Chapter - IV

French-English Duality
and Federalism
The Confederation as an arrangement to accommodate the two founding cultures in 1867 (B.N.A. Act) was a response to the circumstances of French-English duality in the United Province of Canada. The Union Act of 1840 was an attempt for the solution of Canadian duality. Under 1840 Act, Lower Canada was deprived of its legislative assembly which had been established under the Constitutional Act of 1791. Under the provision that each of the sections was to have an equal number of members in the assembly of the new province, the French were to be reduced to a permanent minority because at that time Lower Canada had a larger population. That was an attempt for assimilation of the French Canadians into the wider English-Speaking Society. However, the effort fizzled out as often happened in subsequent period of Canadian history. The French Canadians demonstrated unity and cohesion and played a significant role in the political affairs. In the period between the 1948 and Confederation, there emerged a regime called consociationalism; and also developed the practice of double-headed ministeries led by politicians from each of the two sections.

The consociational response to French-English duality proved unworkable. In fact, the Westminster model of Parliamentary democracy and consociationalism are not reconcilable. In this period, the relations between French Canadians and English Canadians became bitter and it created a political deadlock in the United Province of Canada.
French-English Relations:

The Confederation could not eliminate conflict between the French and English communities. In the period between 1867 and 1936 when Duplessis came into power in Quebec, the most bitter conflict involved two concerns: the first concern was the Canadian orientations in external affairs as a member of the commonwealth and secondly, the position of French and Catholic minorities outside Quebec. At the time of Confederation, the English-speaking Canadians were imbued with imperialist thought. The French Canadian were obviously against to this kind of sentiments. So there were conflicts between French Canadians and English Canadians. These conflicts were intense during the Boer war and in the years before and during the first world war. In respect to the second concern, the position of French and Catholic minority outside Quebec at the time of Confederation, the French Canadians were confined to Quebec only but by the end of the century they began to associate with French-speaking community outside Quebec.

Despite the conflicts mentioned above, there were certain patterns of French-English relations.

The basic theme of the division of legislative power in the B.N.A. Act of 1867 was to give the power to provinces to control the matters in respect to French and English communities. Up until first world war, the major activities of federal government related to economic politics or others, the interest of French and English were considered to be in
opposition. On the other hand, Ottawa generally did not intervene in those matters of provincial jurisdiction believed to be crucial to French language and culture.

After the conquest of New France by the Britishers in 1760, the Church successfully encouraged its flock to remain socially separate from the English in the province. French Canadians remained aloof from political affairs. As a result even after Confederation, the English minority dominated urban political and economic life. In its comprehensive account of Canadian experience, the 1956 report of the Quebec Royal Commission on Constitutional Problems juxtaposed two homogeneous societies one of French and one of English origin, each manifesting its own specific genius. "In general term the French speaking counter-culture did not in any direct way challenge Anglo-Saxon political and economic power either in Quebec or Canada as a whole, and as individual most Anglophones and Francophones could pursue their occupational and other objectives without coming into conflict."¹ An interesting embodiments of institutional segregation occurred at the level of federal cabinet where Francophones tended to be disproportionately appointed to portfolios with a heavy patronage orientation (eg. The Post Office, Public works and Justice etc.), while Anglophones monopolized appointments to departments concerned with economic matters².

During most of its existence, the Francophone community of Quebec has distrusted government. even governments in
which members of this community were in majority. According to Trudeau's analysis, because French Canadians received democratic institutions not through their own efforts but by the will of the English-speaking community, they came to value democracy not for itself but as an instrument of ethnic survival. This traditional distrust of the political process was congruent with the dominant position of Church in many important aspects of Quebec life.

In this period, French-English relation some times have been stormy. The roots of several crisis could be traced in the break down of goodwill between two levels of government and two communities and the growth of the separatist movement. The ethnic conflict which periodically erupted had its roots in the linguistic and educational rights of the provinces. Manitoba with its large French-speaking community was created in 1870 on the same basis as Quebec with Roman Catholic schools and bilingual education. In other provinces, the languages used locally were subjected to provincial jurisdiction.

In 1885, the leader of Parti Nationale revolted against the federal government to preserve the "Frenchness". The violent movement led by the Lois Riel was crushed down and he was executed. "Only five years after the Riel revolt, the government of Manitoba established a non-sectarian educational system in which Roman Catholic schools no longer received provincial aid." The situation became very tense for the Francophones. The linguistic division appeared in another guise during the conscription crisis at the time of first and
second World Wars. French Canadians strongly opposed to conscription. Andre Bernard in his book, "what does Quebec want?", maintains that one of the main reason behind their opposition was the fact that the recruiting officers and military hierarchy were English-speaking. The federal election of 1917 was contested on the conscription issue which divided the country along linguistic lines. Fortunately, the war ended before conscription could be enacted and the issue lost its importance.

