

THE WILL TO SURVIVE

SPEECH BY HARRY J. BOYLE

TO

MEN'S CANADIAN CLUB

TORONTO

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THE WILL TO SURVIVE

GENTLEMEN,

I HAVE DELIBERATELY CHOSEN TO SPEAK ON THE WILL TO SURVIVE. I THINK IT IS A BASIC QUESTION IN CANADA TODAY - MORE IMPORTANT IN REALITY THAN THE "COTTAGE INDUSTRY" WHICH APPEARS TO BE FLOURISHING UNDER THE NOMENCLATURE OF CANADIAN UNITY. THIS HAS SUPPLANTED OUR FORMER MENTAL HANDICRAFT CALLED THE SEARCH - THE SEARCH FOR CANADIAN IDENTITY.

OUR EFFORTS IN THESE ENDEAVORS REMIND ME OF A DOCTOR TELLING OF AN ELDERLY PATIENT WHO CAME IN FOR AN EXAMINATION. AFTER THREE DAYS OF INTENSIVE TESTS THE DOCTOR SAYS, "LOOK, MY NURSE IS OUT WITH THE FLU. I'LL GIVE YOU THE BILL NOW." THE OLD MAN SAYS, "WHAT, ARE YOU CRAZY, DOCTOR? I CAN'T PAY THAT - FIVE HUNDRED DOLLARS - MY GOODNESS!" THE DOCTOR SAYS, "ALL RIGHT, IN YOUR CASE JUST GIVE ME HALF." "HALF, I CAN'T EVEN PAY HALF." "WELL," SAYS THE DOCTOR, "WHAT PORTION OF THE BILL DO YOU THINK YOU CAN PAY?" "NOT A PENNY, I'M A POOR MAN." THE DOCTOR SIGHS: "WITH ALL DUE RESPECT, WHY DID YOU COME

TO SEE ME - ONE OF THE GREATEST SPECIALISTS OF OUR TIME?"
AND THE PATIENT ANSWERS, "LISTEN, WHEN IT COMES TO MY HEALTH,
MONEY IS NO OBJECT!"

WELL, IF THIS COUNTRY IS GOING TO SURVIVE IT HAS TO
PAY A PRICE - AND I AM CONVINCED IT IS MORE THAN MONEY - IT
IS TO BE RECKONED IN VALUES ASSOCIATED WITH WILL AND THE
MORAL COURAGE OF OUR CONVICTIONS.

IT TAKES A TREMENDOUS AMOUNT OF EFFORT TO CONSTRUCT
THE FRAMEWORK OF A NATION. IT REQUIRES EVEN MORE EFFORT AND
A CONSTANT VIGILANCE TO MAINTAIN SUCH A NATION. THERE IS NO
PLACE FOR COMPLACENCY. THOSE OF YOU WHO ARE IN BUSINESS KNOW
FROM EXPERIENCE HOW DISASTROUS A LAISSEZ-FAIRE ATTITUDE CAN
BE.

YET, SOMEHOW WE HAVE BEEN COMPLACENT ABOUT CANADA.
IN MANY CASES WHAT HAS OCCUPIED OUR POLITICAL ATTENTION HAS
HAD LITTLE TO DO WITH THE REALITIES OF THE SITUATION.

SUCH A SITUATION CALLS FOR PLAIN AND SIMPLE SPEECH.
A DISTINGUISHED DOCTOR WAS CALLED IN FRONT OF THE COUNTY
MEDICAL SOCIETY FOR "PROFESSIONAL CONDUCT UNBECOMING A
PHYSICIAN." THE HUSBAND OF ONE OF HIS PATIENTS HAD COMPLAINED
THAT THE DOCTOR HAD USED OBSCENE LANGUAGE.

WHEN THE DOCTOR WAS ASKED TO EXPLAIN HIS ACTION,
HE SAID, "WELL, YOU SEE IT WAS THIS WAY. I GOT UP THAT DAY,

THE TOAST WAS BURNED AND THE MORNING PAPER WAS STILL SOGGY FROM THE RAIN. I WENT OUT TO THE CAR AND BECAUSE OF THE RAIN, IT WOULDN'T START. I GOT PUSHED. I GOT TO THE OFFICE AND MY PARKING SPACE WAS TAKEN. I WENT IN AND THE ELEVATOR WOULD NOT WORK. I WALKED UP FIVE SETS OF STAIRS. THE PHONE WAS RINGING, BUT I HAD LEFT THE KEYS IN THE CAR. I RAN DOWN THE STAIRS AND GOT THE JANITOR TO OPEN THE DOOR - AND ANSWERED THE PHONE. ALL I DID WAS SIMPLY ANSWER THE LADY'S QUESTION. "DOCTOR, HOW DO I USE A RECTAL THERMOMETER?"

PLAIN SPEAKING DOES HAVE ITS MERITS AS WELL AS ITS PERILS.

HAVING JUST SPENT TEN YEARS IN THE SOMEWHAT RARIFIED ATMOSPHERE OF OTTAWA I CAN ALSO TELL YOU FIRST HAND THAT PLAIN SPEAKING IS BECOMING A LOST ART.

IT BEGINS WHEN THE INDIVIDUAL IN BUREAUCRACY IS TOLD BY HIS SUPERIOR TO "PARTICIPATE IN THE ORIENTATION PROCESS." THAT MEANS, "FOR GOD'S SAKE MOVE AROUND AND LOOK BUSY UNTIL I CAN DREAM UP SOMETHING FOR YOU TO DO."

