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"A MESSAGE FOR CANADA DAY"
BY THE HONORABLE DON JAMIESON

ON MARCH 31, 1949, I BECAME A CANADIAN AGAINST MY WILL.

BORN A NEWFOUNDLANDER, I HAD OPPOSED THE UNION OF MY SMALL COUNTRY WITH CANADA. THUS, WITH MY PROVINCE'S ENTRY, I WAS COMPELLED TO TEST THE VALIDITY OF MY NEW, UNWANTED COUNTRY'S DEMANDS ON MY LOYALTY AND AFFECTION. AS A RESULT, I AM NOW PROUD TO BE A CANADIAN STRONGLY COMMITTED TO NATIONAL UNITY. I HOPE WHAT I HAVE LEARNED MAY BE OF SOME VALUE IN THE PRESENT DIFFICULT PERIOD.

IMPORTANCE OF REGIONALISM

NEWFOUNDLAND'S RESISTANCE TO UNION FOR SO LONG PROVIDES FURTHER PROOF THAT REGIONALISM IS AND ALWAYS HAS BEEN THE STRONGEST INFLUENCE ON CANADIAN DEVELOPMENT. CANADIANS ARE CAUGHT IN A CONSTANT STRUGGLE BETWEEN INTENSE REGIONAL LOYALTIES AND CONCERN FOR CANADA AS A WHOLE. WHERE THE BASIS OF THIS STRUGGLE IS ECONOMIC, REFLECTING A DESIRE FOR MATERIAL ADVANCEMENT, THE MOTIVATION IS ROUGHLY SIMILAR IN ALL REGIONS INCLUDING QUEBEC. BUT, WHEN THE LANGUAGE DIMENSION IS ADDED, THE ESSENTIAL DIFFERENCE EMERGES BETWEEN

THE ASPIRATIONS OF QUEBEC AND THOSE OF THE REST OF CANADA. EVEN THIS DISTINCTION IS AN OVERSIMPLIFICATION, FOR WHAT IS INVOLVED IS FRENCH-CANADIAN, NOT JUST QUEBEC, ALIENATION. THE CHALLENGE, THEREFORE, IS TWOFOLD: TO LESSEN REGIONAL DISPARITIES GENERALLY AND, SIMULTANEOUSLY AND WITH EQUAL COMMITMENT, TO PURSUE ALL REASONABLE MEASURES TO GIVE FRENCH-CANADIANS, IN ALL PARTS OF THE COUNTRY, A TRUE SENSE OF BELONGING.

IT IS NAIVE TO ASSUME THAT SEPARATISM WILL BE SWEEPED AWAY ON A RISING TIDE OF ECONOMIC GROWTH OR, INDEED, THAT THE OTHER THREATS TO NATIONAL UNITY POSED BY THE MANY MANIFESTATIONS OF REGIONALISM ACROSS THE COUNTRY ARE AMENABLE TO ECONOMIC SOLUTIONS ALONE. THE PRESENT ISSUE OF QUEBEC SEPARATISM IS NOT A LONE ABERRATION THRUST ON US SUDDENLY TO DISTURB THE OTHERWISE SMOOTH AND PREDICTABLE FLOW OF NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT. WHEN THIS CRISIS PASSES, THERE ARE BOUND TO BE OTHERS IN OTHER REGIONS. THIS IS THE PRICE OF DIVERSITY, WHATEVER ITS COMPENSATING BENEFITS. IT IS PART OF THE PERPLEXING DICHOTOMY OF CANADIAN FEDERALISM. EACH NEW WAVE OF DISCONTENT PROMPTS SEPARATIST RUMBLINGS OR, AT LEAST, A CALL FOR THE DRASTIC OVERHAUL OF STRUCTURAL ARRANGEMENTS. WITNESS, FOR EXAMPLE, THE CONSTANT REFERENCES TO WESTERN ALIENATION AND MARITIME DISILLUSIONMENT.

CANADIANS DISPLAY AN OBVIOUS AMBIVALENCE WHEN, ALTHOUGH TAKING A JUSTIFIABLE PRIDE IN THEIR ACCOMPLISHMENTS, THEY OFTEN SEE THESE AS HAVING COME ABOUT DESPITE CONFEDERATION, RATHER THAN BECAUSE OF IT. FURTHERMORE, THIS ATTITUDE IS COMMON TO BOTH WEAK AND STRONG REGIONS. WEAKNESS BRINGS CLAIMS THAT CONFEDERATION PERPETUATES DISPARITIES; STRENGTH BREEDS THE CONFIDENCE THAT REDUCES RELIANCE ON THE CENTRE.

NATIONAL CONSCIOUSNESS

YET, MOST CANADIANS, INCLUDING THE MAJORITY OF FRANCOPHONES, DISPLAY A KEEN SENSE OF NATIONHOOD AND AN IMPLICIT AWARENESS OF THE NEED TO MAINTAIN THE PROPER EQUILIBRIUM BETWEEN NATIONAL AND REGIONAL INTERESTS THROUGH THE CONSTANT RENEWAL OF THEIR COMMITMENT TO THE BASIC IDEA OF CANADA.

THE GENIUS OF CONFEDERATION HAS BEEN ITS ACCEPTANCE OF THE RESPECTABILITY OF COMPROMISE. OUR FEDERALISM HAS BEEN ABLE TO ACCOMMODATE A REMARKABLY WIDE RANGE OF OFTEN CHANGING, DISPARATE ECONOMIC CIRCUMSTANCES AND INTERESTS WHILE MAINTAINING THE ROUGH COMPARABILITY OF ESSENTIAL SERVICES REQUIRED FOR NATIONAL COHESION.