In 1942, there was a second conscription crisis. This time the government held a plebiscite, an opinion by the voters which was not legally binding. The campaign was bitter. Francophones voted by a huge majority of 85% against conscription, while English-speaking Canada was in favour. By adopting the delay tactics the conscripts were not sent into battle and the war ended. This caused a deep fear in the French Canadian community.

The Confederation Act 1867 allowed Quebec to legislate in the field of education and gave constitutional jurisdiction to the French-speaking community. English was also a official language in the legislature and courts of Quebec. Whereas in other provinces, with majority of English-speaking Canadians deprived French-speaking minority to study in French in their own schools. The language was also refused to be used in governmental institutions. Even within the federal government employees were largely unilingually-English, whereas the B.N.A. Act had the right of both groups to function in their own language.
French Canadian nationalist and historian Abbe Lionel-Groulx in 1935 published some facts about the French language and schools rights, outside Quebec.

1864 Nova Scotia—French-speaking Catholic Acadians are forbidden to have French schools.

1871 New Brunswick—Catholic schools were closed and teaching of French was forbidden in public schools.

1877 Prince Edward Island—Catholic and French schools became outlawed.

1890 Manitoba—Separate Catholic schools were outlawed and teaching of French was forbidden at the secondary level.

1892 North-West Territories (now Alberta and Saskatchewan)—Catholic schools were prohibited.

1905 Alberta and Saskatchewan—The regulations of 1892 were confirmed.

1915 Ontario—By regulation (No. 17) French was outlawed in Ontario schools.

1916 Manitoba—Teaching of French is forbidden at all levels.

1930 Saskatchewan—Teaching of French is forbidden even outside school hours.\(^6\)

In this way, the French Canadian are deprived of their basic rights which were guaranteed in the B.N.A. Act 1867.

**Nationalism in Quebec:**

The feeling of nationalism has been present in some form
since the British took control of New France (Quebec) in 1760. As a conquered people the French never assimilated with the English, their victors. Consequently, "they formed an isolated rural society." The French elite, especially the clergy maintained its hold over the masses, through the Church, the educational system and the protection of French language. In the coming years, in Quebec "the English dominated politics and commerce while the French elites controlled the cultural institutions." However, to protect the French culture there was a strong feeling which came out in the form the nationalism—i.e. nationalism for survival. The nationalism of survival was based on an intense determination to maintain the province's French Canadian and Catholic distinctiveness in the midst of overwhelming English-speaking, and largely protestant North American environment. There was a sense of mission, the success of which was often referred to as miracle. The Church played a key role in Quebec than other Catholic communities because of "its close association with the struggle for cultural survival" and its influence was extended beyond religious activities to all aspects of intellectual, professional, economic and social life."

After 1867, two streams of nationalism emerged. The first one led by historian Abbe Lionel Groulx, was based on early French Canadian history. It appealed for a rural vision of Catholic society and proposed a authoritarian solution to the Quebec situation. The second, was led by Henri Bourassa, for him, the Canadian dilemma was to be resolved by building a
state which could thrive on the principles of biculturalism and bilingualism. The inward-looking stream was represented by the Union Nationale government of Maurice Duplessis in 1936-39 and 1944-60. The party's philosophy was based on old style nationalism and its action on patronage and intimidation. The modern period of Quebec nationalism began from 1949, when there was a Asbestos strike by 5000 workers. The government had favoured the American company against French Canadian labour. The 1950s witnessed a decade of change in the attitude of people. The people strongly reacted against clerical influence and Duplessis manipulation. By this resentment, people began to think on secular lines rather than religious. The new educated urban middle class became increasingly critical of the outdated social philosophy of provincialism. They wanted to follow a more positive path which would help them to solve their problems by providing them better education and better housing facility. Whereas previously, these fields such as education, social welfare were associated with Church. But now, the increasing industrialization and urbanization has severely restricted the Church's capacity of discharging these functions and replaced it by the state.

Traditionally, French Canadian believed that if they exercised control over their language and religion, their survival as a 'distinct society' would be guaranteed. But in recent years after 1949 that survival was endangered by economic and social changes. In these spheres, Quebec was becoming indistinguishable from English-speaking North America.
The second outward-looking stream was characterized by the Quebec Liberal Party, which under the leadership of Jean Lesage secured victory in 1960 after 16 years of being in opposition. The Lesage government nationalized some industries to get the advantages of economic nationalism. The decade of 1960s is known for the period of 'Quiet Revolution'.

