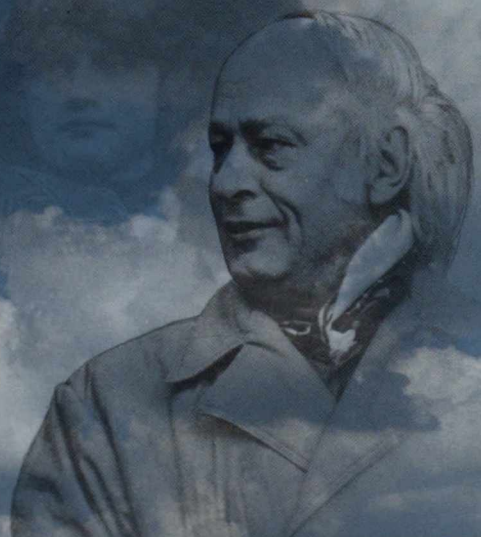


CANADA

TODAY / D'AUJOURD'HUI

REFLECTIONS ON THE
ASPIRATIONS OF QUEBEC
AND OTHER FACTORS
IN THE CHANGING CONCEPTS
OF THE CANADIAN
CONFEDERATION



The sign features two crests at the top. The left crest contains the letters 'M-C' above the word 'FREEWAY'. The right crest contains the number '401' above the word 'ROUTE'. The main text on the sign reads 'THE MACDONALD - CARTIER FREEWAY'.

There are many things that tend to make Canada fly apart and many that keep it together. In this issue of CANADA TODAY/D'AUJOURD'HUI we look at some of each.

Nations Are Not States

Let us begin with a distinction: a nation is not a state, and a state is not a nation. A nation is a cultural and historical entity; a state is a present political fact. The differences are more apparent in French than in English and better understood in Europe than in North America. Scotland, Wales, Brittany and Slovakia may be nations but they are not states. Many Québécois consider Quebec a nation. A nation may wish to be also a state. Ireland was a nation before it became a nation-state in 1921.

"As each region grows in importance, as the centre of gravity shifts from central Canada both east and west, as the mixture of the population becomes more multicultural and as the emergence of a new and more modern Quebec going back some 15 years gives the people of that province a great sense of controlling their future. . . . Canada . . . is searching for a new identity and trying to adjust to these emerging new power relationships."

PIERRE ELLIOTT TRUDEAU, Vancouver, 6 July 1978

Balance of Powers

Canada's basic law is the British North America Act (BNA) passed in 1867. It was intended to give the country a strong central authority, so it gave the federal government jurisdiction over the national areas—war, peace, trade, commerce, fisheries, currency and the postal service—and left the provincial governments with those of local

concern—hospitals, social welfare, public lands and education.

Though most of the divisions are precise, the governments permit them to overlap. In the course of a century the provincial areas have become more important, and they are now often the areas of greatest governmental activity.

The Fathers of Confederation at Charlottetown: John A. Macdonald is seated front and centre; George-Etienne Cartier is in the foreground on Macdonald's right.



The BNA has been modified by custom and the courts, but all ten provinces would have to agree before the present division of federal and provincial powers could be actually changed.

To "strengthen the still delicate balance between regions, language communities, and ethnic and native groups," Prime Minister Trudeau has proposed an extensive revision of Canada's government structure, which he hopes will give the country a new constitution by 1981. The present Canadian Senate would be replaced by a House of the Federation. At present the 102 Senators appointed by the Government in power may serve until they reach the compulsory retirement age of 75. All bills must pass through the Senate, but this is largely a formality. Its most useful contributions are in committee work, inquiries and refining legislation.

The new house would have 118 members, reflecting increases in representation for the western and Atlantic provinces. Half of the members would be appointed by the House of Commons after each federal election, and half by the provincial legislatures after provincial elections. In each case the selections would reflect the number of seats held by each party.

The new house would have specified powers. By doing nothing, voting against or amending a bill passed by the House of Commons, it could delay the bill for 60 days. Unless the Commons concurred, the bill would still become law.

The new house could initiate legislation other than financial bills; and it would approve appointments to the Supreme Court and to certain federal offices. It would have to give a double majority—meaning a majority of both English-speaking and French-speaking members—to linguistic bills before they would become law. If it failed to do so, the House of Commons could overrule it only by giving the bill a two-thirds majority.

Trudeau's basic first phase proposal also includes the "Canadian Charter of Human Rights and Freedoms." In general the charter would be similar to the US Bill of Rights and spell out French and English prerogatives in courts and in the federal and provincial legislatures. It would require that statutes, records and journals be published in both languages in the federal Parliament and in Ontario, Quebec and New Brunswick. It would allow parents speaking a minority language in a province to choose to have their children educated in the minority official language (French or English) when the number of such children in a locality was sufficient to warrant it. After Parliament adopted the charter, each province would choose whether to accept it in its jurisdiction.

The second, more difficult, part of Trudeau's proposals deals directly with federal and provincial relations and would require, for example, that all ten provinces agree on any redistribution of powers.

Last February, the federal and provincial first ministers and their financial ministers met to discuss the economy and agreed, among other things, to cut the growth rate of public services, to stimulate private investment and to monitor wages and prices.



The Forces That Keep Canada Together vs. The Forces That Would Take It Apart



[FOUNDERS]

Canada has many cultures. The oldest are those of the native peoples—the Indians and the Inuit. There are two founding peoples—the French, who first came in the early seventeenth century, and the British, who began to come in the eighteenth. They were later joined by Germans, Ukrainians, Italians, Poles, Chinese, Americans, Japanese, Portuguese, East and West Indians, Netherlanders, Icelanders and others. The differences have often been divisive, but they can—when bigotry fades and appreciation sets in—be both enriching and unifying.

