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THE GEOPOLITICS OF QUEBEC'S RELATIONS
WITH THE INTERNATIONAL
FRENCH-SPEAKING COMMUNITY

by

Colin C.G. Old, B.Sc.(Dalhousie)
B.A. Hons.(Regina)

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A thesis submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies
in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of Master of Arts

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The undersigned recommend to the Faculty of Graduate
Studies and Research acceptance of the thesis

"THE GEOPOLITICS OF QUEBEC'S RELATIONS WITH THE
INTERNATIONAL FRENCH-SPEAKING COMMUNITY"

submitted by Colin C.G. Old, B.Sc., B.A. Honours
in partial fulfilment of the requirements for
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ABSTRACT

Prior to the Quiet Revolution Québec was an introspective society. In the 1960s a consensus developed within the province that the French culture in North America required reinforcement. Québec looked to the international French-speaking community for support. This thesis examines the geopolitical constraints Québec encounters in its contact and interaction with francophonie. In particular, its status as a federated sub-unit of the state means it is presently little more than a quasi international actor. Even so, Québec is an integral part of l'Agence de Coopération culturelle et technique (ACCT), the most prominent organization in francophonie. Models are developed that present Québec as a cultural core area to francophones in North America and that outline its status relative to the world's other francophone communities. It is concluded that the ACCT is no longer Québec's unchallenged number one foreign policy concern. Bilateral linkages with foreign countries, especially economic ties with the USA, seem now to vie for the attention of the Québec Government.

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PREFACE

The nature of this study has necessitated that the greater part of the source material be in the French language. French terms are employed frequently. To assist the reader, who may be unfamiliar with French-language terminology, this preface offers skeletal definitions of the most important terms that appear in the text.

Terminology

francophonie - refers to all aspects of the international French-speaking community; this includes all wholly or partially francophone countries along with all francophone governmental or non-governmental institutions.

La Francophonie - the familiar term for the francophone world's most prominent multilateral organization L'Agence de Coopération culturelle et technique (ACCT); the abbreviations L'Agence and ACCT are interchangeable with the term La Francophonie.

Francité - the French ethnic community where French is the mother tongue of the population; primarily associated with Europe and Canada.

Francophonie Group 2 - the second level of linguistic competence in the French-speaking world; comprises populations in countries where French is a second language or language of communication, primarily communities in Africa, Asia and the Caribbean that are former French or Belgian colonies.

It should be noted that a significant number of quotes in the text have been translated from the original French version. These translations have been identified with an asterisk.

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

There is much of geopolitical interest to assess in an examination of Quebec's relations with her confrères in the international French-speaking community (francophonie). Since the 1960s Quebec has shown a special interest in fostering contacts with francophones the world over, stemming from Quebecers' heightened concern for the survival of the French culture in Canada. Convinced that these overseas cultural and political ties serve as a strong reinforcement for the "French fact" on this continent, Quebec pursues them with some vigour. In reference to his government's participation in L'Agence (the most prominent multilateral institution of the francophone world) the Quebec Minister of Intergovernmental Affairs, M. Jacques-Yvan Morin, recently stated that "it is a window on the world, the most important that we have and one to which we are greatly attached"*(La Presse, 13th November 1982). Undeniably, contacts with L'Agence are given more than their fair share of attention in Quebec Government circles.

In international matters Quebec is noted for exhibiting an independence of spirit. Although remaining an integral part of the Canadian federal system, it is often reluctant to acknowledge that as a province it is subordinate to Ottawa in the field of external affairs. Admittedly, the provinces are allowed some flexibility in their foreign relations in areas assigned to their jurisdiction by the Canadian Constitution (e.g., culture,

education). Nevertheless, antagonisms between the Canadian and Quebec Governments concerning the latter's approach to its external affairs recur frequently. Rhetoric and political discourse cloud most of the issues that are outstanding between them. This makes objective analysis complex. Despite these limitations, however, it is the intent of this thesis to unearth the major geopolitical factors which influence Quebec's interaction with its partners in francophonie. Special attention is given to Quebec's place in the multilateral organizations of the international French-speaking community.

1.1 Methodology

Notwithstanding the partisanship which overshadows much of Quebec's international affairs a political geographer can profitably pursue several avenues of investigation. In particular, the primary objective of this thesis is to evaluate Quebec Government initiatives as they relate to francophones and their political units beyond Quebec territory. Using the elements of contact and interaction and the concept of cultural core area two models are constructed. They depict hierarchies of association between Quebec and francophones in North America and, in addition, between Quebec and French-speakers in the wider world community.

The models as constructed are based upon two tenets. In the first model it is held that for francophones in North America Quebec represents the cultural core area. Consequently, by means of the province's contacts and interaction with Franco-Americans and French-Canadians outside Quebec, French culture on this continent is reinforced. It is proposed that criteria used to establish

the hierarchy in Canada should include: a measure of the "critical mass" of the provincial francophone populations; an assessment of pupil enrolments in provincial minority language (French) education programmes; and thirdly an evaluation of direct Quebec Government financial aid to provincial francophone associations. In Franco-America the hierarchy is established by assessing the degree of internal organization in each community. For North America as a unit the hierarchy should indicate that Franco-Americans are the lowest order, French-Canadians outside Quebec are the next order and Quebec itself is the highest on a rank scale.

The tenet for the second model is derived from the tenet for the first model. When francophone communities are considered on a world scale then France assumes the role of universal cultural core area. Quebec looks to France for socio-cultural and to a degree political support. In this respect it is dependent upon France in much the same way as francophones in North America are dependent upon Quebec.

The second objective of this thesis is to investigate Quebec's multilateral linkages with its partners in francophonie. These links take the form of participation in governmental organizations such as the ACCT and ministerial councils, but also cover a wide array of less well publicized non-governmental organizations (NGO's). The NGO's touch bases as far apart on the spectrum as language protection associations, to interuniversity associations, professional organizations and associations of mayors of French cities. It is hypothesised that the results of this inquiry will

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reveal a much more expansive network of exchange amongst the world's francophones than is commonly appreciated.

Foremost amongst francophone institutions is L'Agence de Coopération culturelle et technique (ACCT). Under its auspices 36 sovereign states and two regional governments (i.e., Quebec and New Brunswick) are brought together to promote cultural and technical cooperation which can fortify the cultures of all partially or entirely French-speaking political units. The ACCT emphasises, however, that its mandate does not extend into the sphere of politics or economics. What is more, despite being the most prominent French-speaking institution, the ACCT should not be thought of as an umbrella organization for lesser francophone institutions. Rather it confines its activities to spheres of interest that are supplementary to the areas addressed by existing institutions. Linkages between Quebec and francophone communities, as expressed through their mutual adherence to the ACCT, can best be illustrated with the aid of a third model. This appears in Chapter Six.

The third objective of this thesis is to identify the roles that Canadian governments, other than Quebec, have to play within the working framework of La Francophonie. Whereas Quebec and New Brunswick are "participating governments" in the ACCT, Canada is a full member state of L'Agence. Meanwhile the Governments of Manitoba and Ontario, although present at the founding convention of the ACCT in 1970, subsequently elected not to seek independent representation. They are content to let the Government of Canada speak for them. The differing political and geographic

considerations that influence the approaches of these governments to the ACCT are assessed.

Chapter Two of the thesis introduces some basic concepts in political geographical theory and relates them to Quebec and its quest for self-determination. Chapter Three provides background information on francophonie. It describes the setting in which Quebec must operate when it seeks to interact with its cultural partners around the world. In Chapter Four the origins of La Francophonie and the philosophy behind it are explored. Its significance to Quebec is evaluated in light of recent trends in Quebec's external affairs. Chapter Five examines how francophones in North America look to Quebec as a focus for their activities. The first hierarchy of association model is presented here. Chapter Six is essentially a synthesis of the preceding chapters in that it explores the revealed linkages in greater depth. Finally, in the conclusions, questions are raised as to Quebec's sincerity in La Francophonie and areas of further study are proposed.

1.2 Literature Review

There is a dearth of academic works on the function of the ACCT although there is considerably more material devoted to francophonie as a whole. Quebec researchers have shown little inclination to study Quebec's position in L'Agence. This is underlined when an inventory of published material from the Centre québécois de recherche international (CQRI) is taken into account. Perhaps it is because relations between Quebec City and Ottawa are strained that academics have avoided this sensitive issue.

A recent masters thesis in Political Studies at Queen's University is one of the most complete reviews of Quebec's external relations with other French-speaking communities. Montenero (1981) explains that the province's efforts to establish broader relations with francophone countries were primarily based on a desire to offset the growing "continentalization" of Quebec in North America. He suggests that Quebec's overtures to these francophone communities have caused unprecedented concern in federal circles, yet they are stoutly defended by a large proportion of Quebec's political elites who maintain the contacts are fundamental to the survival of Quebec's French culture. Montenero concludes that Quebec's expectations in the 1960s and 1970s about the value of its contacts with La Francophonie were somewhat unrealistic. He feels the contacts have not proven to be as fruitful as originally hoped.

Weinstein (1976), Carignan (1972) and Léger (1975, 1976) have made valuable contributions to the literature detailing the origins and philosophy of La Francophonie. Weinstein proposes that La Francophonie should be regarded as a language-based movement in world politics that has not entirely escaped, as it would wish, from manipulation by France. Traditionally, France has used culture and language as instruments of foreign policy. He contends that some elites from France do try to control directly or indirectly the formal organization of La Francophonie. Consequently, he thinks it may fail to become a transnational force in world politics. Carignan examines the early years of the ACCT. He traces the origins of the organization back to the days of

noteworthy speeches in its favour by prominent African statesmen, e.g., Senghor, Bourguiba, Diori. He terminates his remarks by suggesting that the initial years of the organization were difficult, although at the time of writing he foresaw better days ahead. Léger is an eloquent and highly respected advocate of La Francophonie. In his capacity as Secretary-General of the ACCT during its fledgling years he amassed penetrating insights into the philosophy of the organization. They are especially valuable since he writes from the perspective of a Quebecer who was instrumental in establishing L'Agence in the first place.

Authoritative writers such as Painchaud (1977a, 1977b, 1979), Sabourin (1968, 1974, 1976) and Brossard (1967, 1974, 1976, 1977, 1977-78) have contributed major writings on Quebec's external relations with francophonie. Painchaud, a political scientist, explores many of the ramifications of Quebec's aspirations for an international role. He takes pains to point out that any provincial initiatives on the world scene are complicated owing to the limitations of Canadian federalism. He believes that many Quebecers live in a situation of "dual nationalism" where Canadian nationalism is superimposed on Quebec nationalism. Other Quebecers see Quebec purely and simply as a de facto nation-state. The result of this ambiguity of status is that Quebec represents a very special kind of international actor. Painchaud surmises that the Quebec of today perhaps foreshadows what the European nation-states will one day become if a true European federation is created. He expects none of these states will completely renounce their own foreign policy yet they will retain international powers

through the highest bodies of the new federation.

The analyses that Sabourin performs are more global in scope and he has taken special interest in studying cooperation amongst francophone countries. In particular he has studied Canada's bilateral and multilateral connections and aid programmes to francophone Africa. He concentrates primarily on Federal Government activity as opposed to Quebec programmes. Like Weinstein, Sabourin feels that France has a preponderance in cooperation amongst francophones. He further believes that the new multilateral organizations, i.e., new in the 1970s, have only marginal economic impacts but nonetheless they are original and promise well for the future. He makes special note of the potential for Canada and Quebec to change for the better the structures and style of that cooperation, especially through the channels of CIDA.

Brossard, a professor of law with many publications in this field to his credit, examines the accession of Quebec to sovereignty (1976) and the external powers of Quebec (1967) from a legalistic point of view. In the former discourse he uses many political geography concepts. When speaking of states and sovereignty Brossard proposes that all collectivities of people who are conscious of their common attributes and desire to evolve in a manner true to their own values will naturally aspire to become independent states. The key elements of a state, he insists, must be based upon a population, the permanent residence of this population in a determined territory, and the creation of a "public power" in which the population willingly invests authority for the betterment of all. To these elements ought to be added a formal

and judicial element: sovereignty. He underlines that in regards to international law no states can exist unless they are sovereign. It is for each sovereign state to determine exclusively the extent of its competence within its own borders. Brossard relates these thoughts to Quebec's current struggle for independence and he outlines the correct procedures it should adopt should it ever participate in international organizations as a wholly sovereign political entity.

In an earlier work Brossard (1967) addresses Quebec's extra-territorial powers. He concludes that the province has limited influence overseas in areas that come under its competence in the constitution. In most cases it must rely on the good offices of the Federal Government to see its wishes implemented abroad. Quebec does not have the power to conclude treaties (only accords). It follows the province is handicapped in relations with francophone countries because it is powerless to conclude treaties even in areas of provincial competence such as cultural affairs, immigration, education.

Geographers as a whole have paid scant attention to francophonie in their research. A notable exception to this rule is a series of articles on francophones in North America written by geographers from Laval University, Quebec City. Articles by Louder and Waddell (1979), Louder, Morissoneau and Waddell (1979), Morissoneau (1979) and Waddell (1982a, 1982b) address topics including the mobility and identity of Quebecers in North America, Louisiana and its state of well-being as a Franco-American community and Quebec as a cultural hearth and place of origin of the

French-Canadian continental diaspora. Furthermore, Burghardt (1978, 1980) and Williams (1980a, 1981) have also studied Quebec, the first author in an attempt to assess the impact on Canada of an eventual Quebec independence and the second in a discussion of ethnic separatism, as manifest by the Québécois.

Meaningful information on La Francophonie originates from government sources. Both Federal and Quebec Government spokesmen have made noteworthy speeches or statements on the subject. Foremost amongst these personages are the chief Quebec spokesman Jacques-Yvan Morin, currently the Minister of Intergovernmental Affairs, and his predecessor Claude Morin. On the Federal side, Pierre De Bané, former Francophone Affairs advisor to the Prime Minister, and former Minister of External Relations, has made numerous pronouncements. Prime Minister Trudeau (1978) has published an article relating the Commonwealth to La Francophonie, and in Paris, November 1982, he gave the keynote address to the Administrative Council of the ACCT.

Trudeau, in the tradition of Senghor, has visions of an expanded francophone community which will tackle all major international issues at the highest level, i.e., the level of heads-of-state. At present the ACCT Charter purposefully ignores any mandate to politicize the organization and many African states adopt a conservative approach to suggestions of change. But Trudeau (1982) remains outspoken in this regard. He insists that La Francophonie "is a thing of the future, not of the past" and further states the ACCT "should not restrict (its) ambitions or (its) activities to a few arbitrarily chosen sectors". He continues "regular

multilateral consultations open to all sovereign francophone countries and embracing international problems as a whole will soon be seen to be the necessary political completion of our (the ACCTs) common undertaking" (Trudeau, 1982, p. 6).

De Bané (1981) has stated that Canada continues to be at the forefront of the implementation of cooperation and dialogue among francophone peoples. He believes that the extension of Canadian bilingualism on an international level, through participation in the wider francophone community, is a fundamental and permanent element of our foreign policy. It satisfies the need for our external affairs to bear the imprint of Canada's French component. What is more, ties with the developing francophone nations (primarily in Africa) permit Canada to contribute effectively, in the name of social justice, to their advancement. The new thrust of Canadian attitudes to development and aid is also underlined by De Bané (1982). Unapologetically, he insists that aid must increasingly give way to mutually beneficial trade relations following guidelines that are compatible with the North-South dialogue.

Claude Morin (1977), in his former capacity as Quebec Minister of Intergovernmental Affairs, stated in the course of the Parti Québécois Government's initial address to the ACCT that "Quebec does not seek to place the sovereign states (of the ACCT) in a position of judging the nature of the differences between Canada and Quebec". He added that Canada and Quebec were in agreement that the contentious issue of the presence of two-dissimilar cultures in the same geographic territory should be regulated. He

did not balk, however, at claiming Quebec to be the sole francophone government in North America, a claim that undoubtedly rankled Federal Government delegates. The implications of this statement are that Quebec should be an equal partner in the proposed summit of francophone heads of state, a position that is untenable in Ottawa. Morin (1978) further explained that the P.Q. Government felt frustrated by the measures Ottawa was taking to "block" Quebec's overtures to the world. He felt the Federal Government's point of departure stemmed from the false premise that Quebec's international actions and presence were preferred methods to resolve the Canadian constitutional problem to the advantage of the province. This he denied, but countered by saying the opening up to the francophone world by Quebec was simply a means of reinforcing the cultural identity of Quebecers.

Owing to the topical nature of Quebec's international undertakings the print media is an important source of updated information. French language Quebec dailies such as La Presse, Le Soleil, and Le Devoir offer a good survey of unfolding events. The editorial policies of the papers differ and often the objectivity of the journalists is questionable. In general terms Le Devoir presents well balanced opinions, neither clearly federalist nor péquist whereas Le Soleil and La Presse are more Quebec nationalist in outlook. Le Monde from France and the English language dailies The Globe and Mail and the Montreal Gazette are also useful sources.