THIS ABILITY TO EMPLOY CREATIVE PRAGMATISM MUST BE WEIGHED AGAINST THE LIKELY EFFECTIVENESS OF VARIOUS CURRENT PROPOSALS FOR CONSTITUTIONAL AND STRUCTURAL CHANGES. CENTRAL TO MOST OF THESE, AS IT ALWAYS HAS BEEN, IS THE ISSUE OF POWER-SHARING BETWEEN THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT AND THE PROVINCES. THERE IS A NEED FOR CLARITY ALSO ON HOW MUCH DIVERSITY IN REGIONAL STANDARDS AND PRACTICES CANADIAN FEDERALISM CAN TOLERATE BEFORE IT BECOMES IRRETRIEVABLY FRAGMENTED.

BOTH OUR HISTORY AND PRESENT CIRCUMSTANCES MAKE IT EASY TO UNDERSTAND WHY PROVINCIAL LEADERS IN BOTH GOOD AND BAD FINANCIAL CIRCUMSTANCES, WANT MORE FREEDOM TO HANDLE THEIR OWN AFFAIRS. BUT, WHILE THERE IS SOME LOGIC IN BRINGING DECISION-MAKING CLOSER TO THOSE AFFECTED, THIS WILL NOT, OF ITSELF, REMOVE THE BASIC CAUSES OF OUR MOST INTRACTABLE DIFFICULTIES. THE MAIN SOURCES OF REGIONAL DISPARITY LIE ELSEWHERE AND A MORE LOCALIZED APPROACH COULD PRODUCE FRAGMENTED, CONTRADICTIONARY PROVINCIAL POLICIES. CHANGES THAT SHARPEN REGIONAL DIFFERENCES RUN THE RISK OF DIMINISHING OUR SENSE OF NATIONHOOD STILL FURTHER.

DESPITE THESE CONCERNS, WE MUST BE PREPARED TO EMBRACE DEMONSTRABLY BENEFICIAL NEW APPROACHES; FOR CANADIANS AND THEIR LEADERS MUST FEEL THEY HAVE THE MEANS TO ACHIEVE THEIR OBJECTIVES. THIS IS ESPECIALLY TRUE FOR LANGUAGE RIGHTS AND THOSE OPPORTUNITIES TO DEVELOP OUR SENSE OF PLACE AND IDENTITY WE ALL DESIRE STRONGLY, HOWEVER DIFFICULT THE TASK OF ARTICULATING THEM WITH CLARITY AND PRECISION.

THE LANGUAGE PROBLEM

THE LANGUAGE PROBLEM HAS ALWAYS BEEN AT THE CENTRE OF THE NATIONAL UNITY ISSUE. EVEN IF THE MANY ECONOMICALLY MOTIVATED DEMANDS OF REGIONALISM CAN BE MET THROUGH A COMBINATION OF STRUCTURAL CHANGES AND CREATIVE PRAGMATISM, MILLIONS OF FRANCOPHONES WOULD STILL FEEL DEPRIVED IN THE LANGUAGE AND CULTURAL SENSE. INDEED, GREATER ECONOMIC SECURITY ALMOST INVARIABLY BRINGS AN UPSURGE OF INTEREST IN CULTURALLY CENTERED OBJECTIVES AND THE DESIRE TO IDENTIFY MORE CLOSELY WITH ORIGINS OR "ROOTS". THUS, ALTHOUGH FRANCOPHONE FEDERALISTS AND SEPARATISTS DISAGREE PROFOUNDLY ON MEANS, ALL ARE SEEKING IN THEIR OWN WAYS, SELF-FULFILLMENT IN THE CONTEXT OF THEIR OWN LANGUAGE AND CULTURE.

HAVING REJECTED THE FORTRESS MENTALITY OF SEPARATISM, FEDERALISTS MUST SEEK THESE GOALS WITHIN THE BROADER, MORE DIVERSE CANADIAN SOCIETY; A SOCIETY INCREASINGLY RECEPTIVE TO ACCOMMODATION BUT STILL UNCLEAR ABOUT WHAT NEEDS TO BE DONE.

GREATER NATIONAL UNITY CAN BE ACHIEVED THROUGH ACTIONS IN TWO BROAD CATEGORIES: THOSE FLOWING FROM LAWS AND POLICIES AND THOSE REFLECTING A MORE UNDERSTANDING AND RESPONSIVE PUBLIC ATTITUDE. ALTHOUGH THE TWO ARE OFTEN MUTUALLY REINFORCING, THE PRINCIPAL OPPORTUNITIES FOR RAPID, DECISIVE MOVEMENT LIE IN GOVERNMENT ACTION, THROUGH WHICH, IN FACT, MUCH HAS BEEN ACCOMPLISHED ALREADY.

BUT, THE BETTER CLIMATE RESPONSIBLE FOR THESE MOVES HAS BEEN MATCHED BY THE SIMULTANEOUS EMERGENCE OF INCREASED TENSIONS AND THE ELECTION OF A SEPARATIST GOVERNMENT IN QUEBEC. THIS PARADOX IS NOT CO-INCIDENTAL; NOR DOES THE EXPLANATION LIE IN ANY FAULTY IMPLEMENTATION OF MEASURES SUCH AS THE OFFICIAL LANGUAGES ACT. UNDOUBTEDLY, THERE WERE MISTAKES; THERE HAD TO BE WITH SUCH A FAR REACHING POLICY. BUT THE HEIGHTENED REACTION WAS THE INEVITABLE RESULT OF BRINGING LONG SIMMERING, HIGHLY EMOTIONAL GRIEVANCES ON BOTH SIDES INTO

SHARPER FOCUS. CANADIANS HAVE BEEN OBLIGED TO CONFRONT A VERY FUNDAMENTAL ISSUE AND MANY HAVE BEEN UNCOMFORTABLE WITH THE ASSIGNMENT. LATENT PREJUDICES AND CONCERNS WERE AROUSED AND FUNDAMENTAL DIFFERENCES REVEALED BETWEEN ANGLOPHONES AND FRANCOPHONES IN THEIR PERCEPTION OF THE ACT'S OBJECTIVES AND MORE BROADLY, OF JUST WHAT IS NEEDED TO GIVE FRANCOPHONES A GENUINE AND PERMANENT SENSE OF BELONGING.