**The Quiet Revolution: A Turning Phase**

The Quiet Revolution was marked first and foremost as an ideological change, a transformation of mentalities and a dramatic change in attitudes, values and behaviour of French Canadian Quebeckers. "Within the new ideology, Quebec was to be clearly seen as the urban, industrial society that it had become."\(^{10}\) As a consequence, the influence of Church declined dramatically, the state assumed fully the social and educational responsibilities. In effect, the Quebec state was to assume the function of a Keynesian state. But it was Keynesian with a difference, since the Quebec state was also to be a 'national state'. With the 1960s, French Canadian nationalism was recast into a more explicitly Quebecois nationalism. The greatness of this Quebec nation was to lie not in the past, as with traditional French Canadian nationalism's glorification of the ancient regime, but with the future, as an urban, industrial and secular society. In another sense "it was a refutation of French Canadian's traditional identity as an agrarian, anti-industrial society coupled with a strong desire to see social and economic development in Quebec keep pace with rest of the continent. This coincided with a new spirit of French Canadian
confidence." A significant aspect of the movement or revolution was that the leaders paid more attention in Quebec and less to other provinces where French Canadians were living. However, during this phase 'French Canadian' became 'Quebecois'.

After the death of Duplessis in 1959, the Liberals came into power under Jean Lesage in 1960. Under the leadership of Lesage, the growing demands for a major expansion of the role of Quebec state finally found an outlet. The Liberal government was eager to project an image of progressive change. Beyond ideological change, there was change in structures and role of Quebec state. In 1963 Quebec's private Hydro-electrical enterprises were nationalized and crown corporations were established to spur activity in most economic sectors. During the decade of the 1960s, numerous new government department were created i.e. Natural Resources, Cultural Affairs, Revenue, Federal-Provincial Affairs, Education, Industry and Commerce, Immigration, Public Service and others. The government established planning agencies like the Conseil d'Orientation économique du Quebec (COEQ or Economic Council for Quebec) to assist in economic planning. It also established central agencies such as société générale de financement (SGF or General Finance Corporation) in 1962 and the Caisse de dépôt et placement (or General Deposit and Investment Fund) in 1965. The S.G.F. provided capital for provincial industrial projects and the Caisse infused much needed capital into indigenous enterprises using funds available
to the provinces through the Quebec pension plan and the public service retirement plan etc. in this way, role played by all these agencies proved pivotal in the changing character of Quebec in economic field. However, the enhanced economic activities induced a confidence and a feeling of nationalism in Quebecers. Finally in November 1962, Lesage gave a slogan "Maîtres chez nous" (Masters in our own house).

"Nonetheless, the overall effect of the Quiet Revolution was uneven. Secularization of Quebec society progress rapidly as Church held educational and social functions were transferred to the state [and] clerical influence in Quebec declined at an astounding rate."\(^{13}\) Every where in Quebec, old values were questioned, the traditional role of state was rejected, place of Church was questioned and position of French Canadians in the Confederation was examined but "however, much more limited progress in reversing the historical Anglophone dominance of the Quebec economy."\(^{14}\)

Quebec nationalist began to fear the continuing anglicization of immigrants posing threat to the Francophone dominance in Quebec. They were alarmed by the fact that French usage was on decline in Canada and Quebec's share of Canadian population was dropping. New demands came favouring restriction of assess to English language schools and intervention of state to establish French as the language of work. The Lesage government tried hard for improving the quality of the French language in Quebec, and promoting the province's culture. "The Office de la language Francoise attempted
to purify the language by preparing and distributing of list of correct words and expression, many of which were intended to replace the growing number of anglicisms than in popular use." For improving the relation with Francophone minority outside Quebec, Quebec Arts Council was created.

The nationalism in Duplessis era and post 1960 Quebec nationalism differed in many respects but "both were of course based on the Quebec governmental authorities, need for autonomy, and equated French Canada with Quebec (This was shown by their indifference to the interest of French-speaking Canadians outside the province. Moreover, the older nationalism was primarily defensive, the newer currents of thought and policy much less so. In turning 'Survivance' to 'épanouissement' (Survival to expansion), the new Quebec leadership decisively altered the older pattern of relationship between the Anglophone and Francophone communities of Canada." However, it began to challenge the federal system of Canada.