By way of introduction, this chapter has outlined the primary objectives of the thesis, explained the method of approach and

reviewed the literature that relates to francophonie. Chapter Two serves to place the study within the context of political geography.

CHAPTER TWO

SUB-STATE IDENTITIES: THE PROBLEM OF RECOGNITION

Our world is patterned by many different forms of territorial organization. Cultural and ethnic groups which judge themselves to be distinctive are constantly striving to give appropriate political expression to their perceived unique identities. Inevitably, these groups will at some time claim the right to self-determination which, should the process reach its logical conclusion, will result in the attainment of statehood (Knight, 1983a). Implicit in the concept of statehood are the characteristics of sovereignty and territorial integrity. Furthermore, statehood reflects that the group in question has gained legitimacy amongst its peers and that it has been accepted as a player, on a par with all the others, in the full cast of international actors.

Yet one of the overriding concerns of the present is that by no means all the collectivities of people who desire statehood have achieved it. It is an ongoing dilemma in international forums of how best to give political recognition to groups with distinctive identities that are below the level of the state. There is a range of territorial identities which include; localisms, regionalisms, sub-nationalisms, nationalisms and supranationalisms (Knight, 1982b, p. 16). No matter the scale of abstraction at which one operates, however, it is unquestionable that in matters of international purport it is the state that is recognized, not the sub-units of the state. Hence there is a problem, at the international level, of sub-state identities.

Pounds (1972, p. 1) and Glassner and De Blij (1980, p. 46)

emphasise that the most significant politically organized area is the state. Even if one were to view the modern world in political terms as an international system comprised of supranational organizations, it should not be forgotten that these bodies are dependent upon the voluntary adherence of sovereign countries whose prerogative it is to withdraw their membership. As Muir (1975, p. 79) remarks:

Though in the post-war period there has been a reaction against approaches that focus exclusively on states and their interaction it must be recognized that the contemporary international system is sub-system dominant. It has been established practice in political geography to divide subject matter between categories of that which is internal to the state and that which is external to it, thus according a paramount position to the state level of investigation.

The state is the basic building block of society (Johnston, 1982) and our world is structured around it (Knight, 1983b). It represents the most highly evolved form of political and territorial organization that man has devised. But the state itself owes its very existence to its inhabitants. In order to function effectively, indeed to survive, the state apparatus must continually justify itself to its populations and sub-populations. To paraphrase Ratzel (1923, p. 6) the strength of the state varies according to the dissemination of the "state-idea", that binding sense of fellowship which is so necessary and which should fill the body of the state, not least the outlying parts. In multi-cultural or geographically diverse countries this "state-idea" is liable to be tenuous and it may be offset to some degree by regionally based centrifugal forces. Hence, in situations such as these, the problem recurs of how the sub~~n~~ation can give legitimate

expression to its identity while remaining within the state.

2.1 Raison d'être, State-Idea

Satisfactory accommodation of the various group identities contained within a state is necessarily of high priority to any country's authorities. Hartshorne (1950, p. 110) suggests that the most fundamental centripetal force of a state must be its raison d'être - reason for existing. This concept should be intelligible to the broad spectrum of the state's citizenry. Governments have an obligation to explain how the state has come into existence and why it manages to operate and survive. An essential ingredient of the raison d'être is also the explanation of why particular regions have been and should continue to be incorporated into the state area. Localized nationalisms and inter-regional tensions may work to obscure the message.

Ideally, states could resolve many of the problems associated with their geographical heterogeneity if they could realistically aspire to forming nation-states. Nation-states possess a high level of integration and invariably have a single or dominant national group. Glassner and De Blij (1980, p. 46) refer to the nation-state as "a nation with its own State, a State in which there is no significant group that is not part of the nation". The world, however, is not endowed with many of them. According to East and Prescott (1975, p. 28):

Few states are, strictly speaking, coterminous with nations so that, in respect of their populations they exhibit national heterogeneity: normally one preponderant group is associated with minorities of other nationalities. And this heterogeneity can prove weakening to the structure and activities of the state unless its coercive powers are used to overcome the lack of consensus among the citizens.

Western Europe is thought to offer the most striking examples of nations that coincide with the state for these the "nation-state" became the ultimate political expression of a people and it was subsequently held up as a model for the non-western world to emulate (Knight, 1982a, p. 519). Nonetheless, in most of the world it would appear that existing states are too ethnically diverse for the model to have successful application, and such is the case even in Western Europe (Williams, 1980b).

If it is impractical for most countries to mould themselves into nation-states, they must seek alternative methods to unify the peoples within their state boundaries. One method to do this is to promote the "state-idea" as conceived by Ratzel, an idea closely analogous to the concept of raison d'être. The "state-idea" relates to popular approval of, and participation in, state purposes. Kristoff (1967, p. 239) proposes that it is a philosophical and moral conception of the state's destiny that comes from above. It is associated with an intellectual elite who formulate pre-eminently political and goal-oriented ideas to complement the spiritus movens - a nationalistic tendency of collective psychology pertaining to the broad masses. Should the "state-idea" not gain acceptance in all sections of the state it is probable that the regions where it is rejected, or at least it goes unrecognized, will fall away. Although related, the terms raison d'être and "state-idea" are not interchangeable. Muir (1975, p. 82) makes this clear when he cites the case of South Africa where the raison d'être is surely white supremacy yet undeniably the state is devoid of a "state-idea" to which all

sectors of the population can subscribe.

In his research into the factors which enhance territorial integration, Gottmann (1951) suggests that the people of a state ought to have an interest in its iconography. Should they display little or no concern for their country's symbols, traditions and established social system, peoples who are physically part of a state will in all likelihood feel no sentimental attachment to it. Regionalism will be reinforced if local symbols and affiliations predominate over state symbols. Under such circumstances fragmentation of the territory is conceivable and if the feelings of alienation are too strong secession might be sought. However, within the democratic political system there are ways and means of accommodating groups that feel apart from the larger nation without them having to resort to separation (Knight, 1983a, pp. 10-11). A federal system of government is one method whereby accommodation of differences can be achieved.

2.2 Federalism

Federalism is a governmental system of shared power between a central authority and regional governments which allows compromise between complete unity and complete separation of peoples. It provides the opportunity for coexistence within the same state of groups whose interests and backgrounds diverge. Importantly, though, the various units must share some common vital need for a co-ordinated existence and advantages should accrue to all units in the arrangement. Still, federations necessarily are an attempt to narrow the dichotomy between centripetal and centrifugal forces which are constantly at play in heterogeneous societies. As

Dikshit (1975, p. 4) puts it, the basic problem of federations is to keep the forces in equilibrium so that "neither the planet States shall fly off into space nor the sun of the central government draw them into its consuming fire". Regions must be granted the wherewithal to guard their individuality without feeling their autonomy usurped by the central power.

Above all, federalism is a response to political requirements which stem from regionally grouped diversities. It satisfies, to some degree, the needs of areally and culturally differentiated peoples who have some affinity but who do not seek complete territorial integration. Glassner and De Blij (1980, p. 110) refer to federalism in relation to regions when they state:

A federation is the most geographically expressive of all political systems. It is based on the existence of regional differences, and recognizes the claims of the component areas to perpetuate their individual characters...Federation does not create unity out of diversity, rather, it enables the two to coexist.

The federal system of government, therefore, does permit regions a considerable amount of self-expression. By its very nature, it encourages groups to take pride in the fact that they are different. But there must be a limit to which regional demands are met before the disintegration of the state becomes a possibility. If people lose their belief that a federal state should exist the centrifugal forces are bound to have sway over bonding ties. Dikshit (1975, p. 2) reminds us that the federal system is a dynamic not a static phenomenon. It undergoes change in response to the various social, political and economic factors at work. It must constantly adjust existing "instrumentalities" and establish new

that it remain a dynamic process, capable of adapting to the changing requirements of the component societies. In the case of the Canadian federal system a substantial proportion of the Quebec population no longer subscribes to it. This segment feels Confederation is redundant and can no longer accommodate their political demands. Clearly, separatists now advocate the unequivocal secession of Quebec from Canada. Should Quebec become independent it will attain the status of international actor. This scenario poses questions about Quebec's international relations, present and future. Of special interest are those with other French-speaking communities. The body of the thesis explores the nature of these linkages. Equally important is the issue of Quebec's approach to her conduct of international affairs, given that while she remains within the Canadian state she is subordinate to Ottawa. The ramifications of this situation are examined.

the exclusive control of their territory that they have long sought. Gottmann (1973, p. 95) addresses the theoretical basis for these beliefs when he states:

...Nationalism implies firstly a claim to promote the existence of the nation as a distinct group, with a distinct system of laws, which means independence; and, secondly, it implies a promise to promote the welfare of the people, which means a set of material resources at their disposal and, if they so decide, at their exclusive disposal. It is the right to exclude others that could not be implemented without territorial sovereignty.

Quebec separatists pursue their objective of independence with vigour. They feel that the "instrumentalities" of federalism have not evolved sufficiently, witness Quebec's rejection of the 1982 Constitutional Accord, to demonstrate that federalism works for them. When Lévesque touts the slogan maîtres chez nous (masters in our own house), he is fully cognizant that its potentialities are more realizable now than in 1962 when the Lesage government coined the phrase (Lévesque, 1978, p. 128). Now Quebec separatists will settle for nothing less than exclusive control over Quebec territory.

Williams (1981, p. 391) identifies two types of separatism which operate concurrently in modern-day Quebec. The first he terms territorial separatism which has its origins in the spatial distinctiveness of the potentially independent Quebec. Relative isolation and the perception of an unrealized developmental potential perpetuate the dependency status of Quebecers. Aggravated by what they identify as an inability of the existing political system to meet their developmental aspirations and/or a refusal by competing federal and provincial elites to provide a developmental framework, the separatists seek sovereignty as the

solution to their problems. Territorial separatism is state-based (delimited by political boundaries) and applies across the cultural divisions in the province.

Secondly, Williams speaks of ethnic separatism which is based upon cultural distinctiveness. Generally, francophone Quebecers feel unique owing to a combination of religious, linguistic, and social factors. Within the context of Canada the province's francophones are also a minority and live in a peripheral region. These factors, in conjunction with the desire to restore a degraded community to its rightful status, encourage francophone Quebecers to attain a separate political existence.

Ethnic and territorial separatism are to some extent working at cross purposes in Quebec society. The Parti Québécois faces the dilemma of advocating sovereignty for francophones in Quebec but not those in the wider francophone "nation" of Acadia, Ontario, north-east United States, etc. The definition of francophone "nation" has been reformulated over the years. At the outset French-Canadian nationalism comprised a pan-Canadian vision of French Canada but currently, in deference to the newly entrenched separatist ideology, this definition of "nation" has been narrowed. It has become territorial or state-based and applies only within the boundaries of Quebec province. Indeed, Quebecers no longer refer to themselves as French-Canadian but rather as Québécois. By connotation, in their minds, the term French-Canadian applies to those francophones living in Canada beyond Quebec.

Evidently, what started out as an ethnic nationalism in

Quebec is now being reoriented towards a territorial nationalism. If, as was the case prior to the referendum of 1980, the argument is made that Quebec as state represents the embodiment of the Québécois "nation" (Knight, 1982b, p. 23) by extension one can infer that to "belong" to Quebec one needs to be part of the "nation". Yet Quebec is, and will remain for some time, a plural society. Not all the residents of the province are francophones. Presumably, the separatists must in some manner reconcile the fact that the boundaries of their would-be-country do not coincide with the areal distribution of the distinctive francophone population (although as evidenced in the referendum and general elections a significant minority of non-francophone Quebecers also support independence). The P.Q. challenge is to fashion a political unit wherein the ethnic nation becomes co-extensive with the territorial state.

Summation

The foregoing has addressed the problems cultural sub-state identities encounter when they seek political recognition in keeping with their aspirations for self-determination. It has been noted that statehood is the most highly evolved political organization of territory man has devised. If distinctive regional or national groups within an existing state cannot identify with its raison d'être or "state-idea" ultimately it is probable the groups will attempt to fashion states of their own. Federalism is a system of government which offers heterogeneous groups the opportunity to co-exist within the same state while maintaining aspects of their unique identities. It is fundamental to its success

that it remain a dynamic process, capable of adapting to the changing requirements of the component societies. In the case of the Canadian federal system a substantial proportion of the Quebec population no longer subscribes to it. This segment feels Confederation is redundant and can no longer accommodate their political demands. Clearly, separatists now advocate the unequivocal secession of Quebec from Canada. Should Quebec become independent it will attain the status of international actor. This scenario poses questions about Quebec's international relations, present and future. Of special interest are those with other French-speaking communities. The body of the thesis explores the nature of these linkages. Equally important is the issue of Quebec's approach to her conduct of international affairs, given that while she remains within the Canadian state she is subordinate to Ottawa. The ramifications of this situation are examined.

CHAPTER THREE

THE NATURE OF THE INTERNATIONAL FRENCH-SPEAKING COMMUNITY

The international francophone community is diverse in character, perhaps even more heterogeneous than the Commonwealth of Nations. A range of cultures and ideologies, which otherwise would have little in common, associate with each other because of their shared use of the French language. Monaco and Vietnam might be proffered as representative extremities of this broad cultural and political spectrum. The nature of this variegated international community is explored in this chapter.

In looking at "francophonie" first a caution about the terminology. Jean Marc Léger (1975, p. 35) suggests the expression "francophonie" is a mot-piège, literally a word trap. An attempt has been made in the preface to clear up ambiguities about terms. In its widest definition francophonie, without the article and with no capital letter, designates all aspects of the international French-speaking community. The expression refers to all wholly or partially French-speaking countries in conjunction with the many governmental and non-governmental institutions of the francophone world. The term La Francophonie, capitalized and with the article, has a more specific meaning. This term is currently in wide circulation as the familiar label for L'Agence de Coopération culturelle et technique (ACCT). The ACCT, or L'Agence as it is sometimes called, is le chef de file of French-speaking institutions, although there are many other international francophone organizations of merit.

3.1 Francophonie: A Language-Based Definition

Francophonie should be examined first within the context of a definition based on language. Adherents to francophonie should possess some measure of fluency in French. Yet the world's French-speaking population is not uniform. Since French is used as a means of communication on several levels, distinctions concerning speakers' mastery of the language must be made. Where French is the official language or national language of a country it is highly probable that a substantial proportion of the population claim it as their mother tongue, or at least are closely familiar with it. Alternatively, French may be learnt only as a second or supplementary language and in these circumstances it serves either as a lingua franca or an international mode of communication.

Surprisingly, accurate data relating to the numbers of French-speakers in the world are lacking. Most countries in the international francophone community seem not to share Canada's concern for enumerating their bilingual or multilingual populations. In Third World countries, especially, censuses invariably ignore questions relating to the mother tongue of, or additional languages known by, respondents. In October 1980, L'Institut de Recherche sur L'Avenir du Français was created in an effort to rectify this shortcoming concerning knowledge of French-speaking populations (Le Haut Comité de la Langue Française, 1980, p. 4). The institute is sponsored by both the Government of France and the ACCT. Its primary objective is to carry out global and regional surveys to count francophones according to their mastery

and frequency of practice of the language. The eventual results will distinguish between respondents claiming French as their mother tongue and those that have acquired French from schooling and use it regularly as a second language. Francophones will be categorized into one of five levels. The lowest level will comprise persons who have a rudimentary ability to speak French but little or no ability to write it. At the highest level will be francophones who have been through a French language university programme.

Pending the outcome of this ambitious undertaking somewhat crude data must suffice to outline the extent of the world's French-speaking population. The use of French extends to four continents so its geographic distribution is widespread. The ACCT Information Service has published a bulletin which states "The figures vary from one year to the next, according to the authors, and range from 76 million people to 231 million"*(ACCT, Communiqué de Presse, 1979, p. 1). Table 3.1 reveals that the total population of the francophone countries of the world is over 310 million.¹ Even a cursory glance at the table, though, should indicate that if this figure represented solely francophones it would be highly inflated. It is known that in countries such as Algeria, Belgium, Canada, Cameroon, Madagascar and Vietnam (to name a select few) there are large numbers of non-francophones. Also, realistic assessments of the world's francophone population

¹Francophone countries refers to the 36 countries in the ACCT plus Algeria, Kampuchea, Madagascar and Switzerland, currently deemed by the ACCT as worthy of membership.

