

THE NEW FACE OF CANADIAN NATIONALISM

INSTITUTE OF
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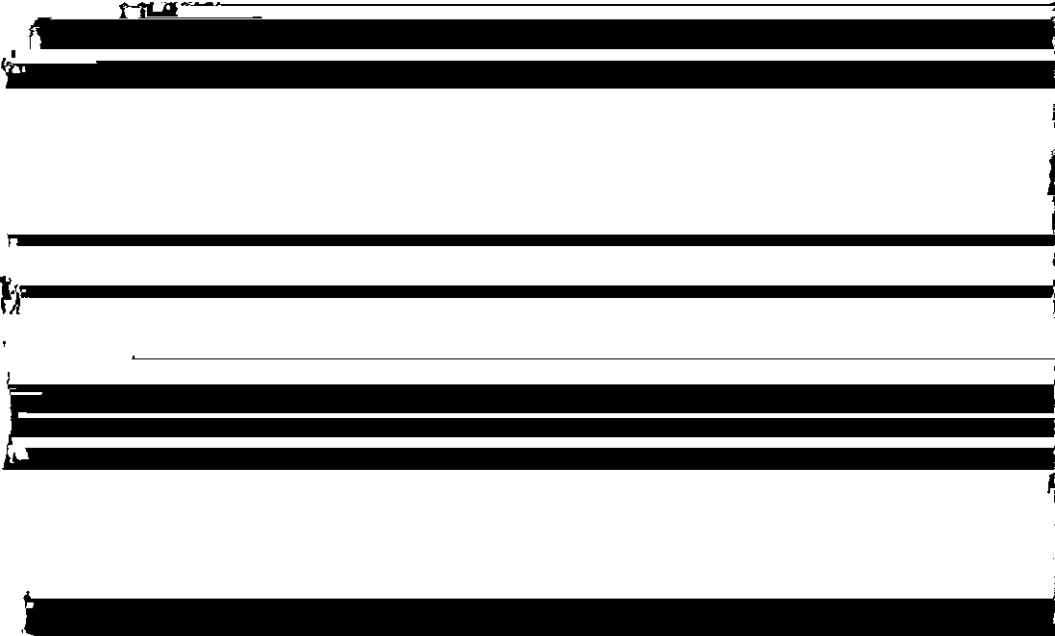
INTERNATIONAL NATIONALISM, OR

CANADA AS A CHALLENGE TO THE WORLD

FOREWORD

This publication is the revised text of a public address by Roger Gibbins as the Kenneth R. MacGregor Lecturer in Intergovernmental Relations. The lecture was delivered on 16 November 1994.

Queen's University established the MacGregor Lectureship in order to bring to the campus each year a prominent public figure or scholar who can make an important contribution to the understanding or practice of federalism, inter-
governmental relations, and related matters in Canada or other countries. The



The publication of this essay comes amidst a difficult and uncertain stage — albeit one of many such stages — in Canada's constitutional history. Following the failure of constitutional reform with the defeat of the Charlotte-

SOMMAIRE

Les débats entourant le nationalisme canadien se sont traditionnellement concentrés sur les relations complexes et souvent tendues entre les communautés culturelles et linguistiques. Le nationalisme a en conséquence été perçu en termes de compromis, comme un moyen par lequel on construit de fragiles ponts à travers un pays profondément segmenté. Il n'y a pas à s'étonner qu'en ce sens le