During the 1960s the supporters of Canadian federal system advocated for more explicit recognition of French-English duality. Ramsay Cook, summed up this question as "Canada and the French Canadian question is really the Canadian question." The Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism defined the Canadian Confederation as an equal partnership between the two founding races. In this way, the dualistic view was recognised and got positive responses from different quarters.
Autonomy in Fiscal and Administrative Spheres:

During this period, on several occasions prior to 1966, the federal government extended the scope of provincial 'tax room' and granted unconditional fiscal subsidies to the province. After negotiations between federal government and Quebec, the decision was taken that Canada pension plan should not apply to Quebec. Quebec got more autonomy in the field of immigration. However, in this phase Quebec government took advantages because Ottawa was more willing to respond positively.

Change in Federal Public Service:

After the amendment in Civil Service Act in 1938 there had been a requirement while recruiting for local position the Civil Service Commission should ensure that a successful candidate had knowledge of English or French because majority of the persons with whom, he is supposed to deal, speak French or English. But the report of the Royal Commission on Biculturalism and Bilingualism published in 1969, showed the decline in the French-speaking proportion of the public service between 1918 and 1946— from 22 percent to 13 percent. According to report "both Francophone and Anglophone federal politicians and public servants accepted the prevailing orthodoxies linking unilingualism with rationality and efficiency."¹⁸

In June 1973, Parliament directed the government by a resolution to identify the official language requirements in all position in the departmental civil service and to ensure a grater
use of French at all levels in the service. By that way the percentage of French-speaking Canadians was increased in Services.

Legal Status of Official Languages:

The Official Languages Act 1969 and some other constitutional changes which came into effect in 1982 recognised French and English as the official languages of the federal government and provide equal status to both of them. According to article 2 of the Official Languages Act "the English and French languages are the official languages of Canada for all purposes of the Parliament and government of Canada, and possess and enjoy equality of status and equal right and privileges as to their use in all the institutions of Parliament and government of Canada." The Supreme of Court also in a decision in 1974 support the constitutionality of the Official Languages Act as a legal and valid practice of Parliament's power to enact for the "peace, order and good government of Canada."

The article 16(2) of the Constitution Act 1982, also established New Brunswick as an officially bilingual province. This status not only provided for legislative Assembly and provincial court but according to article 20(2) - "Any member of public in New Brunswick has the right to communicate with, and to receive available services from, any office of an institution of the legislature or government of New Brunswick in English or French" (For more details please, see the annexure).
In 1979 The Supreme Court of Canada declared invalid the Official Language Act of Manitoba, 1890 which provided that only English language should be used in the legislature and courts of province. But in the Manitoba Act, 1870 had provided the English and French have the equal status as that of Quebec under section 133 of the B.N.A. Act. Consequently, by the judgement of 1979 of the supreme Court, the province returned to the 1870 position.

A change in the attitude of federal government was prevailed in this period and onwards. Canadian Foreign policy makers has paid more attention to the French-speaking world from 1960. More than that, the federal government has taken different measures to increase the surface of autonomy of Quebec in respect to French-English duality to preserve and protect the Confederation in new circumstances. But, these responses certainly "could not win the support of those who believed that the integrity of the Francophone community of Quebec required its establishment as a sovereign state, in some sort of economic association with Canada or otherwise". Among the separatist most of them are well educated and below 30 with a prosperous family i.e. 'the Francophone new middle class'. They began to mobilise for Quebec's independence signify a formal recognition of their own identity.

Some Other Challenges Against Quebec:

There are some factors which served to stimulate the Francophones to struggle for independence of Quebec, these
came before the Quebecers as a challenge and alarming indication for their existence as a 'distinct society'. However, all these alarming factors contributed in the emergence of nationalism in Quebec.

Since, the federal policies have been generally against the interest of Quebecers. Therefore, the demographic weight of Quebecers and of Francophones outside Quebec is constantly decreasing. "The proportion of the Canadian population of French ethnic origin remained at a stable 30% over a long period of Canadian history: 30% in 1881 and 30.4% in 1961, with a decline at a low of 27.9% in 1921. After the very high immigration to Canada in the previous decade." During this period, there was a steady decline in the proportion of British origin from 58.9% to 43.8%. However, person of non-British origin tended to associated themselves with English language element while the French compensated by a higher birth rate. But in the 1960s there was a decline in Quebec birth-rate from 26.1 births per thousand of population in 1961 to 14.8 in 1971. "Largely because the Quebec birth rate had declined to below the Canadian average, the proportion of the Canadian population of French ethnic origin declined from 30.4% to 28.7% in this decade". Within Quebec, the proportion of person of French ethnic origin also declined from 80.6% to 79% between 1971-1971.