TABLE 3.1

Populations and Official Status of French in Francophone Countries
Of the World

<u>Country</u>	<u>Population</u> ¹	<u>Official Status of French</u>	<u>ACCT Member</u>
Algeria	19,129,000	No Legal Status	No
Belgium	9,855,000	Official	Yes
Benin	3,377,000(78)	Official	Yes
Burundi	4,111,000	Official	Yes
Cameroon	7,914,000(77)	Official	Associated
Canada	23,671,000	Official	Yes
Central African Rep.	2,305,000	Official	Yes
Chad	4,405,000	Official	Yes
Comoro Islands	343,000(80)	Official	Yes
Congo	1,440,000	Official	Yes
Djibouti	220,000(76)	Official	Yes
Dominica	81,000(78)	No Legal Status	Yes
France	53,583,000	Official	Yes
Gabon	544,000	Official	Yes
Guinea	298,000(73)	No Legal Status	Yes
Guinea-Bissau	777,000	No Legal Status	Associated
Haiti	4,918,000	Official	Yes
Ivory Coast	7,920,000	Official	Yes
Kampuchea	6,000,000	No Legal Status	No
Laos	3,633,000	No Legal Status	Associated
Lebanon	3,100,000(77)	No Legal Status	Yes
Luxemburg	363,000	Official	Yes
Madagascar	9,112,000	Official	No
Mali	6,035,000(76)	Official	Yes
Mauritania	1,407,000(76)	Official	Associated
Mauritius	940,000	No Legal Status	Yes
Monaco	25,000(78)	Official	Yes
Morocco	19,470,000	No Legal Status	Associated
Niger	5,352,000	Official	Yes
Rwanda	4,819,000(78)	Official	Yes
Saint Lucia	117,000(78)	No Legal Status	Associated
Senegal	5,518,000	Official	Yes
Seychelles	62,000	Official	Yes
Switzerland	6,297,000	Official	No
Togo	2,472,000	Official	Yes
Tunisia	6,218,000	No Legal Status	Yes
Upper Volta	6,728,000	Official	Yes
Vanuatu	112,000	Official	Yes
Vietnam	52,741,000	No Legal Status	Yes
Zaire	27,869,000	Official	Yes
	313,281,000		

¹Best estimates for 1979 unless otherwise stated.

Sources: Europa Yearbook 1981. Commissioner of Official Languages, World Languages Map (1980). External Affairs, ACCT Member List (1981).

should not include those persons whose knowledge of French is only superficial. This would be the case amongst many diverse African nations or those countries in South East Asia which are former French colonies.

In an article discussing the repartition of the French language and its prospects up to the year 2000, Roger Cans (Le Devoir, 10th December 1979) suggests there are not even 90 million people worldwide who are fluent in French. He states:

...the real number of francophones, those from France included, probably does not reach 90 million people, which is little in comparison to the 350 million anglophones, 200 million hispanophones, 120 million arabophones and 116 million lusophones. This does not even take into account the billion persons who speak Chinese and those that speak Russian, Hindustani, Japanese, Malay or German but whose language does not have any real international diffusion.*

There are fears that the French language is in regression.⁴¹ It is falling into disuse in countries such as Lebanon, Vietnam, Laos, Madagascar, etc. This perception prompted then President of France Valéry Giscard d'Estaing to exclaim in 1979: "There is a problem of survival. Twenty years from now will our language be spoken, will our culture be known in the world and will it be able to defend itself."*(Cans, Le Devoir, 10th December 1979). Owing to the intrusion of English terms which has diminished the purity of the language, and because of inferior numbers, French does seem in a defensive position.

A survey of the legal status of French in the francophone countries of the world can be a guide to the "health" of the language in a given region. * Figure 3.1 is derived from the information in Table 3.1 and it illustrates those countries where

FIGURE 3.1 COUNTRIES OF WORLD WHERE FRENCH IS AN OFFICIAL LANGUAGE OR LANGUAGE OF COMMUNICATION

French is an official language and those states with links to the French-speaking world but where French is not an official language. French is defined as being an official language whenever it is specified in either the laws or constitution of a country to be so for the affairs of state. In other countries it may have no official status yet be acknowledged that in practice it is a language of communication at the national level (Commissioner of Official Languages, World Languages Map, 1980). French does not enjoy legal status in any of the mainland South East Asia countries or Arab North African states, areas which have become less receptive to the language since the days of French colonialism. However, in Europe, Canada and francophone West Africa the language is official and relatively stable.

Francophonie can be conveniently classified into groups using the official status of French as the principal criterion for division. Montenero (1981, p. 5) proposes an alternative method of classification. He believes the most relevant criterion is whether French constitutes the first language (mother tongue) of a given population and he derives two groupings. Francophonie Group I consists of countries or regions where French is the mother tongue of a "sizeable" proportion of the population. This collectivity he refers to as the French ethnic community for which the term francité has recently been coined by the community. He remarks that the peoples making up francité are those who are noted for having created and developed the culture associated with the French language. The populations that fall into this group are those of France, Belgium, Switzerland, Luxembourg, Monaco, Canada and Louisiana.

In reference to Group I Montenero uses UNESCO data from 1977 to claim that the French ethnic community approximates 64 million people. Furthermore, it is noteworthy that the ethnic French in his estimation have hardly spread beyond Europe, North America being the major exception to this rule. France appears to be the focus for the group since it accounts for 75 per cent of all ethnic francophones. It is also virtually the sole country to be exclusively French, the others being bilingual or multilingual territories. From this evaluation it is not difficult to concur with the former Quebec Minister of Culture Paul Gérin-Lajoie who said "the axis of francophonie is in Europe"*(Le Devoir, 14th April 1965).

Francophonie Group II is primarily made up of former French and Belgian colonial possessions. Flory (1974, p. 248) refers to this level as "francophonie in the second degree" and Montenero (1981, p. 10) adds that it includes all the "creole communities" i.e., Haiti, Mauritius, etc. Fundamentally, it encompasses all the francophone countries of Black Africa, the Arab states of North Africa and the former French colonies of South East Asia where French is no longer an official language, and the assorted francophone islands of the Pacific, Indian Ocean and the Caribbean.

As suggested above, the French language has not penetrated deeply into many of the countries that constitute Montenero's Group II. Generally, these countries lack a French ethnic population and invariably it is only an elite (up to 10 percent of the population) who possess a working knowledge of French. Penetration of French to the rest of the population is minimal in most cases

but will depend on 1) the literacy rate, 2) the intensity of colonization of the countries involved (Montenero, 1981, p. 11). For example, Carignan (1972, p. 25) states that in Gabon the number of French-speakers reaches 80 per cent, which is a legacy from the former intensive education process. Meanwhile in Senegal and the Ivory Coast, which were intensively colonized, the figures are 35 and 30 per cent respectively. In Niger, which was not intensively colonized, a maximum of 7 per cent are francophone.

The failing of Montenero's classification method is that Francophonie Groups I and II are not mutually exclusive. Persons who would consider themselves French ethnics, whether they be French nationals by birth or members of the local elite whose mother tongue is French, exist in significant numbers in countries which nevertheless logically belong to Group II. In Algeria French remains very deeply rooted amongst those pidé noirs who have remained in North Africa despite the political upheavals of the 1950s and 1960s, and also amongst the natives who have embraced arabisation more slowly than anticipated. In Haiti there is a distinct elite who consider Parisian French as their mother tongue although close to 4 million Haitians speak creole. Similarly, in Mauritius the educated claim English or French as their mother tongue although the Lingua franca is creole (CIDA Post Reports, Haiti 1979, Mauritius 1978). The juxtaposition of pure French learnt as a first language and patois or creole is common in other countries, e.g., St. Lucia, Dominica. Evidently, therefore, the classification of francophone countries according

to mother tongue considerations is a subjective undertaking. Until more substantive statistics concerning mother tongue populations are made available, this imperfect classification must stand.

3.2 Governmental and Non-Governmental Francophonie

A variety of governmental and non-governmental institutions give francophonie a tangible structure. Of these the non-governmental institutions are the more numerous but they generally have a lower profile. Few international French-speaking organizations were in existence before the 1960s. It was not until the independence of the French and Belgian African colonies, nor indeed the Quiet Revolution in Quebec, that the way was opened for spontaneous initiatives in the name of francophonie. Prior to 1960 there existed three truly international associations; L'Union culturelle française, L'Association internationale des Journalistes de langue française and an association of doctors which dated back to between the World Wars (Le Point, 1971, p. 6). AUPELF was a nascent institution which was to have much impact on the francophone world. Founded in 1961 at Montreal this Association of Partially or Entirely French-speaking Universities became the doyen of non-governmental organizations. Jean-Marc Léger, a Quebecer, became the first Secretary-General of this pioneering association. Simultaneously, other Quebecers and Africans were busy formulating the theory to underpin La Francophonie.

In succeeding years AUPELF was to play a major part in the coalescence of francophonie, especially in the process that led

to the founding of the ACCT. In reference to the part that French-Canadians played in persuading certain African states to participate in this co-operative effort Jean-Marc Léger wrote:

It is possibly not redundant that the small French-Canadian nation fulfill certain urgent missions, and, having no "imperial" past, no political ambition, can obtain from the governments of these young states an agreement which they might have refused if the request had come from the citizens of a great power (France)*(Le Point, 1971, p. 7).

France had, in the meantime, been reluctant to commit itself to any institutionalization of francophonie until it felt convinced that such a project corresponded to the wishes of the majority of French-language communities across the world.

Concurrently, francophones began to move into action on the African continent. In 1961 L'Union africaine et malgache united francophone African states to defend a multitude of common interests because of their linguistic bonding. In 1965, this union evolved into L'Organisation commune africaine et malgache (OCAM) which, significantly, was to exert a parallel influence to AUPELF on the birth of the ACCT. In the area of politics, economics and culture OCAM's objective was to promote French African interests in a mechanism to supplant the old colonial structure. The eminent African, President Senghor of Senegal, became its first leader. In tandem with two other influential statesmen, namely Bourguiba of Tunisia and Diorí of Niger, Senghor assumed the role of spokesman for an expanded and more visible francophonie. In 1968 the heads of state of OCAM agreed to put the creation of La Francophonie upon the order paper of their conference. The following year 33 francophone states or communities met at the

invitation of OCAM to debate the proposed new institution. Finally, at a follow up conference at Niamey, Niger, in 1970, the ACCT was officially created when 22 states signed the founding charter. Essentially, what was agreed upon was that the ACCT would become the first constituent, legislative and executive assembly of the international French-speaking community.

Whereas most of its predecessors were non-governmental institutions the ACCT is governmental. It brings together ranking civil servants from virtually all francophone countries. In function the ACCT concentrates on developing the cultural and technical aspects of human resources. It seeks to preserve national heritage by stimulating technological and scientific exchanges and by facilitating modes of communication, i.e., books, audio-visual devices, records, etc. between francophone communities (De Bané, 1982, p. 2).

The philosophy behind L'Agence is straightforward. Senghor has captured the idea when he states the Agency should be:

...a union of independent countries - therefore a categorical confirmation of decolonization - in which France will no longer be the head, but the spiritual focus, in terms of maximum intellectual, cultural and technical development..*(Carignan, 1972, p: 47).

Senghor implies that former French colonies resent any suggestion that the culture of metropolitan France be allowed to pervade the francophone world. They see the French language as a unifying and progressive force capable of promoting the mutual understanding of culture but they do not accept the culture of France as a substitute for their indigenous cultures. The catch phrase currently doing the rounds in ACCT circles is to speak of a

"dialogue of cultures" in which every state gains exposure for its own culture.

International francophone institutions abound. Their spheres of action are explored in greater detail in Chapter Six. At this stage, however, mention of selected organizations can serve as a gauge from which to assess the scope of francophonie linkages. Thus, one might make mention of le Conseil international de la langue française which has been termed the "linguistic conscience" of francophonie (Léger, 1975, p. 37). There is also L'Association internationale des Parlementaires de langue française, la Fédération internationale des Professeurs de français, Le Conseil international des Radios et Télévisions d'expression française, L'Association internationale des Maires des Capitales et Métropoles francophones, Les Biennales de la langue française and finally La Conférence des Communautés ethniques de langue française. The latter is of growing importance, especially to Quebec, since it offers a receptive forum for French nationalist groups to expound upon their programmes. The Conférence congregates delegations of "French stock" only, i.e., francophones whose mother tongue is French. It comprises ethnic communities such as Jurassians, Swiss Romandes, Walloons, Val D'Aostians, Quebecers, Acadians and Franco-Ontarians. Chapter 4 incorporates an evaluation of this organization.

Summation

The salient points of this chapter can be condensed as follows. Francophonie is a disparate international community composed of a wide spectrum of cultures and political persuasions. Nonetheless,

the affinity of francophones for their language and their apparent desire to promote a "dialogue of cultures" overrides considerations that might be divisive in the French-speaking world. Essentially, this world exhibits two levels of linguistic competence. Francité is the upper level. It is composed of French ethnic populations who claim French as their mother tongue. Francophonie Group II is the lower level. French in this group is used only as a second language to facilitate national or international communication. Francophonie in an institutionalized form did not make its appearance until the 1960s. To-day a broad range of multilateral organizations give francophonie a tangible structure. The ACCT can be singled out as the most important French-speaking institution. The significance of this organization in the context of Quebec's external relations is addressed in Chapter Four.

CHAPTER FOUR

QUEBEC'S EXTERNAL RELATIONS: THE SIGNIFICANCE OF LA FRANCOPHONIE

It has often been said that recourse to the past is a hallmark of political geography. In this respect it is useful to trace the origins and evolution of Quebec's international presence in order to appreciate contemporary patterns and processes. The majority of Quebec's international undertakings have their roots in the events of the 1960s. An initial step at that time, before Quebec expanded its interest to the wider francophonie, was cooperation with France. Since then there have been a number of initiatives in Quebec's foreign affairs. One of these has been Quebec's effort to nurture good economic relations with the United States. Given such recent trends, it is of value to assess the significance of La Francophonie in the overall sphere of Quebec's external relations.

The preceding chapter has given evidence that Quebec is presently a quasi international actor. Nevertheless, Quebec's participation in international institutions is conditioned by its status as a federated sub-unit of the state. In keeping with its standing as a province, Quebec is required to conduct its external relations subject to the provisions of the Constitution of Canada. The latter is lax in its clear assignment of powers in foreign affairs to either the Federal Government or the provinces. A clarification of provincial powers in external affairs is attempted below.

4.1 Constitutional Foundation of Quebec's External Competence

Canadian constitutional law is particularly vague when it comes to external relations. In the first place, the British North America Act was not designed to meet the needs of a sovereign state. In 1867 the British Government retained the unquestioned authority to regulate international affairs for Canada. Hence the BNA Act provided for a sharing of authority between the various levels of local government (Johannson, 1978, p. 359) such that federal and provincial governments had jurisdiction only over areas of internal concern to Canada. This situation is uncommon in federations. Indeed, Brossard (1974, p. 451) notes that Canada is the sole federation in which the constitution does not expressly assign to the central government all powers in the matter of foreign policy, not even the right to be represented overseas or to conclude treaties.

The silence of the constitution in regards to international affairs made it inevitable that federal-provincial conflicts would arise. On the one hand the BNA Act states that the federal government does possess the sovereign right to legislate in matters concerning Canada in its entirety - commerce, money, banks, transport, defence, etc. - and the provinces in matters of an "everyday" or "local" nature - education, justice administration, civil rights, health, land resources, etc. The federal government was also given the residual powers. However, the world of the 20th century is considerably altered from the one of the 1860s. What were then matters of a "local" nature now have a much wider field of influence. Clearly, areas of provincial competence, e.g.,

education, culture, resources now have an international dimension. Provincial government fonctionnaires visit other countries regularly to promote cultural exchanges, sales of resources and to attract investment. Multilateral organizations which embrace human rights, health matters, etc. (provincial concerns) are now abundant so that it is not surprising the provinces are more fully implicated in international activities.

Over the years the provinces have tested the extent of their international competence by resorting to court action. The ascension of Canada to full sovereignty in 1931 ushered in a period of renewed federal-provincial confrontations. The Statute of Westminster, which granted the Dominions sovereignty, made it clear that from that point on Great Britain and the other independent states of the Empire were equal in status in their domestic and external affairs. However, the Statute did not address issues relating to the Dominions' internal division of powers in foreign affairs. Three landmark decisions rendered by the Supreme Court of Canada in the 1930s helped clarify the picture. The Aero-nautics Case (1932), the Radio Case (1932) and the Labour Conventions Case (1937) have played determinant roles in establishing today's constitutional practice. This practice is summarized by the White Paper of 1968 which states:

...in official dealings with other countries, that is to say, in the conduct of foreign relations in the strict sense of that term, only the Federal Government is empowered to act on behalf of Canada. This statement applies to the negotiation and conclusion of treaties and other international agreements, to membership in international organizations, and to the right to accredit and receive diplomatic representatives (Federalism and International Relations, p. 47).

The White Paper, therefore, has as its fundamental premise that it is the responsibility of the Federal Government to conduct foreign affairs. Still, in a further consideration it does acknowledge the legitimate interests of the provinces to have some external competence by virtue of their domestic jurisdictions. MacGuigan (1981, p. 196) interprets the provision to mean that the Federal Government is willing to authorise the provinces to have contacts and specific "accords" with foreign countries provided there is no conflict or incompatibility with the foreign policy of Canada.

