The Quebec File

Nationalism and Role in Canadian Foreign Policy with Special Regard to the Francophony

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1. Abstract

In this present study, I am analyzing the national and international relevance of the 'Québec question’, the role of the only francophone province of the Canadian federal state and in North America as well, demonstrating the inner driving forces of this relatively young nation. Particular attention will be given to the ties that the francophone cultural island cultivates with the francophone community worldwide, and to the question whether these linkages contribute in a considerable way to the promotion of Canada’s international relations with the francophone world at the federal level.

The outcomes and underlying thesis of my research indicate that the dynamic and rapidly-born Québec nationalism was slowly marginalized in public debates over the past decades and grew relatively irrelevant for many Quebeckers; the issue of Québec separation from the rest of Canada partly gave its place to issues concerning the everyday life of Québec society on a daily basis. Nevertheless, the referenda held in 1980 and 1995 indicated large Québec support on the question justifying that Québec sovereignty is still a viable issue in the province, especially considering its size and identity-based, open economy which make Québec less dependant on Canadian domestic market.

Therefore, the significance of the Québec identity is not to be ignored and the ambiguous nationalism of Québec needs to be subject to further research, as well as Québec’s continuously extending international actions and relations must be addressed on a multi-level basis.

Thereby, I found that Québec assumes a role of paramount significance in Canada’s international presence and relations with respect to French-speaking countries, on the one hand, through its membership in the International Organization of la Francophonie and through its numerous Quebec-based non-governmental organizations focusing on the international development assistance vis-à-vis French-speaking developing countries around the globe.
2.1. Introduction

In the XXIst century, due to the transcendence of national borders resulted by globalization, the number of subnational entities willing to define themselves other than at the national (federal) level, is fastly growing, and their dimensions are rapidly expanding due to globalization, including their strategies and opportunities of global governance and multilateral diplomacy. In this new world order, also characterized by the rise of emerging economies, Québec wishes to articulate its desire to pursue mutually beneficial collaborative bilateral and multilateral initiatives on the world stage.

Today, ethnocultural nationalist movements are present in several Western European liberal democracies, including Belgium (Flanders), Spain (Catalonia), and Scotland (Great-Britain), for instance, seeking greater autonomy and explicit recognition at the national and international level, while in North America, Québec’s ambiguous striving for nationhood/statehood is a particular issue.

Due to its considerable size, population (Canada’s second most populous province), and influence in the world, the driving forces and the role Québec is willing to assume on the world stage, including its foreign policy behaviour, all need to be addressed in a profound way.

As for the brief introduction of the historical context of the subject, the Québec nationalist movement was born in the course of the 1950s and 1960s (since then, there have been two popular votes on secession, in 1980 and 1995). The historical movement suggested that the people of ‘La Belle Province’, or as they simply refer to themselves today, the 'Quebeckers', due to their unique francophone cultural heritage, economic power, influence, and great size, the only French-speaking Canadian province should be entitled to gain explicit national as well as international recognition of nationhood, therefore a special status within the federal state of Canada. Or, as a second alternative,
Québec should have the option to choose to gain statehood and divorce from the rest of Canada.

Yet, since the 1960s the Québécois society, earlier referred to as the last Mohicans of the francophony in North America, grew into a modern welfare state with a mainly pluralist,¹ multicultural society which is a knowledge-based society with an advanced economy fully integrated within the North American market. This shift has entirely transformed the significance of the ‘Québec Question’ in public debates.

Following the dynamic and rapid birth of the Québécois nation, after only two decades later, the Québec question began to be slowly marginalized in the political sphere, became subject to political hesitations, and eventually to failure. As a result, the Québec question grew more or less irrelevant for many Québécois; the issue of Québec separation from the rest of Canada partly gave its place to issues concerning the everyday life of Québec society on a daily basis (education, health care, etc).

Nonetheless, the popular votes held in 1980 and 1995 suggested considerable Québécois support on the sovereignty question justifying that Québec independance is still a viable issue in the province, especially considering its size, identity-based and open economy making Québec less dependant on Canadian domestic market.

This being the case, Quebeckers do not associate drawbacks and high risks with Québec independence anymore, definitely not the way they did at the time of the referenda when they feared that an independent Québec would not be viable on its own. This recognition may result in various implications for the future progress of the Québec question.

One of the significant implications may be that sovereignist political groups, such as Bloc Québécois, are still present today in the political arena of the French-speaking Canadian province and represent considerable support of a certain segment of the Québec society suggesting that the question of Québec sovereignty may still be a factor of political division within the society. This fact justifies that the ambiguous nationalism

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¹ pluralist society: a society where individuals are tied to cultural reference groups which compete among themselves
of Québec needs to be subject to further research, as well as Québec’s continuously extending international actions and relations.

As regards prior research on the matter, it needs to be clarified that the international relations and international significance of Québec have been relatively little studied until recently.

As a result, the limited and often historical bibliography focusing on these aspects must be pointed out. Therefore, the elaboration of this study required careful research and profound analysis on the matter. Furthermore, there is still a lack of research on Québec foreign policy vis-a-vis the French-speaking countries around the globe, including the French-speaking developing countries as well. Consequently, this study seeks to contribute to the limited body of literature in this field by putting the 'Québec question' into an international perspective.

As I had the chance to study at HEC Montreal due to the transatlantic bilateral relations of Corvinus University of Budapest, I gained a close insight into the everyday life, values, and beliefs of Québec culture. In the course of my exchange studies and also following the exchange programme, I carried out research on the matter at the Great Library of Montreal (Government Documentation Section), as well as at McGill University (due to the bilateral relations between HEC Montreal and McGill University) in English and French. Also, the Canadian Embassy of Budapest provided me access to relevant sources which further contributed to the essence of this writing.

Hence, the conclusions of this present paper are the results of a multi-level research on archive materials, as well as present-day publications (and related comments) carried out by classical and present-day Quebecker political thinkers and personal experiences (including discussions and interviews with students studying political science), as well as the lessons learned from the active participation of the course ‘Intercultural Management’ at HEC Montreal where several identity questions were raised and widely discussed in class.
2.2. Research methodology

This present writing offers an analytical study of qualitative nature. Firstly, this study examines the history, nature, and development of Québec nationalism. Secondly, it addresses the role Québec assumes on the world stage as an independent foreign policy decision-maker, as well as as an integrated actor of the federal foreign policy.

This latter aspect leads us to the analysis of the extension of Québec’s national identity to the international level, addressing the different strategies that the Government of Québec wishes to pursue in order to promote Québec identity abroad.

Notwithstanding, this study may be deemed exploratory/descriptive and explanatory. It may be considered exploratory/descriptive, since it examines the emergence, main characteristics, and forces behind this particular form of nationalism, while it is of explanatory nature as well, as it clarifies the international significance of this particular actor, its challenges, and perspectives in the international community, also in the aspects of international law.

This paper seeks to answer the question whether the province of Québec plays a significant role in the federal decision-making process conducting international relations with third countries and international organizations.

Furthermore, the different strategies it applies in order to contribute to bilateral and multilateral relations with the francophone world are also to be embraced in the essence of this writing, since according to my assumptions, they produce direct outcomes in the success and room for manoeuvre of the federal Canadian foreign policy as a whole vis-à-vis the French-speaking nations.

In order to do so, the international relations of Quebec will be demonstrated and analyzed through a theoretical model whose central concept is that Québec needs a foreign policy which is based on identity-based paradiplomacy, as discussed later in this writing.

As mentioned beforehand, this writing will hopefully contribute to the body of literature focusing on the international significance of Québec in Canadian foreign policy with respect to the francophone world. Moreover, this writing will contribute to the general
knowledge of Québec, the 'Québec question' in an international context, and the francophone ties Québec cultivates around the world through its the successful paradiplomacy.
3.1. Historical overview of Québec nationalism

The discovery of Québec is attributed to Jacques Cartier who first took possession of the territory of the St Lawrence River, claimed it to the king of France, and put a cross on the Gaspé peninsula on July 24, 1534, named it Mont-Royal (present day Montreal).

From this time on, French-speaking immigrants arrived to this particular territory in large numbers and a sizeable francophone community emerged over time. However, following France’s loss of its colonial territories in North America (1759), French-speaking Canadians were marginalized and forced to assume subordinate, junior jobs, while the ruling elite remained the English-speakers dominating entirely the economic sphere. After being a confederation of states, Canada became a federal state only in 1867, also due to francophone claims. Following the Second World War, the French-speaking Canadians forming the majority of the province controlled only a marginal part of the Québec economy.

Yet, following the war, the government of Québec was indeed invited to play a crucial role in stabilizing and regulating the Québec economy. Despite the growing Québec efforts to play an integral part in economic decision-making in the province, the anglophone elite of Québec agreed to favour foreign, especially American investors who largely exploited the provincial natural resources. In 1969, a report confirmed that of the Anglophone and foreign companies controlled 62,5 % - 93, 5% of the key sectors of the Québec economy at the time (Resnick 1989: 321-330).

Thus, the historical roots of Québec nationalism may be attributed to the emergence of a new, ambitious francophone elite united by shared national sentiments striving for cultural rights (use of French language, for instance) and the development of a truly particular francophone culture. However, as Louis Balthazar precises, the meaning of 'nationalism' must be slightly differentiated from the one used in Europe, referring to the movement itself which seeks to unite the people of Québec as one nation (Balthazar 1992: 4).
3.1.1. Historical breakthrough: The Quiet Revolution

Québec underwent a profound political, economic, and socio-cultural transformation over the course of only one decade (1960-1970) which entirely altered and shifted the place of Québec in the Canadian federal state, being referred to as the *Quiet Revolution*.

This long-term process was initiated by several protests in the province indicating the emergence of Québec national awakening. The Quiet Revolution brought a real milestone in contemporary Québec history, as it marked the true outset of the modernization process within the province in several respects, as well as the urge for explicit recognition of a rapidly-born nation.