Demographer Robert Maheux predicts that in 1991, 73% citizen of French origin outside Quebec will have ceased to use the French language. Another demographer Jacques
Henripin predicts that by about 2000 between 92% and 95% of Francophones in Canada would be living in Quebec. As far as Quebecers, who made up around 38% of the Canadian population in 1851, in 1961 they accounted for 30%, in 1971 that was 28% and this proportion will drop to 23% by 2001 if the current trend is maintained, because of Quebec's low rate of birth and immigration.

These demographic realities shows results in a marked decrease of political role played by Francophones in Canada. From 1867 to 1979, the numbers of Quebec members of Parliament in Ottawa increased by 10, from 65 to 75, the number of members of Parliament from the rest of the Canada increased by 91, from 116 to 207. It is predicted that the rest of Canada would have 250 members of Parliament in 2000 and Quebec only 75. While they were more than one third of federal members of Parliament in 1867, Quebecers will account for less than one quarter by the end of this century.

Keeping these circumstances in view it is very difficult to say that in future, Francophones can play a great role in the politics of Canada. On the contrary, they will become more and more a minority. Now, the Quebecers began to feel that it is urgent to take action. Since Canadian federalism has proved unable to ensure for Quebecers the political autonomy.

Quebec's challenges to centre came into many ways—judicial, social and political. Objections were raised in different manner on different aspects. Claude Ryan, leader of Liberal Party argued that "it is the document [the B.N.A. Act] as a
The Canadian Population

Graph - 4.1

Representation in the House of Commons

Graph - 4.2
whole, the general ideas underlining the text, that must be revised." The division of power between federal and provincial governments was also claimed to discriminate against Quebec. Marcel Chaput summarized the situation in 'why I am a Separatist?' and charged that "the federal government has exclusive legislative authority in the main fields of administration...."24 Some Quebec Francophones saw the federal union as lacking the free consent of the contracting parties, in other words self-determination. At the time of formation of B.N.A. Act, no referendum was conducted to know the views and consent of the people in 1867. "This system [Confederation]... was not established by the express will of the people, affected, but imposed by statute by an imperialist mother country."25 In his book 'Why I am Separatist? Marcel Chaput opined about Confederation that simply "the Canadian state is a purely political and artificial entity formed originally by armed forces and maintained by a submission of the French Canadian to the federal government."26

In the book 'What does Quebec want?', Andre Bernard found that since 1926 the gap between Quebecois and Canadian per-capita income has fluctuated around an average of 15 percentage points lower than the former. The rate of employment was regularly over 25% above the Canadian average and Quebec rates for standard taxes were 10% to 15% above the Canadian average.27

In 1958, the report of the Quebec Royal Commission of Inquiry on Constitutional problems (the Tremblay Report)
summed up Quebec's cultural and economic situation - "Because of the religion, culture and history of the majority of its population, the province of Quebec is not a province like the others." Quebec increased its political pressure on the federal government throughout the 1960s. For the first time an ethnic crisis erupted and threatened the very unity of the federation. Some Quebecois adopted separatism for Quebec as their goal. It was the view that by this method they can protect their culture and fulfil the aspiration of their community within their own government. Furthermore, there was opposition on the use of English in Quebec in crown corporation, bank and federal public services.

The Front de la Liberation due Quebec (FLQ) representing the most extremist separatist wing, initiated terrorist activities which culminated in the October crisis of 1970 (In Bourassa's regime) with the kidnapping of British Trade Commissioner James Cross and murder of provincial Labour Minister Pierre Laporte. The federal government invoked the war measures, used for the first time in the absence of war to deal with this small band of terrorists. About 400 people with peaceful nationalist or separatist notions were arrested and jailed. While the FLQ crisis made the Trudeau government strong, it revealed Bourassa's government as weak. In the end of the crisis James Cross, the British Trade Commissioner was released.

As Quebec nationalism grew in 1960s and 1970s, Quebecois intellectuals became divided. Trudeau and his friend
Jean Marchand and Genard Pelletier moved into federal politics, they advocated in favour of bicultural and bilingual state but no special status to Quebec. As Prime Minister of Canada, Trudeau became the major spokesman of Henri Bourassa style nationalism and a unified state. Meanwhile in Quebec the separatist challenge grew up rapidly. In 1966, provincial election the Ralliement Nationale (RN) and Le Ralliementement l' Independence Nationale (RIN) gained 10% of the vote. Rene Levesque left the Liberal Party and formed Parti Quebecois (PQ) in 1968. The left-wing RN and the right-wing RIN committed to independence joined together to form the PQ under the leadership of Levesque.