The federal position goes further. Despite the fact that the provinces are granted no treaty-making powers, the Federal Government allows them to enter into commercial contracts and bureaucratic arrangements of a non-binding nature with foreign governments. They may also open offices in foreign countries to cater to genuine provincial needs. Finally, the provinces may aid the Federal Government in treaty formulation in matters of provincial jurisdiction and can include themselves in Canadian delegations to international conferences, again where matters fall within provincial legislative authority (Johannson, 1978, pp. 361-62).

In theory, Quebec is subject to the same constraints as all the other provinces in the conduct of foreign policy. No special rules have been introduced for her benefit. Nevertheless, Quebec's international actions attract an inordinate amount of attention, in particular from observers who suspect each new undertaking is a ploy to advance independence. Although often unfounded,

these suspicions stem from the perception amongst many Quebec watchers that the province conducts its external affairs based upon an ideological doctrine. This is believed to have first appeared during the Quiet Revolution and to have gained impetus since the Parti Québécois came to power. Painchaud (1977b, p. 172) identifies three major elements he believes constitute this doctrine, which are:

- 1) Quebec claims the right, by reason of the silence of the Canadian Constitution on this point, to extend to the international level the same sovereignty as it has within its domestic jurisdictions, which in practice signifies it could sign treaties and adhere with full membership to international organizations dealing in any domain of its internal competence.
- 2) The Quebec Government proposes that it alone is competent to represent la société québécoise at the international level in matters touching its social and cultural development.
- 3) The principal challenges to modern industrial societies lie in the international sphere - thus the "state of Quebec", in collaboration with the Federal Government, must meet these challenges to the extent that they have an impact on Quebec's future socio-economic growth.

It is immediately obvious that the first element is in contradiction to the Federal Government's interpretation of provincial rights. The second also runs counter to federal thinking since acquiescence with Quebec's proposal would amount to acceptance of the "two

nations" concept in Canada, and imply admission that Quebec is not a province like all the others. Under the present federal regime the possibility of a concession of this order is remote. The third element gives grounds to believe cooperation is likely between the province and Ottawa, when it is realized that the "state of Quebec" in this instance refers to the political administration, not an independent country. All things considered, one can hardly fail to conclude that Quebec and Ottawa remain at odds in their respective interpretations of provincial competence in external affairs.

4.2 Emergence of Quebec on the International Scene

In the post World War II period the traditional society of Quebec underwent significant change. Secular thinking began to challenge the conservatism of the Catholic Church. By 1960 industrialization and rapid urbanization were contributing to the emergence of a dynamic francophone community. The "state of Quebec", that is the political institutions of the province, became the main agent of social change and "the centre of a territorial consciousness which alone could make tolerable and effective the difficult but necessary reforms of Quebec society" (Painchaud, 1977b, p. 170). In unprecedented numbers Quebecers began to identify with the political entity Quebec, in preference to Canada which now was of lower priority in their allegiance. They became more self-confident and assertive as the Quiet Revolution progressed. Their new self-awareness led them to seek a greater understanding of the international scene from which they had been long isolated, and demands grew for Quebec to proffer a higher

profile in the world. Establishment of relations with France, the aloof "mother country", was the logical starting point for a Quebec international presence.

The Lesage Liberal Government of the early sixties responded to Quebecers' heightened desire to affirm their identity by placing much emphasis on overseas contacts. Until the Quiet Revolution, the image of Quebec evoked minimal response in world public opinion because little was known about it. Even amongst those familiar with the region Quebec was deemed to be an introspective society. Hence, the 1961 opening of a Délégation générale du Québec in Paris was hailed as a great step forward and it was deemed to herald a new era for Quebec in its external relations.

The significance of the Paris delegation was above all symbolic. Quebec-France relations were not to blossom overnight, rather the undertaking demonstrated Quebec's determination to come out of its shell. Nor was this opening of an overseas delegation the first by a Canadian province. Ontario already had foreign offices by this time in New York, London, Dusseldorf and Milan (Montenero, 1981, p. 69). What is more, Quebec itself had established a precursor to this delegation, also in France, in the late 19th century. In 1882 Hector Fabre had been appointed commissaire général à Paris whose responsibilities were to manage Quebec's commercial and financial exchanges with France. Canada, meanwhile, had yet to open any overseas embassies or high commissions so Fabre subsequently was requested to fill the post of the Canadian Government's representative to France. He

held the dual appointments till his death in 1910.

Other than the official visit to France in the 1880s by the then premier of the province Honoré Mercier, the Paris mission of Hector Fabre stands as Quebec's first official overture to the world. Léger (1976, p. 73) refers to this as "une sorte de grande retrouvailles avec la mère - patrie", a sentimental reunion with the mother country. Ironically, just as Quebec re-established links with France, Canada began to assert its international rights and it assumed the functions of the Quebec offices.

Following a promising start, Quebec official contacts with France fell dormant through the greater part of the 20th century, until the 1961 opening of the Paris delegation. In part, this prolonged spell of inactivity is accounted for by the incompatibility between staunchly Catholic Quebec and atheist France, and by the Canadian Government's monopolization of official overseas representations. According to Painchaud (1977b, p. 171) the internationalization of Quebec Government action in the early sixties was undertaken for purely pragmatic reasons and was not inspired by nationalistic ambitions. Lesage, the principal architect shaping the new Quebec at this stage, was a declared federalist. Under his guidance Quebec sought governmental cooperation with France in areas of practical concern, such as the reform of the educational system. To this effect a far reaching accord was reached between Quebec and France in February 1965. Perhaps its major provision was the creation of a Commission permanente de Coopération franco-québécoise which ensured a continuity for government interaction. Later in the year the province also signed a cultural accord with France.

Not altogether content with Quebec's way of doing business Ottawa attempted to neutralize the accords by signing a cultural treaty of its own with France in November 1965. Montenero (1981, p. 62) suggests there had been a race to the tape by Quebec City and Ottawa to be the first to have the French sign an agreement with their respective governments. Certainly, the Federal Government did seem to have allowed the Quebec Government a bit of rope from 1960 to 1965 but with these new accords Ottawa began to dig in its heels hoping to halt further Quebec initiatives (Brossard, 1974, p. 456). By this time in the mid-sixties nationalism in Quebec was starting to raise its head. Ottawa feared that if it was too lenient with the leaders in the provincial capital Quebec would soon seek to extend its new found international freedom into all the other areas of social activity. Two events in the late sixties did little to alleviate these fears.

The first of the two events, both chronologically and in its lasting impact, was the visit to Canada by General de Gaulle in 1967. More is said about that historic event below. Secondly, 1968 witnessed an event involving Quebec which caused an international incident and led Canada to break-off diplomatic relations with the African country Gabon. In that year Gabon played host to La Conférence des Ministres de l'Education de France, d'Afrique et de Madagascar in its capital city, Libreville. According to international protocol it is expected that only independent states be invited to meetings of that nature. Yet Gabon chose to bypass the Federal Government of Canada and invite Quebec. Despite federal warnings to both parties Gabon refused to withdraw the

invitation and Quebec sent delegates to Libreville. In retaliation, Canada severed ties with Gabon, which was meant to serve as a warning to any other countries contemplating playing politics with the Canada-Quebec situation. The significance of the event went beyond this, however. The attendance of Quebec marked a first in its multilateral relations since never before had it been accorded recognition worthy of a fully sovereign country at an international gathering. For the conference of French-speaking countries it also set a precedent (Chappelaine, 1979, p. 2). By inviting Quebec, a North American community, to their proceedings the exclusive circle of relations between France and the African former colonies was broken. They now demonstrated a willingness to extend their outreach beyond their own select group. Preliminary signs were appearing that La Francophonie was in the process of formation.

4.3 De Gaulle, Quebec and La Francophonie

De Gaulle was surrounded by controversy throughout most of his presidential tenure. On many fronts he was severely criticized by Frenchmen and foreigners alike. Following his infamous declaration of "Vive le Québec libre!", from the balcony of Montreal City Hall in 1967, he received more than his normal share of negative commentary. Many claim his pronouncement to have been a premeditated affront to Canada. To adopt such an attitude might well be to misinterpret history. In 1979, a conference was held in Quebec City to address the relations of De Gaulle with Quebec. It brought together experts on Gaullienne studies from around the world. The consensus from this gathering was that

De Gaulle's exclamation was a spontaneous response to and affirmation of the nationalism being expressed by the crowd. It was not an aggressive outburst on his part designed to provoke the federalists (Le Général De Gaulle, 1979).

Being who he was, one of the last greats of the Second World War and a captivating world leader, the gestures and utterances of De Gaulle attracted worldwide attention. It should not be surprising, therefore, that the fallout from his bold declaration that July day was to considerably affect the future of Quebec. For the most part ignored by the globe to that point, Quebec suddenly found itself projected onto the international stage in a blaze of publicity. De Gaulle's choice of the word libre was politically explosive given the circumstances. Nonetheless, its use demonstrated that he had been observant during his official visit to Canada. He had assessed the crisis in the State of Canada and had succinctly summed up the mood in Quebec with this evocative term. Far from being the instigator of the Quebec agitation De Gaulle had been caught up in an existing movement. As Bled (1979, p. 14) states "General De Gaulle didn't invent the Quebec renewal. He observed it and revealed it to the world".

In his comportment vis-à-vis Quebec De Gaulle was guided by his belief in the right of peoples to decide freely their own future. Freedom and national liberty had strong associations for him dating from the epoch of the Free French and, following that, the decolonization of French West Africa. Subsequent to these events De Gaulle proposed that it was the duty of France "to support a principle as large as the earth, that of the right of

a people to determine its own destiny, just as soon as it has the will and capacity to do so"*(Burin des Roziers, 1979, p. 66). During his 1967 tour the French President felt he was witnessing a people taking its future into its own hands, and living up to the principle he pledged the support of France to the emerging nation. Rather than supporting separatism outright, De Gaulle was saying that it was upon the course Quebec itself chose that the attitude of France depended.

Of importance to this thesis are the international consequences to Quebec of De Gaulle's actions. Without question they conferred upon the French-speaking Quebec community a greater weight in the francophone world than it had exerted before. In particular, Quebec gained in stature in the eyes of African francophones. Dreams of an institutionalized francophonie comprising the disparate French-speaking communities of Africa, Europe, North America, South East Asia, the Indian Ocean and the Caribbean seemed more realizable as contracts between them intensified. Quebec solidified its international presence at the conference of Libreville (1968) and then those of Niamey (1969-1970), which led to the formation of L'Agence de Coopération culturelle et technique.

By 1971, when Quebec attained "participating government" status in the ACCT, La Francophonie occupied pride of place in Quebec's international relations. Since it offered the opportunity for an international extension of the "French fact" in North America (Montenero, 1981, p. 56), Quebec's adherence to L'Agence helped ease its concern for the survival of the French language

and culture in an Anglo-Saxon continent. Expectations were high amongst the political elites of Quebec City that La Francophonie would represent the backbone of the province's external affairs for decades to come. Ironically, De Gaulle had been very reserved during his presidency in regards to the creation of an institutionalized francophonie. Despite his failure in 1958 to establish a lasting Communauté Franco-Africaine (a quasi-federation between France and French West Africa), De Gaulle in later years still jealously guarded France's bilateral relations with former French African colonies. He was in no hurry to see Quebec, Canada or any other political unit impinge upon these privileged relationships. So, although De Gaulle was keen to put Quebec on the international map he in fact did little to facilitate Quebec's entry into the emerging multilateral franco-phone organization, i.e., ACCT. It was not until De Gaulle left the political stage that France's attitude towards Quebec in this regard began to soften. In any case, as the 1970s progressed Quebec diversified its foreign relations and La Francophonie, while remaining important, did not monopolise Quebec's international commitments as it once had.

4.4 Present Trends in Quebec's External Relations

Not forgetting the claim by the Quebec Minister of Intergovernmental Affairs to the effect that La Francophonie still constitutes Quebec's most important link with the outside world (supra, p. 1), the recent record would suggest other concerns now challenge its place of preeminence in Quebec's foreign affairs. According to Mme. Jacomy-Millette (personal communication, July

27th, 1982) L'Agence is presently only one of six or seven areas of external policy which preoccupy the Quebec Government. She suggests L'Agence is not now the organization envisaged in the early 1970s. Certainly, circumstances have evolved markedly since then. The global energy crisis and the more recent world economic recession have served to alter the priorities of governments. Financial and commercial matters invariably supercede cultural concerns in these economically depressed times. The ACCT is ill-equipped to grapple with economic problems so its relative importance to Quebec has declined.

In light of the economic situation of the 1980s Quebec recognizes it cannot ignore the mounting forces of continentalization in North America. Obviously reticent to cede on the cultural or linguistic front, Quebec acknowledges the necessity of greater economic integration with the USA. In the first place the province is highly dependent on New York money markets to raise capital for its industrial projects, most notably the James Bay hydro-electric scheme whose budget is in the multi-billion dollar category. Secondly, the elevated provincial budgetary deficit is financed in part by borrowing from the USA and Quebec has been very active in convincing American lending institutions that the province continues to merit high credit ratings. Thirdly, Quebec has been anxious of late to sell its surplus of electricity, which has resulted from reduced consumer demand, and it has sought to find markets in the eastern United States. To this end major agreements worth billions of dollars were announced between Hydro-Quebec and the New England States in early 1983.

Quebec's allocation of resources to solidify the USA connection has grown recently as reflected in administrative changes. In 1979 the Ministry of Intergovernmental Affairs was re-organized into geographic zones at which time a Direction Etats-Unis was created. France was the only other lone country assigned a directorate, the rest of the world being divided into directorates serving Europe, Latin America, Africa and Asia-Oceania (Rapport Annuel, MAIQ, 1980-81). Evidently, the allotment of a distinctive directorate to the United States was a measure to meet expected new initiatives with this country. Furthermore, Quebec continues to expand its network of official delegations in the USA. Most recently a tourist bureau was opened in Washington D.C. and a full delegation in Atlanta. These joined existing Délégations Générales in New York, Chicago, Los Angeles, Dallas, Boston and Lafayette. It can be seen from Figure 4.1 that the United States hosts close to 50 per cent of Quebec delegations outside of Canada. With the exception of the Lafayette and Boston delegations, the remaining American delegations are almost exclusively concerned with financial and trade matters.

Supplementary to its relations with France and the USA and its multilateral relations with La Francophonie, Quebec pursues bilateral relations with other countries, in particular Belgium. Historically, relations between the two have not been highly structured. A watershed was reached at the time of Premier Lévesque's official visit to Belgium in December 1980. To follow up on accords reached at that time La Commission permanente Québec - Communauté française de Belgique was created in November

FIGURE 4.1
QUEBEC FOREIGN DELEGATIONS¹

Paris	Tokyo	New York	Atlanta
London	Caracas	Chicago	Dallas
Brussels	Mexico	Lafayette	Boston
Dusseldorf	Milan	Los Angeles	

¹Quebec also has full delegations in Toronto, Moncton and Edmonton.

N.B. Below the level of a full delegation Quebec has an office in Haiti, immigration bureaus in Hong Kong, Lisbon and Rome, a tourist office in Washington DC, a cooperation representative in Abidjan and a ministerial counsellor in Gabon.

Source: Rapport Annuel 80-81, MAIQ

1982. The commission's mandate is to develop cooperative programmes between the two communities in the domains of education, professional training, health and culture. Another event reinforcing the links between the two communities was the establishment in 1982 of La Délégation Wallonie-Bruxelles in Quebec City. To the province, this marked the first occasion that it had hosted a delegation from a foreign regional government. It was also a precedent for the French speaking community of Belgium since this was the first official representation it had made abroad since gaining autonomy less than a year before. To both parties these were significant undertakings as indicated in their joint statement that cooperation between them was "indispensable to the equilibrium and development of international francophone relations"*(Le Devoir, 4th November 1982).

Assuredly, contacts with the United States and Belgium will continue to develop in the 1980s. Other developments may unfold. Montenero (personal communication, September 2nd, 1982) suggests La Conférence des Communautés ethniques de langue française is receiving greater attention from Quebec. Although this is a non-governmental assembly of European and North American French ethnic communities, the Quebec Government has indirect ties to this group through le Mouvement national des québécois (MNQ). The MNQ itself represents approximately 200,000 members of the provincial St. Jean Baptiste societies (Le Devoir, 19th August 1982) from which the Parti Québécois draws great strength. Thus la francité, as the conférence is more commonly entitled, offers the Quebec Government an unofficial outlet from which to channel many political

and economic representations. Resolutions condemning the Canadian Government for its patriation of the Constitution have already been adopted by this body at the behest of the MNQ. On the economic front the Quebec delegates have also been active, hoping to promote greater trade between the member francophone communities (Montenero, personal communication, 2nd September 1982).