A SUPERVISOR SAYS THE "INTERFACE BETWEEN DEPARTMENTS IS KINETIC." HE MEANS HE SAW TWO DEPARTMENT HEADS HAVING A DRINK TOGETHER.

A JULES FEIFFER CARTOON PUTS IT WELL. A FORLORN SLUM DWELLER SAYS, "FIRST, I WAS POOR. THEN I BECAME NEEDY.

THEN I WAS UNDERPRIVILEGED. NOW I'M DISADVANTAGED. I STILL DON'T HAVE A PENNY TO MY NAME - BUT I HAVE A GREAT VOCABULARY."

LET ME SPEAK PLAINLY ABOUT CANADA AT THE MOMENT. IT IS AN AFFLUENT COUNTRY WITH TREMENDOUS POTENTIAL, GOING AROUND IN CIRCLES - AIMLESS AS A NATION, AND WITH A LARGE PROPORTION OF ITS POPULATION TURNED OFF. THEY'VE DROPPED OUT, TO RESORT TO TIMOTHY LEARY'S PHRASE - NOT BECAUSE OF HALLUCINATORY DRUGS BUT LARGELY BECAUSE THEY'RE IN A QUANDARY AS TO WHAT HAS HAPPENED.

YET, CANADA IS QUITE AN AMAZING COUNTRY. IN THE FIRST PLACE IT HAS SEEMED AS IF OUR NATURAL QUALITIES AND ASSETS SOMEHOW MILITATED AGAINST OUR CHANCES TO SURVIVE. AS A BOY, LOOKING AT ONE OF THOSE MAPS HANGING IN A SCHOOLROOM, I HAD ONLY A FAINT SENSE OF SIZE - OR DISTANCE BUT ONE THING WAS APPARENT. THERE WE WERE IN THAT LITTLE POUCH HANGING DOWN AT THE BOTTOM CALLED SOUTHERN ONTARIO AND LOOMING OVER US WAS THE ENORMOUS SPACE OF WHAT WAS CALLED THE VAST NORTHLAND OR THE FROZEN NORTH - AND IT LOOKED AS IF WE WERE BEING PUSHED DOWN INTO THE UNITED STATES. GOD HELP US IF LAKE HURON, LAKE ERIE OR LAKE ONTARIO EVER LEAKED OUT ON THE FLOOR OF THE ONE-ROOM SCHOOL.

PERHAPS THAT ACCOUNTS, AT LEAST IN PART, FOR THE OBSESSION WE DEVELOPED ABOUT AMERICA. MICHIGAN WAS JUST ACROSS THE LAKE FROM US. J.K. GALBRAITH GREW UP SOUTH OF ME.

THE MICHIGAN CENTRAL RAN THROUGH DUTTON JOINING BUFFALO AND DETROIT. NO WONDER HE ENDED UP IN AMERICA. I GREW UP NEAR WHERE ETIENNE BRULE FROLICKED WITH AN INDIAN WIFE NOT FAR FROM WHERE THE FRENCH JESUIT MARTYRS ESTABLISHED FORT STE. MARIE - AND WHERE CHAMPLAIN SPENT TIME ON HIS WANDERINGS - BUT AS A BOY I DIDN'T HEAR OF THESE HISTORIC EVENTS - ALL I HEARD ABOUT WAS THAT HENRY FORD WAS PAYING FIVE DOLLARS A DAY IN HIS ROUGE RIVER PLANT AND EVERY FAMILY HAD SOMEONE WORKING THERE.

RELATIVES CAME HOME DURING HOLIDAYS LIKE CONQUERING OR, AT LEAST, "RICH" HEROES. THEY HAD FANCY AUTOMOBILES AND SNAZZY CLOTHES.

IT WAS A BOYHOOD AMBITION TO GET A FLASHY SECOND-HAND TIE FROM AN AFFLUENT COUSIN. THE TIE WORN WITH A CUT-DOWN SUIT OF SHINY BLUE SERGE MAY HAVE LOOKED INCONGROUS BUT IT MARKED YOU AS HAVING SOMEONE "MAKING IT OVER IN MICHIGAN."

TORONTO WAS THE PLACE THE DROVER SOLD YOUR LIVE-STOCK.

OTTAWA SENT PLUMP EMISSARIES EVERY FOUR YEARS OR SO TO HELP SOME LOCAL GUY GET ELECTED TO PARLIAMENT.

BUT WE DREAMED ABOUT DETROIT.

THEN I WAS UNDERPRIVILEGED. NOW I'M DISADVANTAGED. I STILL DON'T HAVE A PENNY TO MY NAME - BUT I HAVE A GREAT VOCABULARY."

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OUR TEACHERS DIDN'T HELP US. THEY ZEROED IN MORE ON WILLIAM PITT THAN THEY DID ON WILLIAM LYON MACKENZIE KING.

WE LEARNED ABOUT THE COUNTIES OF ONTARIO AND THE COUNTY TOWNS, BUT WE ALSO GOT MORE KNOWLEDGE ABOUT AMERICAN STATES AND CAPITALS THAN WE DID ABOUT CANADIAN PROVINCES.

THEN THE FIRST DISILLUSIONMENT SET IN!

THE DEPRESSION!