NO REASONABLE PERSON CAN QUARREL WITH THE PRINCIPLES OF THE OFFICIAL LANGUAGES ACT CONFIRMING AS IT DOES THE RIGHT OF ALL CANADIANS TO SERVICES, FALLING WITHIN FEDERAL RESPONSIBILITY, IN THE OFFICIAL LANGUAGE OF THEIR CHOICE AND OFFERING AS WELL THE ASSURANCE OF FAIR ACCESS TO FEDERAL EMPLOYMENT. DISAGREEMENTS AND APPREHENSIONS ARISE BECAUSE MANY ANGLOPHONES REMAIN CONVINCED THAT MORE IS INVOLVED. THEY BELIEVE THE ULTIMATE RESULT OF THE POLICY WILL BE A MORE BILINGUAL CANADA IN A MUCH BROADER SENSE WITH A CORRESPONDING INCREASE IN THE NEED FOR CANADIANS OF ALL BACKGROUNDS TO KNOW AND USE BOTH OFFICIAL LANGUAGES.

IT IS TOO EASY TO INTERPRET THIS VIEW AS A REFLECTION OF ANGLOPHONE BIGOTRY AND A STUBBORN DETERMINATION TO RESIST "HAVING FRENCH RAMMED DOWN THEIR THROATS". SOME OF THIS

EXISTS, BUT THERE ARE UNDERSTANDABLE REASONS FOR MANY ANGLOPHONE ATTITUDES AND MISCONCEPTIONS. FOR EXAMPLE, THE ANGLOPHONE ASSUMPTION IS WIDESPREAD THAT MOST FRENCH-CANADIANS ARE ALREADY BILINGUAL AND "COULD SPEAK ENGLISH IF THEY WANTED TO". ANYTHING DESIGNED TO EXPAND FRENCH LANGUAGE USAGE IS NOT SEEN AS A NECESSITY, BUT AS AN ENCROACHMENT OR, AT BEST, AN UNNECESSARY COMPLICATION. YET, MOST FRANCOPHONES, PARTICULARLY IN QUEBEC, SPEAK ONLY FRENCH AND WOULD HAVE AS MUCH DIFFICULTY ACQUIRING THE SECOND LANGUAGE AS DO MOST ANGLOPHONES. THIS, OF COURSE, IS A BASIC CONCERN OF BOTH LANGUAGE GROUPS. EACH FEARS THE GROWTH OF BILINGUALISM BECAUSE OF A GENERALLY REALISTIC AWARENESS THAT SECOND LANGUAGE COMPETENCE IS UNATTAINABLE FOR MOST OF THEM AND WILL PROVE DIFFICULT EVEN FOR THEIR CHILDREN. THESE PRACTICAL PROBLEMS MAY BE SOLVABLE OVER TIME, THROUGH CHANGES IN THE EDUCATIONAL PROCESS. EVEN THEN, HOWEVER, NEITHER ANGLOPHONES NOR FRANCOPHONES ARE LIKELY TO WANT BASIC CHANGES IN THE NATURE OF THEIR DISTINCTIVE SOCIETIES, CULTURES AND LIFESTYLES. THIS INESCAPABLE FACT BRINGS US TO THE HEART OF THE DILEMMA.

THE TWO CANADIAN LINGUISTIC COMMUNITIES

REASONABLE PEOPLE CAN SUBSCRIBE TO THE PROPOSITION THAT THERE SHOULD BE NO BARRIERS TO OPPORTUNITY IN A UNITED CANADA.

UNRESTRICTED MOBILITY IN SEARCH OF ADVANCEMENT IS ONE OF THE LONG RECOGNIZED ADVANTAGES OF CANADIAN CITIZENSHIP; WE ARE, IN FACT, AMONG THE MOST MOBILE PEOPLE IN THE WORLD. BUT, THIS PRINCIPLE OF UNLIMITED ACCESS RUNS SQUARELY UP AGAINST MANY OF OUR REGIONAL CHARACTERISTICS AND THE DESIRE AND NECESSITY TO KEEP TWO LINGUISTIC COMMUNITIES, TWO DISTINCTIVE CULTURES ALIVE AND FLOURISHING WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK OF TWO OFFICIAL LANGUAGES. IN THIS CONTEXT, THE WISH TO "KEEP QUEBEC FOR QUEBECERS" AND, INFERENTIALLY, THE REST OF CANADA FOR ENGLISH-SPEAKING CANADIANS, HAS AN ATTRACTION FOR SOME IN BOTH CAMPS BECAUSE OF ITS APPARENT SIMPLICITY. IT IS, HOWEVER, DANGEROUSLY SUPERFICIAL BECAUSE IT IGNORES THE SUBSTANTIAL FRENCH AND ENGLISH-SPEAKING MINORITIES WHOSE PROBLEMS WOULD BE SERIOUSLY AGGRAVATED BY SUCH AN ARRANGEMENT. IT TENDS ALSO TO PROVIDE A TERRITORIAL BASIS FOR THE "TWO NATIONS" CONCEPT, INCOMPATIBLE WITH TRUE FEDERALISM.