Finally, there are two other eventualities which may have an impact on Quebec's external relations within the foreseeable future. Prime Minister Trudeau has been a strong exponent of an expanded francophonie, advocating une Communauté organique. He has proposed that heads-of-state of the ACCT countries meet regularly, somewhat in the tradition of the Commonwealth, to address pressing international problems of the day (Trudeau, 1982, p. 5). He contends, though, that Quebec be excluded from this consultation of sovereign states. Already France and Canada have been at loggerheads over the right of Quebec to a seat at the inaugural summit scheduled for Dakar in 1980. Because of this dispute the summit was scrapped. This has caused Quebec to harden its position. Jacques-Yvan Morin has shown the bitterness of the P.Q. Government in this matter when he stated "(Trudeau's) great dream is to erase as soon as possible our (Quebec's) presence on the international scene"*(La Presse, 13th November 1982).

Secondly, Painchaud (Le Soleil, 16th February 1979 and 1977b, p. 162) speculates as to the future of Quebec's external relations. Writing before the 1980 referendum when sovereignty-association was still at issue, Painchaud felt that no matter the result of

the plebiscite a new form of federalism would result. This he termed "diplomatic federalism" which has much in common with elements proposed by the Pepin-Robarts Commission on the future of provincial rights in external affairs. Painchaud's proposition seems to be a pragmatic assessment of a possible path Quebec's external affairs will follow in the 1980s. Essentially, he foresees that a political system will evolve in Canada in which territorial components will simultaneously share sovereignty at the external level. Thus provinces such as Quebec will have partial access to the international system overall, but full and direct access at the level of their internal competence. Potentially, a compromise of this order could resolve issues such as the rightful place of Quebec at a francophonie summit.

Summation

The Canadian Constitution has never clearly assigned responsibility for Canada's external affairs to either the Federal Government or the provinces. In effect, Quebec took advantage of the silence of the Constitution on this point when, in the 1960s, it took initiatives to extend its international competence. Incidents such as the 1968 education conference, in which Gabon hosted Quebec as if the latter were a sovereign state, exacerbated Quebec City-Ottawa differences in external affairs. The result of De Gaulle's state visit to Canada in 1967 raised the issue of Quebec in the consciousness of the world's francophones. Visions of an institutionalized francophonie began to materialize. Quebec became a "participating government" in the ACCP in 1971 and simultaneously this organization became the province's number one

foreign affairs concern. Presently, Quebec's ties with Belgium and the French ethnic community, and its economic exchanges with the USA, challenge the ACCT as the province's preeminent foreign policy area. Within North America, Quebec is engaged in the enrichment of its contacts with the dispersed French-speaking communities of the continent. Chapter Five expounds upon these contacts.

CHAPTER FIVE

QUEBEC: CULTURAL CORE AREA TO FRANCOPHONES

IN NORTH AMERICA

In Chapter 2 the problem of political recognition for sub-state identities was addressed. It was noted that distinctive cultural groups may operate at any of a number of scales of territorial identity, perhaps at several levels simultaneously. The scales of identity may range from parish to continent or beyond. Waddell (1982a, p. 149) has remarked that these different levels of belonging "represent necessary options or choices for the survival of a people or cultural tradition". It is recognized that the historical hearth of French culture in North America is Quebec. But L'espace vécu of francophones in North America has continental dimensions. Francophones elsewhere than Quebec find their culture especially beleaguered. Consequently, it is germane to this thesis to investigate the extent to which Franco-Americans and French-Canadians outside Quebec look to contemporary Quebec to act as a vibrant core area.

In the context of political geography core areas may be regarded as ethnic or cultural cores or as political/administrative cores (Cartwright, 1973, p. 23). In reference to the state, Burghardt (1969, p. 352) refers to the core area as the "area where the characteristics of the region find their most intense expression and their clearest manifestation". If one were to view North America strictly in its French cultural aspect, one might suggest it is a cultural region in which Quebec best corresponds to core area. For example, the greatest francophone population

of any Canadian province or American state is concentrated here. Politically, Quebec is the most highly organized French community on the continent. Quebec also harbours the headquarters of more francophone institutions than anywhere else on the continent. Francophones beyond Quebec look to it as a focus for their cultural manifestations.

The most appropriate method to ascertain the degree to which Quebec actually functions as a cultural core area is to develop measures of contact and interaction between the province and the other French communities on the continent. These measures include evaluations of French home-language populations in the communities and the amount of cooperation Quebec carries out with them. Many communities receive direct financial aid from the Quebec Government. This chapter is devoted to incorporating these measures into a model which is in the form of a hierarchy of association. Based on Whebell's (1968, p. 109) hierarchical continuum, which charts rank-orders of territorial organization, the model must be understood in light of the historical diaspora of French-speakers from the "cradle" in Quebec to far regions of the continent. The evolution of Quebec as a cultural heartland is traced in section one.

5.1 St. Lawrence River Valley: Historical Heartland

By the 18th century there were three distinct francophone settlements in North America. These were Quebec Acadia and Louisiana (Savard, personal communication, May 4th, 1983). As time progressed the latter two became increasingly peripheral and Quebec assumed the undisputed role as dominant centre of French

culture on the continent. In the post-conquest era Quebec continued its evolution as an overwhelmingly rural society. The habitants chose to settle on the arable lands of the St. Lawrence River Lowlands and by the early 19th century the seignories straddling the river had become heavily populated. There was evidence, here, of a French-Canadian nation in the making. Bonded by deep attachments to the soil and the river and exhibiting a high degree of internal cohesion based on commonalities of language, religion and historical experience the St. Lawrence River Valley became a "referential universe" for the emerging nation (Waddell, 1982b, p. 135).

In the early 19th century the fulcrum that agriculture represented to French-Canadian society developed a flaw (McRoberts and Posgate, 1980, p. 28). This flaw was overpopulation. By the third decade of the century population growth in the St. Lawrence Valley had begun to outpace the capacity of the people to clear productive land. Sons in large families had little hope of establishing their own farms. The alternatives for them were to make do where they were or to move away (Cartwright, 1980, p. 14). Encouraged and directed by the colonization programmes, many young left the heartland and set themselves up on the more marginal lands of the Shield or in the Eastern Townships. Even more were prompted to move to the United States whose lands and mills promised higher economic returns and relief from land scarcity and the pressures of high density settlement.

Of those migrants willing to leave the close knit community of the St. Lawrence heartland and move to the United States, New

England and the Mid-West were the favourite destinations. Between 1840 and 1857 Lanctot (1941, p. 295) estimates 75,000 French-Canadians moved south to settle in America. Fearful of the social disruption this drain of human resources would have on Quebec, the authorities, in particular the clergy, took steps to stem the flow. To perpetuate the traditional society as they wished, the elites had to persuade would-be emigrants to at least relocate within Quebec even though the most favorable lands had already been claimed. To this end colonization societies were instituted in the 1840s to direct families to the Eastern Townships, the Beauce, Lac St. Jean (Lanctot, 1941, p. 295) and the Ottawa River Valley (Cartwright, 1980, p. 17). Despite the efforts of these colonization societies the hemorrhage to the United States persisted. By the 1860s the out-migration of French-Canadians had become a flood and the dispersion of French communities across the continent was a veritable diaspora.

5.2 Continental Diaspora

The penetration of the North American continent by French-Canadians from Quebec has been significant and enduring. From the era of New France to date, Morissoneau (1979, pp. 29-37) proposes that mobility, or nomadism as he defines it, is one of the anchors of the Quebec identity. He speaks of un peuple sans frontières whose successive generations have constantly been on the move. In the same vein, L'Amérique française (Figure 5.1) can be described as follows:

At best it can be described as a hearth in Quebec and a diaspora that, for one generation, may be represented by the American Midwest, for another, New

FIGURE 5.1

FRENCH AMERICA

SOURCE: Based on WADDELL, 1982b

SCALE

0 1000
km

England, and for a third, Florida. Taken in this perspective, a radically different Quebec emerges. It is no longer defined in terms of legal or political history and the affairs of government, but rather in terms of a collective ethnic experience that assumes an independent continental trajectory (Waddell, 1982b, p. 137).

Elsewhere, Waddell (1982a, pp. 146-148) attempts to account for the longtime mobility of many Quebecers. He sees two sub-cultures in Quebec civilization, one dominated by an historical axis, the other by a geographical axis. In the former, French-Canadian society as perceived by the elites is deemed to be rooted in the past and tightly circumscribed by a receding territory. Presently, the elites have adopted the institution of the State to protect their society and rectify errors of the past. In stark contrast is the perception of the population at large. Waddell refers to these lower classes as a "nation of adventurers" whose concerns are spatial. Their adventure has lead them across North America as they have sought to meet the challenges of the successive resource frontiers, i.e., furs, forest, factory, mines, and now the sun in Florida and California!

From the epoch of the voyageurs French-Canadians have indeed spread out across the American continent. The Métis settlements of the Great Lakes and Canadian West owe their origins in part to sons of the St. Lawrence heartland. Prior to 1840 states such as Indiana, Illinois and Michigan attracted Quebecers intent on cashing in on land grants. The first sizable emigrations from Quebec were to the American Mid-west and they peaked between 1840 and 1860. In the latter half of the century French-Canadian communities also became entrenched in states such as Wisconsin,

Minnesota and North Dakota and as far afield as Kansas (McQuillan, 1979). Settlers were enticed by employment opportunities along the farming, lumbering and mining frontiers.

Meanwhile in the east the exodus to New England began. Harris and Warkentin (1974, p. 106) contend that by 1860 the very continuity of the rural system depended on emigration. By this time great numbers of French-Canadians were seeking jobs in the sawmills and textile factories of Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, Massachusetts and Rhode Island. By the end of the century the tide of emigration to New England had reached such proportions that a second national hearth had taken root alongside the one of the St. Lawrence Valley. Appropriately, Anctil (1979, p. 39) refers to this community as le Québec d'en bas, the Quebec of down below!

Even modern demographic research cannot uncover a definitive total of the number of Quebecers lost to America in the 19th century (Hayne, 1982, p. 12). Seasonal migration and ignorance of the number of persons who resettled in Quebec distorts a true reading of the situation. Vicero (1980, p. 6) contends New England knew a net immigration of nearly 340,000 French-Canadians between 1850 and 1900. By 1900 the internal growth of the community brought its numbers to 575,000, that is to say 60% of francophones in the U.S.A.

Waves of emigration continued into the 20th century and it was not until the economic crisis of 1929 that the exodus was halted owing to the closure of the American frontier. By 1932 Lanctot (1941, p. 297) contends there were 2,000,000 French-

Canadians in the USA (including those born in America), which is a startling figure when it is known the population of Quebec was only 3,000,000 at this time. By 1960 Theriault (1960, p. 392) estimates the Franco-American population in New England alone approached one million, yet assimilation would be having its effects by then. Nonetheless, at that time the greatest congregation of French-speakers in North America outside Quebec was to be found in New England.

What of Quebecers leaving Quebec but remaining within Canada? Most of the internal migration was to Ontario although some thousands did move to the Canadian West. At one time it seemed the Prairies might attract numbers equivalent to those going to New England. In the 1840s the Quebec clergy openly deplored the exodus to the USA and ~~certain of them~~ recognized the lesser evil of francophones moving to Manitoba if they were obliged to leave Quebec. Their priority was to see francophones remain in Canada. However, following the Riel Rebellions and judicial setbacks to French language rights, the West acquired the image of a hostile environment for francophones. The work of missionaires-colonisateurs to attract Quebecers to the Prairies went relatively unrewarded. Despite Federal Government grants to relocate French-Canadians from New England to the Prairies the trickle West did not become a flood. Influential Quebecers such as the journalist J.P. Tardivel were doing their utmost by the 1890s to dissuade francophones from going to the Prairies (Lalonde, 1979, p. 183). At the turn of the century many of the Quebec clergy were much more convinced of the merits of Ontario as a place where franco-

phones could settle, yet be in close contact with the heartland of French Canada. The perception was their culture would be more secure in Ontario than in the isolation of the West. By 1900 there were at least 160,000 francophones in Ontario (Lalonde, 1979, p. 184).

5.3 Quebec as Cultural Core Area To-day

Assimilation of Franco-Americans has been substantial in recent years. In New England, especially, French is rapidly disappearing as a home language. Santerre (1978, p. 57) reveals that the United States census of 1970 attributes 908,000 French mother-tongue residents to this region. Yet studies show that less than 10 per cent of young so called francophones can speak French (Blouin, 1983, p. 70). In Louisiana French remains entrenched amongst the rurally dispersed Cajuns but of the 500,000 francophones assimilation on the whole is widespread. The disappearance of French as a home language amongst **certain** Canadian francophones outside Quebec is well documented. Given this assessment, what is the evidence of contact and interaction between these communities and Quebec and to what degree do they regard it as their cultural core area?

Official Quebec statements leave little doubt Quebec considers itself the hub of francophone life in North America. The Annual Report of the Ministry of Intergovernmental Affairs (1979, p. 46) talks of Quebec welcoming francophones to an assembly in 1978 "by virtue of its role as the core of the North American francophonie"* Waddell (1982b, p. 147) believes that in the 1960s Quebec determined that its foreign policy needed to be

articulated through the francophone minorities of the continent. Frégault, who as Minister of Culture was responsible for policy, is quoted by Waddell as stating: "To create Quebec, it is first necessary to become known amongst the others, by being of service and being available". Premier Lévesque talks of privileged relations with North American francophones in his commitments of cooperation with them (Le Devoir, 6th July 1981). Annual encounters with them were instituted, he says, not to promote Quebec cultural hegemony but to allow francophones the wherewithal to reinvigorate their culture on this continent.

The distressing state of Franco-American culture in New England has been addressed by many Franco-Americans themselves. Claire Bolduc from Maine sees some hope for her culture but she maintains that "too often it is rendered valueless and inauthentic and it is losing its vitality". She describes Franco-American self-depreciation as "profound and paralyzing" (Bolduc, 1976, p. 105). Some refer to francophones in New England as the invisible people. Perreault (1983, p. 71) says his New England francophone culture amounts to little more than a knot of historians and genealogists.

French culture in New England is anemic. Ties with Quebec are consequently limited and invariably amount to little more than nostalgic expressions of comradeship which are ineffective in rebuilding Franco-American society. Still, many Franco-Americans espouse intensified links. Claire Quintal, director of the French Institute at Collège de L'Assomption, Worcester, Mass., says "We are not far from Quebec, after all. Quebec is welcoming,

Quebec is engaging and people are rediscovering Quebec"*and she underlines it is essential that Franco-Americans take full advantage of it at their doorstep (Quintal, 1983, p. 60), Santerre (1978, p. 57) who is secretary of the Manchester, New Hampshire Franco-American society states "the passion to get to know one another will always be one of the strongest ties uniting Quebec and the United States, and to-day as in the past, Franco-Americans from the United States turn with affection to Quebec, cradle of French blood in North America"* A Roman Catholic prelate from New England emphasised the symbolic value of Quebec in addition to its utility as a core from which to draw cultural resources needed to revive his threatened culture. His testimony was given before the 1974 annual meeting of le Conseil de la Vie française en Amérique in Quebec, to which members of the Bilingual Districts Advisory Board were invited (Cartwright, personal communication, May 1983). Finally, the French rights activist Yvon Labbé, editor of the Maine publication FAROG Forum, reiterates that ties with Quebec must be strengthened, but he warns Quebecers:

We are in the same boat. That which is happening to us is going to happen to Quebec...We can help Quebecers to see, to see themselves two generations from now. Because we are there...We must start to help each other, then to understand the interdependence of things, even if there is a frontier. Disregard the frontier; the large multinationals disregard frontiers*(Labbé, 1983, p. 53).

The situation in Louisiana is different from that of New England. Connections with Quebec have been fragmentary owing to distance and settlement history. Nonetheless, there exists a somewhat more enduring French culture in Louisiana with which

Quebec can interact. Gold (1982, p. 39) makes clear that the academic study Projet Louisiane enumerates Louisianans using French on a daily basis, often as the language of work, at 200,000. However, the French culture in the state is heterogeneous and generalizations about it must be made with caution. For example, the French-speaking community is both urban and rural, split into Creoles and Cajuns and territorially dispersed in four distinct physical regions. Gold emphasises that the survival of French in Louisiana is a local level phenomenon and should be understood in this context.

Louder and Waddell (1979, p. 193) refer to Louisiana as an outpost of French America whose heart and sole is in Quebec. It is an island in the great archipelago of la francophonie nord-américaine. These islands have just recently developed a heightened desire to offer each other more support. They look to Quebec as a source of information and encouragement and Quebec in turn looks to the islands in quest of support for its political and national project (Louder, Morissoneau, Waddell, 1979, p. 9). Since the late 1960s, and most notably within the past 5 years, Quebec has formalized relations with francophone communities across the continent.