[REVOLUTIONS AND REBELLIONS]

Canada had no revolution and no major civil

war. The War of Independence gave the United States an immediate emotional identity, and the Civil War gave the country a resolution and a reconciliation.

[GREAT DISTANCES]

There is a natural emphasis in Canada on the individuality of provinces and regions. A relatively few people are stretched from Newfoundland to British Columbia, and very often they live in isolated places. Saskatoon is not even very close to Regina, and Winnipeg, as they say, is \$135 from anywhere. The magnificent distances have been overcome, deliberately to some degree, by the construction and maintenance of such institutions as two national railroads, radio and television networks and Hockey Night in Canada.



[THE UNITED STATES]

Canadians live along an east-west line, but there are many north-south roads. Eighty-seven per cent of all Canadians and twenty-two per cent of all Americans live within two hundred miles of their common border. Montrealers visit New York, the citizens of Vancouver shop in Seattle, and folks in Winnipeg share viewpoints with folks in Minneapolis. The United States draws Canadians like a magnet, and its television, movies, books and magazines do much to shape Canadian tastes and views. On the other hand, the proximity of such a powerful neighbour has frightened Canada, from time to time, and Confederation in 1867 was prompted, to some degree, by fears of annexation, invasion or economic absorption.


[CROWN CORPORATIONS]

Canada is a land of vast distances, unruly weather and sparse population, and Canadians have learned to depend on a certain amount of government involvement in their business and social lives. One result has been the Crown corporation, which often undertakes great national projects. The Canadian National Railways, Air Canada and the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation are conspicuous examples. The trick has been to keep them efficient and responsive and somewhat independent. All Canadians are both the owners and the patrons of such enterprises, and they feel common surges of pride and irritation at their performance.

[POINTS OF ENTRY]

The first American immigrants settled from Massachusetts to Virginia, and later pioneers went west from the east coast. Still later, millions of immigrants stopped in the Northeast at least long enough to buy train tickets, and the flow of settlement left the country with at least a vague sense

40,000
American Citizens Needed
 TO HARVEST THE
400,000,000
BUSHEL CROP
 IN
WESTERN CANADA*
 WAGES \$2.50 per day and board
 \$48.00 per month and board

Fare **\$12.00**  Fare **\$12.00**

ST. PAUL, MINNEAPOLIS, DULUTH, SUPERIOR
 TO
 ESTEVAN, WEYBURN, MOOSE JAW
 GOING ON
AUGUST 10, 12, 15, 17, 19,
22, 24, 26, 29, 31, 1911
 One Cent a Mile to any Point to and Including Calgary and Edmonton

H. W. BROWN
 J. G. BROWN
 J. J. BROWN
 J. L. BROWN

of cohesion. Canadians came from the south and the west, as well as the east. The French entered at Port Royal, Quebec City and Montreal. Scots came to Nova Scotia, and American loyalists came to the Maritimes and Ontario. For Canadians, the frontier moved through Michigan and Minnesota before it came to Manitoba. Many of the first white people in British Columbia got there by way of California. Canada did not have a cultural hub like Boston nor a port of entry like New York.

[GOVERNMENT]

Tradition and a system of government that places one party in control of both the federal executive and legislature have made Canada's provincial premiers the most visible representatives of regional interests. Canada's Cabinet members are selected from the majority party elected to the



House of Commons, and party discipline requires a united public face. Regional and other differences are ironed out in caucus. Members who disagree with the party generally abstain or, on rare occasions, move to the other side of the house. Canada's Senate was created to give representation to the various regions. In modern times its appointed members have served more as advisors than as legislators. Regional differences are now resolved in federal-provincial conferences, which have become a significant tool of government and a regional safeguard, though not part of the formal constitutional structure.

[ECONOMICS]

Economic limitations often match provincial borders. Maritimers, rich from the sea at the time of Confederation, lack the currency of the late twentieth century—oil, gas, industry, wheat and cattle. Alberta is oil-rich, but it resents the fact that it has little industry. Western cattle farmers and wheat growers have their special interests, while Quebec industrialists want protection for their textiles and shoes. On the other hand, Que-

becers gain from lower energy costs, and Manitobans wear stylish Quebec shoes. The strong help the weak through tax credits and regional development. Prosperity is shared if not equally divided. The economic facts of Canadian life must continue to be unifying if the Confederation is to thrive. Each province must feel that despite irritations and sacrifices, it gains from being a part.

[THE NORTH]

The mass of Canada "North of 60" binds Canadians together. It is rich in oil and minerals, and Canadians take pleasure in that; it's nice to have rich connections even if your share is small and your title as an individual is remote. But the fascination of the North had a hold on farmers in Manitoba and apartment dwellers in Montreal long before the first well was drilled. It is a last frontier—vast, frightening, challenging—and it is Canada's own. To be a Canadian is to feel just a little heroic—to be one of the special people who build ice roads, smash through ice floes, survive on the barrens and are imperilled forever by nature in the raw.

A Brief History of the Founding Peoples

[FROM THE BEGINNING OF QUEBEC TO THE RISE OF THE PARTI QUEBECOIS]

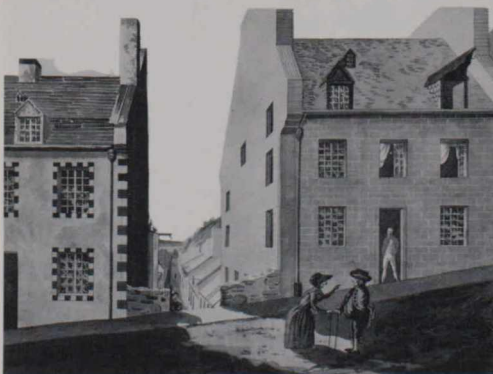
The state of Canadian unity or disunity at any given moment is determined by many elements. In this historical summary we focus on the most conspicuous one, the relations between those who speak French and those who speak English.