ABSTRACT

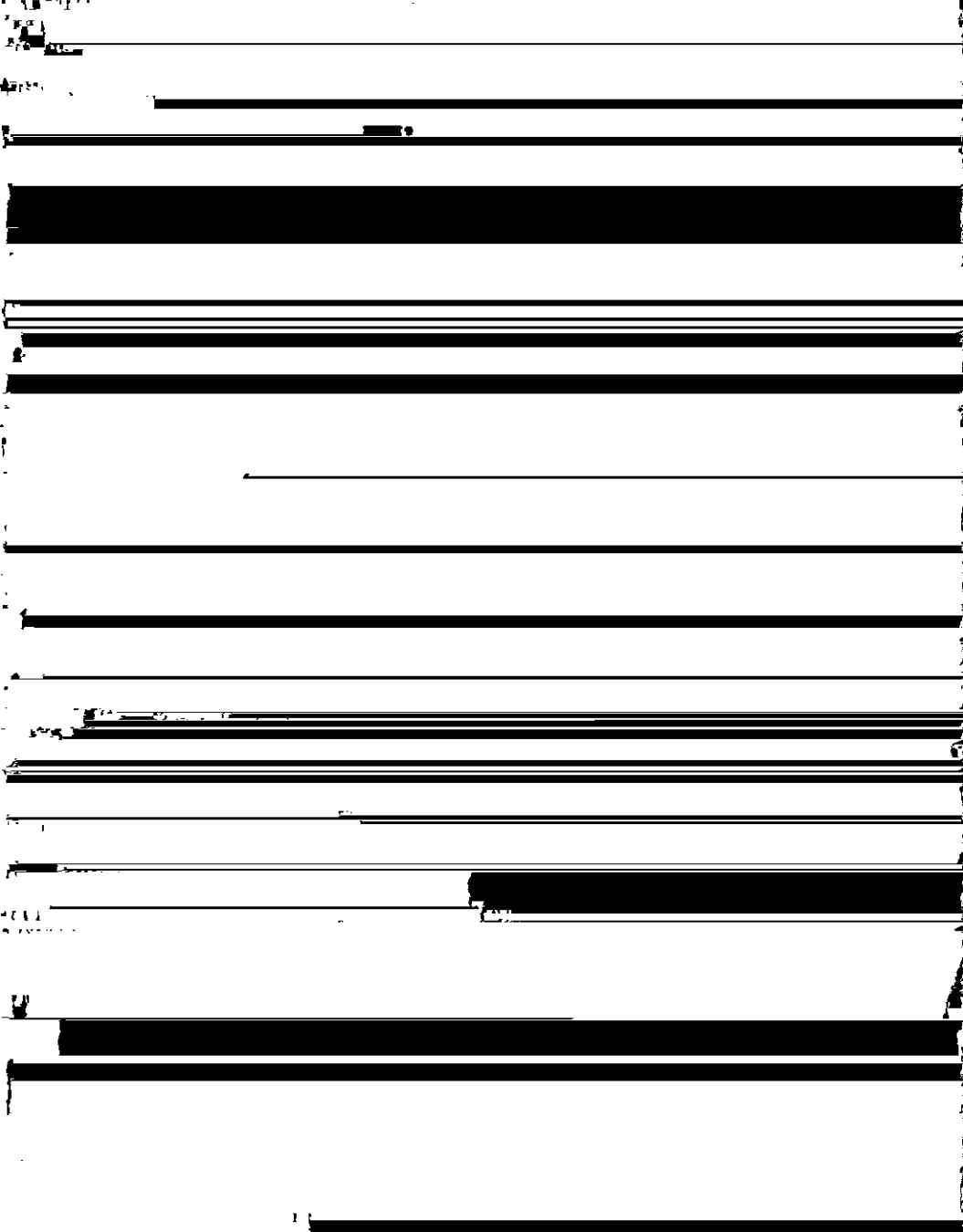
THE NEW FACE OF CANADIAN NATIONALISM

INTRODUCTION

In the analysis to follow, I would like to pursue a straightforward but perhaps disturbing thesis. First, I will discuss some of the more important forms that Canadian nationalism has assumed in the second half of the twentieth century.¹

1. This section of the text has been obscured by heavy black redaction bars.

the nature of the Canadian identity, one that has been as prolonged as it has been inconclusive. The present analysis of the Canadian identity is a



Canadians. Nor, given the reach and power of American firms and cultural industries, is it surprising that anti-Americanism has manifested itself in virtually all areas of Canadian life. In light of the overwhelming American presence on the continent, one might argue that *any* form of Canadian nationalism must provide a means of national differentiation and thereby defence from the colossus to the south. Where forms of nationalism have differed has been in the emphasis they have placed on this prime directive. It should also be noted, however, that the principal focus of anti-Americanism has been on the Ameri-