On the one hand, the inner political forces of the French-speaking Canadian society generated an absolute redefinition of the province of Québec resulting in the assumption of the interventionist role of the state-province, as well as in the efforts to implement the liberation of Québec economy. Hence, the revolution layed foundation for the emergence and expansion of the national Québec identity.

On the other hand, during this decade, every sector was entirely reorganized through various innovative and sustainable initiatives in the fields of social services, health care system, education, as well as the formulation of an independent Québec foreign policy began to be articulated and shaped, evidently in a way and in fields of competence as precised in the Canadian constitution, respectively.

Furthermore, the Quiet Revolution also generated the process of secularism; the separation of the state-province from the Catholic Church as a split between the public and private sphere.

The nationalist awakening of the Québec nation was further promoted by the nationalization and rapid expansion of the strategic sectors of the economy, including the first great historical Québec companies, such as *Hydro-Quebec* and *Bombardier* (established in the early 1940s) in order to ensure enhanced control over the Québec economy and promote industrial development and business environment within the province.
3.1.2. Aftermath and repercussions of the Quiet Revolution

The Quiet Revolution rendered the resolution of the Québec question as the primary goal of Canadian prime minister Lester Pearson from 1963 on, since separatist forces grew stronger every day. This was amplified by the official visit of the French president De Gaulle in 1965 encouraging Quebecers to fight for their independance.²

In order to accomodate Quebecers to a certain extent, prime minister Pearson insisted to recognize bilingualism officially in Québec. Also, for the same reason, in 1967, on the occasion of the centennial year of the recognition of the status of Canada as a British dominium, the world exhibition took place in Montreal.

In 1968, Canadian prime minister Lester Pearson was followed by his minister for justice, Pierre Elliott Trudeau, another Quebecker politician, chef of Canadian Liberal Party whose election further deepened French-speaking Canadians’ national pride (Németh 2006: 137).

Trudeau strongly argued in the federal government for the introduction of bilingualism in Canada seeking to render the individual and cultural rights of the francophone minority of Canada acknowledged in an institutional and linguistic way as well. However, it must be pointed out that he was a great believer of a united, federal Canadian state, therefore, he opposed the attribution of unproportionally wide provincial rights, even in respect of Québec.

Meanwhile, the historical Quebecker pro-sovereigntist party, the ’Parti Quebecois’ was founded by René Lévesque in 1968, however, it did not come to power until 1976.

In October 1969, terrorist actions took place in Montreal; the Front for Liberation of Québec kidnapped prominent personalities and executed one member of the Québec provincial government (referred to as the ’October Crisis’).

² ’Vive le Québec libre!’ (’Long live Quebec!’)
In order to reduce tensions in the Québec province, the *Official Language Act* (also named as Bill 22) was introduced in 1974 which made the French language the sole official language of the province of Québec. Bill 22 was amended by *Charter of the French Language* passed in 1977 which affirmed the French language as the main working language, the language of education, and language of communication in the province of Québec giving birth to the growing linguistic and national consciousness of Quebeckers.

It must be pointed out that these language acts dramatically altered and narrowed the cultural and educational circumstances, as well as business opportunities of the anglophone inhabitants of Québec ever since which shift has been represented by a permanent, sharp decrease in the number of Quebec inhabitants of anglophone origin (whose mother tongue is English) from the early 1970s (as may be seen in Figure 1). Nevertheless, as Figure 1. shows, since the early 2000s the number of English-speakers living in Québec shows a growing tendency.

Figure 1.

*Portrait of Official-Language Minorities in Canada – Anglophones in Quebec*

*Chart 2.2.1*

Number of persons with English as mother tongue and as first official language spoken, Quebec 1951 to 2006

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Number of First Official Language Spoken</th>
<th>Number of Mother Tongue</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1951</td>
<td>1,000,000</td>
<td>1,000,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1961</td>
<td></td>
<td>1,000,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1971</td>
<td></td>
<td>1,000,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1981</td>
<td></td>
<td>1,000,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1991</td>
<td></td>
<td>1,000,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2001</td>
<td></td>
<td>1,000,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2006</td>
<td></td>
<td>1,000,000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Statistics Canada – Annex 1
This decade incontestibly marked the beginning of the modernization process of Québec economy, society, and culture. Following the emergence of the nation state, Québec intervened as a 'provider state’, thereby over these years this progress resulted in the establishment of the Québec welfare state which was based on social and political unity. Furthermore, the appearance and rapidly growing importance of the radio and television greatly contributed to the social dialogue on the Québec question as well.
3.1.3. From New Deal to Charlottetown

Following the Quiet Revolution, the Québec government aspired to extend provincial jurisdiction to more fields of competence in order to pursue its nation-building project. These aspirations generated constitutional talks on major questions, such as the distinct status of the Québec province within the Canadian federation.

In the 'post-revolution' period, the pro-sovereignist Parti Quebecois led by René Lévesque between 1976 and 1985 presented a white paper proposal for a provincial referendum in 1977 to the provincial parliament of Québec.

Following three years of political struggling, the proposal of the separatist party (Québec-Canada: A New Deal. The Québec Government Proposal for a New Partnership Between Equals: Sovereignty-Association) to obtain a mandate from Quebeckers to negotiate a new accord with the rest of Canada on the question of Québec sovereignty.

Eventually, 59.56% of the Québec electorate (50% of Quebeckers) chose to deny the mandate from Parti Quebecois to put into action its policy of the above-mentioned Sovereignty-Association.

According to many, the negative outcome of the referendum, thereby the failure of Parti Quebecois to gain public support for the separation of the province, may be attributed to the fear of Quebeckers that an independent Québec would jeopardize the flourishing Québec economy, thereby would be predestinated to fail.3

Following the referendum of 1980, there was a further attempt to bring Québec into the constitutional framework through a round of negotiations between Liberal federal prime Pierre Trudeau and the provinces began in 1981 in order to amend the constitution based on a compromise between the federal government and the provinces.

After the Trudeau administration, negotiations were carried on by Progressive Conservative federal prime minister Brian Mulrony and Québec prime minister Robert Mourassa, which resulted in the elaboration of the Constitutional Act a year later. The

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agreement, which was later referred to as the *Meech Lake Accord* was meant to mute the Québec separatist voices, thereby putting an end to the Québec question. The accord suggested five major amendments to the Canadian constitution.

The amendments included the explicit national recognition of Québec as a *distinct society*, attribution of constitutional veto for Québec and the other provinces (veto for constitutional changes), increased jurisdiction over immigration, provincial contribution to the appointment of senators and Supreme Court judges to make the constitutional system more representative of all provinces (Senate reform), as well as financial compensation when Québec opted out of national programs set by the federal government in areas of provincial jurisdiction (Limitation of federal spending power) (Parkinson: 2006).

Furthermore, the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms was added to the constitution which enumerated human rights and freedoms in an examplary and inspiring way.

As explained above, the constitutional reforms sought to convince Quebeckers to support the conception of Québec as an integral part of Canada. However, the ratification of the amendment was refused at the provincial level. Québec prime René Lévesque and the Québec National Assembly argued that the constitutional amendments did not reflect on any of Québec’s real demands, as they did not consider the attribution of the status as a distinct society sufficiently beneficial to ratify the constitutional amendments either, since it did not suggest the constitutional recognition of a Québec nation.4

Furthermore, Quebeckers argued that even though the essence of these constitutional reforms was meant to address the asymmetric treatment for Québec through the distinct-society clause, it was yet undertaken by a very much symmetric, unanimous ratification process (Courchene 2004: 5).

Nevertheless, despite of its failure, the 1987-1990 *Meech Lake Accord* and its ratification process generated long constitutional talks reflecting on the place and

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4 The explicit recognition of a distinct Québec nation never occurred in Canada.
national explicit recognition of Québec in Canada and in the Canadian constitution, therefore, it may be considered as a positive constitutional initiative.

In the 1990s, a second attempt to formalize Québec’s place in Canada and gain Québec’s acceptance of the Canadian constitution was initiated by the federal government, the provinces (not including Québec), the territories, and Canada’s aboriginal leaders.

They negotiated a new series of proposals of constitutional reforms. Later on, Québec joined the negotiation rounds in Ottawa. As a result, the leaders (including Québec premiers) unanimously agreed on a new set of constitutional amendments (*Charlottetown Accord*).

The key proposals included four major points: the ‘‘Canada clause’, division of powers, aboriginal self-government, and parliamentary reform.

The *Canada clause* identified the basic Canadian values, such as the nature of the Canadian political society embracing the principles of the rule of law, parliamentarism, federalism, gender equality, rights of aboriginal peoples, cultural and racial diversity, individual and collective rights, and the equality and diversity of the provinces.

The second element, division of powers, brought a shift in the division of powers between the federal and provincial governments extending exclusive provincial jurisdiction over cultural affairs, forestry, mining, tourism, recreation, housing, municipal and urban affairs. Under the agreement, the *aboriginal peoples’ right to self-government* would have been also embraced in the constitution.

The accord also suggested a series of institutional reforms concerning the federal parliament, both to the Senate and the House of Commons. In the Senate, each province would have had six representatives; senators would have been selected through direct elections instead of being appointed by the federal government, however, Québec senators would have been elected by the provincial parliament.
A national referendum was held on the accord which was refused by a vote of 55 percent to 45 percent (the majority of voters in seven of the ten provinces, including Québec, voted against it).\footnote{The Charlottetown Accord, The Canadian Encyclopedia: http://thecanadianencyclopedia.com/articles/the-charlottetown-accord}

This may be explained by the provincial refusal of the radical federal efforts to decentralize power to the provincial level, thereby hoping to accommodate the provincial (therefore Québec) autonomy claims, again, while still preserving the unitary perception of Canadian uninational nationhood, common citizenship suggesting a symmetrical federalist system. This is due to the fact that English-speaking Canadians have also developed their own sense of forming a pan-Canadian political community whose embodiment would be a strong federal government which could also defend their Pan-Canadian national identity (McRoberts 1995: 5).
3.1.4. Further alienation of Québec: the era of referenda on separatism

Hence, the failure of all these constitutional reform attempts left uncertainty about the future of not only the province of Québec but also English Canada. Thereby, it led to the further alienation of the francophone Canadian province resulting in the formation of the Québec Block (Bloc Québécois) as the federal extension of the Quebec Party in 1990, as well as it contributed to the separatist Parti Québécois getting back into power in the 1993 federal election.