All these nationalist organisations with aspiration of provincial independence were not new in Quebec history. The first, the 'Parti Patriote' dedicated to liberation of French Canadians had won a parliamentary majority first time in 1830. Under its popular leader Lois-joseph Papineau, an attempt to win parliamentary control over government expenditure, the leader preached violence and instigated an armed rebellion in 1836-37. It was crushed down by British troops. The second, the Parti Nationale led by Henri Mercier was elected in 1886. Mercier won the election on the Riel issue. In fact, he was the most prominent of the early Quebec premiers, and the first to demand greater autonomy from the federal government. Then in 1936, the Union Nationale led by Duplessis came into office as the third nationalist party. It played the nationalist game within the context of Canadian rules. They preferred to remain
in power instead of cataclysmic change which could be dangerous to their own existence.

**The Parti Quebecois and Movement for Independence:**

The emergence of Parti Quebecois was the outcome of political frustration prevailed in Quebec. The Francophone community in Quebec felt that the independence is essential remedy for all type of problems. The leaders of P.Q. advocated for the independence. So people from different quarters supported the party. Parti Quebecois under the leadership of Rene Levesque, related its economic program to independence, P.Q. aimed at a more dynamic and evenly developed economic system in which Francophones would play a significant role in decision making. "The P.Q. proposed to repatriate the economic 'centres of decision' through state enterprises and regulation of non-Quebec ownership in the financial sector".29 It aimed at the expansion of the role of Quebec as a planner and initiator of Quebec based development by the representatives, in equal numbers of workers and other parts of the population, of enterprises of public power."30 The P.Q. declared that "all this would be made possible by Quebec becoming a sovereign state. Quebec would be limited to the rest of Canada through a vaguely defined economic association but Quebec would nonetheless achieve the full-fledged national status to which its centuries old distinctiveness entitled it."31

The other aspects of P.Q. program included reforming social and economic disparities, a guaranteed minimum income, complete public health care system, free day care centres,
protection of consumers, better housing, right to early retirement and expansion of co-operative organisation through many sectors of Quebec society."  

32 For Quebec, P.Q. suggested a mixed economy that would preserve private enterprise and a spirit of competition. A sovereign Quebec would receive the foreign capital and investment, provided that they would reinvest half of their profit and employ the skilled labour of Quebec. Basically, the aim of P.Q. was "to harmonize a capitalist mode of production with a socialist programme of redistribution."  

33 In Quebec, there was a pressure to reinforce the distinctiveness when Liberal government return to power in 1970, under Robert Bourassa. At the time of October crisis, Quebec government asserted effectively against the federal government. Bourassa government declared that the Victoria Charter was insufficient to meet Quebec's demands. The Bill 22-enacted by Bourassa government could not satisfy the Francophones and Anglophones alike. The Bill had so mixed the Anglophone and Allophone communities that rather than vote to Liberals as they had in the past, they voted Union Nationale.

In the 1970 election, the Parti Quebecois could muster only 24% of the popular vote and Liberal Party with Bourassa formed the government. However, due to eruption of October crisis, there was again election in 1973. Feared by the PQ's strong stand on separation, the Bourassa formed the government again inspite of increasement in P.Q. vote 24% to 30%.
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Both Bill-22 and Bill-101 were directed towards establishing the primacy of French language in Quebec. William D. Coleman has made a detailed analysis of two Bills. According to him:

(i) Bill-22 permitted English to be used to "local municipal, schools and social service institution". Bill-101 was much more restrictive in this respect.

(ii) Bill-22 permitted a free choice in the language of education for children who could demonstrate a sufficient knowledge of English and French. Bill 101 was more restrictive. Under this law, English language instruction was available to only four groups -

(a) Children who had a parent who had received primary education in Quebec in English.

(b) Children whose father or mother lived in Quebec at the time of Bill-101 was enacted and who had received primary education in English outside Quebec.

(c) Children who in the previous year had been legally enrolled in English language school of Quebec.

(iii) In restricting the use of other languages than French in advertising, on store fronts and so on, Bill-101 went much further than did Bill-22 in its attempt to make Quebec 'Visually French.'

During this period in federal-provincial relations, harsh words were often exchanged and ministers occasionally left federal-provincial conferences abruptly, but several programs
were developed. In 1978 for example, Quebec gained control of the entry of immigrants to its territory. 37

Finally, at the end of 1979 P.Q. issued a white paper on sovereignty-association. The government of Quebec made public its proposal to negotiate a new agreement with the rest of Canada, based on the equality of nations. This agreement would enable Quebec to acquire the exclusive power to make its laws, administer its taxes and establish relations abroad. In other words, Sovereignty- and at the same time, to maintain with Canada an economic association including a common currency. In 1980, P.Q. hold a referendum to get a Verdict of people on their proposed sovereignty-association stand but the referendum proved a set back to Levesque. The P.Q. initiated a vote on this proposal to choose 'yes' - to negotiate sovereignty-association and 'No' - not to negotiate. The proposal was defeated by almost six out of ten votes.