THESE ARE SOME OF THE REASONS WHY THE OFFICIAL LANGUAGES ACT HAS BEEN LESS THAN UNIVERSALLY WELCOMED BY BOTH ANGLOPHONES AND FRANCOPHONES.

THE PROVISION OF FEDERAL SERVICES IN THE LANGUAGE OF CHOICE IS POSSIBLE BY PERSONS FROM EITHER GROUP WHO POSSESS THE NECESSARY COMPETENCE. AND, IT IS SURELY REASONABLE TO REQUIRE A SPECIFIC LANGUAGE CAPABILITY FOR CERTAIN JOBS IN

THE PUBLIC OR PRIVATE SECTORS, JUST AS OTHER SKILLS ARE A PREREQUISITE FOR MANY TYPES OF EMPLOYMENT. WITH THIS STRAIGHT FORWARD CONCEPT, THE ONLY TEST WOULD BE WHETHER AN APPLICANT, FRANCOPHONE OR ANGLOPHONE, COULD MEET THE JOB DESCRIPTION. BUT IT IS NOT THAT SIMPLE.

BALANCE AND EQUITY

IN MANY CATEGORIES OF FEDERAL EMPLOYMENT, THERE CONTINUES TO BE A CLEAR IMBALANCE IN FAVOUR OF ANGLOPHONES, REFLECTING AN HISTORIC BIAS THAT MUST BE CORRECTED. GREAT CARE MUST BE TAKEN, HOWEVER, TO INSURE THAT FAIRNESS AND THE IMPORTANT MERIT PRINCIPLE ARE NOT SACRIFICED THROUGH THE INDIRECT APPLICATION OF A QUOTA SYSTEM. MUCH OF THE PRESENT UNEASE STEMS FROM A CONVICTION THAT THE NEW ZEAL FOR GREATER EQUITY FAVOURS FRANCOPHONES OVER ANGLOPHONES EVEN WHEN BOTH ARE EQUALLY BILINGUAL.

HOWEVER EXAGGERATED THIS CONCERN MAY BE, IT IS HEIGHTENED BY THE PERSISTENT DEMANDS, EVEN BY SOME FEDERALISTS, THAT JOBS IN QUEBEC BE RESERVED FOR QUEBECERS AND SPECIFICALLY FRANCOPHONES. THIS ATTITUDE MAY BE DEFENSIBLE ON THE STRAIGHTFORWARD GROUNDS THAT LOCAL APPLICANTS SHOULD GET PREFERENCE WHEN JOB OPPORTUNITIES OCCUR IN A REGION.

SUCH A CLAIM IS ECHOED IN MANY PARTS OF THE COUNTRY, ESPECIALLY WHERE THE JOBLESS RATE IS HIGH. IT IS, HOWEVER, A QUESTIONABLE PROPOSITION ANYWHERE IN CANADA FOR IT RESTRICTS THE FREEDOM OF MOVEMENT OF CANADIANS AND CAN BE SELF-DEFEATING. IN THE CASE OF QUEBEC, THE ISSUE IS MORE COMPLEX BECAUSE THE MOTIVATION IS NOT ONLY, OR EVEN PRIMARILY ECONOMIC. AS EPITOMIZED BY BILL 101, ITS ESSENTIAL PURPOSE IS PROTECTION OF THE FRENCH LANGUAGE AND, BY IMPLICATION, FRENCH CANADIANS IN QUEBEC.

FRANCOPHONES HAVE THE SUPPORT OF REASONABLE PEOPLE FOR TWO ENTIRELY DEFENSIBLE PROPOSITIONS: FRANCOPHONES SHOULD HAVE FULL AND EQUAL ACCESS TO EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITIES IN ENGLISH-SPEAKING CANADA ON THE BASIS OF MERIT, AND, WHERE THEIR NUMBERS WARRANT, THEY SHOULD BE PROVIDED WITH SERVICES, INCLUDING EDUCATION OF THEIR FAMILIES, IN THE FRENCH LANGUAGE. THERE IS NOT UNIVERSAL ANGLOPHONE ACCEPTANCE OF THESE PRINCIPLES, OF COURSE, BUT CANADIANS OF GOODWILL CAN SEE BOTH THE LOGIC AND JUSTICE, AS WELL AS THE NECESSITY FOR SUCH MEASURES. BUT, IT IS EQUALLY LOGICAL, JUST AND NECESSARY THAT ANGLOPHONES BE AWARE THAT WITHIN THE GENERALLY FRENCH-SPEAKING COMMUNITY, AND PARTICULARLY IN QUEBEC, THESE SAME PRINCIPLES MUST APPLY IN REVERSE: THAT, SUBJECT ONLY TO COMPETENCE, ANGLOPHONES HAVE EQUAL ACCESS WITH FRANCOPHONES TO ALL EMPLOYMENT AND

OTHER OPPORTUNITIES AND THAT SERVICES, INCLUDING EDUCATION, BE AVAILABLE UNDER REASONABLE CIRCUMSTANCES IN THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE.