Before 1759: The French king wished his colonists to be farmers. Many preferred to be free-living, fur-trading *coureurs de bois*. A Jesuit

visitor found a prevailing feeling of "frivolity" and a marked spirit of independence.

1759: The British defeat of the French on the

The citizens of Quebec City built sturdy houses with slightly asymmetrical windows and thick fire walls. Quebec rebels, inspired by Louis-Joseph Papineau's example, took up arms at Beauharnois in 1838. The sketch was made by Jane Ellice, one of the rebels' prisoners and the wife of a British official. Louis Riel was a western rebel who became a French-Canadian hero.



"In the descriptions of Canadian peoples favoured by politicians and academics there are some rather curious distinctions. Debate swirls around the question of federation and the status of Quebec and one hears constantly the phrases 'founding races' and 'founding peoples'. To the stranger's surprise, these are not Indians and Eskimos, but French and English. The people who laid the real foundations of human existence on the North American continent are referred to as 'native peoples'. The implications of this distinction are that Indians and the Eskimos merely occupied the land, as the buffalo and the caribou did. The building of a civilization and of a nation was the achievement of those who came afterwards."

GEORGE WOODCOCK
Canada and the Canadians, 1970

Plains of Abraham, though a few more shots were exchanged, more or less ended the French and Indian War in North America.

1763: The Peace of Paris gave Britain a colony of 60,000 new, Catholic, French-speaking subjects who stubbornly maintained their culture, their civil law and their identity.

1774: The Quebec Act accepted the status quo and extended the colony's boundaries to include the Ohio valley.

A Conservative inspired "Union" government pushed conscription through in World War I and made Quebec a Liberal stronghold for decades to come. In World War II the Liberals handled the issue more adroitly and Quebec supported Prime Minister Mackenzie King nationally, but within the province Premier Maurice Duplessis (right centre) and his repressive Union Nationale were definitely in charge. After his death came the Quiet Revolution, led by Liberal Jean Lesage, and then, in November 1976, the Parti Québécois had its night of victory.

1776-1791: Loyalist refugees from the new United States moved into sparsely-populated sections of Quebec, and the Constitutional Act of 1791 divided the colony into Upper and Lower Canada (now Ontario and Quebec). Both provinces were allowed to elect legislative assemblies, but the assemblies could be overruled by the king's appointed executives or their councils.

1834: Louis-Joseph Papineau persuaded Lower Canada's assembly to pass the Ninety-Two Resolutions setting out grievances. The protest became rebellion in 1837. The *patriotes* (and the contemporaneous English-speaking rebels in Upper Canada led by William Lyon Mackenzie) failed to get anticipated support from the former British colonies to the south.

1841: The British passed the Act of Union, uniting Upper and Lower Canada and giving them equal representation in a single legislative assembly. French- and English-speaking members often voted together along conservative-liberal lines, but on issues such as education and public expenditures they usually voted one province against the other.

1867: After conferences in Charlottetown and Quebec, colonial politicians led by John A. Macdonald and George-Etienne Cartier agreed that a federation would best serve all their interests. The British accepted their proposal and passed the

VOTEZ LIBERAL



Ne laissons pas rouiller les mailles de la chaîne qu'a soudée le forgeron



British North America Act. It made both French and English official languages in the Canadian Parliament and Quebec. It also gave official status to tax-supported denominational schools and divided powers specifically between the federal and provincial governments.

1869 and 1885: Louis Riel led rebellious Métis, first in Manitoba and then in Saskatchewan. The rebels were demanding their rights as westerners rather than as Francophones, but when Riel was hanged for treason in 1885, many Quebecers adopted him as a hero.

1899: Britain fought the Boers, and Sir Wilfrid Laurier, Canada's first French-speaking prime minister, compromised with the Empire builders by allowing Canadian volunteers to serve in South Africa as part of the British force. Henri Bourassa led the nationalists, mostly from Quebec, who objected to the Canadian involvement.

1889-1916: Manitoba ended its support of a dual French Catholic/English Protestant school system. In 1897 it agreed to provide bilingual instruction where ten or more pupils requested it, but this was dropped in 1916. Quebec accepted the move as an affirmation of provincial rights.

1913: Regulation 17 of the Ontario Department of Education forbade primary instruction in French.

1914: Canada entered World War I, under a Conservative government, with the support of Laurier, the Liberals and Henri Bourassa. There were many French-speaking volunteers at first, but the lack of distinctly French-Canadian units and the use of Protestant clergymen as recruiters in Quebec discouraged enlistment. Some English-speaking Canadians believed that French Canadians had a responsibility to support the war and that they were not meeting it.

1917: Prime Minister Robert Borden decided conscription was necessary and formed a Union government with English-speaking Liberals. Laurier refused to join. The Union ticket carried all but Quebec, and it would be forty years before Quebec would give a majority to the Conservative party.

1923: The possibility of separation was timidly considered by some Quebec intellectuals. One declared at a conference, "At last we are beginning to realize the need to sever our destiny from that of our neighbours."

1930s: Though the Great Depression converted many, Quebec nationalism remained a fringe movement.

1942: Prime Minister William Lyon Mackenzie King, who for twenty years had said publicly and repeatedly that no Canadian would again be conscripted to fight in a European war, asked the voters to release him from that promise. He carried the day (though not Quebec) in a national

plebiscite and then cautiously delayed conscription until 1944.

1944: Maurice Duplessis' Union Nationale and André Laurendeau's Bloc Populaire opposed conscription, and both ran against Quebec's Liberal government. The Union Nationale won the election, and Duplessis remained in power until his death in 1959. Laurendeau became an articulate critic of Duplessis' ties with the Church and the English-speaking business elite, the corruption of his office holders and his brutal suppression of trade unions.