THERE WAS A PROCESSION OF RELATIVES BACK TRYING TO SQUEEZE ON TO THE OLD FAMILY FARM. DETROIT HAD GONE BUST. YOU COULD SURVIVE A LOT BETTER AT HOME THAN IN THE BIG CITY. EVERYBODY WORE PATCHES, BUT IT WASN'T TOO HARD TO RAISE ENOUGH TO EAT.

THE 1939-45 WAR CAME ALONG AND THE EMPHASIS SHIFTED TO EUROPE. AMERICA WASN'T IN THE WAR. WE WERE, AND SOMEHOW OUT OF THAT CATAclysmic HORROR WE BEGAN A SLOW MARCH TO A CONSCIOUSNESS THAT THERE WERE SOME POSITIVE FACTORS IN CANADA.

A LOT OF THINGS HAVE GONE INTO THE MIX SINCE THEN.

WE BEGAN TO REALIZE, FOR INSTANCE, THAT SIR JOHN A. MACDONALD RAMMING A TRANS-CONTINENTAL RAILWAY ACROSS CANADA WAS MORE THAN AN ECONOMIC DEVICE. IT WAS A UNIFYING SOCIAL FACTOR.

A NATIONAL RADIO NETWORK CAME INTO ITS OWN DURING THE SECOND WORLD WAR AND PROVIDED US WITH OUR OWN COVERAGE OF CANADIAN TROOPS OVERSEAS.

WE FOLLOWED WITH TRANS-CANADA AIRLINES, TRANS-CANADA TELEVISION AND A TRANS-CANADA HIGHWAY.

THESE THINGS DIDN'T HAPPEN AS ACCIDENTS.

THEY WERE PLANNED AND NO MATTER WHAT MAY HAPPEN THEY ARE FIRMLY ROOTED IN OUR NATIONAL CONSCIOUSNESS.

BUT WE HAVE OTHER THINGS ROOTED IN OUR CONSCIOUSNESS AS WELL!

MANY OF US ARE DESCENDANTS OF REFUGEES FROM THE BRITISH ISLES OF EUROPE. BY THE SHEEREST CHANCE THOSE ANCESTORS, IN MANY CASES, SURVIVED HORRIBLE VOYAGES IN LEAKY, DIRTY SHIPS CROSSING THE ATLANTIC.

BY A TWIST OF FATE SOME WENT TO AMERICA. SOME CAME TO CANADA!

SOME USED CANADA AS A STAGING POST FOR GOING ON TO THE UNITED STATES.

FOR SOME TIME THERE WAS A CERTAIN AFFIINITY WITH DISTANT RELATIVES IN THE UNITED STATES. ONE OF MY UNFULFILLED

AMBITIONS IS TO DISCOVER IF THAT BOYLE WHO SKIPPED FROM HALIFAX, LEAVING HIS FAMILY, DID END UP, AS FAMILY HISTORY TELLS ME, AS A NAME ON THE ALAMO MEMORIAL.

AS A YOUNGSTER I TREASURED THE KNOWLEDGE OF A FAMILIAL RELATIONSHIP TO A PROMINENT BOOTLEGGER IN MICHIGAN. WHEN I LOCATED THOSE RELATIVES I DISCOVERED THEY HAD DEGENERATED INTO PEOPLE WITH SUCH MUNDANE JOBS AS AUTOMOBILE FACTORY WORKERS AND BANKERS. THE ONLY COLORFUL ONE I ENCOUNTERED RAN A DINGY BAR. HE HAD NEVER BEEN IN ONTARIO AND WAS BOSSED BY A DOMINEERING WIFE WHO BECAUSE OF HER ANCESTRY BELABORED ME WITH INDIGNATION ABOUT POLISH JOKES.

THE FAMILY TIES WEAKENED.

IN THE 1914-18 WAR I HAD RELATIVES WHO WENT BACK TO IRELAND AND RETURNED TO CANADA WITH GLOWING TALES OF UNCLE TOM AND COUSIN BRIDGET.

IN THE 1939-45 WAR IT WAS DIFFERENT. ONE COUSIN CAME BACK TO SAY, "I ENJOYED THE VISIT BUT MY GOD THE PLACE WOULD GIVE YOU CLAUSTROPHOBIA."

SO FAR AS THE UNITED STATES IS CONCERNED WE ARE INTERESTED. I DON'T THINK WE HAVE THE SAME FIXATION WE ONCE HAD AS OUR OWN INTERESTS AND PRE-OCCUPATIONS INCREASE.

THE MAJORITY OF CANADIANS, BY FAR, WANT CANADA TO STRENGTHEN ITS SOVEREIGNTY AND MAINTAIN TIES OF RESPECT AND DIGNITY - PRESERVING OUR INDIVIDUAL SYSTEMS OF JUSTICE AND SOCIAL STRUCTURE - FOR THEY ARE DIFFERENT. I'M NOT GOING TO HARANGUE ABOUT POINT OF FRICTION. AS OBSERVERS OF THE SITUATION YOU KNOW ABOUT AMERICAN HEAD OFFICE INSENSITIVITY - WASHINGTON'S ANNOYANCE WITH ANY ACTION TO PROTECT CANADIAN INTERESTS - AND THE SHEER DROWNING SENSATION CANADIANS OFTEN FEEL UNDER THE WEIGHT OF AMERICA'S EXPORTS OF SLICK, INTERNATIONAL CULTURAL HYPE - FROM KOJAK TO THE BONANZA OF WATERGATE SPIN-OFFS.