The principal institutionalized Quebec Government contacts with Franco-America are highlighted in Table 5.1. Situated within Quebec are three institutions all of which have been created since 1978. As a follow up to the successful 1978 Retour aux Sources festival held in Quebec City, the provincial government established a corporation whose primary responsibility is to

TABLE 5.1

Institutionalized Quebec Contacts with Franco-America

1. Quebec Based Governmental Institutions Serving Franco-Americans.
 - a) Corporation des Rencontres des francophones d'Amérique du Nord
 - Responsible for organizing the annual convention of North American francophones in Quebec City
 - b) Secrétariat permanent des peuples francophones
 - headquartered in Quebec City; council composed of representatives from all major francophone communities of N.A.
 - c) Centre culturel pour les francophones d'Amérique
 - based in Quebec City; information centre for North American francophonie
2. Quebec Based Non-Governmental Institution Serving Franco-Americans
 - a) Conseil de la Vie française en Amérique
 - select membership of motivated francophones from across N.A.
3. American Based Institution Serving All Franco-Americans
 - a) Assemblée des Franco-Americans
 - central co-ordinating body for the disparate American French cultural associations; equivalent to F.F.H.Q. in Canada
4. New England Institutions
 - a) ACTFANE
 - Action pour les Franco Américains du Nord-Est; funded at the outset by Quebec; umbrella organization for the north east United States; based in Manchester, New Hampshire
 - b) Délégation générale du Québec à Boston
 - The official Quebec Government office in New England; concerned with both economic and cultural matters

cont'd.....

Table 5.1 cont'd.

5. Louisiana Institutions

a) CODOFIL

- Council for the Development of French in Louisiana; state sanctioned organizing body for francophones in Louisiana

b) Délégation Générale du Québec à Lafayette

- Lafayette is the accepted francophone cultural capital of Louisiana; Quebec programmes here are almost exclusively of a cultural nature

c) Comité conjoint Québec-Louisiane

- Meets alternatively each year in Quebec and Louisiana; channels Quebec aid and cooperation to areas deemed to be of priority by Louisianans

Source: Compiled by author.

organize the Rencontres des francophones d'Amérique du Nord, now held annually. Francophones from Newfoundland to California participate each July in this congress held in la vieille capitale. In 1981 the Secrétariat permanent des peuples francophones was established in Quebec City. It promotes the diffusion of socio-cultural activities amongst French communities with emphasis on North America. Representatives from across Canada and from New England, Louisiana, the American Mid-West and California are on the committee (Le Journal de Lowell, Mass., January 1982). Finally, the Centre culturel pour les communautés francophones d'Amérique was opened in 1982. It serves as a meeting facility and resource centre for francophonie.

The Assemblée des Franco-Américains, headquartered in Rhode Island and dating from 1980, is the American equivalent of Canada's Fédération des francophones hors Québec. Quebec support for it is channeled through the Secrétariat permanent. The doyen of francophone organizations linking Canada and Quebec is the Conseil de la Vie française en Amérique. The Quebec Government collaborates with it in organizing the Rencontres. Since its founding in 1937 membership of the Conseil has been small but active. Members come from across the continent and multivarious forms of interaction between the communities of the diaspora, e.g., the trimestrielle revue Vie Française, are inspired from this source.

Quebec has direct links with the Franco-Americans of New England and Louisiana. The Délégation générale in Boston serves both economic and cultural functions. Quebec also financed the

founding of ACTFANE in 1980, a boost to the francophones of the north-east who now have an umbrella organization to co-ordinate their social, cultural, political and educational associations.

Quebec ties with Louisiana are more far reaching. Co-operation with the state is conducted through CODOFIL which is the state para-governmental organization created in 1968 to oversee French-language programmes. Through the Délégation générale at Lafayette, Quebec has organized twinning of cities, musician exchanges and the engagement of Quebec youth to teach French in Louisiana schools (Louder, Morissoneau, Waddell, 1979, p. 9). The existence of the Comité conjoint Québec-Louisiane is further evidence of the priority given to relations between the two. It meets annually and tackles problems relating to education and exchanges of mass-media resources.

Another chapter of interaction amongst North American francophones is the situation of contacts between Quebec and the francophone minorities in the Canadian provinces. They have become institutionalized recently. The Federal Government, of course, has an assortment of programmes to prop up the minorities. From the Quebec Government the main support mechanisms are its programmes of technical and financial aid to the Fédération des francophones hors Québec (F.F.H.Q.), and its associate provincial associations. The president of the F.F.H.Q. Mlle. Séguin talks of a "very rich collaboration" between her umbrella organization and the Quebec Government. She continues:

The financial and technical aid the Quebec Government has furnished to our associations over the past three years has been extremely useful while being characterized by a scrupulous respect for our priorities.

In this respect it is of consequence to insist on the fact that over this period francophones outside Quebec have received significantly more aid from the Quebec Government than from their respective provincial governments* (Le Devoir, 2nd September 1981).

Whereas the monetary value of Quebec aid to the minorities totaled \$1.5 million in the 15 years prior to 1975, over the past 4 years the annual figure has increased and now stands at \$500,000 (Le Franco, Edmonton, 11th August 1982).

Lesage used to speak of Quebec as "le point d'appui" for all of French Canada (Vie Française, 1982, p. 25). Presently the P.Q. Government insists upon the moral responsibility of Quebec to support the minorities. The F.F.H.Q. is allowed to decide on its own the projects for funding. Since 1978, the second year of the financial and technical aid programme, the F.F.H.Q. has favoured technical to financial aid. Technical aid is received in the form of experts loaned by the Quebec Government to the provincial associations for varying time periods. The experts assist in specialized fields where local expertise is lacking. Up to 1981, 38 Quebecers were lent under the programme (Le Courrier, 30th September, 1981).

Since 1981 the Ministry of Intergovernmental Affairs has also instituted a programme that assists francophone groups that are not affiliated with the F.F.H.Q. This programme d'appui à des initiatives multiples (P.A.I.M.) accommodates many worthwhile projects that can be demonstrated to contribute to an enrichment of French culture amongst the francophone minorities. Limited funds restrict the number of programmes the Quebec Government can support.

5.4 Hierarchy of Association Model - North America

The proposed hierarchy of association model is a composite of two rank-order scales which together depict the intensity of Quebec contacts with individual francophone communities of North America. The first scale is an assessment of the international contacts Quebec has with Franco-America. The second scale is national in scope and it encompasses Quebec interaction with the provincial French-Canadian communities.

Stemming from the preceding discussion of the strengths of Franco-American communities and the range of their institutionalized contacts with Quebec, the rank-order scale of Table 5.2 has been devised for Franco-America. Louisiana rates the highest ranking because its higher degree of internal organization permits it a broader range of cooperation with Quebec. New England's contacts on the other hand are still somewhat rudimentary owing to the breakdown of its francophone institutions. New England is followed on the scale by three communities on much the same footing, namely California, Florida and the Mid-West. Although California and the Mid-West maintain francophone associations they have no direct links with Quebec. Florida has a growing French-speaking population estimated at over 150,000 full-time residents but again direct links with Quebec are lacking.

It is more complex to measure the linkages between Quebec and the provincial French-speaking minorities. Nevertheless the best indicator of the intensity of relations a given minority has with la belle province is its own internal strength. Consequently, the criteria used to establish the second rank-order scale of the

TABLE 5.2Rank-Order Scale of Quebec Contacts with Franco-American Communities

<u>Rank Order</u>	<u>Community</u>
1	Louisiana
2	New England
3 =	Florida Mid-West California

TABLE 5.3Rank-Order Scale of Provincial Minorities by French Home-Language

<u>Rank-Order</u>	<u>Populations</u>	<u>Province</u>
1	332,940	Ontario
2	216,585	New Brunswick
3	31,040	Manitoba
4	29,550	Alberta
5	24,450	Nova Scotia
6	15,125	British Columbia
7	10,090	Saskatchewan
8	3,730	Prince Edward Island
9	1,810	Newfoundland

Source: 1981 Census of Canada

hierarchy include: a measure of the "critical mass" of the provincial francophone communities; an assessment of pupil enrolments in provincial minority-language (French) education programmes; and third, an evaluation of direct Quebec Government aid to provincial francophone associations.

The "critical mass" of a minority group is helpful in determining the group's strength. Once a group reaches a certain size it can support local institutions such as autonomous French school boards, caisses and church parishes which it could not do if it were smaller. This is analogous to the "take-off" concept in urban geography where cities reaching approximately 600,000 become capable of supporting a variety of new functions they could not support when they were marginally smaller. By inference, as populations exceed the threshold of this "critical mass" then the provincial minorities should be better equipped to interact with Quebec. New Brunswick and Ontario are examples in Canada of francophone minorities where the populations are large enough to have the infrastructure necessary for significant interaction with Quebec. Their position relative to the other provincial minorities is shown in Table 5.3. Rankings are ordered according to the size of the provincial French home-language populations.

Education is absolutely fundamental to the preservation of language and cultural traits. Hence the significance of examining enrolments in programmes designed to provide mother tongue education to the provincial francophone minorities. Savard (personal communication, May 4th, 1983) has stressed the historical significance of Quebec teachers, generally from religious orders,

moving to the provinces and passing on their knowledge of Quebec to the local francophones. Aroused interest may prompt pupils to go on exchanges to Quebec. Local community interest in hosting Quebec artists or speakers may be heightened when the academic world takes the initiative, as personal experience has shown at Collège Mathieu, Gravelbourg, Saskatchewan and at the University of Regina Bilingual Centre. Sizable French-language school populations also give local francophone affairs a high profile. Provincial governments may respond with increased funding which can lead Quebec, not wishing to be outdone, to respond in kind and maintain its reputation as the primary support for the francophone minorities. The rank-order scale of provincial enrolments in education programmes for French mother-tongue populations is presented in Table 5.4.

The third element selected for construction of the hierarchy is that of Quebec Government grants given directly to each provincial francophone association. Only the 1979 Annual Report of the Quebec Ministry of Intergovernmental Affairs, amongst the reports of the last 5 years, gives a full breakdown of this aid. Nonetheless, the rank-order pattern exhibited for the home language and pupil enrolment scales is confirmed by this third scale. The results appear in Table 5.5.

The hierarchy of association model in Figure 5.2 results from combining the rank-order scales for Franco-America and French-Canada. The evidence suggests that the level of institutionalized contact with Quebec, the cultural core area, that the dispersed francophone communities of the continent have, is a positive function

TABLE 5.4

Rank-Order Scale of Pupil Enrolments in French Mother-Tongue
Programmes - Provinces Outside Quebec¹

<u>Rank-Order</u>	<u>Enrolment 1982-83</u>	<u>Province</u>
1	93,500	Ontario
2	48,194	New Brunswick
3	6,300	Manitoba
4	5,049	Nova Scotia
5	1,350	Saskatchewan
6	1,084	British Columbia
7	500	Prince Edward Island
8	123	Newfoundland

¹Alberta is excluded because it makes no distinction between programmes for francophones and French immersion for anglophones.

Source: Annual Report 1982, Office of Commissioner of Official Languages.

TABLE 5.5

Rank-Order Scale of Quebec Government Grants to Provincial
Francophone Associations

<u>Rank-Order</u>	<u>Grant</u>	<u>Provincial Association</u>
1	\$50,000	ACFO - Ontario
2	\$35,000	SANB - New Brunswick
3	\$20,000	SFM - Manitoba
	\$20,000	FANE - Nova Scotia
	\$20,000	ACFC - Saskatchewan
	\$20,000	FFC - British Columbia
	\$20,000	ACFA - Alberta
8	\$15,000	SSTA - Prince Edward Island
9	\$10,000	FPTN and L - Newfoundland

Source: Rapport Annuel 1979, Ministère des Affaires intergouvernementales du Québec.

FIGURE 5.2

Hierarchy of Association Model: Quebec - Cultural Core Area in
North America

Compiled by Author.

of their internal strength. The model demonstrates that as one moves up the hierarchy, association with Quebec increases. In Canada, Ontario and New Brunswick have the strongest ties. In the United States Louisiana has the most solid links.

Corroborative evidence to further justify the hierarchy of French-Canadians outside Quebec is substantive. The Annual Report of the Quebec Ministry of Intergovernmental Affairs (1980-81, p. 28) claims that the major share of Quebec cooperation was carried out with Ontario and New Brunswick. It is only with these two provinces that Quebec has formal accords of cooperation, both dating back to 1969. Quebec has bureaus in Toronto and Moncton. The only other one in Canada is in Edmonton but its functions are concerned with economic matters. The report also speaks of the "relatively important" cooperation with Manitoba and makes mention of programmes conducted in British Columbia and Alberta. None of the other Canadian provinces merit special mention.

Consideration of the legal standing of French in the provinces should confirm the hierarchy. It is presumed Quebec contacts with provinces where French enjoys some status will be facilitated since these provinces necessarily display some political will to accommodate the French fact in Canada. New Brunswick is officially bilingual. Manitoba is committed to becoming officially bilingual before December 31st, 1983 (Globe and Mail, May 26th, 1983). A new accord guarantees French constitutional rights will be fully restored 93 years after they were abrogated. Meanwhile Ontario is not formally bilingual but in the most sensitive areas it is increasingly functionally bilingual. It is moving towards de facto

if not de jure bilingualism. The introduction of bilingual courts for all criminal code cases has been done without fanfare (Globe and Mail, January 10th, 1980). This complements services such as bilingual drivers licenses, OHIP cards, etc. None of the remaining Canadian provinces approach the above levels of French rights.

In regards to Quebec interaction with the francophone minorities the "distance factor" is hard to quantify. Often distance is relative, not absolute. Potvin (1981, pp. 56-57) has studied Franco-Ontarians in the Ottawa region in relation to their contacts with Hull, Quebec. She suggests distance in this case is not an objective and measurable distance but rather a perceived distance. Some Franco-Ontarians feel close to Quebecers, others to the English of Ontario. Therefore to situate them culturally it is misleading to think only in terms of mathematical space but much better to think in terms of similarities and affinities with Quebecers. The same can be said of the Acadians who often consider themselves an entity into themselves and are content "to keep their distance" from Quebec. MacKay (1958, p. 8) has studied cultural interaction and has found long distance telephone traffic from Quebec centres to English Canadian cities is about a fifth to a tenth that to Quebec centres; it is about a fiftieth for cities in the U.S.A. So cultural and political boundaries do impede interaction. Nonetheless, physical proximity does serve to encourage contacts. New Brunswick and Ontario are the closest provinces to Quebec and are at the top of the hierarchy. The settlers of the 19th century were

conscious of the "distance factor" when they left Quebec for elsewhere. Waddell (1982b, p. 141) proposes that for them to go the Prairies "was to pose an irrevocable gesture for distance eliminated any real possibility of return". Today, despite modern technology, distance from Quebec does curtail the minorities' interaction with it although the relationship may not be strictly linear.

Summation

Historically, the heartland of French culture in North America has been the St. Lawrence River Valley. Overcrowding on the rich agricultural lowlands caused many francophones to leave Quebec, commencing in earnest in 1830. A diaspora of continental dimensions was the outcome. Francophones now live across Canada and in such unlikely cultural environments as Florida and North Dakota. Quebec is still thought of nostalgically as a core area and in many respects actually functions as one. In Chapter Six the discussion centres around Quebec's linkages with the international French-speaking communities. An analogy is made between Quebec's role as cultural core area in North America and to France's parallel position in relation to francophones the world over. The broad range of Quebec's multilateral contacts with the international francophonie are analyzed.

CHAPTER SIX

INTERNATIONAL LINKAGES: THE INTEGRATION OF QUEBEC AND CANADA INTO THE WORLDWIDE FRANCOPHONE COMMUNITY

Quebec may be the all important core area of the French culture in North America but within the worldwide francophonie it occupies a less prominent position. France assumes the role of cultural core area to the international French-speaking community. Nonetheless, Quebec is the second collectivity of the French language in the world. On a recent visit to Canada the French Prime Minister Pierre Mauroy referred to Quebec as "truly the kingpin of the world francophonie" (Le Devoir, April 28th, 1982). Certainly, Quebec does exert a marked influence amongst its peers in the international francophone world. In this chapter a hierarchy of association model, derived from the model in the preceding chapter, is established. The model shows Quebec's standing relative to the other French-speaking communities of francophonie.

A clearer perspective on Quebec's integration into francophonie is arrived at by a survey of the province's governmental and non-governmental linkages with its partners. As noted previously, the ACCT is the Quebec Government's most valued multilateral link with the francophone world. The current Quebec role in this governmental organization is evaluated. Two other governmental institutions play fundamental roles in Quebec's external affairs. Yet the number of non-governmental organizations (NGO's) complementary to the ACCT, and with which Quebec is affiliated, is considerable. A major portion of this chapter is devoted to an

assessment of their significance to Quebec.

Lastly, Quebec's links with the international francophone community should not be examined in isolation from the involvement of the Federal Government and the provinces in the ACCT. An assessment of their commitments and policies can serve to shed light on the nature of Quebec's linkages.