HERE, OF COURSE, THE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN SEPARATISTS AND FEDERALISTS EMERGES QUITE DISTINCTLY. FEDERALISTS, GENERALLY, ACCEPT THESE AND SIMILAR PRINCIPLES; SEPARATISTS, WHILE SOMETIMES UTTERING CONFUSING QUALIFICATIONS, CLEARLY DO NOT. BUT, ANGLOPHONES ARE AWARE THAT EVEN SOME FEDERALIST FRANCOPHONES HAVE EXPRESSED SYMPATHY FOR THE OBJECTIVES OF BILL 101, FOR EXAMPLE, EVEN THOUGH DISAGREEING HONESTLY AND STRONGLY WITH THE METHODS IT CALLS FOR. ANGLOPHONES ARE THEREFORE CONCERNED THAT THEIR COMMITMENT TO A FREE AND OPEN CANADIAN SOCIETY MAY NOT BE RECIPROCATED BY FRANCOPHONES BECAUSE THE FRANCOPHONE NEED TO PROTECT LANGUAGE, CULTURE AND IDENTITY WILL CAUSE THEM, WHEREVER AND WHENEVER POSSIBLE, TO "WALL IN" THEIR COMMUNITY WHILE RESENTING AND RESISTING COMPARABLE MOVES BY THE ENGLISH-SPEAKING COMMUNITY. THIS TENDENCY TO INSULATE IS BASIC TO THE SEPARATIST APPROACH. FEDERALISTS, ON THE OTHER HAND, SAY SIMPLY: LET QUEBEC BE PRIMARILY A FRENCH-SPEAKING PROVINCE JUST AS, FOR EXAMPLE, ONTARIO IS PRIMARILY ENGLISH-SPEAKING. BUT, LET BOTH PROVINCES RECOGNIZE CERTAIN RIGHTS FOR THEIR LINGUISTIC MINORITIES. QUEBEC'S BILLS 22 AND 101 GO BEYOND THIS REASONABLE PROPOSITION AND MAKE MATTERS MORE DIFFICULT AND CONTROVERSIAL BY DEFINING FRENCH

AS THE SOLE OFFICIAL LANGUAGE RATHER THAN THE WORKING OR PRINCIPAL LANGUAGE. IT IS IRONIC THAT MORE WIDESPREAD BILINGUALISM IS AT BEST A MIXED BLESSING TO THOSE FRANCOPHONES WHO TAKE THIS DEFENSIVE APPROACH TO THEIR GOAL OF PROTECTION.

ENGLISH-SPEAKING CANADIANS MUST RECOGNIZE AND APPRECIATE THE RIGHT AND DETERMINATION OF THEIR FRENCH-SPEAKING FELLOW CITIZENS TO REMAIN A DISTINCTIVE GROUPING WITH THEIR RICH HERITAGE AND CULTURE INTACT AND ASSURED FOR THE FUTURE. THE ALTERNATIVE IS TO ACCEPT THE INEVITABLE BREAKUP OF CANADA, NOT MERELY THROUGH THE SEPARATION OF QUEBEC, BUT THROUGH THE MOUNTING DISCONTENT AND ALIENATION OF THE LARGE NUMBER OF FRANCOPHONES WHO LIVE IN OTHER PARTS OF CANADA FOR WHOM QUEBEC'S SEPARATION OFFERS NO SOLUTION WHATEVER.

THE PRACTICAL CONSIDERATIONS

SINCE THIS CONCLUSION IS INESCAPABLE, PRACTICAL SOLUTIONS ARE NOT ONLY DESIRABLE; THEY ARE A NECESSITY FOR THE SURVIVAL OF CANADA. BECAUSE THE LANGUAGE ISSUE IS CENTRAL TO THE PROBLEM OF NATIONAL UNITY, IT FOLLOWS THAT WE WILL BE SUCCESSFUL TO THE EXTENT WE DEVISE ACCOMMODATIONS ACCEPTABLE TO BOTH SIDES.

AS A PRACTICAL MATTER, BECAUSE OF THE GEOGRAPHIC MAKE-UP OF CANADA AND THE DISTRIBUTION OF THE TWO OFFICIAL LANGUAGE GROUPS, MOST ANGLOPHONES AND MOST FRANCOPHONES WILL NOT COME IN CONTACT WITH EACH OTHER ON A REGULAR BASIS. EACH CAN PURSUE THE FULL RANGE OF DAY-TO-DAY ACTIVITIES IN THEIR LANGUAGE OF REGULAR AND COMMON USAGE WITHOUT FEELING THREATENED BY THE OTHER OR BEING INCONVENIENCED IN ANY WAY. IT WILL BE GOOD IF THERE ARE MORE CONTACTS LEADING TO GREATER UNDERSTANDING, BUT THIS IS A MATTER OF CHOICE.

IT IS REASONABLE TO EXPECT, AGAIN AS A PRACTICAL MATTER, THAT IN AREAS WHERE ONE OR THE OTHER OF THE TWO LANGUAGES IS USED ALMOST EXCLUSIVELY, THAT WILL BE, OF NECESSITY, THE LANGUAGE OF WORK AND OF MOST SOCIAL AND CULTURAL COMMUNICATION.

IN ALL SUCH AREAS, WHILE IT IS IMPORTANT THAT BASIC SERVICES BE AVAILABLE IN THE OTHER LANGUAGE, FOR THE MINORITY AND THE TRAVELLING PUBLIC, THESE ARE RESPONSIVE SERVICES AND HAVE NO SIGNIFICANT IMPACT ON THE RESIDENT MAJORITY IN A REGION. IN ALL SUCH CIRCUMSTANCES THERE IS NO LOGICAL ARGUMENT AGAINST THE PROVISION OF SERVICES IN THE APPROPRIATE OFFICIAL LANGUAGE.