At the time of the elections, the separatist 'Bloc Québécois' won 54 of Québec’s 75 seats in the House of Commons within the federal parliament. In 1994, the same separatist political party formed the provincial government and Québec prime Jacques Parizeau declared another referendum on separation by 1995, consulting Quebeckers, whether they agree that Québec should become a sovereign country, after having made formal offer to Canada for a new economic and political partnership.6

Again, this referendum was refused by a very slim margin of 49.4 % of the votes. This time, it was also argued by many that the question was posed in a confusing way, considering the slim margin, it is possible that the advocates of Québec independance were confused by the complexity of the question.7

Three years later, in the fear of another similar potential referendum on the same question, the Supreme Court of Canada decided to regulate the issue in a way that Québec cannot become a sovereign state without preliminary negotiations with the federal government and the other Canadian provinces.

6 More precisely, the question embraced in the referendum was posed as follows: “Do you agree that Quebec should become sovereign, after having made a formal offer to Canada for a new economic and political partnership, within the scope of the bill respecting the future of Quebec and of the agreement signed on June 12, 1995? Yes/No.”

7 Québec Referendum (1995): The Canadian Encyclopedia
Also, in response to the referendum, federal prime minister Jean Chrétien put a great pressure on the federal legislation in order to prevent further referenda regarding the Québec question.

As a result, in 2000, the *Clarity Act* was passed establishing the conditions under which provinces may recognize the independance of Québec and the conditions according to which the federal government would enter into negotiations in case the secession of Québec was addressed again. According to the Act, the Government of Canada would do so, only in case the independance of the province was supported by a ‘clear’ majority (50% plus one vote) through a referendum.\(^8\)

Nonetheless, as will be pointed out in the next subchapter of this paper, in the post-referendum period, the failure of referenda on Québec sovereignty decreased the dynamics of political nationalism which was moderately replaced by an emerging economic nationalism within the Québec society demonstrating that for many Quebeckers, the independance of Québec is not the constitutive component of their Québec identity.

Interestingly, as shown below, in 2004, the ratio between those who would vote for the sovereignty of Québec and those who would choose to live within the Canadian federal state presented no difference, suggesting that this year the Québec perception of the society was solid, united, and the least extreme, both camp representing exactly 50-50%, respectively (as seen: figure 2).

I attribute this particular phenomena to the social concensus resulted from Québec Premier Charest’s initiative for a *Council of the Federation*’ meeting (also referred to as 'Summit of the Canadas’) held this year, embracing pan-Canadian provincialism as the recent all-province agreement which accomodated Quebeckers to such extent.

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\(^8\) Canadian Clarity Act, Canadian Law Site: http://www.canadianlawsite.ca/clarity-act.htm
Figure 2.

The ups and downs of separatism

“[If a referendum was held today on the sovereignty of Quebec and an offer of economic and political partnership with the rest of Canada, would you vote for or against the sovereignty of Quebec?], %

Source: Léger Marketing

Annex 2
3.2. Perspectives for co-existence in a multinational Canadian reality

The perception and dimensions of the Québec issue as the fight of Quebeckers for the recognition of their national peculiarity, has transformed entirely over the past decades. This transformation was enhanced by the growing exterior influence in the province as well, especially following the Second World War (Balthazar 1991: 38).

In any case, it must be emphasized that Quebecers had two opportunities, in 1980 and 1995, to choose to separate from Canada by means of democratic votes and even by marginal defeats, the francophones did refuse the idea of a sovereign Quebec state.\(^9\)

Apparently, their historical political will lacked collective determination to act as a political community. Today only two out of five Quebeckers would support the secession of Quebec; there is a large group of French-speaking federalists who consider separatism irrelevant, especially today when Quebec’s population is greatly affected by (also English-speaking) newly arrived immigrants. A large majority of Quebeckers also think that Québec should focus on more important issues than separatism (health care, education, language policy, immigration, environment).

As a result, even former leaders of the historical separatist party, Parti Quebecois, consider Québec sovereignty unattainable, due to the above-mentioned growing federalist thinking which is the Québec reality today.

Moreover, in light of recent political events in Québec in 2011, surprisingly, a federal political party, the New Democratic Party, gained more Québec support in the province than the sovereignist Bloc Québécois which must be seen as a milestone in contemporary Québec history, justifying the decreasing support of Québec sovereignty in the province. However, the strong presence of national feelings and that of the Bloc Québécois must not be ignored accordingly.

Therefore, at this point, it needs to be highlighted that although these Canadian French-speakers have federalist thinking, they do share a very strong sense of Québec nationhood.

\(^9\) Contemporary surveys prove that approximately 70% of Quebeckers do not want another referendum on Québec separation.
In the very first place Quebeckers do consider themselves Quebeckers and see Québec as *a semi-autonomous region, a country within a country*. Nevertheless, the majority of them deem the sovereignty question irrelevant in this global era, as precised beforehand, since Quebeckers have realized that they can successfully compete in the global arena without the benefit of forming an independent Québec state.

Thus, I consider the secession of Québec unlikely. Yet, the strong nationalist forces which were generated a few decades ago are still present today (Bloc Québécois) and the people of this province do share a very strong Québec identity (with a romantic vision of the ’state of Québec’) which together with the growing international importance of this particular francophone province may alter the Québec political sphere.

On the other hand, the federal government tends to, more or less, openly disfavour Québec to other provinces by reducing transfer payments and increasing taxes.

This negative attitude of the recent federal governments, namely ignorance, political denial, lack of political will to promote federalist sense of belonging in Québec, and the unwillingness of English-speaking Canadians and the federal government to recognize that Quebeckers do form a nation are not only counterproductive in the era of cultural diversity but are further alienating and de-canadizing Québec which may be politically dangerous due to the federal political vacuum and may generate an irreversible process of enstrangement of Québec, potentially resulting in the scenario of the divorce of Québec from the rest of Canada.

In other words, in order to stop the further sociological, political, and cultural fragmentation between Québec as an autonomous nation and English Canada, instead of political denial of the federal government, the only option and alternative which could unify Canada as a relatively strong federalism would be the better representation of English and federal Canada in Québec, the recognition of the Québec nation, as well as the acknowledgement of the multination conception of Canadian federalism (Kymlicka 1998: 1-5).

As mentioned in the introduction of this paper, Western-European democracies with considerable national minorities (Flemish in Belgium, Catalans and Basques in Spain, Scottish in the United Kingdom) shared more or less the same problems until recently.
Yet, in most of these countries, the majority population was opposed to any kind of explicit constitutional recognition of the minority’s claims. Nonetheless, after a while, they accepted the reality of a multinational state, and negotiated constitutional talks on the accommodation of their minority claims.

On the other hand, in order to promote a multinational Canadian state, English-speaking Canadians’ interests must also be accommodated within the province of Québec, considering those issues, such as language policy, which create a clear conflict of interests between the two political-linguistic entities (Kymlicka 1998: 2-5). If so, the two political entities could find consensus on the framework of the asymmetrical multinational federation in Canada accommodating both parties. Yet, there is still a long way to go.
4.1. Quebec as an international actor within the federal framework

Historically speaking, Canadian provinces have always conducted foreign relations with third countries, as well as they appointed delegates general to the United Kingdom and France for several years. Québec commenced to conduct international relations with other nations as early as in the sixteenth century. For over one hundred years, Québec has played a crucial role as the only North American francophone society.

In the 1880s, Québec delegated its first representatives to France, however, her international activation was enhanced considerably only in the 1960s as the Québec nation-state emerged over the years of the Quiet Revolution. Since then, Québec has made international commitments in areas within its constitutional jurisdiction, as to be explained later in this subchapter, including the areas of culture, education, economic development, social issues, environment, science, and technology.

However, in the 1960s, this international awakening was essentially limited to bilateral relations with Western-European countries (Balthazar 1993: 161-164). Yet, the first steps of Québec on the contemporary international scene occurred smoothly and rapidly.

The outset of Québec foreign policy could be conceptualized by the historical discourse of Québec vice-premier and minister of education, Paul Gérin-Lajoie in front of the consular corps of Montreal, later referred to as the ‘Gérin-Lajoie Doctrine’ on April 12, 1965. In his speech, he articulated the political will of Québec to assume international actions (within its constitutional competences) in front of a distinguished foreign personalities. This meant the commitment to the international extension of Québec’s competence fields, as well as the emergence of a Québec law of international relations. Thereby, it became the constituting principle of Québec’s foreign policy and its considerations even today (Paquin 2006: 49).
As a result, Québec sent delegates généraux (‘délégations générales’) to Paris (1961), to London (1962), and to Brussels (1967), as well as she established the first commercial office in Milan in 1965, then in Düsseldorf in 1972 (Balthazar 1993: 164).

By 1984, Québec operated offices in ten counties including eight in the United States and three in other Canadian provinces, even though the federal government had almost a monopoly over the international representation of Canada in most matters for long decades. Ten years later, the Government of Québec led more than 120 foreign trade missions around the globe.

In the 2000s, bilateral relations with the emerging countries have been intensified. Historical official visits during this decade, including the largest Québec delegation to China in history (2005), as well as Québec’s first delegation to India in early 2006, both led by Québec premier Jean Charest; such international vitality reaffirms Québec’s prerogative to independently pursue international initiatives around the globe. Also, since 2006, based on a rather historical accord between Québec City and Ottawa, Québec is represented in Canada’s delegation to the UNESCO.

Due to the phenomena of globalization and internationalization, the distinction between domestic and foreign issues and policies blurred, thereby the international significance of Québec as a state actor and as a nation-state have been altered over the next decades redefining its political, economic, and cultural relations vis-à-vis the Canadian federal government, the other Canadian provinces (Canadian intergovernmental cooperation), and the rest of the world.