6.1 France - Cultural Core Area to World's Francophones

France has a long history of colonialism. In some instances its links with the francophone world date back centuries, but in most instances to the 19th century. Exchanges with the colonies were multivarious. However, until 1960 these links could not be considered cooperation in the sense of the word as we understand it today (Sabourin, 1974, p. 197). There was little reciprocity in the process of deciding what form interaction should take. The great majority of French-speaking territories were totally dependent on France. Some were dependent on Belgium. Whatever the case, the traditional axis of the francophone world is Europe (supra, p. 32). It follows that since France is the focus in Europe it is also the cultural core area of the international francophonie.

Until the early 1970s, when Quebec and Canada commenced active participation, cooperation between francophone countries was confined in the main to that between Europe and Africa. As the black African states successively attained independence in the early sixties, France concluded bilateral accords of cooperation with each of its former colonies, except Guinea (Sabourin, 1974, p. 200). Factors such as inertia and the enduring influence of

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the imperial power kept French West Africa's attention oriented towards France. States in this region cultivated almost no horizontal ties amongst themselves, partially because of their want for resources but also because the former colonies sought to protect their political sovereignty. They feared multilateral linkages with their neighbours would be more of a threat to their individual sovereignty than would renewed vertical linkages with France.

France did not want to be accused of interference in the internal affairs of the young African states (Cointet, 1979, p. 45). Essentially, it wished to respect the new found sovereignty of the former colonies (Touscoz, 1974, p. 216). Even so, France dominated their monetary system, la zone franc, and regional ministerial councils. It also monopolized their trade. Since these countries were inextricably tied to it during the sixties, France felt little need to alter the privileged nature of its bilateral relations with them. Yet by the end of the decade the African states were growing uneasy about this situation. The appearance of Quebec (and French Canada as represented by the Federal Government) on the international scene gave impetus to a movement to restructure relations in the francophone world. From the original two poles of Europe and Africa, a third dimension had been added to the international French-speaking community. Cousineau (personal communication, January 18th, 1983) speaks of francophonie's "three feet", i.e., Europe, Africa, Canada. Reluctantly, France came to acknowledge that interaction between each of the "feet" would best be coordinated through multilateral

linkages rather than through bilateral linkages. This would mean a diminished role for L'hexagone in the francophone world. Nonetheless, despite the assumption of the equality of members in multilateral organizations, France was so indispensable to francophone institutions that it was generally accepted it would become "first amongst equals".

The reliance of Quebec upon France is manifest. Quebec realized that before it could become fully integrated into the multilateral structures of francophonie it was to France it must turn for support. Quebec was not a sovereign state so an endorsement by France was deemed crucial to establish the credibility of Quebec as a legitimate international actor. France could help Quebec gain access to the great political currents of the world. France's role is addressed by Chapdelaine (1979, pp. 7-8) who states:

At the beginning of its external manifestations, Quebec played the francophone card. It was its entry on the world. Relations with France first... France opened wide the door to a direct and privileged collaboration. And it was with the aid of France that the penetration could reach the francophone world of Africa; and that the first international tribunal was offered to Quebec.*

Quebec required France to act as a catalyst. The emergence of a new québécois national consciousness during the Quiet Revolution prompted Quebecers to seek change, to be progressive and to break their provincialism and isolation. Their interest in the international French-speaking community reflected an external extension of their own constant concern for the survival of their culture (Montenaro, 1981, p. 26). In seeking to catch up Quebec had to adapt its language to the modern world. The

French language, like the Catholic religion, had always been a fundamental factor defining French-Canadian society. By opening up to the cultural block of French-speaking countries Quebec hoped to reinforce its language and culture. Essentially, it was seeking a counterweight to the monolithic Anglo-Saxon culture of North America. France was the most appropriate partner Quebec could wish for to help realize these ambitions.

At present France continues to function as an essential focal point for the activities of the international francophone community. Until recently, interaction within the community was concentrated in vertical links with France, yet the current trend is for horizontal interaction to increase. Peripheral regions such as Canada and Africa now have occasion to bypass France and to establish direct contact with one another. This interaction supplements rather than replaces contact with France. An African observer, writing in the Dakar daily paper Le Soleil, made the following comment about the 1981 tour of Canadian novelist, Antonine Maillet, to francophone Africa:

Her voyage offers us the chance to reinforce another dimension of francophonie, a peripheral dimension. No longer does it extend only from the centre, Paris, to the periphery but also from one peripheral centre to another, from Canada to Africa. This dimension, has not always been given preferential treatment* (Le Canada et L'Afrique, 1981, p. 10).

Within Europe France is the core area to francophones in Belgium, Switzerland and Luxemburg. European French-speakers outside France look with some envy to the high degree of control Frenchmen have over their institutions as reflected in their State apparatus. The Walloons of Belgium must share a State with the

Flemish who are progressively outdistancing them economically and demographically. In Switzerland the francophones, again, are not complete masters of their own destiny because their institutions must be shared with the larger German ethnic group and with Italian ethnics. In comparison France seems all the more attractive owing to its apparent cultural homogeneity.

To complete the global picture, Francophones in Asia and the Caribbean for the most part still view France as la grande métropole. This may not be true of modern day Lebanon or Vietnam, for example but it remains valid for countless French-speaking insular communities such as Vanuatu, the Comoro Islands, Mauritius, Reunion, Martinique, etc. These communities are an integral part of francophonie and they still rely heavily upon France for symbolic and tangible leadership.

The concept of France as a cultural core area to the world's francophones is presented schematically in Figure 6.1. This hierarchy of association model is an extension of the model in Chapter 5. Whereas Quebec was at the top of the North American hierarchy, France merits the same status at the scale of the globe. France has formal linkages with all of the regions depicted. Louder and Waddell (1979, p. 196) even document the accords France has with Franco-America (Louisiana), the lowest order in the hierarchy. Although Quebec is only an individual community the model demonstrates the weight it carries is not much less than that of European francophones (outside France) as a group, and African francophones as a group. Quebec's prominence in the international francophone world should thus be underscored.

FIGURE 6.1

Hierarchy of Association Model: France-Cultural Core Area In
The World

Note: The size of a block approximates the weight that the group contained in it carries in francophonie.

Compiled by Author.

6.2 Quebec - Its Links with the ACCT and other International Organizations

a) The ACCT

It has been established in Chapter 4 that in the early seventies the ACCT promised to be la pièce de maitresse of Quebec's external policies. As the decade progressed economic matters began to supplant cultural concerns, however, and Quebec's attention was deflected away from La Francophonie to some degree. Nonetheless, recent statements emanating from Quebec cabinet ministers (supra, p. 1) suggest the ACCT is still of prime importance, despite the foreign policy record which tends to be at odds with this claim. Certainly, Quebec continues to function as an effective participant at the heart of the organization.

If the ACCT does not receive quite as much attention today as it did, unquestionably it was the most important international organization to which Quebec adhered in the mid-1970s. A memo of the Quebec Ministry of Intergovernmental Affairs (MAIQ, 1975, p. 1) confirms that amongst the twelve most important organizations to the province the ACCT was ranked number one. In comparison the OECD was 6th and GATT 11th, which puts the ranking into better perspective. Within the working structure of L'Agence it has been noted Quebec has "participating government" status. This status is absolutely unique in the world. Nowhere else has a federal government granted any of its federated units the right to participate on their own behalf in an international or regional organization (De Bané, 1981, p. 2).

This special status allows Quebec self-representation in all of the ACCT's activities and programmes, yet it remains within the Canadian delegation. Quebec does not have the right to vote, this right being reserved for member states and associate member states. Nonetheless, Quebec can communicate directly with L'Agence since it has a seat and an identification plaque at the discussion table, with the right to speak. When it comes to voting Canada, in its capacity as a member state, casts the ballot but only after consultation with Quebec (and New Brunswick, the other "participating government"). Should a consensus not have been reached at this prior consultation Canada abstains, essentially giving Quebec (and New Brunswick) the power of veto. Generally, though, consensus is reached in the overwhelming majority of cases (Laverdure, personal communication, June 29th, 1982).

Measures of Quebec's input into the ACCT come to hand readily. Perhaps the most significant contribution the province has made is its provision of the ACCT's first Secretary-General in the person of Jean-Marc Léger. Léger first gained an international reputation through his work for the Montreal based university organization AUPELF. His competence at AUPELF confirmed his suitability for the head post of the ACCT. In Paris he was held in great esteem during his term in office and the ambiance around him did much to advance the credibility of Quebec. Léger is given much praise for the way he presided over the teething-pains of the nascent Agency in the difficult early 1970s.

Monetarily, Quebec is officially responsible for 3% of the

ACCT's budget. Budget shares are determined according to the size of members' gross national product. France contributes 46.34%, Canada 33% and Belgium 12.25% (Annuaire de la Francophonie, 1980, p. 10). Unofficially, Quebec in fact contributes at a level equivalent to Belgium's share since Quebec taxpayers provide a quarter of the Canadian Federal Government's tax revenues. As can be seen, the great majority of member states in La Francophonie must collectively contribute less than ten per cent of the Agency's budget! In essence, therefore, the contributions by France, Belgium, Canada and Quebec amount to economic aid to developing countries (Sabourin, 1976, pp. 133-135).

In geopolitical terms Quebec's conduct within the ACCT is often the subject of controversy. Although the Governments of Canada and Quebec prefer to downplay the differences that occur between them, matters of protocol do cause friction from time to time. Observers talk of "a war of flags" between Ottawa and Quebec City. Yet Quebec has invariably found it must cede to the Canadian Government on issues of substance because Canada has the weight of international legitimacy behind it. Consequently, Quebec is not anxious to get too much negative publicity. To maintain an independence of spirit, though, the delegates from Quebec choose their moments to embarrass Ottawa. Roger Turenne (personal communication, April 19th, 1983) talks of many subtle "chinoiseries" between Quebec and Canada, for the most part behind the scenes. The major part of these unnecessary tricks are related to the francophone summit dossier. Trudeau has proposed that this summit bring together all the heads-of-state of

francophone countries to address major world issues. Quebec, since it is not a sovereign state, would be excluded. But Quebec, apparently supported by France and approximately half of the members of La Francophonie, led by Gabon and the Ivory Coast, wants full representation for itself at such a summit. The question remains unresolved but headlines on the issue are still frequent (Le Journal de Montreal, 27th June, 1983 and Le Devoir, 25th June, 1983).

Geopolitics aside, Quebec's desire to see increased trading amongst members of the ACCT seems likely to be frustrated. The ACCT is primarily a means of redistributing wealth to developing francophone countries and its potential to become an economic block, especially now in times of recession, is extremely limited (Gauthier, personal communication, July 28th, 1982).

The organizational structure of ACCT membership is illustrated in Figure 6.2. There are three levels of affiliation, a characteristic which is rare amongst supranational organizations. The highest level of association is that of member states. Secondly, there are associate member states and finally "participating governments", the level into which Quebec and New Brunswick fit. In the model emphasis has been given to possible levels of territorial identity (supra, p.14) amongst groups of Canadian francophones. It is shown how these levels of territorial identity correlate with a given French-Canadian group's membership status in the world's premier French-speaking organization (the ACCT).

At the lowest level of territorial identity (localisms) French-Canadians outside Quebec are seen to have no direct link

FIGURE 6.2 Model of ACCT Membership - Levels of Affiliation

with the ACCT. At the intermediary stage the Acadian and Québécois sub-nationalisms have direct links through their participating governments, namely the Governments of New Brunswick and Quebec. Finally, at the state level of territorial identity the Canadian Government is a full member state of L'Agence. For the sake of simplicity these levels of territorial identity have not been extended beyond North America, although many levels exist elsewhere, e.g., the Walloon sub-nation of Belgium, the localisms of Haiti and Mauritius and the localisms in many French West African states.

b) Other Governmental Organizations

Quebec's participation in the ACCT is complemented by its affiliation with numerous other multilateral French-speaking organizations. The most important of these are highlighted in Table 6.1, yet this represents only a cross-section of the total number of international francophone institutions. The network of linkages in francophonie is indeed extensive. Other than the ACCT, there are two governmental organizations, to which Quebec adheres, that stand out. CONFEMEN specialises in education, training and language perfection and it unites Education ministers from across the French-speaking world. In 1979 the Quebec Minister of Education was president of the organization (L'Aide Québécoise, 1981, p. 8). It has been in existence since 1960. CONFEJES is equally important and its efforts are devoted to sport and youth development in francophone countries. Since 1980 Quebec has been engaged in joint projects with France, Belgium, Haiti and New Brunswick in areas concerning sports medicine and

TABLE 6.1

Quebec's International Links with Multilateral Francophone Organizations

A. Governmental Organizations

1. L'Agence de Coopération Culturelle et Technique (ACCT)
2. La Conférence des Ministres de L'Education Nationale des Pays d'Expression Française (CONFEMEN)
3. La Conférence des Ministres de la Jeunesse et des Sports des Pays d'Expression Française (CONFESJES)

B. Non-Governmental Organizations

a) Interparliamentary and Interuniversity:

1. Association Internationale des Parlementaires de Langue Française (AIPLF)
2. Association des Universités Partiellement ou Entièrement de Langue Française (AUPELF)

b) General:

1. Le Conseil International des Radios-Télévisions d'Expression Française (CIRTEF)
2. Fédération Internationale des Professeurs de Français (FIPF)
3. Association Internationale des Maires des Capitales et Métropoles Francophones (AIMF)
4. Conférence des Communautés Ethniques de Langue Française
5. Alliance des Mouvements de Jeunesse de la Francophonie (AMJF)
6. Le Richelieu International

c) Linguistic Organizations:

1. Conseil International de la Langue Française (CILF)
2. Biennale de la Langue Française

d) Professional Organizations:

1. Institut International de Droit d'Expression Française (IDEF)
2. Association Mondiale des Médecins Francophones
3. Comité International D'Historiens et de Géographes de Langue Française
4. Association Internationale des Sociologues de Langue Française (AISLF)

sports administration (MAIQ Rapport Annuel, 1980-81, p. 73).

Recent meetings of the ministerial council have been held in Togo and the Ivory Coast.

c) Non-Governmental Organizations

Quebec's involvement with NGO's can be classified into four categories. Its interaction with francophonie in these areas is less well documented than governmental interaction and is consequently harder to quantify. Nonetheless, although it is difficult to gauge the intensity of contacts there is little doubt they are broad ranging. In category "a" linkages are constituted through the interuniversity association AUPELF (supra, p. 34) and the interparliamentary association AIPLF. Since the former was founded and now has its headquarters in Montreal, Quebecers feel a real affinity for it. Currently there are 120 establishments around the world which are full members of it. On top of these institutes of higher learning there are approximately 400 French departments or Centres for French Studies in non-francophone universities which are attached to AUPELF. Thus the academic society in Quebec has easy access to French learning institutes around the world. AIPLF carries some weight in francophonie. Parliaments in 24 countries have active chapters of the association. Quebec, since it has its own legislative assembly, is included in this grouping. Observers from a further 26 francophone countries or French-communities also take part in activities. This association is composed of individual parliamentarians and it does not claim to represent sovereign governments so in this respect it is non-governmental. Its achievements include a

determinant role in the creation of ACCT and an important role in sensibilizing the world to the drought problems of the Sahel (Annuaire de la Francophonie, 1980, p. 15).

A selection of francophone institutions that are diversified in scope is encompassed in category "b". To begin with there is CIRTEF, an international council of French-speaking radio and TV societies. Quebec is represented on this council by la Société de radio-télévision du Québec (SRTQ). In 1981 a Quebecer was elected successor to the outgoing secretary of the council. He will be based in Geneva and responsible for implementing policies to harmonize media productions throughout the world francophone community. FIPF, the International Federation of French teachers, attracts members from around the world. It attempts to promote the teaching of French as a mother tongue, second language or foreign language and to give teachers wherever they may be the opportunity to share experiences. Quebec is directly tied to FIPF through L'Association québécoise des professeurs de français. The first vice-president of AIMF, the association of mayors of French-speaking cities, is the mayor of Quebec City. Paris and Quebec City both act as joint headquarters of the association but most of the initiatives within the organization emanate from la belle province, which hosted the founding convention of AIMF in 1979. Cities such as Tunis, Beirut, St. Louis (Senegal), Lomé (Togo) and Brussels are integral parts of AIMF.

La Conférence des communautés ethniques de langue française has been discussed in Chapter 4. Let it be repeated that it is

a significant new dimension in Quebec's external affairs. Currently, a Quebecer is president of the conference (Annuaire de la Francophonie, 1980, p. 21). The AMJF is a relative newcomer to the world of francophone institutions. Only a half dozen French communities adhere to it but its potential for expansion is high. Quebec is a member and its youth associations are linked to the other youth movements in the AMJF through programmes concerning twinning of classes, correspondence between schools, youth hostels, etc. The AMJF has lobbied the ACCT to create an office for exchanges between francophone youth movements akin to the successful France-Quebec Office franco-québécois pour la jeunesse. The last of the multilateral organizations in the general vocation category is le Richelieu International. Developed first in Quebec, it spread next to other parts of French-Canada and by 1955 to the United States. Since 1968 France and Africa have been implicated in its activities. This organization was religious in concept at the outset but now it has lost its confessional traits. It still promotes humanitarian activities while retaining a fierce pride in matters which further the interests of the francophone world.