LIVING TOGETHER

DESPITE THEIR IMPORTANCE, THESE ARE PERIPHERAL ISSUES. THE POTENTIAL FOR MISUNDERSTANDING, RESENTMENT AND CONFLICT IS MOST ACUTE WHERE THE TWO LINGUISTIC AND CULTURAL GROUPS COME IN FREQUENT AND CLOSE CONTACT; WHERE THE ENGLISH OR FRENCH-SPEAKING MINORITY IS OF VERY CONSIDERABLE PROPORTIONS.

IN SUCH AREAS AND REGIONS, IT IS VERY MUCH A MATTER OF THE TWO LINGUISTIC GROUPS LIVING TOGETHER, AND THE UTMOST IN REASONABLENESS AND UNDERSTANDING IS CALLED FOR IN THE SEARCH FOR A FAIR AND PERMANENT ACCOMMODATION. SUCH UNDERSTANDING CANNOT IGNORE THE HISTORIC ENGLISH LANGUAGE DOMINATION OF MOST KEY ELEMENTS OF CANADIAN SOCIETY EVEN IN QUEBEC. THE INTANGIBLE EFFECTS OF THIS TRADITIONAL SITUATION ARE LEGION AND ARE RESPONSIBLE FOR MANY OF TODAY'S INSTINCTIVE AND NEGATIVE REACTIONS ON BOTH SIDES.

THE FRUSTRATIONS, AND HENCE RESENTMENTS, CAUSED BY THESE DEVELOPMENTS, MUST BE RECOGNIZED AND UNDERSTOOD. SUCH REACTIONS ARE PARTICULARLY ACUTE IN BILINGUAL AREAS WHERE JOB SECURITY AND ADVANCEMENT ARE SEEN AS BEING THREATENED; BUT EVERYWHERE IN CANADA THERE IS AN UNDERLYING CONCERN THAT FUTURE ECONOMIC AND OTHER OPPORTUNITIES WILL BE DENIED THOSE WHO ARE NOT BILINGUAL.

IT IS TRUE, OF COURSE, AS MANY BILINGUAL FRANCOPHONES ARE QUICK TO POINT OUT, THAT THEY HAD TO MAKE THE EFFORT. BUT, WHATEVER THE ERRORS OF HISTORY THESE IMPERATIVES, IN ADDITION TO PROVIDING THE NECESSITY ALSO PROVIDED THE OPPORTUNITY, NOT ONLY IN BILINGUAL COMMUNITIES BUT IN A CONTINENT OF OVER 200 MILLION WHERE ENGLISH PREDOMINATES. AND, OF COURSE, ALTHOUGH I HAVE STATED THESE CONCERNS FROM THE PERSPECTIVE OF ANGLOPHONE CANADIANS, THEY ARE NO LESS REAL FOR MILLIONS OF UNILINGUAL FRANCOPHONES.

THE ROLE OF EDUCATION

CLEARLY, FOR PRACTICAL, AS WELL AS LESS DEFENSIBLE REASONS, EDUCATIONAL SYSTEMS ACROSS CANADA HAVE BEEN AND GENERALLY REMAIN WOEFULLY DEFICIENT IN THEIR ABILITY TO TEACH THE SECOND LANGUAGE EFFECTIVELY. WE NOW KNOW ALSO THAT LANGUAGE TRAINING FOR ADULTS, AS SPONSORED BY THE GOVERNMENT OF CANADA AND OTHERS, CANNOT, IN MANY CASES, PRODUCE THE DESIRED RESULTS EVEN FOR STUDENTS WHOSE MOTIVATION IS STRONG.

WHEN THESE PRACTICAL CONSIDERATIONS ARE LINKED WITH THE LESS TANGIBLE, BUT NO LESS REAL CONCERNS OF FRANCOPHONES FOR THE PRESERVATION OF THEIR CULTURE AND HERITAGE, THE FULL DIMENSION OF THE NATIONAL UNITY PROBLEM IS VERY OBVIOUS. IN

THE MINDS OF CONFIRMED SEPARATISTS MANY OF THESE GOALS ARE MUTUALLY EXCLUSIVE; THE TASK OF FEDERALISTS IS TO PROVE THEY ARE NOT.

A KEY TOOL IN THIS TASK IS EDUCATION. IT HAS BEEN NOTED REPEATEDLY, BUT NOT ALWAYS BELIEVED BY ANGLOPHONES, THAT EVEN TODAY, AFTER THE INTRODUCTION OF BILL 101, QUEBEC STILL PROVIDES MORE BY WAY OF EDUCATIONAL GUARANTEES TO ITS ENGLISH-SPEAKING MINORITY THAN IS PROVIDED FOR FRENCH LANGUAGE EQUIVALENTS IN OTHER PROVINCES. YET, THIS IS THE CASE AND THE FASTER CORRECTIVE MEASURES ARE TAKEN, BY WAY OF CONSTITUTIONAL GUARANTEES AND THE IMPLEMENTATION OF NEW REALISTIC APPROACHES, THE FASTER ONE OF THE MAIN AND MOST LEGITIMATE SOURCES OF FRANCOPHONE GRIEVANCE WILL BE REMOVED.

EDUCATION, AND THE GREATER COMPREHENSION AND UNDERSTANDING IT PRODUCES, IS THE ONLY ALTERNATIVE TO THE SIEGE MENTALITY, TO THE "TWO NATIONS" CONCEPT AND TO SEPARATISM ITSELF. THOSE WHO ARGUE FOR THESE ALTERNATIVES FAIL TO REALIZE, IN MOST CASES, THAT THEY WOULD PRODUCE NOT JUST ONE WATER-TIGHT COMPARTMENT, BUT TWO; AND THIS SITUATION MIGHT VERY WELL LEAD TO STILL MORE AS OTHER REGIONS, ALTHOUGH ALL IN ENGLISH-SPEAKING CANADA, SOUGHT TO ERECT THEIR OWN BARRIERS TO PROTECT CHARACTERISTICS OR ADVANTAGES THEY CONSIDER IMPORTANT.