Also, the dynamics of North American integration, the decentralization process, and regional integration occurring in present-day Canada result in the ongoing transformation of Québec’s international role, as well as in the expansion of the areas of jurisdiction and fields of actions Québec may assume to respond to the arisen challenges

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As Jean Charest suggested in November 2004: ‘Whatever falls under Québec’s jurisdiction at home falls under its jurisdiction everywhere’.
of globalization,\textsuperscript{11} including the regional dimensions of issues such as security, energy and the environment as well.

In order to do, substate actors like Québec have developed over the last decades their own strategy to conduct international relations, being referred to as \textit{paradiplomacy} which will be further discussed later on.

However, international relations, defence, and security fall within federal jurisdiction in Canada, considering the fact that the federal government is the only actor which has sole power to engage Canada in international treaties and agreements, to represent Canadian interest in international forums, and to define foreign policy on the whole.

Canada is one of the most decentralized federations in the world. As a result, due to the federal framework of Canadian foreign policy, provincial governments dispose of relatively wide room for manoeuvre in the field of diplomacy and international relations. This is because while the federal government has the exclusive jurisdiction over the negotiation and ratification of international treaties, the implementation of provisions fall under provincial jurisdiction, since the Government of Alberta insisted on a constitutional clause according to which \textit{provinces have a formal role to participate in international activities in their jurisdictions} calling for a formalized written agreement on their involvement in international negotiations, agreements and forums.

Therefore, the federal government needs to consult the provinces during the negotiation phase of international agreements as well, in areas which affect them, in particular in trade and \textit{environmental issues}; these consultations take place within sectoral intergovernmental forums. Nevertheless, Québec has argued for more autonomy as an international actor in issues which are subject to provincial jurisdiction.

Québec argues that those international agreements that are concluded by the federal government, must be implemented in whole or partly by the provinces. This may be

\textsuperscript{11} The Government of Québec has exclusive jurisdiction over the following areas: natural resources management, health, education, culture, municipal institutions, private law, and immigration.

The Government of Québec assumes joint responsibility with the federal government in the following areas: agriculture and transportation.
very misleading for international partners, by making it possible for Ottawa to act as if it represents all of Canada since the federal government is not legally bound to implement these agreements. Evidently, in case the federal government enters into an engagement to sign agreements it is unable to implement, it undermines Canada’s, including Québec’s credibility with international partners. This is why, the Government of Québec seeks to claim its full constitutional rights on the international scene, as a logical extension of its international commitments and contributions within the Canadian federation, where it has a very unique place, while respecting and aligning with Ottawa’s foreign policy.¹²

As a result, at Québec’s initiative, in 2004 the Council of the Federation was created only to enable Canadian provinces to meet amongst themselves without the presence of the federal government. Following the meeting, separatist tensions within Québec considerably calmed down.

From an institutional point of view, most provincial governments have a ministry of international relations led by their minister of foreign affairs. However, the Canadian constitution limits their scope in foreign policy to cultural and commercial matters exclusively.

As for the federal level, Canada’s international relations are conducted by the Ottawa-based Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade and the Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA). Yet, the enhancement of Québec’s diplomatic initiatives are pursued through bilateral governmental visits and by the deployment of Québec representatives abroad.

Nowadays, the Government of Québec operates a foreign ministry, nearly thirty delegations, 28 govermental offices in 18 countries and two international organizations, staffed from several ministries and agencies of the Government of Québec, as well as it is represented in international organizations through its delegates in order to assure Québec’s international representation and promotion of its economic ties in emerging markets with strategic partners assuring the flow of foreign direct investment to the

¹² Québec’s International Initiatives, The Government of Québec (1-8):
province of Québec. Moreover, nearly 300 bilateral agreements are now in effect with almost a hundred of countries. The Government of Québec signs various types of documents explicitly communicating and formalizing its commitments towards international partners, in order to represent and promote its political, economic, social, and cultural priorities, largely including the business sphere.

Based on the nature of the international commitment, the Government of Québec distinguishes four types of international documents. Firstly, international agreements are signed between the Government of Québec (or one of its agencies) and a foreign government or an international organization. Secondly, the joint statements, joint press releases and reports of discussions are considered as non-binding agreements. Thirdly, multilateral conventions involve several contracting parties, initiated by an international organization. Fourthly, Canadian accords are concluded by the federal government with the participation of the Government of Québec, in case an area of the constitutional jurisdiction of Québec arises.\(^\text{13}\)

Despite the fact that it was the Government of Ontario to raise the question of the international capacity of provinces first a long time ago (Patry 2006: 131), the Canadian Constitution still does not address international matters. Nevertheless, Canadian Common Law dating back to the 19th century have already suggested that within Canada a federated state should not subordinate to the federal state and that the authority to enact international treaties falls within the jurisdiction of either the federal government or the provinces, as embraced and precised by the Canadian constitution.

\(^\text{13}\) According to the website of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Government of Québec: http://www.mri.gouv.qc.ca
4.2. Québec’s international strategy, scope, and opportunities of its identity-based paradiplomacy

Québec’s foreign policy behaviour as a sovereign actor is very active, particularly in the fields of economic and commercial policy, foreign investment and export promotion, human rights, environmental, educational, and energy issues, as well as in international development aid, as mentioned beforehand.

Québec conducts foreign relations in these fields as a distinctive actor, therefore, its initiatives must be clearly differentiated from those of the federal government, however, the two parties collaborate considerably on the consensual formation and articulation of Canadian foreign policy positions.

Accordingly, over the last decades, Québec has been trying to create a development-model based on the cooperation between the governmental, economic, and private spheres. These efforts need to be considered as modern attempts of nation-building (Lachapelle 2003: 9). The development-model of Québec is being set up as the base of the provincial paradiplomacy and as the framework of identity economy14. Rather interestingly, the promotion of both paradiplomacy and identity-economy are in the hands of ‘policy entrepreneurs’15.

At this point, it needs to be pointed out that as for Québec’s foreign policy and identity-economy efforts, the pattern of choice of partners in international cooperations in both respects often follows cultural and linguistic links (with the exception of the United States). Consequently, Québec’s international relations are primarily focused on French-speaking countries.

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14 Identity economy: sense of belonging to a national community among citizens
15 The expression of policy entrepreneurs embrace business people, intellectuals, artists, among others.
Québec, as several other substate entities has developed a so called *paradiplomacy*\(^\text{16}\) to represent her political identity in the world, as well as in the rest of the federal state.

This new phenomena of paradiplomacy first appeared in the Western liberal democracies as the vehicle of national interests and identity. As André Lecours argues there are *three layers of paradiplomacy* which need to be understood in order to be able to analyze the driving forces of Québec’s paradiplomatic efforts.

The first layer constitutes the *economic layer* seeking to enhance the international economic competitiveness of the region/ province (Québec) by attracting foreign investment and international companies, as well as targeting new export markets.

The second layer involves some form of cooperation in cultural, scientific, educational, and technological issues, including technical assistance, scientific cooperation, and cultural exchange programmes, for instance.

The third layer of paradiplomacy, in Lecours’ view, is the *political dimension*, according to which substate entities seek to be explicitly recognized as culturally distinctive political autonomous entities (Lecours 2003: 6-7).

Nonetheless, Québec’s paradiplomacy must be distinguished from that of other political entities; Québec conducts a unique type of diplomacy, being referred to as *identity-based paradiplomacy*, meaning the efforts of a substate government to develop a foreign policy which seeks to strengthen the minority nation in a multinational state.\(^\text{17}\)

The origins of the Québec’s identity-based paradiplomacy did not commence with the Quiet Revolution, however, Québec’s international efforts were rather modest at the time. (Before the 1960s, only the Catholic Church disposed of a wide international network).

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\(^{16}\) Paradiplomacy is a relatively new field of international relations, it refers to the capacity and actions of substate entities (regional governments) to develop and conduct international relations in the pursuit of their political identity and interests vis-à-vis other nations and international players.

\(^{17}\) *Identity-based paradiplomacy*, however, must be differentiated from the phenomena of *protodiplomacy*, considering the fact that the objective of identity-based paradiplomacy is not the accomplishment of independance.
However, the more efforts the federal government together with the rest of Ottawa made to marginalize and assimilate the Québécois sociocultural-political movement within the territorial state, the greater emphasize has been put on the identity-driven nature of Québec’s paradiplomacy.

Generally speaking, federal governments fear that paradiplomatic activities conducted by substate governments with other entities may undermine the international visage and coherence of the state. This concern is based on the belief of federal governments that the ability of negotiating with other countries derives from the competence of souverain states (Payette 2009: 15).

This contradiction resulted in the conflictuous paradiplomacy of Québec vis-à-vis the federal government, as it is subject to power struggle and fight for legitimacy between the two parties representing different interests. Substate entities do need to identify and communicate a national interest which may be conflictuous with the interests of the federal will, thus, successful paradiplomacy may also contribute to the explicit legitimatization of the autonomy of the substate entities, also in the inter-provincial relations.

In order to concretize the opportunities of the Government of Québec in foreign policy, the main foreign policy priorities and directions are to be explained in the following lines.

In 2006, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Québec identified the new international policy orientations of Québec vis-à-vis other nations (referred to as ’Working in Concert’) and international organizations, providing Québec with new strategies to adapt to an ever-changing global context characterized by the dynamism of emerging (substate) economies, yet by developing on the basis of its own values and own choices.
In order to do so, five major goals may be identified, including the *strengthening Québec’s capacity for action and influence, fostering Québec’s growth and prosperity, contributing to the security of Québec and the North American continent, promoting the identity and culture of Québec, and contributing to the cause of international solidarity.*

The measures of the new international policy were articulated in the 2009–2014 Action Plan revealed in 2009 were the continuation of the previous action plan on Quebec’s international policy. Interestingly, the new Québec international policy of the Government of Québec seeks to increase Québec’s participation in the federal foreign policy-making as well, bringing Québec position closer to the Canadian position to render it more representative of Québec’s interests and further contribute to Canada’s influence in the world.