I PLACE THIS CULTURAL MASS, DEFYING THE LAWS OF GRAVITY AND PUSHING UPWARDS ON THAT FLAT MAP OF MY CHILDHOOD - AND PERHAPS - JUST PERHAPS - THE OVERWHELMING NORTH WAS REALLY SOME FORM OF PSYCHIC PROTECTION. WE INSTINCTIVELY KNEW IF SIGNS OF CULTURAL ASPHYXIATION WERE PRODUCED BY TOO MUCH GONG SHOW - MARY TYLER MOORE OR HEE-HAW, WE COULD RETREAT TO OUR FROZEN NORTH.

BUT THEN TECHNOLOGY CAME ALONG AND WE JUMPED TO THE CHANCE TO BRING IT ALL TO OUR REMOTE PLACES SO WE CABLED UP 75 PER CENT OF THE POTENTIAL HOMES IN THE LAST EIGHT YEARS AND SENT THE ANIK SATELLITE HEAVENWARDS SO THAT THE BLESSINGS COULD BE DROPPED FROM THE HEAVENS TO OUR SCATTERED NORTHERN SETTLEMENTS.

SURELY THAT WOULD SMOTHER WHATEVER INDIGENOUS EXPRESSION WE HAD. YET, AGAIN, IN THIS AMAZING COUNTRY SOMETHING HAS HAPPENED. FRENCH CANADA TWENTY YEARS AGO BEGAN A SOCIAL REVOLUTION THAT MOST PEOPLE DIDN'T RECOGNIZE UNTIL THE ELECTIONS IN QUEBEC LAST NOVEMBER.

BUT IN ENGLISH CANADA OUR WRITERS, POETS, PAINTERS AND MUSICIANS FOUND CANADIAN THEMES. THEY WERE THERE BEFORE IN WORKS RANGING FROM SUSANNAH MOODIE TO NED PRATT AND ON A NATIONAL, PUBLIC RADIO NETWORK BUT WE SIMPLY ACCEPTED THEM - SOMEWHAT HESITANTLY BECAUSE GENERATIONS OF TEACHERS HAD INSTILLED IN US AN UNSPOKEN SENSE THAT THEY WERE ONLY "SO-SO" WHEN COMPARED WITH ENGLISH MASTERS, AND OUR LIBRARIES PUT THEM ON THE SHELVES BUT DISPLAYED AMERICAN FICTION ON THE COUNTERS.

WE NOW REGARD OUR RADIO BROADCASTING OF THE 1940'S AS THE GOLDEN ERA. WE REPORTED ON OUR TROOPS IN EUROPE AND EXPERIMENTED WITH NEW FORMS OF BROADCASTING.

IN THE 1950'S WE PLUNGED INTO TELEVISION AND IT WAS EXCITING. THEN WE SLACKENED AND DISCOVERED OURSELVES AWAY OUT ON A LIMB - UNRECOGNIZED BY AMERICA. GOOD HEAVENS! THERE MUST BE SOMETHING WRONG! OUR BROADCASTING NABOBS FELT VERY LONELY AND BACKED OFF. SO A GENERATION OF OUR WRITERS AND PERFORMERS FROM LORNE GREENE TO ROBERT GOULET TO NORMAN JEWISON TOOK THEIR KINESCOPIES TO HOLLYWOOD AND

LONDON. SYDNEY NEWMAN TRANSFORMED BBC DRAMA AND THE REFUGEES IN HOLLYWOOD POPPED UP ON LAUGH-IN AND A SCORE OF NEW VENTURES.

THEY FOLLOWED THE EXAMPLES OF AN EARLIER GROUP OF GALBRAITHS, BELLOWS AND HAYAKAWAS. THE LURE WAS GREAT.

TODAY WE HAVE A NEW GENERATION OF ARTISTS AND WRITERS WHO ARE MORE INCLINED TO STAY AT HOME. SOME OF THE EARLIER ONES HAVE COME BACK. IN AN INCREASINGLY MOBILE WORLD THEY FIND THEY CAN COMMUTE TO LONDON, NEW YORK OR HOLLYWOOD ON OCCASION, BUT THEIR ROOTS ARE IN CANADA.

WHEN AN EARLIER GENERATION MOVED NOT ONLY TO THE U.S.A. BUT ALSO TO ENGLAND, CANADA WAS INTERNATIONALLY MINDED TO A POINT OF EUPHORIA. WE HAD A PRIME MINISTER WHO HAD BEEN A SECRETARY-GENERAL OF THE UNITED NATIONS. WE TOOK THE SAN FRANCISCO FOUNDING CONFERENCE OF 1945 SERIOUSLY. BUT SINCE THEN, IN TANDEM WITH A HOST OF OTHER STATES - GREAT AND TINY - THERE HAS BEEN AN AWAKENED SENSE OF IDENTITY AND OF ROOTS.

I DON'T THINK THERE HAS BEEN ANY LESSENING OF CONCERN ABOUT INTERNATIONAL FREEDOM OR PEACE. IT'S JUST THAT SOMEHOW WE HAVE BEGUN TO BE AWARE OF OURSELVES AS INDIVIDUALS. SOME SAY IT IS AN INTERNATIONAL PHENOMENON ENGENDERED BY THE SIGHT OF THE EARTH AS A TINY BALL IN THE

COSMOS ON THAT FIRST DRAMATIC OCCASION WHEN YOUR COSMONAUTS LANDED ON THE MOON.