1957: Raymond Barbeau formed "L'Alliance Laurentienne," a weak separatist movement, one of several.

1959: Duplessis died, and reformist Liberals under Jean Lesage ended *la grande noirceur* and began *la révolution tranquille*. "The French Canadians before 1960," a young Quebec intellectual, Pierre Trudeau, wrote later, "were a people vanquished, occupied, leaderless, kept aside from business and life and away from the cities, gradually reduced to a minority role and deprived of influence in a country which after all it had discovered, explored and settled." The Quiet Revolution displaced the old ruling hegemony, reformed the educational system, showed an acceptance of the unions and created a new culture. French-speaking Canadians trained in business and competed with the entrenched English-speakers. The new nationalism was much concerned with economic as well as political grievances.

1963-1970: Prime Minister Lester Pearson's Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism provided the basis of the Official Languages Act, which requires federal government services in both languages to be available to all.

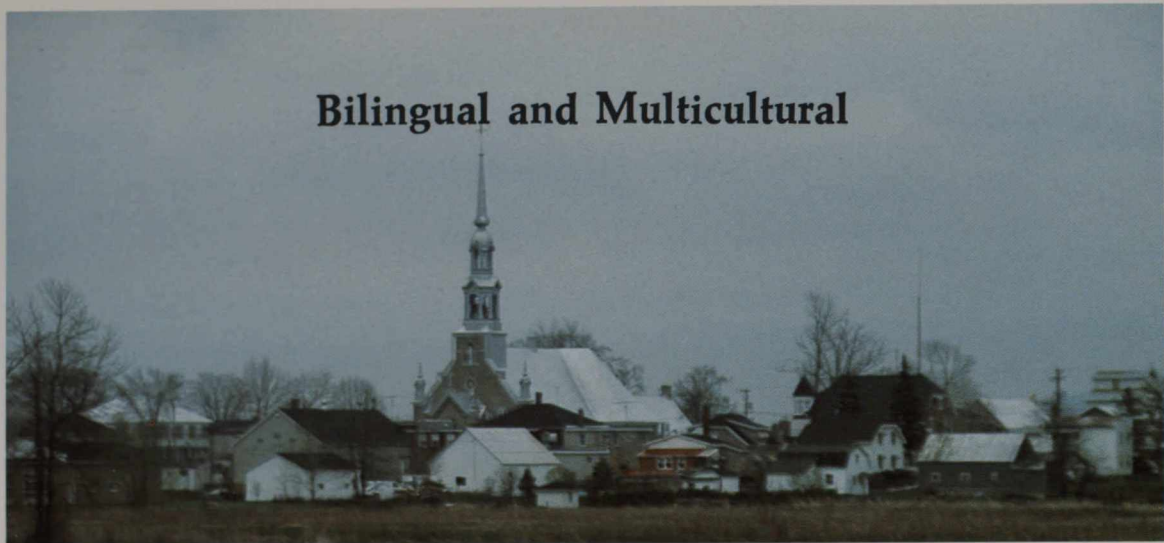
1967: The optimism of Canada's centennial celebration and Expo '67 were tarnished by fears of terrorism in Quebec.

1970: Members of the Front de Libération du Québec kidnapped British Trade Commissioner James Cross on October 5 and Quebec Labour and Immigration Minister Pierre Laporte on October 10. The federal government invoked the War Measures Act on October 16. On October 17, Laporte was killed. Cross was released in exchange for his abductors' safe conduct to Cuba on December 3.

1976: Running as a government reformer and promising not separation but a referendum on it, René Lévesque and the Parti Québécois won a majority in Quebec's National Assembly.

Colour photos. Page four: Smart, Manitoba (top); Victoria, British Columbia (lower left); Rue St. Denis, Montreal, Quebec. Page five: Halifax, Nova Scotia. Page nine: St. Jean Baptiste, Quebec (top); Toronto, Ontario, (inset, middle left); High Arctic (middle right); Ukrainian church, Manitoba (lower left); Vancouver, British Columbia.