The five major goals demonstrated in the governmental document on Québec’s international policy have been directly translated into five focal points in the Action Plan which was elaborated on the basis of Québec’s international policy orientations, also by the Government of Québec, as to be explained below.

As the Action plan suggests, the first focal point of Québec’s international policy is the Government’s *support for Québec’s prosperity* in international research and innovation partnership projects between Québec and the European Union, thereby attracting foreign (European) direct investment as well as qualified foreign (European) workers which will enable Québec better to address the various challenges of today.

The second focal point concentrates on *Québec’s strategy with respect to the United States* which is Québec’s main economic partner, over the previous decades, the two economies have been integrated to a great an extent, including various components apart from economic aspects, such as cultural, environmental, energy, and security matters.

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Thirdly, *education, knowledge, and youth* are addressed in the Action Plan, since Québec wishes to further enhance joint efforts of its educational institutions to foster international student mobility, so that, on the one hand, Québec students could gain educational and professional development (internship) opportunities abroad, thereby benefiting from intercultural learning experiences.

On the other hand, Québec wishes to attract foreign students to engage in learning programmes in Québec. Therefore, the Government of Québec seeks to provide foreign students who earn a degree from a Québec institution with a certificate with the option of immigrating to Québec.

Focal point 4 concerns the *impact of Québec and its culture abroad*, considering that the effective promotion and position of Québec’s identity, values, and culture may broaden its scope of influence in various fields (culture, business, tourism, etc). Thus, Québec’s international presence must be further increased.

Finally, the Action Plan addresses the Government of Québec’s *capacity for action and influence, as well as its expertise in international solidarity*. Thereby, Québec actively participates in various forms of the transfer of good practice and expertise in the developing countries, in areas of the strengthening of civil society, human resources training, governance capacity building, protecting and promoting the diversity of cultural expressions, and addressing climate change.¹⁹

4.3. Québec’s International Development Program

As explained above in the previous chapter, the society of Québec is increasingly sensitive to the on-going process of impoverishment of third world countries. Therefore, solidarity is one of the major constitutive values of the society of Québec and the fifth focal point of Québec’s Action Plan on Québec’s international policy.

Québec solidarity is addressed and implemented by Québec’s *International Development Program* (QIDP). It was launched by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Government of Québec, aligned with the Millenium Development Goals adopted by the United Nations in 2000. It is based on the specific perception of aid effectiveness. It suggests a tight collaboration between the Québec and the local partner, by means of transfer of know-how of sustainable development, good governance, and other best practices, empowering the local partner and respecting its autonomy.

On the other hand, the various dimensions of capacity-building are addressed by the program, including implementing good governance through institutional capacity-building projects (technical assistance to ministries, for instance), as well as developing competencies, such as trainings in Human Resources development.

The Government of Québec wishes to contribute to the promotion of sustainable development, democracy, good governance, and human rights through empowering the people of the developing country, involving them as much as possible. Nevertheless, in order to be able to empower locals to participate in different levels of decision-making in their countries, strong civil societies are needed as a precondition to putting forward a beneficial dialogue.

On the one hand, the Government of Québec wishes to do so through building flourishing partnerships with local, Quebecker, and international stakeholders, thereby financing development projects, international solidarity internships and volunteer programmes, as well as forums to raise the Quebeckers’ awareness to the crucial importance of the different aspects of international development assistance.
On the other hand, through its membership of IOF (International Organization of la Francophonie), is involved in numerous joint initiatives with other members of the IOF on projects focusing on areas, including sustainable development, governance, education, culture, as well as, on the promotion of usage of the French language.

In order to demonstrate the volume of international development assistance of Québec with respect to French-speaking developing countries which belong to the IOF; the sum of aid spent on different development projects in these countries amount for nearly $10 million on an annual basis.²⁰

As for the different form of solidarity programme initiatives of the Québec Government, the Québec Without Borders (QWB) programme must be addressed apart from the QIDP.

The QWB programme finance fieldwork projects involving young Quebeckers between the age 18 and 35 years of age working in a chosen francophone African or Central American (including the Antilles) country, or as a second option, they may be involved in voluntary programs within Québec-based international development organizations. This Québec-initiate seeks to not only raise community-spirit and volunteerism but equally aspires to raise Quebeckers’ awareness with respect to the less developed part of the francophone world.

In order to raise Quebeckers’ attention and solidarity with poor nation and deepen their understanding of the development issues, special public awareness programmes are launched regularly at the level of public education. Thereby, the different aspects of sustainable development in the developing world are equally addressed as the strengthening of mutual respect within the Québec society.

²⁰Québec and Solidarity:  
4.4. Montreal Without Borders

Today, Québec is deemed as one of the most active substate actors in the global arena spending a considerable budget on foreign relations, approximately 100 million dollars which, in comparison to the federal budget (approx. 2 milliards dollars) is little, however, as a whole, it is a great amount of spending. Suprisingly, the headquarters of international organizations and companies in the province is not the provincial capital of Quebec City. It is Montreal, the biggest city of the province which bears multifold importance.

First of all, Montreal hosts international conferences on a daily basis and, more importantly, approximately seventy international organizations which considerably increases Quebec’s importance, influence, and presence in the world. For instance, more UN specialized agencies (International Civil Aviation Organization, UNESCO Institute for Statistics, the Multilateral Fund for the Implementation of the Montreal Protocol, Secretariat of the Convention on Biological Diversity), Commission for Environmental Cooperation, and the International Aviation Transport Association are headquartered in Montreal. The major fields of projects of the international organizations and international NGOs headquartered in Montreal are mainly related to environmental protection, sustainable development, climate change, energy, aerospace, aviation, development, and human rights.

Secondly, due to the favourable circumstances it provides, Québec attracts large numbers of international investors which results in continuous international projects and large international corporations having headquarters in Montreal, as well as flourishing Québec-owned companies (Bombardier, Hydro Quebec, Air Canada, Bell Canada, Quebecor) attributing a significant role to Montreal as a financial centre as well (Montreal Exchange). Montreal-based companies are particularly specified in energy, engineering, health technologies, and transportation.

Thirdly, Montreal is the true cultural capital of Québec as well, an intercultural meeting point of peoples from all around the world further promoting the international presence and cultural relations of the province. On the cultural scene, Québec is represented through world-wide performances of the Montreal-based Cirque de Soleil, or any of the
hundreds of artistic associations, such as Artists Sans Frontières (Artists Without Borders), and Conseil francophone de la chanson (Francophone Council of the Song).

Finally, since Québec strongly believes that federated political entities are also to assume a crucial role in contributing to a more equitable form of globalization, to a prosperous and secure world where solidarity is a central principle. As a result, Montreal-based and Quebec City-based NGOs working in international development assistance are numerous, (e.g. Oxfam, CARE, Quebec Sans Frontières, Make Poverty History, Red Cross) running projects in developing countries, mainly in French-speaking Africa. Their massive presence in Québec, in Canada, and in developing countries and the great Québec budget spent on international development cooperation clearly indicate the solidarity, responsibility, and commitment of Quebeckers to contribute to the Millenium Goals set in 2000.
4.5. Québec’s bilateral relations

Canada’s international relations may be examined in five main aspects which are due to Canada’s historical, linguistic, and political heritage, as well as its primary economic interests.

Firstly, Canada’s, thereby Québec’s relations with England, the ’motherland’ together with the British Commonwealth, may be analyzed in a rather historical way. Although, considering the historical significance of such relations and due to the limits of this paper, this aspect is not to be addressed in this present writing.

Secondly, Canada’s and Québec’s bilateral relations with the United States have large and extending relevance today, equally at the federal, and the provincial level.

Thirdly, bilateral and multilateral co-operation with emerging countries could also be subject to in-dept analysis in order to better position Québec in emerging markets by building strategic partnerships with these (BRIC) countries. Aligning with the international policy of the Government of Québec, several initiatives have been launched with respect to these countries, including the opening of offices in Mumbai and São Paulo, as well as the up-grading of the Atlanta, Berlin, Munich and Rome offices, in particular, Québec’s increased economic and cultural presence in Beijing and Shanghai, Tokyo, and Milan in recent years. Nevertheless, again, due to the limits of this paper, Québec’s relations with the BRIC countries could be subject to another paper.

Fourthly, Canada’s and Québec’s bilateral relations with the francophone world (French-speaking countries) are growing more significant and diversified these days, especially in light of the democratization process in French-speaking Arab countries (‘Arab Spring’), as well as in terms of international development assistance in French-speaking (post-colonial) African and Asian countries.

Finally, Canada’s and Québec’s participation in multilateral diplomacy in various matters are also to be addressed in order to provide a clear picture of the complex role of Canada and Quebec in the global map of geopolitics.
4.5.1. Québec between Washington and Ottawa

Since the opening of the first office in 1940, Québec has been conducting its relations in the United States via a network of offices that are present in America’s major markets.

Following long decades of political hesitations, whether Canada should concentrate on the British or American ties, eventually in 1963 as prime minister Lester Pearson came into office, and Ottawa chose the enhanced cooperation with Washington, for good, over England. This dynamism cooled down during the mandates of Jean-Pierre Trudeau and Ronald Reagan who did not share similar views on crucial issues (military budget, etc). While in office, in the 1970s, prime minister Trudeau established a bureau to monitor foreign investments, primarily to control, regulate, and decrease the level of American capital and foreign direct investment in Canada (Németh 2006: 141).

Ottawa-Washington relations were significantly upgraded with Canadian prime minister Mulroney who provided considerably favourable investment circumstances for American companies. By 1984 Quebec operated offices in ten counties including eight in the United States.