After 1985, P.Q. came again in power in 1994 election with 77 seats against the ruling Liberal Party's 47. Now, the leader of P.Q. was Jacques Parizeau with a commitment to bring about sovereignty after a referendum. But P.Q. could not muster the majority enough to win. So, it needed the support of other parties. However, Bloc Quebecois (B.Q.) and Action Democratique du Quebec (ADQ) joined the move with certain modifications in the demand of sovereignty pure and simple. An agreement was reached, on June 12, 1995 between Premier Jacques Parizeau, B.Q. leader Lucien Bouchard and A.D.Q. head, Mario Dumont. As an agreement, the sovereignty would
be associated with a formal offer of partnership with the rest of Canada to be submitted after referendum victory. The partnership formula did include a political and economic union. The political union would be based on European Union. The referendum was scheduled for Oct. 30, 1995. The three parties campaigned for 'Yes' vote whereas Liberal Party for 'No'. But the move was defeated by a margin of heirs breeth, 49.4 percent against 50.6 percent votes. The stakes were high because secession meant that Canada would lose one-fourth of its population and one-sixth of its territory. But, the event made the 28 million population more divided then united. At the time of referendum about 60 percent of the 82 percent French-speaking Quebecers voted 'Yes' as predicted, 90 percent of the other voted 'No'. In 1998 election, the P.Q. remained the ruling party after winning 75 seats in Assembly. But falls short of the support required to hold a successful referendum on the province's separation from Canada. The Quebec's P.M. Lucian Bouchard will not call another referendum soon on the province breaking away from Canada, but he has not ruled out doing so later. The separatist got 42.7% of the popular vote while the Liberals won 43.7 percent. A clear majority is needed for a referendum to get pass.

The Parti-Quebecois served to stimulate the French-speaking Canadians for demanding more autonomy and even independence for Quebec. The federal government was also conscious about ongoing movement for achieving the status of 'distinct society'. So, Ottawa government made two unsuccessful
be associated with a formal offer of partnership with the rest of Canada to be submitted after referendum victory. The partnership formula did include a political and economic union. The political union would be based on European Union. The referendum was scheduled for Oct. 30, 1995. The three parties campaigned for 'Yes' vote whereas Liberal Party for 'No'. But the move was defeated by a margin of heirs breith, 49.4 percent against 50.6 percent votes. The stakes were high because secession meant that Canada would lose one-fourth of its population and one-sixth of its territory. But, the event made the 28 million population more divided then united. At the time of referendum about 60 percent of the 82 percent French-speaking Quebecers voted 'Yes' as predicted, 90 percent of the other voted 'No'. In 1998 election, the P.Q. remained the ruling party after winning 75 seats in Assembly. But falls short of the support required to hold a successful referendum on the province's separation from Canada. The Quebec's P.M. Lucian Bouchard will not call another referendum soon on the province breaking away from Canada, but he has not ruled out doing so later. The separatist got 42.7% of the popular vote while the Liberals won 43.7 percent. A clear majority is needed for a referendum to get pass.

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necessary in order for the legislature to debate the issue. Because one native leader, MLA Elijah Harper refused, Manitoba also failed to approve the accord.

"Meech Lake ultimately failed because it could not bridge the conflicting preceptions of federlism—and of Canada itself—in English Canada and in Quebec". From the very beginning of Confederation in 1867 "there has always been a perceptual difference between English-speaking Canadian and French-Canadians. The identity of former to a significant degree has been caught up with and forged by the federal government in Ottawa. When English-speaking Canadians think of nation-building, they think back to such instruments of national policy as the tariff, the trans-continental railways, the Mounties (special Canadian police force) or the CBC". There was an insurmountable gulf between Quebec and the rest of Canada and significant difference in mores and social ethos. French Canadians considered themselves different—linguistically, culturally, religiously from their English-speaking counterparts. The another reason for not supporting the accord was that English Canadians did not want to sacrifice their identity for Quebec. There was a counter sentiments against Quebec's nationalism. Philip Reshick Contends that:

"Almost in reaction to nationalist sentiments in Quebec over the past three decades, however, and to the forces of North American continentalism, English-Canadian nationalism has begun to emerge. It has not been hostile to Quebec's aspirations to greater self-affirmation within
Canada or to a redefinition of Canada on the basis of bilingualism and biculturalism. But inevitably, concerns have been voiced about Quebec's demands for ever greater powers in the economic or constitutional fields vis-a-vis Ottawa and about the implications that any further decentralization of Canadian federalism would have for the rest of the country. Canadian outside Quebec are simply not willing to sacrifice their identity for Quebec nationalism.  