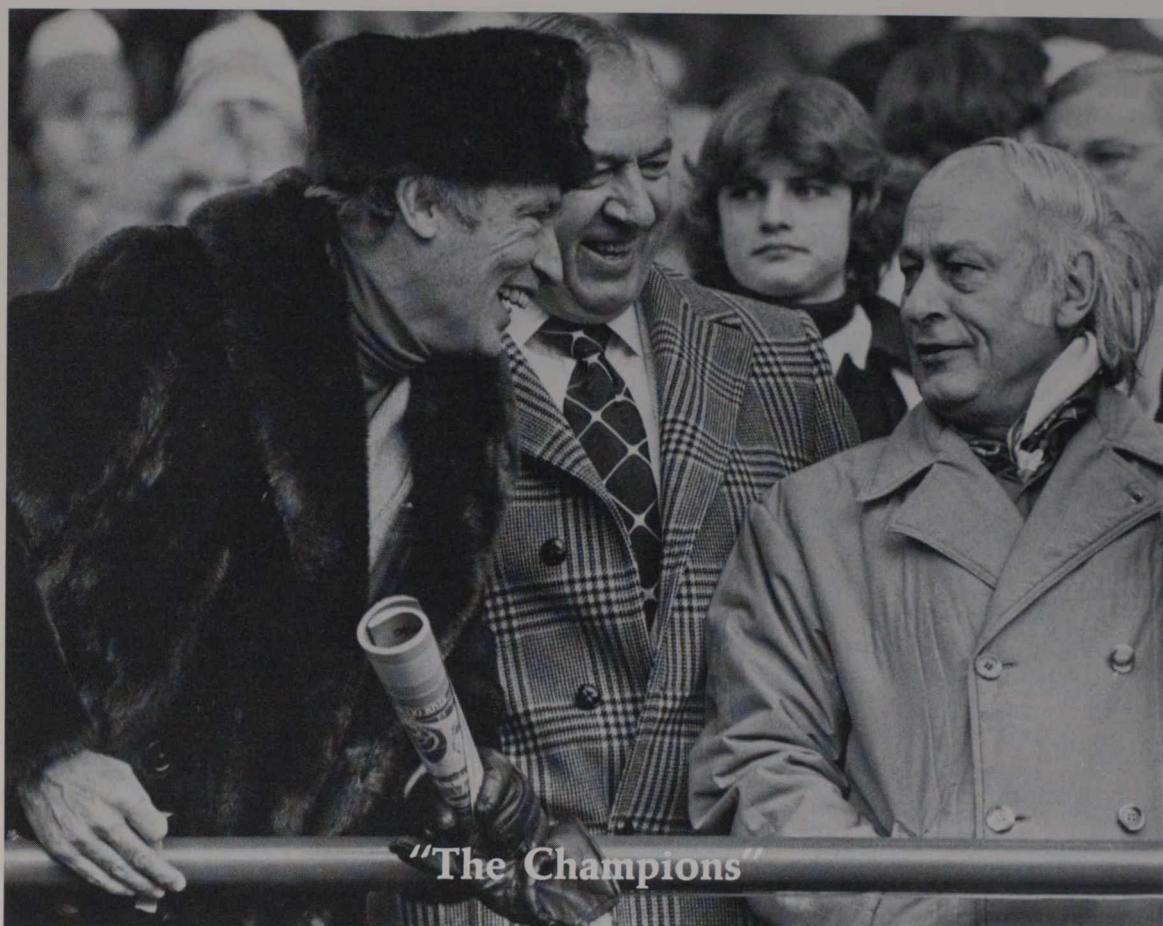
Bilingual and Multicultural



"We're saying this is the kind of Canada we want—bilingual and multicultural—which doesn't mean that everybody must speak both languages or know all cultures. It just means that each of the official languages, whether it be in Quebec or in British Columbia, has a certain basic respect and certain basic rights and that the many cultures will be given opportunities to preserve and flourish."

PIERRE ELLIOTT TRUDEAU, Vancouver, 6 July 1978





Pierre Trudeau and René Lévesque at the 1977 Grey Cup football game.

French Canadians are preoccupied with a need for cultural and economic equality; other Canadians are preoccupied with Quebec. The CBC documentary film "The Champions" focuses on René Lévesque, who would take Quebec out of the Confederation, and Pierre Trudeau, who intends to keep it in. They appear first as rivals in the same camp, then as champions of opposing ones. We have paraphrased the script below. If you get the opportunity, you should certainly see the movie.

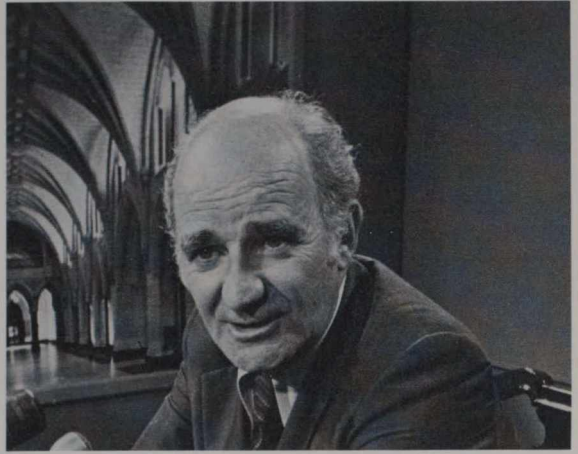
Some citizens in Quebec believe the province should be a separate nation-state. They are led by Premier René Lévesque. Other citizens, in Quebec and throughout the nation, believe Quebec can achieve more within the federation. The most forceful proponent of this view is Pierre Trudeau, Canada's prime minister.

Lévesque, the son of a successful lawyer, grew up in New Carlisle, a remote town on the Gaspé coast. He learned to read in both French and English before he was five. Pierre Elliott Trudeau's father was a self-made Montreal millionaire, and he too was bilingual from childhood.

Lévesque went to the Jesuit college in Quebec

The 1949 asbestos strike was a milestone of the Quiet Revolution.





Jean Marchand (left) and Gérard Pelletier were among the young Quebec leaders of the fifties.

City, Trudeau to the Jesuit Collège Bréboeuf in Outremont, the schools of the French-Canadian elite.

In 1933, Pierre Trudeau, 14 years old, toured Europe and saw marching Nazis in Berlin. He returned to Montreal, finished Bréboeuf, entered the University of Montreal law school and became a notable man around town. "He was always dressed contrary to what people are—if it was time to wear jeans, Pierre was wearing almost black tie. If it was supposed to be black tie, Pierre was wearing jeans."

Lévesque enrolled in the law school at Laval. The law enchanted Trudeau; it bored Lévesque. "He was the champion of absence to lectures."

The universities were small—Laval had only 800 students—and the students were Quebec's future leaders. Trudeau, Lévesque and their classmates, Gérard Pelletier and Jean Marchand, were youths to be reckoned with, but not just yet.

Trudeau went on to Harvard, to the London School of Economics and the Sorbonne, to Asia and to Jerusalem, wearing sandals and carrying a pack. In 1949, back in Quebec, he joined the strikers on a picket line in the town of Asbestos.