CANADIAN FEDERALISM IS EITHER TOTALLY OPEN OR, EVENTUALLY, IT IS NOTHING. THE DIVERSITY VARIOUS REGIONS PRIZE CAN ONLY BE ASSURED THROUGH A CLIMATE OF OPENNESS AND THROUGH POLICIES AND APPROACHES THAT ENCOURAGE AND NOURISH REGIONAL ATTITUDES INCLUDING LANGUAGE RIGHTS WHILE AT THE SAME TIME, EXPOSING THEM TO THE TEST OF RELEVANCY AND VALUE.

CONSTITUTIONAL REFORM

WHILE PUTTING GREAT EMPHASIS ON EDUCATION, WE MUST, OF COURSE, CONTINUE TO TAKE OTHER STEPS TOWARDS GREATER NATIONAL UNITY. SOME OF CONSIDERABLE IMPORTANCE HAVE THEIR ROOTS IN CONSTITUTIONAL REFORM, A SUBJECT THAT WILL BE MUCH DISCUSSED IN COMING MONTHS.

IT IS CLEAR FROM ALL OF THE DRAMATIC DEVELOPMENTS IN CANADA IN RECENT YEARS THAT THE TIME FOR LEISURELY, PIECE-MEAL DIALOGUE ON NATIONAL UNITY IS OVER. THE ELECTION OF A SEPARATIST GOVERNMENT IN QUEBEC IS NOT THE ONLY REASON FOR THE NEW URGENCY; IN SOME RESPECTS IT IS NOT EVEN THE MOST IMPORTANT. ITS GREATEST SIGNIFICANCE IS THE MUCH SHARPER FOCUS IT HAS GIVEN TO AN HISTORIC EVER PRESENT PROBLEM.

IT WOULD BE A MAJOR MISTAKE, HOWEVER, TO ASSUME THAT THE DEFEAT OF THE PARTI QUEBECOIS WILL END THE PROBLEM. THE TASK OF RECONCILIATION AND REFORM PRE-DATES THE PARTI QUEBECOIS VICTORY AND WILL REMAIN TO BE COMPLETED AFTER THE PARTI QUEBECOIS IS GONE.

THOSE WHO MAINTAIN THAT DEFEATING THE SEPARATISTS CAN BE LEFT SOLELY TO THE PEOPLE OF QUEBEC ARE ONLY RIGHT IN THE NARROW SENSE THAT IT IS QUEBECERS WHO WILL VOTE IN THE REFERENDUM, AND THE PROVINCIAL ELECTION WHEN IT COMES. BUT, WHILE THESE ACTIONS MAY DEFEAT QUEBEC SEPARATISM, AS A

REFERENDUM ISSUE, THEY WILL NOT OF THEMSELVES SAVE CANADA. THERE IS A REAL DANGER THAT THE OUSTING OF THE PARTI QUEBECOIS GOVERNMENT WILL BE SEEN BY MANY CANADIANS AS THE DEFINITIVE JUDGMENT ON SEPARATISM.

BUT, EVEN ON THE NARROWER ISSUE, ALL CANADIANS HAVE AN OBVIOUS STAKE IN THE REFERENDUM. THAT STAKE IS NOT JUST THE FUTURE OF QUEBEC, BUT THE FUTURE OF CANADA. THEREFORE, IN ADDITION TO STATING UNEQUIVOCALLY WHAT IS UNACCEPTABLE TO CANADA IN THE PARTI QUEBECOIS REFERENDUM PROPOSALS, IT IS ESSENTIAL THAT THE QUEBEEKERS BE TOLD BY THEIR FEDERAL GOVERNMENT WHAT THE FEDERALIST OPTIONS ARE AND SHOWN HOW THEIR LEGITIMATE ASPIRATIONS CAN BE ACHIEVED BEST WITHIN THE CANADIAN FRAMEWORK.

IT IS UNTHINKABLE THAT THE REST OF CANADA SHOULD STAND ALOOF FROM SUCH A MOMENTOUS STRUGGLE AND THOSE QUEBEEKERS, INCLUDING SOME FEDERALISTS, WHO SEE THIS ISSUE AS THEIR CONCERN ALONE, MAY BE WELL MEANING, BUT THEY ARE WRONG.

THE PARLIAMENT AND GOVERNMENT OF CANADA REPRESENT AND SPEAK FOR ALL CANADIANS, INCLUDING QUEBEEKERS, ON NATIONAL ISSUES AND IN AREAS OF FEDERAL RESPONSIBILITY. NOTHING FITS THESE CRITERIA MORE THAN THE THREATENED DISMEMBERMENT OF THE COUNTRY. THERE SHOULD BE NO DOUBTS: SEPARATISM IS THE ENEMY OF ALL CANADIANS AND ALL CANADIANS MUST OPPOSE IT VIGOROUSLY.

BUT WHILE SEPARATISM IS THE MOST URGENT AND DIRECT THREAT TO UNITY IT IS NOT THE ONLY ONE. THE COMPREHENSIVE RENEWAL PROCESS SHOULD NOT BE DISTORTED OR COMPACTED INTO AN EFFORT THAT IS DIRECTED PRIMARILY AT THE SEPARATIST CRISIS. OTHER GROUPS AND OTHER REGIONS ALSO HAVE PROBLEMS AND DOUBTS. THE LARGER TASK IS TO EMBRACE ALL OF THESE, TO FIND MEANS WHEREBY WE CAN NOT ONLY LESSEN GRIEVANCES BUT MAKE THE ENTIRE FEDERAL SYSTEM MORE RESPONSIVE AND A BETTER INSTRUMENT FOR IDENTIFYING AND CARRYING OUT THE NATIONAL WILL.

