

HIS311 – March 1, 2016

Canada, Quebec & Charles De Gaulle

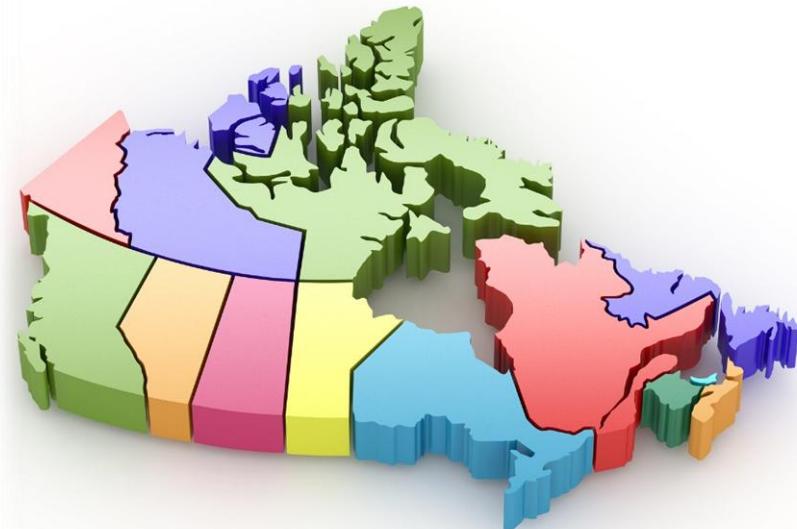


Agenda: Quebec & Canada

- Contextualizing Quebec's place in Canada
- The Quiet Revolution in the 1960s *EXAM
- Charles De Gaulle & Expo '67 *EXAM
- The Gabon conferences *EXAM
- 1968 Constitutional Conferences
- “La guerre des drapeaux” * EXAM
- The Kinshasha conference *EXAM
- The Niamey Conference & Agence de cooperation culturelle et technique (ACCT)

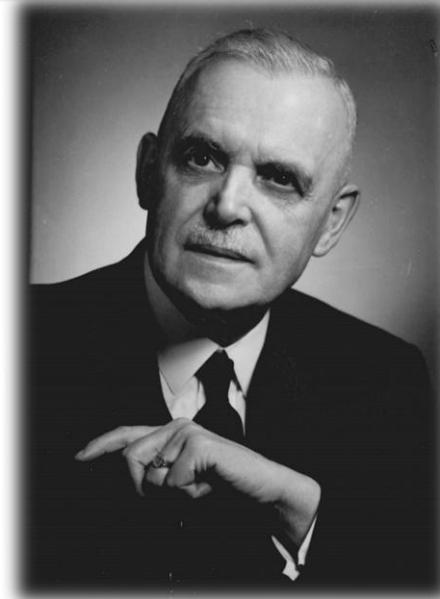
The Canadian reality >>

- Large Land mass, low population density
- **English Canada vs French Canada**
- Federal vs provincial
- Regionalism
- Resource dependency
- The British heritage
- Living next to the U.S.
- Immigration & diversity in views
- **NATIONAL UNITY = always a top priority**



St.Laurent's Grey Lecture (1947)

- key pillars of postwar Canadian internationalism
 1. **National Unity**
 2. **Political Liberty**
 3. **Rule of Law**
 4. **Supporting our core values in IR**
 5. **Accepting international responsibility**