"Our problems also have sociological and economic causes which will require a certain amount of time to correct. In this connection, considerable progress has been made in recent years, but this has not yet been perceived by the people. For example, there is the matter of Francophone representation in the federal public service. At the end of the 1940s the proportion of Francophones was around 13 per cent. It had risen to 18 per cent by the end of the sixties, and last year it was 26.6. This corresponds exactly to the proportion of Francophones in Canada's population."

MARC LALONDE, Minister of State for Federal-Provincial Relations, 2 December 1977

The strikers "called him St. Joseph because of his beard."

René Lévesque covered World War II as a correspondent for the US Office of War Information, then married and became an international news specialist for the CBC. Quebec was having its Quiet Revolution. Marchand, a union leader, and Trudeau and Pelletier—publishers of *Cité Libre*, an intellectual newspaper—were among the conspicuous critics of the old and autocratic regime of Premier Maurice Duplessis.

Lévesque became the TV star of *Point de Mire*, lecturing on international events with a pointer, a blackboard and a husky, rasping voice. Trudeau was also on CBC, less conspicuously. They met in the CBC cafeteria. Trudeau: "You talk very well, I watch you on the television but can you write?" Lévesque: "If you're a god-damned intellectual, I don't want to talk to you." The tone of their relationship had been set.



Jean Lesage

The French-language producers in the Montreal studios of CBC went on strike, and Lévesque looked closer to home. When Duplessis died, Lévesque became a Liberal candidate for the Quebec assembly. His party, under Jean Lesage, won easily. He was soon a minister, planning government ownership of the province's power companies.

Pierre Trudeau missed the triumph; he was in China. He came home to new opportunities and became a law professor at the University of Montreal.

Lévesque, Trudeau, Pelletier, Marchand and André Laurendeau, the editor of *Le Devoir*, met weekly at Pelletier's house. "Trudeau was opposed to the nationalization of Shawinigan Water and

Power—not in principle but because he thought that Quebec should make better use of its money. René spoke, of course, of the symbol it would be for a French Canadian and so forth, and Pierre said, 'Oh well, if you feel this way—I'm not interested in symbols.' He just laughed."

Lévesque won the debate and his party won the next election with the help of a slogan—"Maîtres chez nous," "Masters in our own house." The power companies became Hydro Quebec, a public corporation.

By 1964, the house of French-speaking Canada was badly divided. Should Quebec separate? Lévesque: "I think its not a bad comparison to say it is like a couple—if they can stand each other in a double bed, it's wonderful. . . . If they can't they should go to twin beds . . . and if they can't stand that they should go to separate rooms, and then, well, we know that legally if even that isn't good, it is much better to separate than to try to hold on to something which makes both parties uncomfortable and makes the kids more unhappy."

Was he then a separatist? No. Not yet. But "I could become convinced."

In the fall of 1965, Trudeau, Marchand and Pelletier, ran for office too. They picked the federal Parliament. Trudeau became a member from Mount Royal in Montreal and, within eighteen months, Prime Minister Pearson's minister of justice. Trudeau: "We think that the trend toward separation in Quebec has been reversed. We feel that now the people in Quebec are getting more and more interested in federal politics and we think the show is on the road."

In Quebec Lévesque lost an election, decided he favoured separation and walked out of the Liberal party convention when it refused to agree. Only 50 of 1,500 convention delegates went with him.

Lévesque's career seemed at a low; Trudeau's was hitting a new high. He introduced his first important piece of legislation, a new divorce bill, and gave the country a catch phrase, "The state



Claude Ryan, often identified as Quebec's first intellectual citizen and occasionally as the "Pope of Saint Sacrement Street," has just been chosen as the new leader of the province's Liberal party, and he represents a third force in the great debate. He is a federalist, although his definition of federalism is not the same as Prime Minister Trudeau's. He advocates a new Canadian constitution and a redivision of powers that would give all provinces greater flexibility of choice. Mr. Ryan, 53, recently resigned as the editor of Le Devoir, a small but influential Montreal newspaper. His first direct confrontation with Lévesque may be during the referendum expected next year.

has no business in the bedrooms of the nation."

Prime Minister Pearson announced his impending resignation but favoured no successor. Trudeau went off for a vacation in Tahiti. He returned, hesitated, and decided to run. He won on the fourth ballot, becoming the Liberal party leader and, shortly thereafter, the prime minister. Meanwhile, Lévesque's movement, which now had 1,200 members, held its first convention. Lévesque, the moderate, prevailed. He carried a resolution guaranteeing the rights of English-speaking Quebecers.

"Since 1968 Prime Minister Trudeau has suggested more constitutional changes than all the Canadian prime ministers of the previous one hundred years put together. Nevertheless, it is important for us to present proposals which will indicate to Canadians, particularly those in Quebec, that the federal government is flexible, that we are ready to suggest or study major changes in the Canadian constitution, and that we are ready to negotiate everything, provided that it is within a federal system. We have simply made two conditions. First, any new Canadian constitution must include a human rights charter. . . . Secondly . . . a prerequisite for any discussions is that we will continue to use the federal form of government. This means that there will still be a federal parliament with real powers and provincial parliaments with real powers, and there will be a division of powers between the federal and provincial governments. . . . I think that in Canada we should try to develop a federal system whose general provisions would be the same for all provinces, but which would be sufficiently flexible to allow certain provinces to decide whether or not they wish to exercise these powers themselves."

MARC LALONDE, 2 December 1977

But violence came. Trudeau planned to end his first campaign in Montreal at the parade honouring Jean Baptiste, Quebec's patron saint. Pierre Bourgeault led the radical separatists in planned turmoil. Rocks flew and blood flowed, but Trudeau remained on the reviewing stand although others fled. Three days later he won a clear election majority, the first in ten years. Lévesque denounced Bourgeault and formed the Parti Québécois.