AND THERE IS A NATIONAL WILL, A STRONG CANADIAN SENSE OF NATIONHOOD. IT IS SOMETHING MORE THAN THE DISTILLATION OF TEN PROVINCIAL GOVERNMENT VIEWS, THE COMMON DENOMINATOR ACHIEVED THROUGH THE MELDING OF TEN OFTEN DISPARATE VIEWPOINTS, WORKED AND REWORKED UNTIL A CONSENSUS APPEARS. GIVEN THE COMPLEXITY OF OUR TIMES, SUCH EXERCISES IN CO-OPERATION ARE IMPORTANT, EVEN THOUGH NOT ACCORDED GREAT WEIGHT BY CANADA'S FOUNDERS, NOR ITS LEADERS DURING OUR FIRST HALF CENTURY.

THESE FOUNDERS WISELY CREATED A NATIONAL GOVERNMENT, A GOVERNMENT AND PARLIAMENT OF CANADA, TO REPRESENT AND SPEAK FOR ALL CANADIANS, THE CITIZENS OF ONE NATION. TODAY, JUST AS IT IS THE RESPONSIBILITY OF THAT GOVERNMENT AND PARLIAMENT TO FIGHT SEPARATISM AND PROVIDE A COUNTER-WEIGHT TO EXCESSIVE REGIONALISM, IT MUST ALSO ARTICULATE NATIONAL GOALS NOT MERELY IN ECONOMIC AND MATERIAL TERMS BUT IN WAYS THAT WILL DEFINE MORE

CLEARLY TO OURSELVES AND TO THE WORLD WHAT CANADA IS AND WHAT IT STANDS FOR. ONLY THROUGH SUCH WIDELY SHARED UNDERSTANDING CAN WE STRENGTHEN THE NATIONAL WILL STILL FURTHER AND SHARE A COMMON PRIDE IN THE WHOLE OF CANADA WHILE FOSTERING AND DRAWING STRENGTH AND SATISFACTION FROM THE POSITIVE ELEMENTS OF OUR REMARKABLE DIVERSITY. IN THIS CONTEXT, WHILE THE PROVINCES MAY BE REGARDED AS THE BRICKS OF CONFEDERATION, THE GOVERNMENT AND PARLIAMENT OF CANADA PROVIDE THE MORTAR THAT BINDS THEM INTO A SOLID ENDURING STRUCTURE. THUS, WHILE THE WHOLE IS THE SUM OF ITS PARTS, IT ALSO HAS A SHAPE AND FORM OF ITS OWN. TO PREVENT EROSION, FORMAL MECHANISMS ARE ESSENTIAL; HENCE THE NEED FOR RENEWAL AND FOR PERIODIC REVIEW AND REFORM. BUT THESE ALONE WILL NOT INSURE A STRONG CANADA. CANADIANS CANNOT RELY ON THEM ENTIRELY BUT MUST ALSO POSSESS THE WILL TO CONTINUE LIVING TOGETHER AND TO CONTINUE SAYING WITH PRIDE "I AM A CANADIAN".

A PERSONAL DECLARATION

I BEGAN WITH A DECLARATION OF SUCH PERSONAL PRIDE AND OF MY COMMITMENT TO WORK FOR NATIONAL UNITY. HAVING EXPERIENCED ONE IDENTITY CRISIS IN MY LIFE, I HAVE NO WISH TO CONTEMPLATE ANOTHER. CANADA, ALL OF IT, IS NOW MY HOME AND NO MAN COULD ASK FOR BETTER. I HAVE COME TO REALIZE THAT A VARIETY OF CIRCUMSTANCES, NOT ALL OF OUR MAKING, HAVE BROUGHT TOGETHER ON OUR HALF OF THE NORTH AMERICAN CONTINENT, A UNIQUE

COMBINATION OF INGREDIENTS THAT GIVE US AS CANADIANS A BETTER WAY OF LIFE. NOT BETTER BY COMPARISON WITH OTHER PEOPLE IN OTHER LANDS, ALTHOUGH MOST ARE ENVIOUS OF OUR GOOD FORTUNE. BUT, BETTER IN THE SENSE THAT THESE SCORES OF ELEMENTS, FROM CLIMATE TO NATURAL WEALTH, FROM MAJESTIC SCENERY AND VAST OPEN SPACES TO CLEANER, MORE WELL-ORDERED CITIES AND COMFORTABLE, RELAXED SMALL TOWNS AND VILLAGES, FROM OUR PROUD BEGINNINGS AND OUR NATIVE PEOPLES TO OUR PRESENT EXCITING MIXTURE OF RACES AND CULTURES - ALL OF THESE AND SO MANY MORE HAVE BOTH SHAPED AND RESPONDED TO OUR SPECIAL ASPIRATIONS AS A UNIQUE PEOPLE - CANADIANS - AND HAVE CONTRIVED, OFTEN WITHOUT OUR HELP, TO ADD JOY FOR OUR LIVES, REWARDS FOR OUR LABOURS AND BOUNDLESS HOPE FOR OUR INDIVIDUAL AND COMMON FUTURES.

TRULY, WE ARE THE MOST FORTUNATE COUNTRY ON EARTH.
I HAVE NO DOUBT WE WILL KEEP IT THAT WAY.