WHATEVER THE CAUSE, IT IS HAPPENING AND IT WILL GO ON. IT IS SIMPLY THE FACT THAT TO KNOW WHO HE IS - THE ARTIST MUST CONSIDER WHERE HE COMES FROM.

THE CONSCIOUSNESS OF THIS LOCAL SENSE CAME INTO EXPLOSIVE CONTACT WITH A NATIONAL SENSE IN 1968 - WHEN THE MIRACLE OF EXPO HAPPENED. WE HAD PLAYED A SIGNIFICANT ROLE FOR A PERIOD FOLLOWING THE WAR ON THE INTERNATIONAL SCENE - AND THEN SOMEHOW WE PRODUCED A CULTURAL EVENT THAT DIMINISHED OUR APPREHENSIONS OF NOT BEING A REPRODUCTION OF EUROPE OR A RIVAL OF THE UNITED STATES.

THAT WAS THE MOMENT WHEN THE FORCES WERE IN POSITION FOR AN ARTICULATION OF CULTURAL LEADERSHIP. WE HAD THE PHYSICAL MEANS TO COUNTER THE MAGNETIC NORTH-SOUTH PULL OF THE UNITED STATES WHICH HAS ALWAYS PLACED OUR EAST-WEST CONTEXT IN JEOPARDY. WE HAD A TRANS-CANADA HIGHWAY, NATIONAL PUBLIC RADIO AND TELEVISION NETWORKS, TWO TRANS-CONTINENTAL RAILWAYS AND TWO TRANS-CANADIAN AIRLINES.

BUT THE OPPORTUNITY WAS MISSED.

THERE CREPT INTO OUR NATIONAL VOCABULARY PHRASES ATTACKING ANY ATTEMPT TO HEIGHTEN OUR CONSCIOUSNESS. IT

WOULD BE "NATIONALISM." IT WOULD BE CONSIDERED AS "ANTI-AMERICAN." GROUPS USING SUCH NAMES AS "COMMITTEE FOR AN INDEPENDENT CANADA" WERE DUBBED CRANKS OR RADICALS. VISIONS OF THE ABUSE OF NATIONALISM SUCH AS HAPPENED IN EUROPE WERE DREDGED UP TO DISCREDIT ANYONE WHO SUGGESTED THAT AS NORTH AMERICANS - NOT AS EUROPEANS AND NOT AS AMERICANS - WE COULD PRODUCE SOMETHING UNIQUE.

ALL AROUND US WERE EXAMPLES OF OUR OWN DEVICES FROM THE NATIONAL INSTRUMENTS OF COMMUNICATION AND TRANSPORTATION. WE HAD SOCIAL LEGISLATION TAILORED TO OUR OWN NEEDS - SURELY AS MUCH CULTURAL AS ANYTHING.

BUT WE FALTERED. WE SET OUT TO LEGISLATE BILINGUALISM AND BI-CULTURALISM AS A NATIONAL PREROGATIVE.

NOW THAT'S A WORTHY OBJECTIVE AND IT SEIZED MANY OF OUR POLITICAL LEADERS. IT WOULD MAKE US UNIQUE. TRUE, IT WOULD.

BUT SOMETHING WAS MISSING. THERE WAS NO ARTICULATION OF A NATIONAL OBJECTIVE. HERE WE WERE, IN A SHRINKING WORLD WITH SPACE TO SPARE, ONCE CONSIDERED A HANDICAP, NOW A BLESSING. WE HAD RESOURCES GALORE - WATER - IN REALITY A MARITIME NATION SURROUNDED BY WATER - PENETRATED BY GREAT RIVERS AND WITH LAKES OF FRESH WATER, SOME OF WHICH HAD NEVER EVEN BEEN EXPLORED.

THAT WAS THE TIME - A TIME OF AFFLUENCE - A TIME OF ALMOST RECONCILIATION BETWEEN REGIONS AND PEOPLES - WHEN WE NEEDED TO HAVE A POSITION SPELLED OUT - A PLACE ON THE WORLD STAGE.

WE WERE ADMIRED.

THE HUNGRY, THE WEAK AND THE OPPRESSED EYED US EAGERLY.

IT WAS A TIME FOR CONSTRUCTING A DECLARED CHARITY - A NOBILITY OF PURPOSE. WE TALKED OF A MOSAIC AS OPPOSED TO A MELTING POT - BUT MOSAICS NEED CEMENT AND GLUE TO KEEP THEM TOGETHER.

AND THE GLUE BEGAN TO MELT.

THERE WERE TWO REASONS. FIRST OF ALL WE WERE SO PREOCCUPIED WITH THE DEVELOPMENT OF OUR CENTRAL HEARTLAND THAT WE IGNORED THE OTHER REGIONS. IN A LAND OF COMMUNICATIONS TECHNOLOGY WE FAILED TO USE IT TO KEEP IN TOUCH.

QUEBEC, A COMPACT AND ALMOST HOMOGENOUS SOCIETY HAD DEVELOPED A CONSCIOUSNESS OF ITS OWN. MANY OF ITS RESIDENTS DIDN'T PARTICULARLY CARE ABOUT GUARANTEES OF LINGUISTIC AND CULTURAL RIGHTS IN THE REST OF THE COUNTRY WHICH THEY WERE LED TO BELIEVE DIDN'T HAVE ANY TRUE CULTURAL FLAVOR.