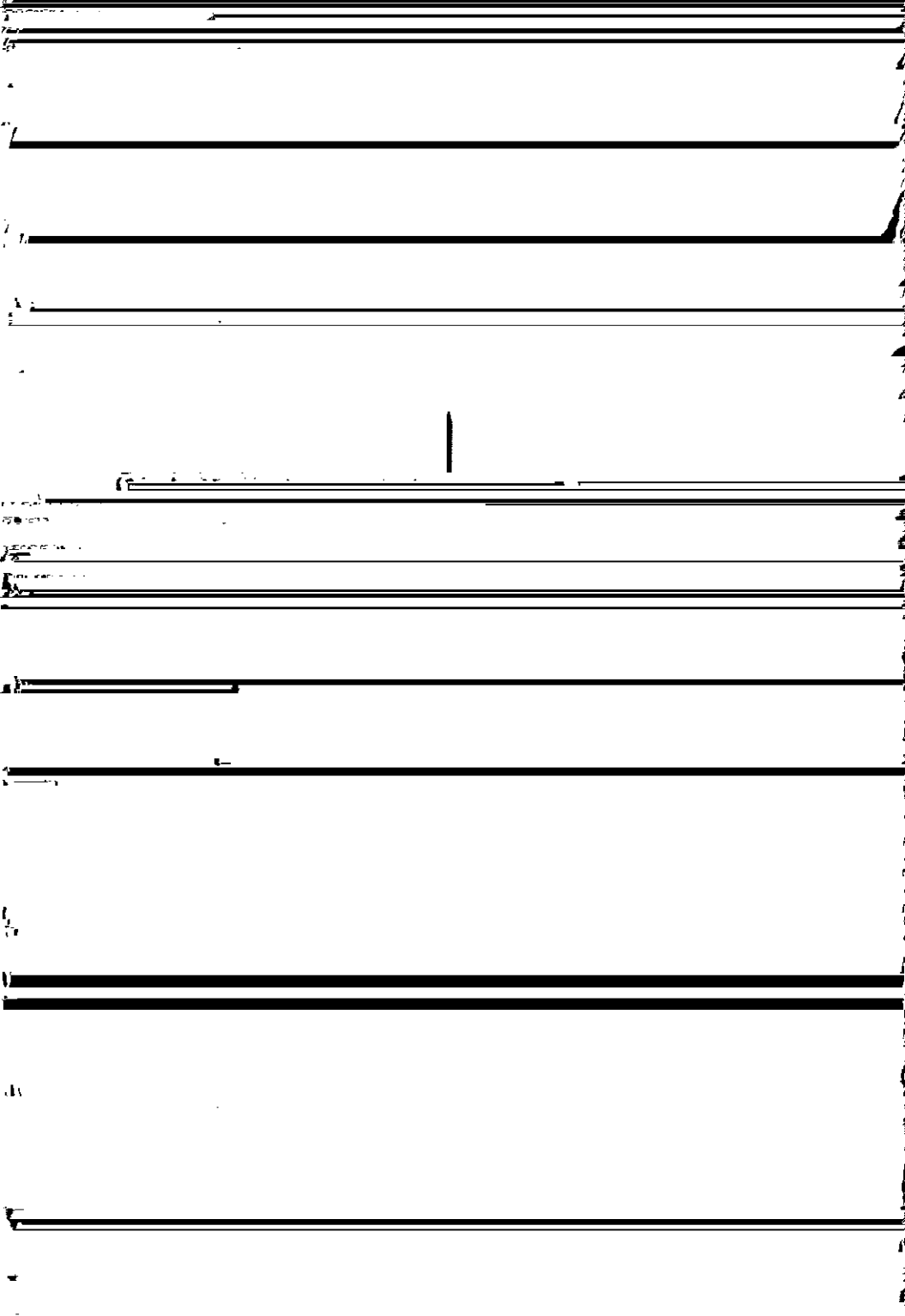
and services, cultural artifacts, and ideas. Traditional sentiments of anti-

the construction of canals and fortifications in pre-Confederation

election, the precarious future of provincial NDP governments and parties, the disappearance of Mel Hurtig's National Party, and the fixation of contemporary

gravity has shifted in a way that is problematic for state enterprise nationalism. Nor, for that matter, has the evidence been restricted to Canada. The collapse of barriers to international trade, the globalization of financial markets, and the

[The page contains several lines of text that are almost entirely obscured by heavy black redaction bars. Only a few faint fragments of text are visible, including the word "Canadian" and the word "Nationalism" in the lower half of the page.]



