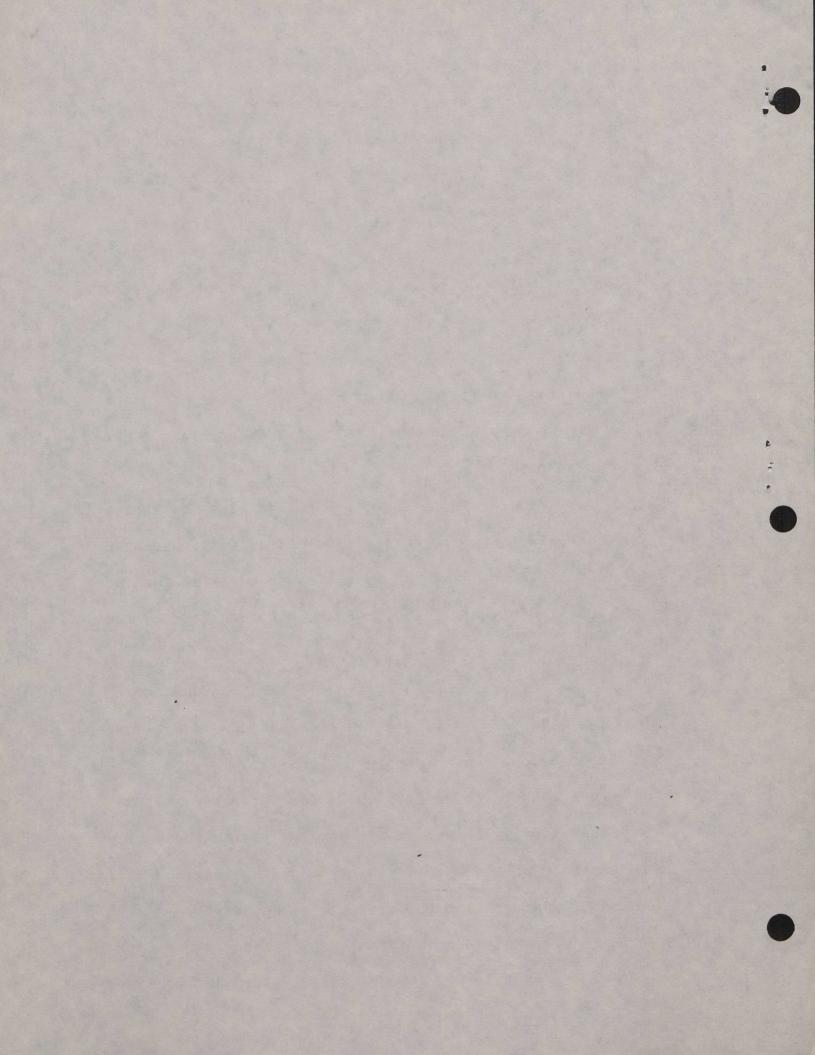
Separatism -- and if, consequently, there were serious

economic problems in Canada -- English speaking Provinces

might want to seek to join the United States.

What do you think of this theory?

MINISTER LALONDE: Well, I think if Dr. Brzęzinski



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ever thought of that, that was at a time when he was an Academic, living in an ivory tower. Now that he is in the thick of it, I don't think he would see this as a very realistic development.

Provinces finding that it would be to their advantage all around to join the United States rather than staying with the rest of Canada-in that context-but, frankly, seeing the situation in Northern Vermont and Northern Maine, I am not so sure that they would be that keen on rushing into the American bosom. I don't see it as a very likely development, assume! So it is not very easy for me to see this type of development.

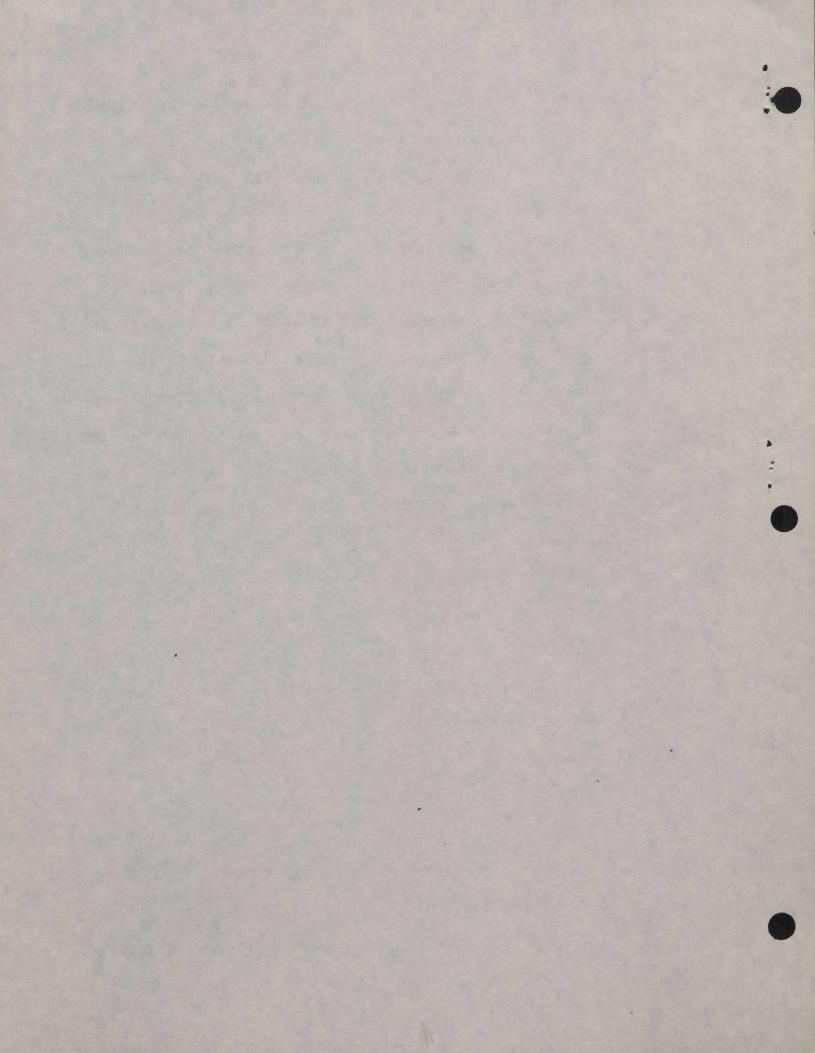
MEMBER OF THE PRESS: Can I just put one more question?

The West Provinces seem to give, also, some thought of changing their attitude, vis-a-vis the Federal government.

Would you elaborate on that?

MINISTER LALONDE: Well, you know, there has been a growth of Regionalism in Canada over the last 20 years; and these movements have come in cycles in our history.

There is nothing new to them. Mackenzie King used to say that "some Countries have too much history, and Canada has



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So there is a certain amount of muscle flexing by some

Western Provinces, like Alberta or British Columbia, for instance. And this is not very surprising; but none of them is pressing it to the point of breaking the Country.

It is a matter of some Governments wanting to exercise more power than they used to--or having more freedom of action--and that is part of a normal give-and-take, and living tensions that you have in any Federal system.

I don't see this as a serious threat. I see this as a living organism adjusting itself to new developments and new situations.

MR. UNGAR: Thank you.

[Whereupon, the Foreign Policy Magazine interview with Canadian Minister Marc Lalonde was concluded at approximately 10:00 a.m.]

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Breakfast interview with the
Honorable Marc Lalonde, Minister of
State for Federal/Provincial
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