During the second mandate of Canadian prime Robert Bourassa in 1985, Québec’s attention turned towards the U.S. market; this shift reflected Quebec’s long-term perception that Québec’s economic efforts should ultimately focus on the North American economic space, rather than on the Canadian one. In a certain way, this must be seen as a result of the alienation process of Québec. Nevertheless, this shift is rather due to a strategic and geographic consideration, namely that it simply made more sense for Québec to concentrate on markets which are much closer and more expanded (Chourcene 2004: 5).
As a result of this recognition, in 1987, the government of Canada and the United States signed the Free Trade Agreement which was subject to several objections in Canada. To demonstrate the importance of the bilateral trade agreement, in 1987, 80% of all Canadian exports targeted the United States and between 1989 and 1994, the volume of the bilateral commerce raised by 50% (Németh 2006: 141).

In 1994, Mexico was integrated in the bilateral free trade agreement, giving birth to the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) which further enhanced continental trade integration and collaboration between Washington and Ottawa.

Recently, the North-South trade has been increasing much faster than the East-West within the Canada; there are approximately twenty trade corridors at present between Canada and the United States.

Quebec and the US share major interest in cultivating intensive relations which is an absolute priority of the Government of Quebec. Quebec operates a network of six government offices in the United States (Atlanta, Boston, Chicago, Los Angeles, New York, Washington), which are the main actors of relations between Quebec and the United States.

The vitality of Québec’s economy is heavily dependent on its ties with the United States, which buys nearly three quarters of Québec’s international exports. With its 300 million consumers, countless companies in search of goods and services and investors looking for new prospects, the United States offers considerable development potential for Québec companies.

The Québec government is aware of the strategic importance of the ties it maintains with its U.S. partner. This being the case, the New International Policy, launched by the Government of Québec in 2006, acknowledged the vital nature of the strategic nature of the Québec- U.S.-relationship and made it possible to attribute more financial resources to it. Since that time, significant efforts have been made to strengthen its economic, political and institutional ties with its strategic partner.
Since 2006, the Quebec Government initiated to further enhance economic, political and institutional relations with the United States, at both bilateral (federal Administration, Congress, US states-Canadian provinces) and at multilateral level (NAFTA, NATO, etr).

In the light of the above-mentioned international policy of the Government of Québec with respect to the United States, in the coming years, the government’s efforts will focus primarily on five objectives, including contributing to the security of the North American continent; fostering trade; ensuring Québec’s leadership regarding energy and the environment; encouraging the sharing and promotion of Québec’s culture and identity; increasing Québec’s capacity to take action and supporting the development of expertise21.

As for the various forms of Quebec-U.S. cooperations, joint initiatives include North America’s Corridor Coalition, Canada-California Strategic Innovation Partnership, Regional Greenhouse Gas Initiative, or the Québec-New York Economic Summits. Québec also cooperates with California intensively in the Western Climate Initiative which seeks to establish a common and effective carbon market.

The dynamic trade relations between Québec and the state of New York must be emphasized. This strong intra-state relation is enhanced consciously. For instance, Jean Charest, present-day Quebec premier, visited the state of New York three times during his first six months in office in order to communicate effectively the positive image of Quebec province for New Yorker investors (Lecours 2008: 10). As a result, commercial trade between Quebec and New York is especially flourishing; surprisingly, Quebec exports ten times more to the state of New York than to France.

4.5.2. Quebec’s history with French-speaking Europe

As mentioned earlier in this writing, Québec delegated her first representatives to France as early as in the 1880s. Although, Québec’s international awakening occurred only in the 1960s over the years of the Quiet Revolution and it was essentially limited to bilateral relations with Western-European countries (Balthazar 1993: 161-164), particularly with France.

Thanks to President De Gaulle, Québec cultivates very special relationship with France, particularly on the cultural, scientific, educational, technical, and economic level, as to be precised. As early as in 1961, a general delegation was sent to France to represent the Québec nation and established their office in Paris. This relationship and the official Franco-Québec relations were further deepened during the presidency of Jean Lesage Québec premier (1960-1966). For instance, in 1965-66 alone, the Québec government spent 894 000 dollars for the cooperation with France (Balthazar 1993: 108-110). As a result, since 1967, France officially maintains ‘direct and privileged relations’ with Québec.

As French-speaking journalist suggest, during the 1960 ans 1970s, addressing the Québec question was a mandatory mission for most francophone media in Europe, since the Québec issue attracted great international attention, solidarity among Europe’s French-speaking nations who considered Quebeckers as the last Mohicans of francophone culture in North America, therefore could greatly identify themselves with the struggles of the Québec nation. Hence, in order to satisfy the abundant international francophone public attention vis-à-vis their French-speaking fellows, francophone reporters were sent to Québec in great numbers to broadcast directly about the progress of the nationalist movement (Thomson 1990: 13-25).

The continuation of the French-Québecois friendship initiated by president de Gaulle, remained equally intensive, as it is continuously expanding. The actual framework and means of Franco-Québecois cooperation are different from those of France with respect to Ottawa and the rest of English-speaking Canada, implemented by the Permanent Commission for Franco-Québec Cooperation. Moreover, bilateal relations are
institutionalized through meetings as well, held every two year with the participation of France’s and Quebec’s prime ministers.22

The cultural, educational, scientific, and technical bilateral cooperations between Québec and France are based on historical accords of paramount importance in the progress of the bilateral ties. These agreements include the Fouchet-Gérin-Lajoie accord (1965) enhancing cooperation in the field of education, the Peyrefitte-Johnson agreement (1967) promoting collaboration at university level, the Missoffe-Morin accord established the Office franco-québecois pour la Jeunesse (Franco-Québec Office for the Youth) in 1968, and the agreement of industrial and technical collaboration between French president Jacques Chirac and Québec premier Robert Bourassa in 1974.23

Furthermore, sustainable development is equally subject to joint Franco-Québec cooperation. The recently elaborated Plan Nord, seeks to improve business and research opportunities between the two countries in the focal areas of sustainable development.

As a result of the agreements of the past decades, several mutually beneficial economic and trade privileges have been attributed between France and Québec. For instance, the world leader Quebecker firm in rail cars, Bombardier, have plants in France contributing greatly to the economic cooperation between the two entities. Furthermore, Québec benefits from large-scale French investments in several sectors of the French economy. Similarly, French university students are openly favoured by the Québec government, they are entitled not to pay full tuition fee in Québec which greatly encourages their long-term integration, and eventual settlement in Québec.

Moreover, cultural ties and dialogue between French and Québec territorial communities between are also to be addressed and promoted by several initiatives due to the principle of decentralized cooperation. In the light of this principle, the France-Québec Fund for Decentralized Cooperation was established in 2005. In the framework of this initiative, the bilateral cooperation has been extended to several levels of the

Franco-Québécois civil societies, thereby numerous joint projects have been financed over the past seven years between the territorial communities of the two countries.  

Québec cultivates very special relations with Belgium as well, especially in cultural, educational, scientific, and academic areas since the early 1970s, especially with the Belgian French-speaking federated state, Vallonia, through joint exhibitions, educational and scientific exchanges, among other joint initiatives. Belgian francophone cultural organisations regularly host Canadian artists, both Anglophone and Francophone, in the areas of theatre, music, cinema, and dance. Also, through the joint initiative, Office Québec Wallonie Bruxelles pour la jeunesse (OQWBJ), professional development opportunities are offered for 18-35 year-old Québécois and Belgian French-speakers enhancing intercultural learning experiences and further promoting good cultural relations between the two countries.

Yet, Québec and Belgium share more than joint cultural and educational initiatives; they equally share multilingualism and federal political system. However, both federal governments are aware of the minor danger of the shared separatist tensions between the two federated political entities of Flanders and Québec about which comparison numerous publications have been born in the past thirty years.

Despite the fact that Québec’s large-scale bilateral efforts with respect to francophone European countries primarily focus on France and Belgium, it seeks to build various forms of cooperation with the other European members of the IOF (International Organization of la Francophonie), as well, mainly including Switzerland, Luxembourg, and Romania.

With respect to Luxembourg, as a recent outcome of efforts made to enhance bilateral relations, an agreement was signed between the governments of the two countries in 2002, focusing on educational cooperation by providing scholarships. Québec-Swiss cooperation focus primarily on commerce and education, likewise. Considering the francophone linguistic orientation of Romania, the International Organization of la Francophonie, the two nations collaborate especially in cultural and educational areas, as well as, in the promotion of the French-language in Central-Eastern Europe. The major forum of bilateral cooperation is the Movement of Solidarity Québec-Romania.

4.5.3. Québec’s international cooperation with francophone Central America, Africa, and Southeast Asia

The Government of Québec finances numerous international development projects in French-speaking Central America, Africa, and Asia, primarily in the area of education, professional (vocational) training, the strengthening of civil society, good governance, and capacity building through the transfer of good practice, know-how, and expertise.

The Québec Government supports development-projects mainly, in the framework of Québec’s International Development Programme, as precised in a previous chapter. Nevertheless, it must be emphasized that the Government of Québec is not the major provider of development aid with respect to developing nations. This being the case, its financial contribution remains rather modest in comparison to the great Canadian federal spending of the Canadian International Development Ageny (CIDS) which delegates both anglophone and francophone experts to developing countries.

In these assignment, the colonial backgrounds, including the language spoken in the given countries, suggest that French-speaking developing countries, including the Maghreb countries (Algeria, Tunisia, and Morocco) in Africa, Southeast Asian countries (Cambodia, Laos, and Vietnam), as well as to former francophone Central American colonies, such as Haiti, French-speaking Canadian experts are assigned in order to carry out effective communication with local stakeholders. As a result, numerous Quebecker experts have gained practical experience in developing countries as consultants in technical assistance projects.

On the other hand, Québec’s international development initiatives, especially the programme ‘Québec Without Borders’ are also important partners for development aid. Thus, the Government of Québec directly supports the Association québécoise des organisations de coopération internationale (AQOCI).
Québec’s international development aid is greatly channelled through IOF, the International Organization of La Francophonie, as well as via Québec’s international cooperation organizations, since they are highly experienced in development aid and are familiar with the target countries (Québec-based non-governmental NGOs are enlisted in the annexes, indicated as Annex 3).