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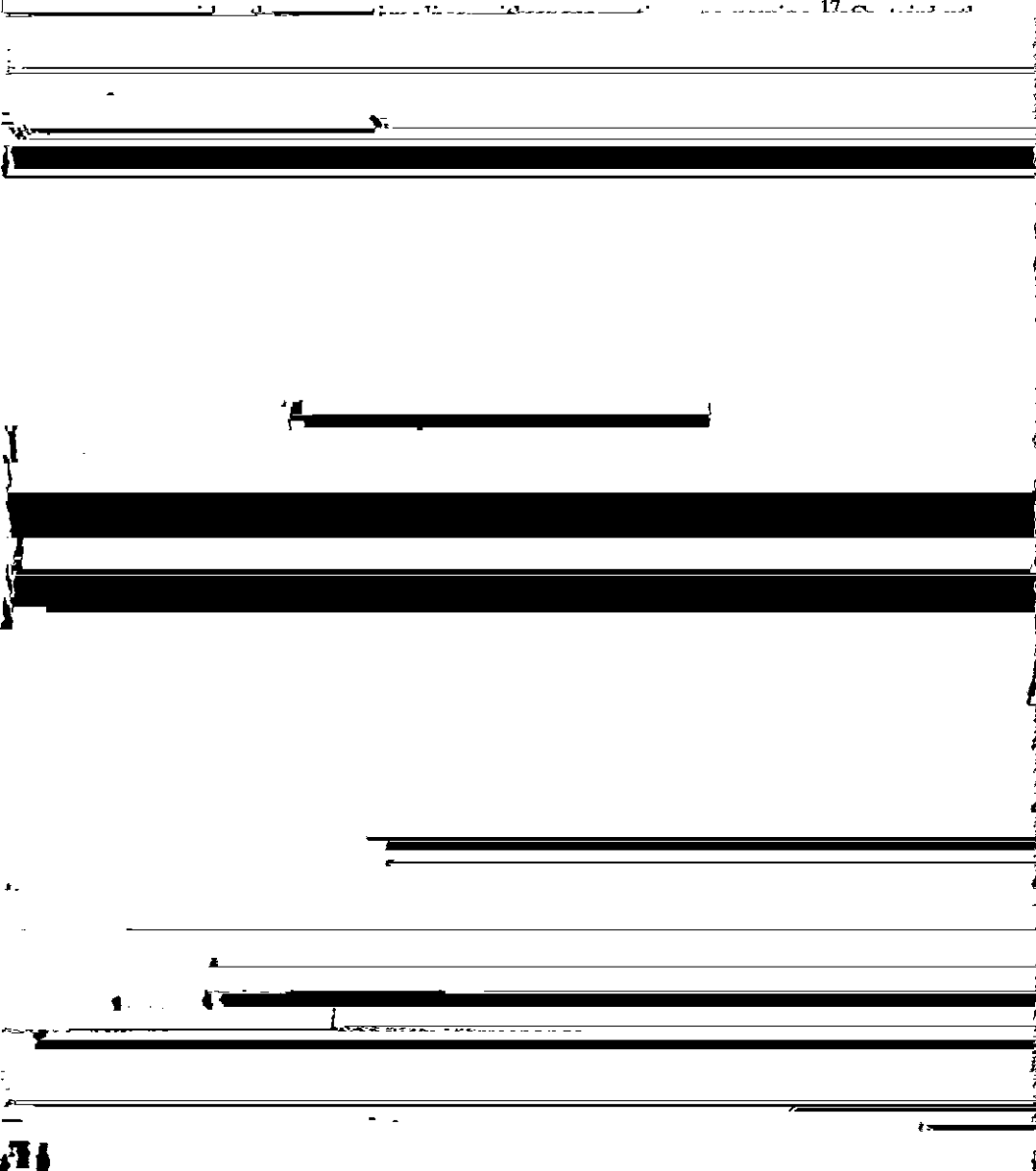
In the competition with two-nations nationalism, Trudeau nationalism won hands down. It was the dominant model of Canadian nationalism, at least among political elites and the chattering class, throughout the 1960s, 1970s, and 1980s. When it appeared to be challenged, even at the margins, by the proponents of the Meech Lake and Charlottetown Accords, Trudeau himself roared to its

* * *

These, then, are the five forms of nationalism that have dominated the Canadian scene since the end of World War II. As noted above, they do not exhaust the field, and there are undoubtedly other strands of nationalism that could be explicated if space permitted. For example, it would be tempting to develop the "community of communities" model so tentatively proposed by former Prime Minister Joe Clark, and to build into that model the provincial pride of premiers such W.A.C. Bennett, Peter Lougheed, and Brian Peckford.