ABOVE ALL WE LACKED A CLEAR STATEMENT OF PURPOSE AS A NATION.

THE TROUBLE TRANSCENDS OUR BOUNDARIES. CANADIANS ARE A PERIPATETIC PEOPLE. WE TRAVEL - AND TRAVEL ALL OVER THE WORLD AS WELL AS SWARMING TO FLORIDA IN THE WINTER - AND REALIZE AS WE TRAVEL THAT WE REALLY ARE SMALL POTATOES INTERNATIONALLY.

SO THE FRUSTRATION IS DEEPENED. HERE IS A COUNTRY OF FREEDOM - ITS CITIZENS ARE PROBABLY STILL FREER THAN ANY IN THE WORLD. HERE IS CANADA WHERE REGIONAL EXPRESSION IS NOT CONFINED TO QUEBEC - IT IS FLOURISHING IN ALL AREAS. IT IS ALSO FLOURISHING IN MANY WAYS NATIONALLY. YOU CAN NOW ACTUALLY MAKE A LIVING AS A WRITER OR ARTIST IN CANADA - BUT SOMETHING IS GNAWING AT US.

DOES ANYONE KNOW ABOUT IT BESIDES OURSELVES?

WE FLOCK DOWN TO WASHINGTON FOR SIX WEEKS TO DISPLAY OUR CULTURAL WARES AT A NATIONAL GALLERY PROVIDED OUT OF PROFITS FROM OUR URANIUM - AND WHILE A GROUP OF POLITE AMERICAN OFFICIALS AND EXPATRIATE CANADIANS COME DUTIFULLY TO SEE US - WE END AIRING OUR DOMESTIC SQUABBLES IN PANELS WHICH MUST HAVE BEEN ENTERTAINING - EVEN IF THEY WERE PUZZLING.

WE SEEM TO FORGET THE CARE AND ATTENTION GIVEN IN THIS COUNTRY TO PROVIDE COMMUNICATION AND TRANSPORTATION LINKS AS SINEWS ACROSS AN ENORMOUS LAND MASS.

FOR INSTANCE, WE HAVE, IN CANADA, ONE OF THE MOST HIGHLY SOPHISTICATED COMMUNICATIONS SYSTEMS IN THE WORLD. RADIO AND TELEVISION PROGRAMMES FROM STATIONS LICENCED IN CANADA ARE WITHIN REACH OF ALMOST 100 PER CENT OF OUR POPULATION - WE HAVE THE MOST COMPREHENSIVE CABLE TELEVISION SYSTEM IN THE WORLD. CANADIANS, FROM THE COAST CITIES OF PORT ALBERNI ON THE WEST, TO ST. JOHN'S ON THE EAST, CITIZENS IN THE NORTH AT WHITEHORSE, AND IN THE EXTREME SOUTH AT KINGSVILLE, ALL HAVE LICENCED CABLE TELEVISION SYSTEMS WHICH CAN INCREASE THEIR VIEWING AND LISTENING CHOICE. NEARLY 50 PER CENT OF CANADIAN HOUSEHOLDS SUBSCRIBE TO CABLE TELEVISION; MORE THAN 70 PER CENT OF OUR HOUSEHOLDS HAVE THAT OPTION.

WE PIONEERED IN DOMESTIC DISTRIBUTION OF RADIO AND TELEVISION BY SATELLITE.

WITH THIS TECHNOLOGY WE MUST RECONSIDER THE GOALS THAT PROMPTED THE DEVELOPMENT OF A CANADIAN BROADCASTING SYSTEM OVER THE PAST SIX DECADES.

I ONCE RECEIVED A CALL FROM THE OFFICE OF A TORONTO FEDERAL MEMBER OF PARLIAMENT. A CONSTITUENT COMPLAINED THAT THERE WAS "NO CHOICE" ON HIS CABLE SYSTEM - IN A SUBURBAN BOROUGH.

A QUICK CHECK OF THE CABLE SYSTEM SHOWED A TOTAL OF 19 PROGRAMMING CHANNELS WERE AVAILABLE TO ANYONE WITH A CONVERTER - A DOZEN, TO ANYONE WITHOUT ONE.

SOME LACK OF CHOICE!

SOME CHOICE WHEN COMPARED WITH THAT OF THE WIFE OF A RAILROAD SECTION HAND ON THE NORTH SHORE OF LAKE SUPERIOR WRITING TO SAY, "CAN YOU IMAGINE WHAT IT'S LIKE TO BE ALONE HERE? MY HUSBAND GOES TO WORK AN EMERGENCY SHIFT AT NIGHT AND I HAVE ONLY THE CBC REPEATER STATION TO REMIND ME THAT I AM NOT ALONE IN THE WORLD. WHEN IT SIGNS OFF AT NIGHT AND THE SILENCE CLOSES IN, IT'S AS IF I HAD FALLEN OFF THE EDGE OF THE EARTH."

PERHAPS WE HAVE BECOME INSENSITIVE TO THE NEEDS OF FELLOW CANADIANS.