As precised previously in this study, Quebecers undoubtedly share strong feelings of solidarity with the disadvantageous nations of the developing world. Thus, Québec contributes to make a difference in the developing countries focusing on mainly capacity-building in human resources development and good governance which is due to the expertise Quebecker experts have acquired over the years as international consultants in their field of expertise in French-speaking developing countries.

As for the focal areas of international development aid of Québec, the priority goes to those nations which are members of the IOF (International Organization of La Francophonie), as explained previously, thereby nearly 10 million dollar is allocated annually. This is due to the colonial and linguistic heritage these countries share with French-speaking Canada. Accordingly, some of the Québec-based NGOs working on international development aid explicitly emphasise the francophone focus of their development efforts in mainly French-speaking developing countries in Central America, Africa, and Asia. Major NGOs in this respect include the following ones: International Francophone Network for the Promotion of Health, Canadian National Committee of Francophone Business Forum, International League of Scientists for the Usage of the French Language.

Moreover, Québec sends several French-speaker UN peace-keepers (as they are called in the developing world ‘casques-bleues’ meaning blue helmets) who largely contribute to the local community-building; their knowledge of French enable them to effectively communicate with locals and local decision-makers. Considering, that only 6% of all UN peacekeepers around the globe are francophones, this must be considered as an asset in the numerous developing French-speaking countries.
Accordingly, over the course of contemporary history, Quebecker UN peacekeepers have been sent to countries, including the Ivory Coast, Libya, Tchad, the Democratic Republic of Congo, Haiti, among other French-speaking former colonial countries.

As for francophone Central America, Québec cultivates strong and active bilateral relations with the Caribbean island of Haiti. To be precise, Haiti is the number-one beneficiary of the International Development Program of the Government of Québec. Since the launch of Québec’s International Development Program (being 1997), Québec has contributed to the development of the Haitian community by a rather considerable amount of development aid, amounting to nearly $10 million. Also, as an integral member of IOF (International Organization of la Francophonie), Québec missionaries, health experts, teachers, and volunteers have been sent to the country in order to contribute to foster and enhance the development of the health, social, and education sector of the Haitian community.

This active cooperation between the Government of Québec and the Haitian community may be attributed to the significance and integral contributions of the sizeable Haitian community living in the Canadian province of Québec. For Haitians, Québec has been one of the main destinations of immigration since the early years 1990s. This being the case, over the course of the past decades, the Government of Québec has realized the crucial importance of stability in its continental neighbour.25

Thus, as indicated in the annex part of this paper, there are several Haiti-based Québec NGOs working on the multidimensional development of the local community including three major ones.

First, Oxfam-Québec (including the initiative ‘Club 2/3’) focuses on sustainable development, environment, agriculture, rural development, and humanitarian aid ever since 1983. Second, the Foundation for the Sustainable Development of Haiti, also concentrating on sustainable development, Group of Canadian-Haitian organizations for development deals with democratic development in the first place, while the Association Epmandok addresses humanitarian aid in the Caribbean country.

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Through the Haitian Governance Enhancement Project, the Government of Québec seeks to strengthen the Haitian public administration system, thereby improving Haitian governance model.

Yet, it must be emphasized that even though most Canadian NGOs based in Haiti are from the province of Québec, there are several anglophone Canadian non-governmental organizations working in the country, moreover, the Canadian International Organization for Development Assistance (CIDA) equally channels great amounts of aid to enhance development in Haiti (e.g. Canada-Haiti Humanitarian Alliance Fund).

Nevertheless, bilateral relations were significantly upgraded and intensified only in recent years, when the country had to face a large-scale human disaster accompanied by extreme difficulties. A catastrophic earthquake of 7.0 magnitude according to the Richter scale occurred in January 2010, causing the deaths of almost 1,000 people and giving birth to epidemics. The Government of Québec provided Haiti prompt emergency aid of $3 million by deploying emergency experts and thereafter, remained involved in the reconstruction process of the Haitian community ever since to provide the country with long-term support, sending doctors and other medical experts, as well as numerous volunteers spending great amounts of aid.

Further priority region of Québec development aid is francophone Africa, especially since the French-speaking nations of the continent joined the International Organization of la Francophonie, today the IOF has thirty member states from the African continent.

Apart from Québec’s financial participation in the joint contribution to help stabilize French-speaking African countries, the Government of Québec equally allocates nearly half of its total financial support in the area of international development assistance to francophone African countries. Over the course of recent years, the number-one beneficiary countries of French-speaking Africa to Québec development aid were Mali, Burkina Faso, Senegal, and Cameroon. Among these NGOs, the contributions of Afrikavenir Canada (dealing with Québec development aid in Senegal) needs to be highlighted.
Nonetheless, the Government of Québec cultivates very intensive ties with the Maghreb-countries as well which are further enhanced by the sizeable and extended Maghreb population of the province of Québec, as their primary destination of immigration in Canada. Maghrebs tend to choose francophone Canada over the rest of Canada due to their preference and better knowledge of the French-language that is widely spoken in the Maghreb countries.

First, with respect to Morocco, Québec-based NGOs dealing with humanitarian cooperation between Canada and Morocco include the Association of Solidarity Canada-Morocco, Hope Association Morocco, BioAllience Canada-Morocco (see Annex 3) enhancing various forms of cooperation between the two countries. With respect to Tunisia, apart from the mutual media interest in the progress vis-à-vis the other country, Québec NGOs specifically focusing on Tunisia, are not yet numerous. As for Algeria, the Association of Algeria’s Children, is the primary forum of development assistance between Québec and Algeria, seeking to improve the quality of life of Algerian children.

As for the Asian francophone nations, Québec’s bilateral relations appear to be less widely extended. Interestingly, Oxfam-Québec is represented in Vietnam, Cambodia, as well as in Laos. Furthermore, the Government of Québec has launched a sizeable development project in recent years, namely the Cambodia-Canada Development Program.

Considering the multi-dimensional relations of Québec with francophone developing countries, Québec’s dynamism and responsibility assumed on the international stage reaffirms the relevance as an international actor. Through its extensive participation in international development assistance, Québec is represented in a rather distinctive way in the francophone developing world, acting as an extension of the Canadian federal actor. This, in a certain way, also extends the influence and scope of the Québec state making it more influential than its constitutional jurisdiction would suggest.

On the other hand, in the seek of increased involvement in international development assistance, Québec aspires to build joint partnerships in this field collaborating with
other regions and federated states that share its international solidarity with respect to the poorer nations of our world.26

4.6. Québec in international forums: Québec’s multilateral diplomacy today

In today’s rapidly evolving world unprecedented challenges call for not only bilateral but also multilateral solutions. Therefore, the participation of the Government of Québec in international forums, including international conferences and multilateral organizations makes it possible for Québec to expand its identity, values, and influence in the world. In order to do so, Québec must pursue its objectives within Canadian delegations or ask the Canadian federal government to mediate with international organizations in case the Government of Québec wishes to establish official relations with those organisations acting in the areas of jurisdiction of Québec. This is because it is Canada which is the full member of international governmental organizations representing the whole of Canada.

Yet, in two special cases, Québec is represented by its own delegations, appointed by the Government of Québec, in the International Organization of la Francophonie and in the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), as the Québec representation in the permanent delegation of Canada to the organization.

According to the publication of the Government of Canada on Québec’s participation in international forums, Québec’s involvement in multilateral diplomacy cover nine focal areas where Québec has a constitutional jurisdiction. These nine areas are continuously shaping Québec’s identity, including language, culture, education, and identity, economic and social development, labour and employment, health, sustainable development and environment, information society, human rights, status of women, and aboriginal issues.

The Québec Ministry of Foreign Affairs coordinates the initiatives of the Government of Québec with international organizations. In areas where Québec is attributed of constitutional jurisdiction, the Ministry promotes the participation of related-government organs dealing with the activities of international working groups. In case the Government of Québec wishes to establish official contacts with international organizations, Québec needs to go through Ottawa.
In 2005, the Québec government made public its position vis-à-vis international organizations and identified five mechanisms likely to strengthen Québec’s role with regard to them.

Firstly, the *access to all information and participation* during the initial stages of negotiations toward establishing Canada’s position. Secondly, Québec assumes *full member status* in Canadian delegations and exclusive responsibility for designating its representatives. Thirdly, Québec disposes of the *right to speak for itself* at international forums on matters related to its responsibilities. Fourthly, Québec’s right to *give its approval* before Canada signs or declares itself bound by a treaty or agreement must be explicitly recognized. And finally, the *right to express its position* when Canada appears before supervisory bodies of international organizations for matters involving Québec or affecting its interests must be equally recognized. 

As regards Quebec’s participation in multilateral diplomacy in the areas of education, science, and culture, it is an active member of UNESCO. In 2005, Québec negotiated an agreement with Ottawa on the full participation of a Québec representative within the Permanent Delegation of Canada to UNESCO and on the requirement of consultations between Québec and Ottawa before joint positions concerning areas within Québec’s jurisdiction. Thereby, through Québec’s permanent representative the Government of Québec, Québec will have the chance to express its view in all UNESCO forums.

Secondly, Québec is a member of *The International Organization of la Francophonie*, (referred to as IOF in the followings) since 1970 and places great importance on the development of this institution. Historically speaking, under the mandat of Quebec premiers Jean Lesage, Daniel Johnson, Jean-Jacques Bertrand, but especially Jean-Robert Bourassa, the IOF became a primary focus of Quebecois governmental discourses, as well as a major target of Quebecois international actions.

It is through the IOF that Québec best affirms its international personality in a multilateral agenda. Québec’s participation in the IOF negotiation forums constitutes an

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27 Working in Concert: Quebec’s International Policy, Ministry of International Relations of the Government of Québec, 35-41
integral part of its international strategy and provides the political legitimacy in order to be able to make a difference regarding international issues, by fostering alliances, articulating and representing common positions.