The great Quebec crisis came in October 1970. The Front de Libération du Québec kidnapped James Cross and killed Pierre Laporte. It could have been the end of the separatists. It was not, though it was the end of the FLQ and kidnapping. Lévesque ran in the 1973 Quebec election on an outright platform of separation. His party got 30 per cent of the vote but only 6 of 110 seats.

A year earlier Trudeau had won an election, but not a majority. With the support of the New Democrats, the Liberals survived. He ran again in 1974 and got a safe margin.

Lévesque ran again in 1976 and profited from experience. He promised government reform at once, and a referendum on separation within five years. He got 41 per cent of the vote and 71 of the 110 seats.

Referendum

Premier Lévesque has promised to call a referendum on the separation of Quebec, perhaps next year. The wording of the question has not been set. It will probably proffer a sovereign Quebec maintaining mutually beneficial ties with Canada. The alternative would be a continuation of confederation, though not probably of the status quo. Within the broad alternatives there is room for many variations of autonomy and interdependence.

A Federalist View



Jean-Luc Pepin is co-chairman of Canada's Task Force on National Unity. He and the eight other members spent five months holding hearings in towns and cities across Canada. Participants were often emotional. Some booed, some cheered and many debated. One suggested

that no citizen should think of himself (or herself) as hyphenated, not for example as a French-Canadian, adding casually that he was "very proud of my Scottish origin." Below are comments made by Mr. Pepin during an interview last February.

Q: What is the current state of the country?

A: Very diverse. Very mixed up. There is a great disparity of views in Quebec as well as elsewhere and not enough strength in the centre. People are waiting—*en attendant Godot*—sitting on their hands in many cases. You only react when you have to. It took the election of the Parti Québécois to wake up a number of people. Some are being wakened up and have become positive, others are angry because they have been awakened. . . .

I had a gentleman in Vancouver, who stayed

with me the whole day pulling my coat to try to convince me that the root of Canadian problems was the fact that we didn't have sufficient respect for the Queen. . . . There were a number of people in Vancouver who behaved as if the English language was about to disappear from the West Coast. . . .

Some believe economics is everything. Solve the inflation, solve unemployment and everything will follow. . . . You hear that language is terribly important, that attitude is everything. Then you hear someone say that the question is a legal one, that the constitution should be amended. If you are at all intelligent you go out of there and say, maybe I haven't got a monopoly of truth. . . .

You meet a lot of obstinate people, people who are not willing to compromise, but then you also hear cries from the heart.

Q: Will the task force offer specific suggestions for resolving conflicts of opinion?

A: It will be only an intellectual contribution. I don't know how specific it can be. Without being starry-eyed I believe there are a number of things that we might say that might be useful. We are mild and pleasant and humble, we specialize in humility, that is our forte. We are just a group of eight people listening, and there are all kinds of scenarios. There is a dark one, which says we

"The sense of being imposed on is not necessarily a sign of paranoia. It is the natural consequence of the Canadian's universal sense of being one of a minority. If he is a French Canadian or a Menonite, a Doukhobor or an Indian, he lives in a state of lifelong vigilance to avoid being absorbed into the English-speaking majority within Canada. And if he is an English-speaking Canadian, he sees himself in a similar state of perpetual vigilance against being absorbed by the even greater majority of Americans among those who speak English in North America. Such attitudes have the virtue that they preclude not only uniformity, but also the fevers of aggressive patriotism."

GEORGE WOODCOCK, *Canada and the Canadians*, 1970

will fail miserably and be the laughing stock of the country. There is a rosy one, which says we are going to produce elements of a third option — we are very careful, always, to say "elements of a third option" — and that the opposition parties in Quebec will pick up some of our views, that the leaders of the English-speaking provinces will find all kinds of affinities, that even Mr. Trudeau will find our views wise.

Many English-speaking Canadians came to our hearings as members of unity groups. You might say that we are progressing rather rapidly. Is it rapid enough? The question always is, will it be fast enough? Will Quebecers realize that they should not push beyond a certain point, that they should say, "well we've gained enough to believe that the rest of the way we can walk together"? I don't know. When you think that in this country fifteen years ago, the fights were on bilingual menus and bilingual cheques and a national flag, and that sort of thing, you can only rejoice at the heavy progress that has been made.

Q: Can Canada learn from the United States' experience as a pluralistic society?

A: The basic definition of Canada is that we are not like the Americans, no disrespect, we just want to be different. I find it rather amusing



that in western Canada a number of people now appear to be dedicated to the idea of a melting pot, when in the United States they appear to have departed from that old philosophy. The American ambassador told me that there are fifty-five ethnic radio stations in Connecticut. Maybe the United States is not such a melting pot after all.

Bill 101

French became the only official language in Quebec on 26 August 1977, when the National Assembly passed Bill 101, "The Charter of the French Language." Two provisions have attracted much attention.