**Charlottetown Accord:**

The next attempt to change the Constitution was the Charlottetown accord in 1992. This was a more ambitious attempt than Meech Lake, unfortunately it also failed. It included distinct society status for Quebec and guaranteed the province 25 percent of the seats in the House of Commons. Moreover, there were recommendations for native self government and an elected Senate. Supreme Court Justice were to be appointed from list submitted to the government by the provinces and the territories, the Prime Minister and Premiers would have to meet once a year rather than occasionally as had been the custom. New federal funding arrangements for provinces which opted out of shared-cost programs were also included.

Considerable pressure was exerted on to the Canadian people to accept the terms of the accord in a referendum held on October 26, 1992; Most of the elites of Canadian society including political, business, labour and native leaders urged
Canadians to vote—'yes'. When a majority of six provinces voted—No, this attempt to change the Constitution also fizzled out.

**New Scenario after Referendum:**

The Quebec referendum of Oct. 30, 1995, produced both negative and positive impact on Canadian politics. On one side, it has provoked those people who advocate for the strong measures for coping with Quebec's secessionist posture. Indeed, it tarnished the image of Canada abroad as a society full of antagonism, hostility and mutual distrust. On the other side, there are also some positive indications. Just after one month of referendum, the House of Commons adopted a motion recognizing Quebec as a 'distinct society' and granting a veto to large Canadian provinces on future constitutional change. Moreover, in February, 1996, Throne Speech, in the opening a new session of Parliament, the Governor General declared a governmental planning to insert a new clause of 'distinct society' into the Constitution. Furthermore, the Calgary declaration in Sept., 1997, issued by all provincial premiers outside Quebec contains a recognition of "the Unique character of Quebec Society". It is also announced that the legislature and government of Quebec should work to "protect and develop" this uniqueness. All these proclamation, however, may serve to diffuse the Quebecers anger and reduce the chances of holding and to get pass another referendum. Quebec Premier Lucien Bouchard is more flexible then his predecessor. He is still devoted to the sovereignty stand but determined
first to concentrate on redressing Quebec's public finances and economy.

Quebec is a distinct society with its own way of life and traditions. Like any other, Quebec's way of life is a dynamic phenomenon. Now, a new citizenship is emerging in Quebec, younger Quebecers feel much closer to their fellow citizens irrespective of their ethnic origin than to French-speaking Canadians of other provinces. The new Quebec identity includes immigrants and Anglo-Quebecers as well as long established Francophones.42

In 1996, a group of people from different quarters of life, political orientations and ethnic origin emphasizing the existence of a distinct society of Quebec. The joint declaration first published in some newspapers and then in a book edited by Guy Rocher and Marc Briere under the title Le gout du Quebec, translated by Lois Balthazar.43 It is important to to quote it here.

We are Quebecers of all ethnic origins, federalists, sovereigntists and others, who are troubled by the post-referendum political climate that seems rather unhealthy to us. We are worried about fate of the particular collectivities to which we belong as well as about the future of Quebec and Canada. We all agree to assert:

* the equality of all citizens living in Quebec and forming the people of Quebec;
* the liberty of this people to democratically determine its own constitutional status, i.e., to come to its full national
sovereignty or to continue to share it with other Canadian provinces in a federal or confederal union—and consequently, the legitimacy of all three options;
* the fraternity and solidarity that must unite Quebecers among themselves....
* the mainly French character of this society of which French is the common language;
* the recognition of the enrichment that the Anglo-Quebec cultural vitality brings to Quebec;
* the necessity to ensure the reflection of the pluralist character of the Quebec society in all spheres of social, cultural and political activities....

The draft is signed by Rene Boudreault, Marc Briere, Gretta Chambers, Bernard Cleary, Claude Corbo, Myra Cree, Francoise, David, Claude E. Forget, Naim Kattan, Takis Merlopooulos, Marco Micone, Joseph Rabinovitch; Guy Rocher, Charles Taylor and Peter White.

However, various proposals have been designed and many Commissions formed to know about the modus operandi for peaceful co-existence of the two founding peoples. Now at this stage, it is necessary to search for the alternatives for solution of impending problem and a deep analysis of different devices in terms of cost and benefit.

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