Québec’s priorities vis-à-vis the OIF are based on four major objectives enumerated a strategic document adopted by heads of state and government at the Xth Summit of La Francophonie, held in Ouagadougou in 2004. The four major positions include the promotions of cultural and linguistic diversity, the promotion of good governance, peace, and democracy, the promotion of the advancement of international solidarity, as well as the promotion of education that fosters sustainable development.²⁸

Thirdly, the Government of Québec has devoted great spendings on sustainable development making it a top Québec priority. As a result, as previously mentioned earlier in this chapter, over the past decades, international organizations, non-governmental organisations, as well as conferences concerning this and related issues have been established in large numbers, flourishing, inspiring the rest of the world in terms of the belief that sustainable development must be of paramount importance for today’s generation.

In this regard, Québec has been making a considerable contribution on the world scale through all these organisations striving for preserving biological diversity, the water and forest heritage of mankind, biosafety, access to genetic resources, air quality, climate change, protection of the ozone layer (Montréal Protocol), hazardous chemicals and pesticides. The Commission on Sustainable Development was established in 1993 in Montreal, it is the highest-level forum for sustainable development at the United Nations.

Fourthly, as for the economic and social dimensions, Québec is committed to the focal areas of the Organization for Co-operation and Economic Development (OECD), including economic development and territorial development, solidarity, security, good

governance, education, and immigration. Québec has already participated in several OECD working groups dealing with provincial jurisdictions.

Fifthly, Québec’s place in the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) must be also addressed. As mentioned before in this writing, there has been a great shift in Québec’s economic efforts towards the integration into the North American (U.S.) market (whose continuation remains a focal point of the foreign policy of the Government of Québec, as precised in the demonstration of Québec’s focal points in its international policy.

From as early as 2001, Quebec’s north-south exports increased to 33.6% of its GDP while its exports to its sister provinces fell to 19.4%.²⁹ Thereby, Québec’s primary economic focal point became the North American economic space of NAFTA, instead of the Canadian one. Considering the intensive trade relations between Québec, other Canadian provinces and the United States, this shift could considerably democratize the North American integration by bringing the U.S. states and Canadian provinces fostering new Québec-Canada and Québec- North America economic relations (Courchene 2004:16).

Furthermore, Québec has been participating in multilateral negotiations in several related areas with specialized United Nations agencies, including the World Trade Organization (WTO), the International Labour Organization (ILO), and the World Health Organization (WHO). (Québec in International Forums, see primary sources).

Finally, Québec’s special initiatives with the European Union must be addressed. Annually, approximately 5 billion Canadian dollars are spent by the EU covering Québec-EU projects relating to five major areas, including education and training, justice, liberty, and security, information society, science, new technologies and media (communication), development of citizenship, research and developmen

²⁹ However, it must be precised that the upgraded economic dynamism was true for the other Canadian provinces as well which may be explained by the provincial peculiarities in the diversification of trading goods with respect to the United States. In other words, Canadian provinces tended to export different types of goods to the US.
5. Conclusion

For over forty years, Québec has made its international voice heard in the 21st through commercial, cultural, educational, scientific, and development cooperation initiatives, as an independent and distinct actor.

Québec’s active assumption of a complex international role suggests that today substate entities do have a word to say in the global area and this word must be carefully listened by state actors as well, due to the interconnectedness of today’s global village, and also due to the great economic influence substate entities, federated states, such as Québec or Flanders possess in the commercial and political sphere.

This influence of substate entities will continue to expand, as the distinction between domestic and foreign aspects blur. Interestingly, in federal states it is not only the blur between the domestic and foreign dimensions but the one between the federal and provincial ones as well, attributing wider jurisdiction to decentralized entities. This appears to be an unstoppable and irreversible process.

Thus, the voice of Québec must not only be heard in Canada but the Québécois position must also be considered in Ottawa, especially with regard to the rest of the French-speaking world, considering the active paradiplomacy Québec conducts with them. Thereby, Québec complements and does not substitute Ottawa’s foreign initiatives, especially in French-speaking countries, by the cultural and linguistic bond Québec constitutes in the francophone world and by the specific and enriching international commitments of the Québec culture, in particular, regarding sustainable development, international solidarity, democratic governance, and human rights.

However, the peculiar nature of the Québec nation must be represented and spread abroad in a distinctive way, both due to its attractiveness for foreign investors resulting in regional economic influence and also due to the specific cultural implications of the unique national identity of the Québec society. Considering this aspect, the international policy driven by the Government of Québec could be seen as a vehicle of the promotion of Québec culture and identity.
My research indicates that Québec follows an exemplary route in its identity-based paradiplomacy, representing the Québec identity and the values of a very strong and active civil society, primarily in the French-speaking part of the globe, including the belief of sustainable development, human dignity, solidarity vis-à-vis the developing nations for whom the people of Québec are willing to assume social responsibility and welfare-sharing in an exceptional and inspiring way.

This being the case, several components of the ‘Québec model’, including the intensive contribution of the civil society, the solidarity of the Québec people vis-à-vis the poorer part of the world could be set as an exemple for other small states, including Hungary as well, in order to pursue primary priorities, such as sustainable development and international development assistance, by the transfer of expertise and good practice in areas of Québec’s specific expertise, including the strengthening of civil society, human resources training, governance capacity building, protecting and promoting the diversity of cultural expressions, and addressing climate change. Following Québec’s example, small nations may also contribute considerably to international issues that really matter and can make a difference on the large scale in a sustainable way.

Furthermore, I assume that one of the main strengths of the Québec model is the strong and committed civil society it is based on, including the extended and various forms of volunteerism, a strong sense of social responsibility (also in the company sphere), and the inclusive and successful integration of newcomers. In my view, apart from Québec’s inspiring commitment of sustainable development and global governance, these three elements of Québec’s particular development model may inspire other nations to succeed in these dimensions.

As I precised at the beginning of this paper, the international relations and international significance of Québec have been relatively little studied until recent years, especially not with regard to its extended and flourishing relations with the other representatives of the francophone world. Therefore, this paper sought to contribute to the body of literature in this field by putting the 'Québec question’ into both national and international perspective, as well as demonstrating the strenghts of Québec’s successful identity-based paradipomacy. Yet, in my view, both national and international implications of the ambiguous Québec-identity needs to be subject to further research.
Moreover, in my assumption, apart from the multifold evaluation of Québec’s orientations in the field of international relations, Québec’s international efforts in development aid, respectively, vis-à-vis Central American, African, and Southeast Asian members of the International Organization of la Francophonie should be subject to further research.
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Annex

Annex 1 – Figure 1

Portrait of Official Language Minorities in Canada – Anglophones in Québec

Analytical Paper (Source: Statistics Canada)

Annex 2 - Figure 2.

The ups and downs of separatism

“If a referendum was held today on the sovereignty of Quebec and on offer of economic and political partnership with the rest of Canada, would you vote for or against the sovereignty of Quebec?”, %

The ups and down of separatism

Source: Léger Marketing

The Economist (2005): A dream that does not fail: Québec might yet quit Canada

http://www.economist.com/node/5243133
Annex 3 – List of Quebec-based non-governmental organizations focusing on humanitarian aid, international solidarity, and development with regard to French-speaking developing countries (most of them are based in Montreal), respectively

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Organization</th>
<th>Focus Area</th>
<th>Region</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Missionnaires d’Afrique</td>
<td>Development</td>
<td>Africa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Association Enfants d’Algérie</td>
<td>Children</td>
<td>Africa - Algeria</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Association de solidarité Canada Maroc</td>
<td>Solidarity-Humanitarian</td>
<td>Africa, Central and North America</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Réseau francophone international pour la promotion de la santé (REFIPS)</td>
<td>Health</td>
<td>Africa, Central, North, and South America, Asia, Europe, Middle East, Pacific</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Comité national canadien du Forum francophone des affaires</td>
<td>Development</td>
<td>Africa, Central, North, and South America, Asia, Europe, Middle East, Pacific</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ligue internationale des scientifiques pour l’usage de la langue française</td>
<td>Profession</td>
<td>Africa, Central, North, and South America, Europe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Secrétariat international des infirmières et infirmiers de l’espace francophone</td>
<td>Professions</td>
<td>Africa - Congo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Association Espoir-Maroc</td>
<td>Development</td>
<td>Africa - Morocco</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BioAlliance Canada-Maroc</td>
<td>Development</td>
<td>Africa - Morocco</td>
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<tr>
<td>Afrikavenir Canada</td>
<td>Agriculture</td>
<td>Africa - Senegal</td>
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<tr>
<td>Les Petits Paquets du Cœur</td>
<td>Solidarity-Humanitaire</td>
<td>Afrique - Togo</td>
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<tr>
<td>Association Epmandok</td>
<td>Solidarity-Humanitarian</td>
<td>Northern Central America – Haiti</td>
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<tr>
<td>Organization</td>
<td>Sector</td>
<td>Region</td>
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<td>----------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Regroupement des organismes canado-haïtiens pour le Développement</td>
<td>Development</td>
<td>Central and North America - Haiti</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Regroupement Général des Sénégalais du Canada</td>
<td>Immigration</td>
<td>Central and North America, Asia - Canada</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Union française de Montréal</td>
<td>Immigration</td>
<td>Central and North America, Asia - Canada</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Comité syndical francophone de l’éducation et de la formation</td>
<td>Professions</td>
<td>Central and North America, Asia - Canada</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Présence musulmane Canada</td>
<td>Citizen participation</td>
<td>Central and North America, Asia - Canada</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Office franco-québécois pour la jeunesse (OFQJ)</td>
<td>Construction</td>
<td>Central and North America, Europe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cambodia Canada Development Program (CCDP)</td>
<td>Development</td>
<td>Asia - Cambodia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Office Québec Wallonie Bruxelles</td>
<td>Construction</td>
<td>Europe - Belgium</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Office Québec Wallonie Bruxelles pour la jeunesse</td>
<td>International exchanges</td>
<td>Europe - Belgium</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mouvement de Solidarité Québec-Roumanie (MSQR)</td>
<td>Solidarity-Humanitarian</td>
<td>Europe - Romania</td>
</tr>
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