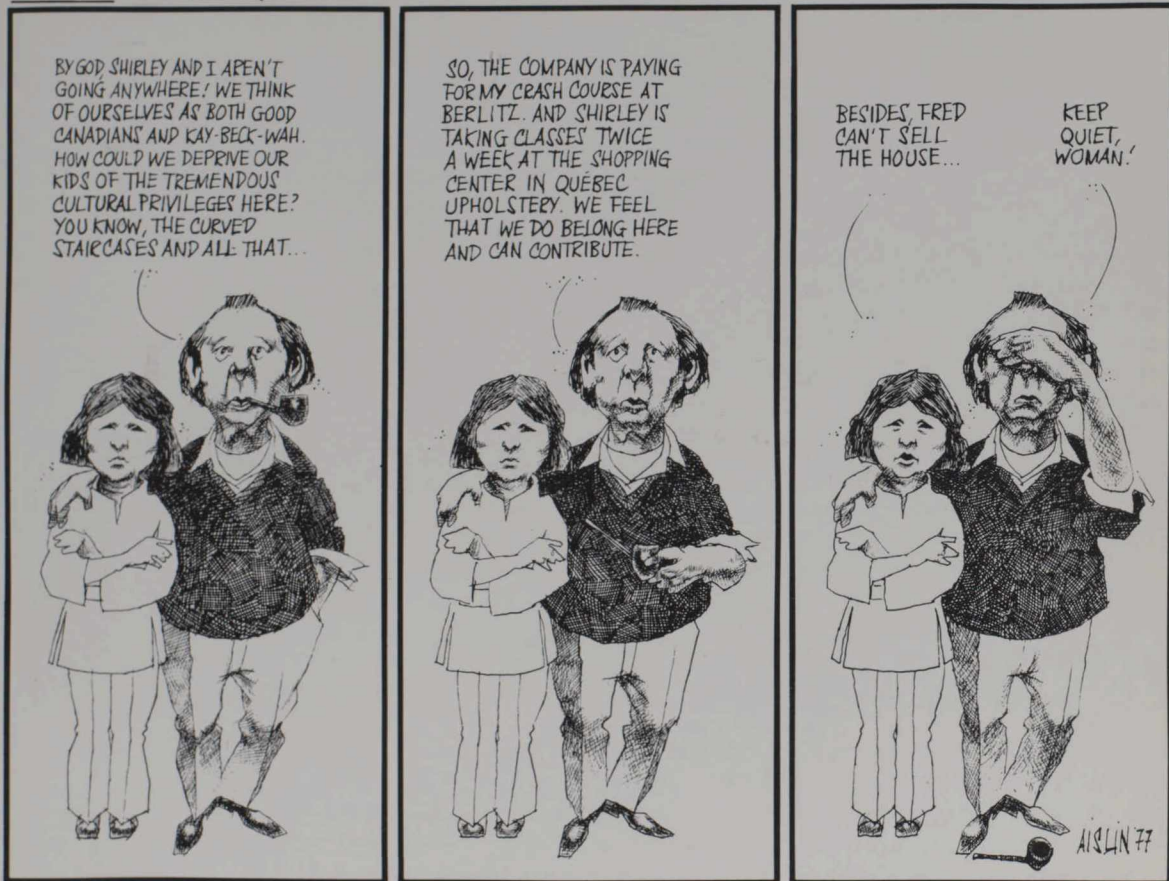
English-language schools are permitted to enroll only pupils who meet at least one of four requirements: (1) a parent was a pupil in an English-language elementary school in Quebec, (2) a parent living in Quebec at the time of the bill's passage went to an English-language elementary school outside Quebec, (3) the child was enrolled in a public English-language school in Quebec the year before the bill's passage, (4) the child's older brother or sister was enrolled in a public English-language school in Quebec in

the previous year. Families from other parts of Canada and from abroad who are planning to live temporarily in Quebec can send their children to English-language schools for a three-year period. If they continue to live in Quebec, the option can be extended for another three years.

Businesses in Quebec with over fifty employees will be required to conduct their internal affairs and their affairs with the French-speaking community in French after 1983. There are special provisions for the branches of multi-national corporations.

The law drew much opposition. Many parents who could not meet the school qualifications but wished their children to be instructed in English, often for reasons of eventual economic oppor-

NEWS ITEM: RENÉ LÉVESQUE CLAIMS REPORTS OF ENGLISH LEAVING QUÉBEC ARE UNADULTERATED GARBAGE.



Cartoonists traditionally overstate their cases, but the good ones often sum up emotions and fears as well. On the left Roschkov of the Toronto Star burlesques Quebec language restrictions. Above, Aislin of the Montreal Gazette makes fun of the city's English community. (Real-estate values have since bounced back.)

tunity, protested. The business provisions apparently have caused some companies to move from Quebec to other provinces or the US. The population changes are part of a large pattern extending over a considerable period of time, however, and both the causes and the ultimate effects are difficult to discern. Federal figures show that Quebec suffered a net population loss of 46,742 persons in 1977. The net loss in 1976 was 18,000, and in 1975, 12,000. The most publicized exit was by Sun Life, whose policy-holders recently voted 84 per cent in favour of moving its

headquarters to Toronto. The company, Canada's largest insurance concern, said explicitly that it was moving because of the language law. The Quebec government said that by all indications Sun Life had decided to move before the law was passed.

Canadian newspapers have carried many stories about massive capital outflows from Quebec to the US, notably to New England and Florida, but the cause, size and significance of such a movement has not been measured accurately.

"Quebec separatism is rooted in deep-seated psychosocial, sociological and economic factors. I believe that as long as we fail to alter these psychosocial factors and also the economic status of French Canadians by the economic promotion of Francophones within, for example, the country's business circles, there will remain a basic feeling of insecurity among the French-speaking population of Canada. As long as we have not convinced them once and for all that their future is more certain within Canada, that their fulfillment is guaranteed within the framework of the Canadian federation, we will experience tensions. I do not think that constitutional changes are all that is required to solve the problem — even though they are necessary. They are an important factor, but not the determining factor. The determining factors are of another nature and another order, and it will take several years to fully rectify them. In the meantime, people have to feel that something is being done."

MARC LALONDE, 2 December 1977



Montreal is the great metropolis of Quebec. Sixty-five per cent of its citizens claim French as their mother tongue; 22 per cent, English; and 12 per cent, other languages including Italian, Greek, German and Portuguese. Many of Canada's industrial and financial interests are centred there, and they are largely controlled by the English-speaking community. French-Canadian aspirations are focused to a great degree on a redistribution of this power and an opening up of professional opportunities for French speakers.

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