I SUGGEST THAT WE WOULD DO WELL TO REMIND OURSELVES OF THE REASONS THAT PROMPTED THE CONSTRUCTION OF BROADCASTING LINES, RAILROAD LINES, AIRLINES AND A TRANS-CANADA HIGHWAY, IN THE LIGHT OF OUR PRESENT DILEMMA. WHY, IN THE FACE OF SUCH ELABORATE MEANS OF TRANSPORTATION AND COMMUNICATION ARE WE FACED WITH DIVISIVENESS AND CONTINUING DISPARITIES? WHY HAVE THESE DEVICES NEVER BRIDGED THE HUMAN AND CULTURAL GAP BETWEEN FRENCH AND ENGLISH? IN FACT, THERE IS EVIDENCE TO SUGGEST THAT THE OPPOSITE HAS HAPPENED. FRENCH BROADCASTING HAS UNDOUBTEDLY CONTRIBUTED TO A SENSE OF SELF OF PLACE - A

QUEBECER'S SENSE OF QUEBEC. ENGLISH-LANGUAGE BROADCASTING HAS BY NO MEANS BEEN A FAILURE - BUT IT HAS BEEN TIMID - AT TIMES IMITATIVE - AND LACKING IN THOSE MOMENTS OF CELEBRATION THAT ARE SO ESSENTIAL IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF A SENSE OF SPIRITUAL NATIONHOOD.

SURELY WE CAN FIND OTHER EVENTS AS EMOTIONALLY UNIFYING AS THE CANADA-RUSSIA HOCKEY SERIES.

I AM ALSO PERSONALLY FEARFUL OF THOSE WHO WOULD ALLOW THE POLITICAL AND BUREAUCRATIC MACHINERY OF OTTAWA TO TINKER WITH THE REGULATION AND ADMINISTRATION OF COMMUNICATIONS AND TRANSPORTATION. CERTAINLY IT IS THE DUTY AND RIGHT OF PARLIAMENT TO DIRECT POLICY IN THESE MATTERS - BUT OPENLY AND DEMOCRATICALLY.

THE APPLICATION OF THESE POLICIES MUST THEN BE ADMINISTERED BY BODIES WHICH ARE DEDICATED TO ARRIVING AT DECISIONS IN AN EQUALLY OPEN WAY - WITH AS FULL PUBLIC PARTICIPATION AS POSSIBLE.

BUT OUR ELECTED REPRESENTATIVES MUST NOT FORGET THE PURPOSE OF OUR OWN COMMUNICATION AND TRANSPORTATION SYSTEMS. THEY ARE IMPORTANT. THOSE OF YOU WHO ARE FAMILIAR WITH THAT SEGMENT OF ONTARIO FROM BUFFALO TO DETROIT WILL RECALL HOW THE MICHIGAN CENTRAL LINE DRAINED OFF A GENERATION OF YOUNG PEOPLE TO DETROIT - INCLUDING JOHN KENNETH GALBRAITH.

TODAY OUR AIRLINES TRANSPORT US FROM CITY TO CITY ISOLATING US IN EFFECT FROM REGIONAL DIFFERENCES AND REGIONAL ACCOMPLISHMENTS. WHEN IT COMES TIME TO RELAX AND SPEND OUR HOLIDAYS THEY SIPHON US OFF TO THE WEST INDIES OR TO SWITZERLAND. WE HEAR OF ATTEMPTS TO USE OUR AIRLINES AS A MEANS OF ACQUAINTING US WITH OUR OWN COUNTRY - BUT THE DRAIN TO FAR-AWAY PLACES CONTINUES.

SATELLITES AND GLASS FIBRES WILL TRANSFORM COMMUNICATION. PARLIAMENT SHOULD BE AWARE OF AND SHOULD BE DISCUSSING A LONG-RANGE POLICY TO MAKE CERTAIN THAT THIS TECHNOLOGY IS USED IN THE NATIONAL INTEREST . . . NOT JUST AS POLITICAL ACCOMMODATIONS FOR TODAY BUT AS SAFEGUARDS FOR THE CANADA OF TOMORROW.

WE HAVE AN IMBALANCE OF FOREIGN TELEVISION PROGRAMMING IN OUR SYSTEM. THE TECHNOLOGY WAS THERE AND IT COULDN'T BE STOPPED. IT IS NOT GOOD ENOUGH TO SIMPLY SUGGEST THAT CANADIANS ARE SOMEHOW TO BLAME FOR WATCHING IT. PARLIAMENT HAS TO DETERMINE A PRIORITY FOR MAKING CERTAIN THAT OUR OWN WORTHY EFFORTS GET A CHANCE NOT ONLY BY FUNDING BUT BY MAKING CERTAIN THAT THE COSTS AND MEANS OF DISTRIBUTION ARE NOT PROHIBITIVE.

CANADA IS NOT A PERFECT NATION - IT IS A FEDERATION WHICH WAS CONSTRUCTED IN AS EQUITABLE A WAY AS OUR FOUNDING FATHERS COULD DETERMINE. IT HAS MANAGED IN A SHORT 110 YEARS TO FORGE CERTAIN PRINCIPLES AND IDEALS - NOT JUST OF

POLITICS . . . BUT OF RIGHTS, RULES, LAWS, PRIVILEGES AND RESTRICTIONS. IT HAS A SYSTEM OF JUSTICE, CONSTANTLY EVOLVING, BUT PECULIAR TO OUR NEEDS. CANADA BY WAY OF FEDERAL AND PROVINCIAL CO-OPERATION HAS PRODUCED UNIQUE SOCIAL CONTRACTS THAT PROVIDE GUARANTEES IN THE FIELD OF HEALTH, EMPLOYMENT AND UNEMPLOYMENT AS WELL AS OLD AGE.