amplified cultural themes that have always been present to a degree across

This rejection suggests in turn a reasonable fit between the new nationalism and the platform of the Reform Party of Canada, and it is indeed Reform which



that Quebec will leave, the new nationalism makes no more sense and has no

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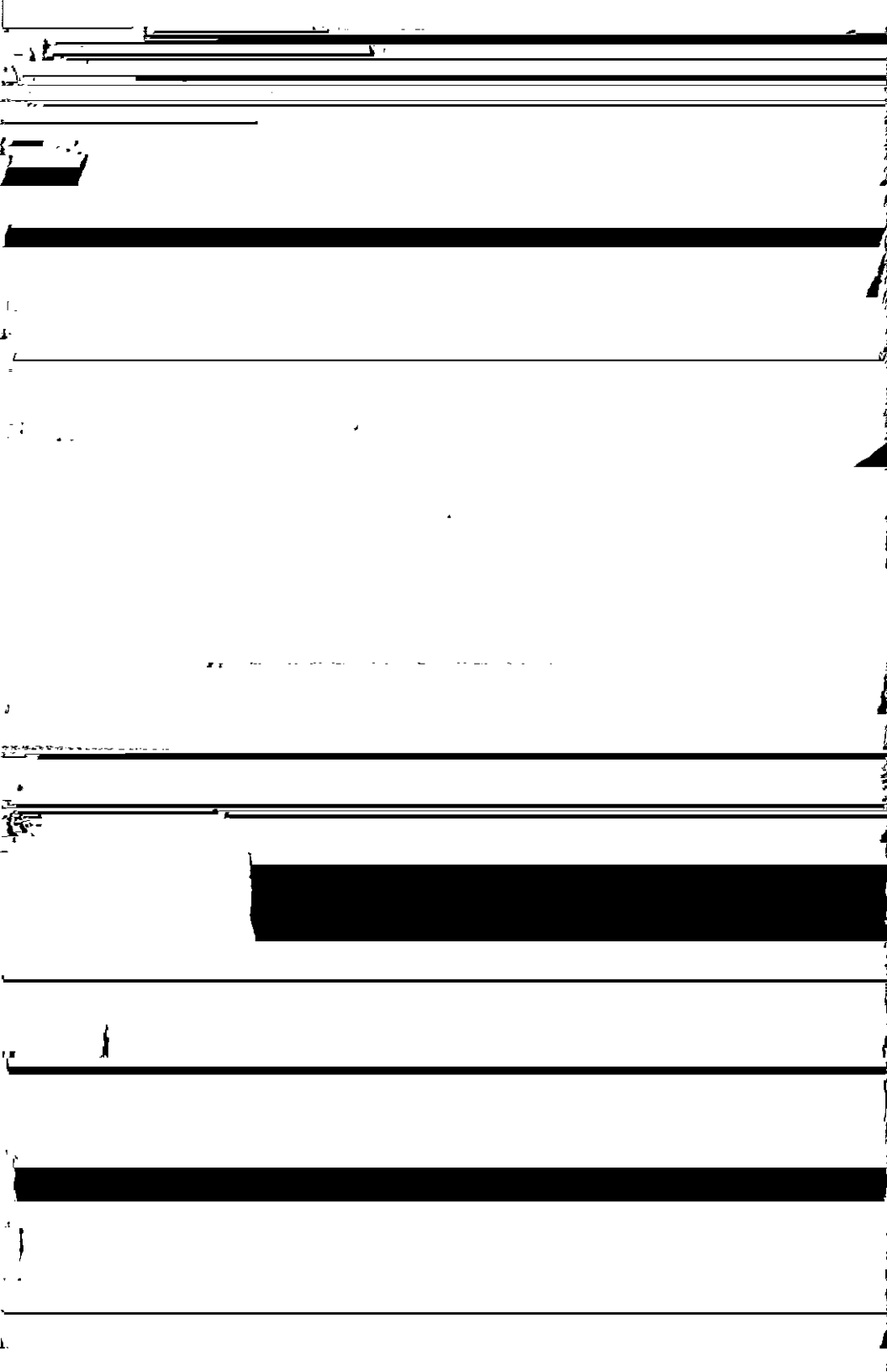
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5. If nationalists are correct in their fear that free trade will lead to the convergence of Canadian social, economic, and environmental standards with those to the

27. Michael B. Stein, *Canadian Constitutional Renewal, 1968-1981: A Case Study in Integrative Bargaining*, 1989. (\$12)

26. Ronald L. Watts, *Executive Federalism: A Comparative Analysis*, 1989. (\$6)

13. Ian B. Cowie, *Future Issues of Jurisdiction and Coordination Between Aboriginal and Non-Aboriginal Governments*, 1987. (\$7)
12. C.E.S. Franks, *Public Administration Questions Relating to Aboriginal Self-Government*, 1987. (\$10)
11. Richard H. Bartlett, *Subjugation, Self-Management and Self-Government of*