In category "c", comprised of associations formed to defend the French language, CILF is important. Somewhat elitist in make-up, this council embodies many distinguished academics, professionals and politicians. From its base in Paris it is in close touch with that bastion of the French language L'Académie française. Currently two of its three vice-presidents are Quebecers. CILF is of special value to Quebec because the French

language in North America is so susceptible to anglicization. The Biennales de la langue française has become an assertive force in the defence of French. They were founded by the same Frenchman, Alain Guillermou, who founded CILF. Personalities such as Senghor and Bourguiba have given them their endorsement. Held every second year, these conferences are designed to draft programmes to put pressure on governments to become more committed to maintenance of French as a modern, vibrant language. Quebecers can indeed identify with these sentiments.

Finally, category "d" is one of the largest categories. Space does not permit an exhaustive list of all professional associations in francophonie. Four of the most noteworthy appear in Table 6.1. IDEF has a high profile and lawyers from Quebec are well represented in its ranks. L'Association mondiale des médecins francophones was founded in Ottawa in 1973. It is only one of a dozen or more specialist medical associations. The Committee of Francophone Historians and Geographers and the Association of French sociologists are examples of other associations through which Quebec individuals interact with their counterparts overseas.

6.3 The Government of Canada and Provincial Governments in the ACCT

Quebec, of course, is not the sole politically organized francophone entity in Canada to be integrated into the international French-speaking community. A major premise of the Federal Government's policy in external affairs is that Canada's presence in most of francophonie's multilateral organizations is a necessary and

fitting extension of our country's internal bilingualism. The ACCT is the foundation of its policy in this area. Amongst the provinces, New Brunswick has led the way in developing contacts with foreign French communities. Manitoba and Ontario have exhibited little inclination to follow suit. Yet all three provinces, to one degree or another, recognize the value of the ACCT, New Brunswick even deciding to send its own delegation to the organization. The attitudes of the Federal and Provincial Governments towards L'Agence are illuminating in that they provide a backdrop from which to better assess Quebec's role in the ACCT more adequately."

The Government of Canada's policies in La Francophonie are mostly devised to enhance cooperation with francophone Africa. They need to be understood in light of their juxtaposition to Canada's commonwealth contacts with English-speaking African countries. Trudeau (1978) devotes an entire article to what he terms "Canada's double allegiance"; francophonie and the Commonwealth. The thrust of his remarks imply that relations with francophonie, in particular Africa, have been given high priority during his term as Prime Minister in order to reflect adequately Canada's French component abroad. Sabourin (1976, p. 133) adds that a second motivation for Ottawa's recently developed interest in francophone Africa is to counteract Quebec's aspirations for direct links with the region. Obviously, each level of government has its own political interests in the region. Nonetheless, it remains a fact that Canada was virtually unknown in French-West Africa twenty years ago. Today the Federal Government has

set up a development cooperation programme in francophone Africa "of the same quality and scope as the Commonwealth Africa programme" (De Bané, 1982, p. 2).

The greater part of Canadian economic interaction with francophone Africa goes through bilateral channels, overseen by CIDA. The newfound importance of the region to Canada can be seen in statistics. In 1960 Canadian exports to the region amounted to less than \$10 million. In 1970 they were almost \$40 million and by 1980 reached \$627 million. Direct aid to the region now amounts to approximately \$150 million annually (De Bané, 1982, p. 5). This aid is very much on a par with that going to Commonwealth Africa, an indication that francophone Africa has been favoured in recent years because it used to trail by a wide margin.

Canada's multilateral links with francophone Africa are dominated by the ACCT. It is no mere coincidence that the founding of L'Agence coincides with the dawning of Trudeau's new era in foreign policy. The Federal Government sought to develop ties with this region of the world to demonstrate Canada's commitment to sharing our resources and expertise with developing countries. Simultaneously, overtures to francophone Africa would diversify foreign policy by better reflecting Canada's personality, i.e., its dual identity. What better instrument to accomplish these two objectives than a multilateral organization in which Canada would play an integral part? Hence the founding of L'Agence in 1970, it being in essence a creation of the Canadian Government (Hurley, personal communication, November 25th, 1982). By extending its relations with francophone Africa Canada could implement its

sovereignty and individuality in refreshing ways and thus open up new horizons (Sabourin, 1976, pp. 134-135).

When it is a question of sovereignty the issue over the francophone summit reemerges. Canada, hoping to coax La Francophonie to address the full range of global problems (Trudeau, 1982, p. 5) has pushed for the summit to be instituted before the end of 1983. France remains reticent since it jealously guards its preferred contacts with its former colonies and it is suspicious of new initiatives. Quebec, meanwhile, is pushing to attain a status at this summit worthy of a sovereign state. France has backed Quebec and used this issue to torpedo efforts to get the summit off the ground. Thus, within the ACCT this issue does more to strain the Ottawa-Paris-Quebec City axis than any other issue. Since Mitterand came to power, France seems to have modified its position and is more sympathetic to the view of the Canadian Government. Media reports following Lévesque's June 1983 visit to France suggest Quebec may be losing what was once all out support from France (Globe and Mail, June 28th, 1983 and Le Journal de Montréal, June 27th, 1983). Trudeau steadfastly affirms Canada will never negotiate Quebec's representation with France (Le Devoir, 2nd June 1983).

The story surrounding New Brunswick's separate entry into the ACCT in 1977 is not devoid of geopolitical content either. Initially, Quebec feared a ploy schemed up by the Federal Government to offset Quebec's influence at the international forum. It was suspicious of the motives of the other Canadian province although it now seems satisfied New Brunswick pursues its own

interests without Ottawa pulling any strings. Even so, Raymond Daigle (personal communication; March 9th, 1983) confirms that New Brunswick's views and those of Ottawa do coincide for the most part in matters of francophonie. The history of francophone affairs in New Brunswick, since the Robichaud years of the 1960s, suggest that New Brunswick has its own goals clearly defined and that the quest for separate status in this international francophone organization simply topped-off an evolution of policy favouring francophone rights.

Robichaud introduced several provisions catering to the French-speakers of his province. It is not widely known that in fact the legislation requiring New Brunswick to become officially bilingual was drafted in 1968 under his guidance. This legislation was on the table until 1976 when it finally gained Royal assent and became law under the Hatfield regime. Hatfield himself seems to be a francophile and it gave him some satisfaction to see French rights in his province extended into the international arena. It took little prodding from the Acadians for Hatfield to apply for "participating government" status in the ACCT. The importance of La Francophonie in New Brunswick seems to be rising as this province extends its international contacts. Nonetheless, the controversy involving Quebec and the proposed summit seems to pass New Brunswick by because the province realizes that issues addressed at such a summit would be beyond provincial competence, and therefore fall within the jurisdiction of the state level of government (Daigle, personal communication, March 9th, 1983).

Both Manitoba and Ontario are indirectly connected to the

ACCT. Each was a signatory to the founding charter of L'Agence at Niamey in 1970. But then, as now, they were simply components of the Canadian Government's delegation. Since then neither has sought an autonomous presence in L'Agence in line with Quebec and New Brunswick's "participating government" status. For one thing, Manitoba's representative on the Canadian delegation believes it would be ridiculous for Canada to add any more flags to the three it presently has at the conference table (Turenne, personal communication, April 19th, 1983). Other countries already joke about the situation as it is! But Manitoba's position is better understood when one realizes the modesty of its economic and cultural resources. It has barely 50,000 francophones and the province is \$500 million in debt. It can ill afford an elaborate adventure in the ACCT, essentially disbursing aid, when the province itself is heavily dependent on Federal Government support for the Franco-Manitoban population. In this respect Manitoba is demuni culturel, culturally deprived, and so it is content to rely on the Federal Government to represent it in francophonie. A further consideration which inhibits any provincial initiatives towards L'Agence stems from Manitoba's recent steps to restore institutional bilingualism in the province. This follows the Supreme Court decision of 1981 which requires the province to restore French rights abrogated in 1890. Naturally, great effort must go into this and the provincial government is preoccupied with these matters to the exclusion of issues such as L'Agence. Much the same can be said for Ontario. It is concentrating on improving functional bilingualism within its borders and any significant move towards up-

grading ties with the international French-speaking community seems years away.

Summation

Stemming from its colonial past, France has been the traditional focal point for French-speaking communities the world over. The advent of multilateral francophone institutions has diminished its dominance of international francophone affairs, yet it is conceded in most organizations that France remains "first amongst equals". Quebec has enjoyed close collaboration with France since the 1960s and ties between the two have permitted Quebec to enhance its credibility on the international scene. Commencing with bilateral relations with France, Quebec has now expanded its international linkages to encompass affiliation with many francophone governmental and non-governmental organizations. At heart, these linkages coalesce around Quebec's participation in the ACCT. Political considerations play a major role in how the Government of Canada, France and Quebec interact with each other in L'Agence. Amongst the Canadian provincial governments, New Brunswick has shown interest in augmenting its contribution to the international francophonie. Manitoba and Ontario lag behind in this regard.

CHAPTER SEVEN

CONCLUSIONS

In conclusion, this thesis has sought to evaluate Quebec's contacts and interaction with the wide spectrum of francophone communities beyond the province of Quebec. It has drawn upon sources which in some instances unavoidably demonstrate a bias, owing to the cultural or political interests of given parties in the topic at hand. Such might be the case, for example, where officials from the Governments of Quebec and Canada have granted personal interviews. Every effort has been made to interpret objectively information received from these sources.

The thesis has attempted to demonstrate that within North America Quebec serves as a cultural core area to the disparate French-speaking collectivities of the continent. The extent of institutionalized interaction that Franco-American and French-Canadian communities have with Québec depends upon their size and the intensity of their internal organization. In the context of the wider international francophone community, Quebec is a key player. The presence of la belle province at world level adds an important third dimension to francophonie whose original axis lay between Europe and Africa. Even so, to preserve the legitimacy of its presence at this scale Quebec relies heavily upon collaboration with France, the universal core area of French culture.

It has been stressed that the problem of politico-cultural recognition of sub-state identities is a significant feature of the modern world. Many social scientists contend that distinctive sub-

state cultural groups are constantly pursuing self-determination and that this is intensifying internationally. The ultimate form of self-determination is statehood. However, when Quebecers seek to become active on the international scene they are hindered by the fact that the political unit they control is not a state. Thus Quebec does not enjoy full legal status, as does Canada for example, in international forums. This is considered by some to be a major limitation to Quebec in the conduct of its external relations. Separatists in the province do not subscribe to the "state-idea" of Canada. They reject federalism and any notion of coexistence with the other cultures and regions of Canada. In seeking a sovereign Quebec, the indépendantistes wish Quebec to become a full international actor.

The recent concern of Quebec to integrate itself into the multilateral organizations of francophonie may be interpreted as a preparatory step taken by the province to develop a complete international personality. In the 19th and 20th centuries Quebec, as a cultural core area, influenced the spread and spatial linkages of French-speakers within North America. In the present day, these linkages are sustained and extended through the institutionalized structures of the francophone world.

The Quebec Government devotes more of its resources to L'Agence de Coopération culturelle et technique than to any other multilateral organization of francophonie. Indeed, in the mid-1970s La Francophonie was Quebec's most important area of foreign policy. That was before the economic crisis of the last decade altered the priorities of governments. The ACCT is primarily a cultural organization and it has little competence to grapple with economic matters. Hence, it would not have been surprising, given the changing times, if its

position of priority to Quebec had diminished. Recent statements by Quebec officials, however, would lead one to believe the ACCT has not lost its preeminent position. Yet a discrepancy occurs between the claims of these government officials and the foreign policy record. For instance, economic trade with the United States challenges, if indeed it has not supplanted, the ACCT as Quebec's most consequential area of foreign affairs.

Quebec's association with an extensive network of non-governmental organizations in francophonie is not sufficiently well known. It is interaction between Quebec and French communities abroad at the governmental level which captures the lime-light. Consequently, a major contribution of this thesis to the expansion of knowledge on Quebec's external relations has been the identification of these non-governmental linkages. Even the associations as listed here represent only the most prominent ones with which Quebec is affiliated. Foremost amongst them are AUPELF, AIPLF, CIRTEF and la Conférence des Communautés ethniques de langue française.

As for the participation of the provinces and the Federal Government in the ACCT, several conclusions can be drawn. Firstly, when it comes to technical matters within La Francophonie the Canadian Government and the Governments of Quebec and New Brunswick invariably work in harmony. Voting is a case in point. Nonetheless, political differences occur, generally behind the scenes. On occasion the Quebec and Canadian delegations seem like antagonists. The most outstanding issue which comes between Ottawa and Quebec City is the desire of Quebec for full representation at the proposed summit of francophone countries.

Ottawa insists the summit should be the preserve of sovereign states and that Quebec has no rightful place at it. Wrangling over this issue promises to be protracted. As for the participation of Manitoba and Ontario in the ACCT, both are content for the moment to keep a low profile. Preoccupied with improving French language services for their minorities neither province feels the moment is propitious to make overtures to the international French-speaking organization.

Areas of Possible Future Research

In the course of the current study some questions have arisen which warrant further investigation. No thesis can totally exhaust the subject at hand. Consequently, profitable future research might be suggested in the following areas:

A. The Bilateral Links of Quebec with French-Speaking Countries

Owing to constraints of space and resources this thesis has concentrated upon the multilateral links of Quebec with francophonie to the detriment of any profound study of the province's bilateral links. Mention has been made of Quebec's bilateral links with France, Belgium and Franco-America. But there is potential to delve further in the case of France and Belgium. For instance, it is a common misconception that because Quebec now has solid cultural ties with France that the same can be said for ties in the economic sector. This is not the case. Exchanges between Canada and France amount to less than 1% of the total foreign commerce of both countries (Le Devoir, 8th November 1982). Quebec exports to France are negligible, only about 2% of the total for the province (Guerard, 1979, p. 160). France has always had difficulty integrating itself into the

economic mainstream of North America. It has never made great inroads in Quebec. Fohlen (1981, p. 242) proposes that geopolitical considerations are the root cause of this lack of success in Canada. It would be worthwhile to explore this problem from a geopolitical perspective.

Bilateral relations with Belgium are making an ever greater impact on Quebec. This question should be explored, perhaps in tandem with the reasoning for Quebec's heightened interest in other French-speaking communities in Europe (witness the visit of Premier Lévesque to the Swiss Jurassien community in June 1983). Quebec has also had a relatively strong association with Gabon and the Ivory Coast. Why these African countries and not certain others? There is room for academic research in this area.

B. Francophonie and the Question of Self-Determination for Quebec

Since the P.Q. is dedicated to Quebec becoming sovereign it seems only logical that the government is using aspects of Quebec's external affairs, e.g., francophonie, to promote its independence project. Most first year political geography or political science students know enough to agree with former Quebec minister Claude Morin (1978, p. 5) when he says that "the external policies of a nation are at the service of its internal objectives and those are determined by the nation's history, geography, demography, economy and its more specific political goals".* Since independence is perhaps the most specific political goal to which the P.Q. is dedicated, Quebec's interest in francophonie must be coloured accordingly. Unearthing the connections between francophonie and the sovereignty issue offers

a rich field of endeavour for further investigation.

The question is made all the more intriguing when one juxtaposes Quebec's desire to mould a nation-state with the current global trend towards supranationalism. The latter implies the curtailment of the powers of individual countries. Friedmann and Weaver (1979, p. 187) suggest that developmental integration at world scale (such as the multilateral ACCT) "makes explicit the requirement for a reduction in the sovereign powers of the nation-state and thus for the further dissolution of territorial power". It would be rewarding to examine how Quebec reconciles the two world tendencies, i.e., the simultaneous rise of nationalism counteracted by the trend towards transnational integration.

C. Spatial Implications to French-Canada of Quebec in the ACCT

Substantial French-Canadian populations are located astride the Quebec provincial border in what may be referred to as a transition zone between French and English Canada. A positive outcome of Quebec's participation in the international French-speaking community is that this zone has benefited from a form of cultural osmosis. Without the example of Quebec, it is unlikely that francophones in New Brunswick would now have an autonomous delegation in the ACCT. Similarly, a few years from now the Franco-Ontarian population may wish to follow their neighbours. In the domain of their foreign contacts the spatial proximity of French-Canadian populations to Quebec does appear to have implications for their future. An hypothesis could be formulated to that effect.

In closing, this thesis has been an exercise in political geography in which the main thrust has been to assess Quebec's integration into the international French-speaking community. Let the last word upon the utility of this political geographical approach be left to Valerie Fifer (1978, p. 338) who states:

If the central coordinating role of politics confirms it as the 'master-science' of mankind, political geography remains the most logical intellectual framework within which to coordinate many different branches of human geography. For the organization of territories, economies and societies soon becomes a political organization-human interaction in search of group integration at different levels, linked, workable and satisfying.

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