WE HAVE A HISTORY. A PRETTY INTERESTING HISTORY, EVEN IF WE HAVE BEEN RETICENT ABOUT DISCLOSING SOME OF THE MORE COLORFUL ASPECTS OF OUR LEADERS. IT'S A LONG WAY FROM JOHN A. MACDONALD'S SPIRITS TO THOSE OF MCKENZIE KING.

THESE ARE SOME OF THE POINTS THAT MAKE US CANADIAN. A RECALLING OF PRESENT PRIVILEGE BASED ON YESTERDAY'S EFFORTS SURELY CAN BE CONSIDERED AS PART OF THE PATTERN OF AN ARTICULATED ROLE FOR CANADA AS A NATION.

CAN I BE ACCUSED OF BIAS IF I INTRODUCE THESE FACTORS INTO BROADCASTING, THE MEDIA AND PUBLIC DISCUSSION?

I THINK NOT.

THERE IS AN UGLY ALTERNATIVE. IN ANY COUNTRY WHERE DIVISION FLOURISHES AND NATIONAL OBJECTIVES ARE NEGLECTED, THE PUBLIC LOSES THE WILL TO SURVIVE. THEY BECOME FRIGHTENED AND ANGRY. THE PETTY BECOMES MONSTROUS. DISTORTION REPLACES PROPORTION. THE FRIGHTENED, THE ANGRY, THE UNEMPLOYED, THE

THE DISPOSED - IN THE ABSENCE OF MORAL SECURITY TOO EASILY SURRENDER THEIR CIVIL LIBERTIES TO AUTHORITARIAN AND PATER-
NALISTIC FORCES. WELL INTENTIONED BUT MISGUIDED BECAUSE
THEY TRY TO SHORT CIRCUIT THE DEMOCRATIC PROCESS, THESE
FORCES LEAVE ROOM FOR THE TERRORISTS AND THE POLITICAL BIGOTS
OF THE RIGHT AND LEFT TO PERPETRATE THEIR TERROR AND THEIR
MISCHIEF. THIS CALLS FOR MORE SO-CALLED EMERGENCY POWERS
OF GOVERNMENTS. IN TURN THIS SPAWNS CONFRONTATION AND
ANARCHY.

AND IT CAN HAPPEN HERE!

TO COUNTERACT THESE TENDENCIES WE MUST CARE. THERE
IS NO NECESSITY FOR RAMPANT NATIONALISM. THE PLAIN AND SIMPLE
FACT IS THAT WE HAVE OPTED TO LIVE IN THIS COUNTRY. MOST OF
US COULD HAVE GONE SOMEWHERE ELSE. MANY OF US COME FROM SOME-
WHERE ELSE. SOME POSITIVE FACTORS MADE US STAY.

WE HAVE TO START CARING FOR OUR COMMUNITIES. WE
HAVE TO CARE FOR CANADA - AND THAT MEANS CARING ABOUT WHAT
HAPPENS TO THE UNEMPLOYED GASPESIAN, BRITISH COLUMBIAN OR
NEWFOUNDLANDER.

THERE IS A TIME IN THE LIFE OF EVERY NATION WHEN
ALL CITIZENS ARE CALLED UPON TO CONTRIBUTE TO THE WELL BEING
OF THE WHOLE. IT HAPPENS IN WARTIME - AND NOW, IT IS HAPPENING
IN A TIME OF CRISIS.

SOMEHOW IT MUST BE CONVEYED TO FELLOW CANADIANS AND ESPECIALLY TO THOSE WITH WHOM WE HAVE ENTRUSTED OUR POLITICAL FORTUNES - THAT WE DO HAVE A WILL TO SURVIVE - NOT AS A GROUP OF SQUABBLING, PETTY STATES - BUT AS A FREE NATION WITH A ROLE TO PLAY ON THE INTERNATIONAL STAGE. IT IS THEIR TASK TO SET UP AN UNSELFISH FEDERATION RATHER THAN A VULNERABLE STRUCTURE BASED ON SHAKY COMPROMISES ARISING FROM CONFRONTATION RATHER THAN FROM CAREFUL CONSIDERATION.

THERE IS A WILL TO SURVIVE IN CANADA.

IT IS BASED ON THE GENEROSITY OF SPIRIT AND THE INTERDEPENDENCE THAT MADE IT POSSIBLE FOR OUR ANCESTORS TO CONQUER DISTANCE, LONELINESS AND THE HARSHNESS OF THE ENVIRONMENT. WE HAVE ENJOYED A RELATIVELY PEACEFUL COUNTRY IN A WORLD OF BITTERNESS, WAR AND INJUSTICE.

FOR THIS GOOD FORTUNE, WHICH TRANSCENDS THE OBSERVATIONS AND PETTY PANICS OF THE MOMENT, I AM CONVINCED THAT MOST CANADIANS ARE PREPARED TO WORK UNSELFISHLY. WE OWE IT TO OUR CHILDREN . . . AND TO GENERATIONS AS YET UNBORN.

IT IS THE LEAST ANY CANADIAN CAN DO . . . AND REMEMBER THERE ARE MILLIONS OF PEOPLE AT THIS MOMENT IN THIS WORLD OF TERROR AND TYRANNY WHO WOULD RISK THEIR LIVES FOR A SIMILAR CHANCE . . . FOR WE ARE FREE MEN AND WOMEN, AND THEY, SAD TO SAY, ARE NOT.