** THE COLD WAR united Canada but there were residual differences...

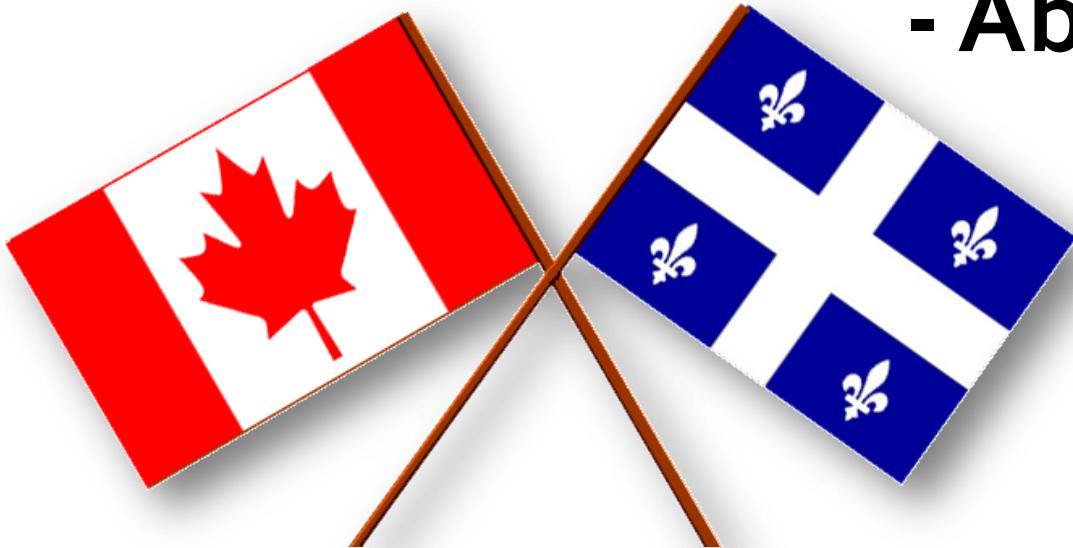
Issue of national unity in #Cdnpoli

- “Colony to nation” narrative
- BUT: First Nations & **the French Canadians**
- Grievances: War of 1812, WWI, WWII, etc..
- Decline of the British Empire post WWII >> shedding off British connection and the rise of welfare state in Canada (ie medicare)
- **New search for Canadian Identity in the 60s**
- Sense of coherence and consensus: The Cold War & the menace of communism in IR
- **1967: Celebration of Canada vs “Vive le Quebec libre” and the century of “injustice”**

Quebec & Canada **EXAM

**"A house divided against
itself cannot stand"**

- Abraham Lincoln



Department of External Affairs

- 1945-1965: **21.7%** French-Canadians
- But at the senior level: 21 French-Cdns (compared to 102 English-Cdns)
- Ottawa in the post-WWII period: mostly English-speaking, though a lot of French Cdns found more freedom & excitement in fed gov
- Bilingualism under Pearson govt **



Politics in Quebec in the 60s **

- **Jean Lesage** (Provincial Liberal Party) became the premier in June 1960: “It’s time for change”
- **“The Quiet Revolution”** (*Révolution tranquille*)
 - >> Heavily depended on using the powers of provincial govt to carve out cultural, economic, and political space for Quebec’s French majority
 - 1) greater control of Quebec’s economic resources, ie nationalization of private electric companies
 - 2) Re-define the francophone society in Canada

“The Quiet Revolution”

- Establishment of a **public hospital network** (1961), **ministries of cultural affairs and of federal-provincial relations** (1961), and the **General Investment Corporation** in 1962
- Unlike in previous years, francophones were able to work entirely in French and to develop their technical, scientific, and managerial skills. (extension to education, social welfare, and health services & all levels of govt)

“The Quiet Revolution”

- Lesage promoted a dynamic provincial budget and by raising loans.
- From 1960–61 to 1966–67, the budget grew from \$745 million to **\$2.1 billion**.
- These changes increased **role of the state** in the Quebec's economic, social and cultural life. Most notably, **the Catholic Church's role in society diminished, prosperity for French-speaking Québécois grew, and anationalist consciousness expanded**.

maîtres chez nous

("masters in our own house")

- In 1963 all private hydroelectric companies were nationalized in Quebec
- **Hydro-Québec** became one of the largest Crown Corporations in North America.
- standardizing rates across the province, co-ordinating investments, integrating the system, encouraging industrialization, guaranteeing economic benefits for the Québec economy through a **buy-Québec policy => implications for FED-PROV relations**

Quebec & Fed-Prov Relations **

- The Lesage government demanded a review of **federal policy**
- After initially approaching the federal government for additional funds to meet its needs, Lesage **withdrew Québec from several cost-sharing programs** (ie pensions, health care, and tax-sharing) in exchange for fiscal compensation.
- Québec became the **only province to opt out of some 30 joint programs** that the other provinces stayed with.

Paul Gérin-Lajoie **

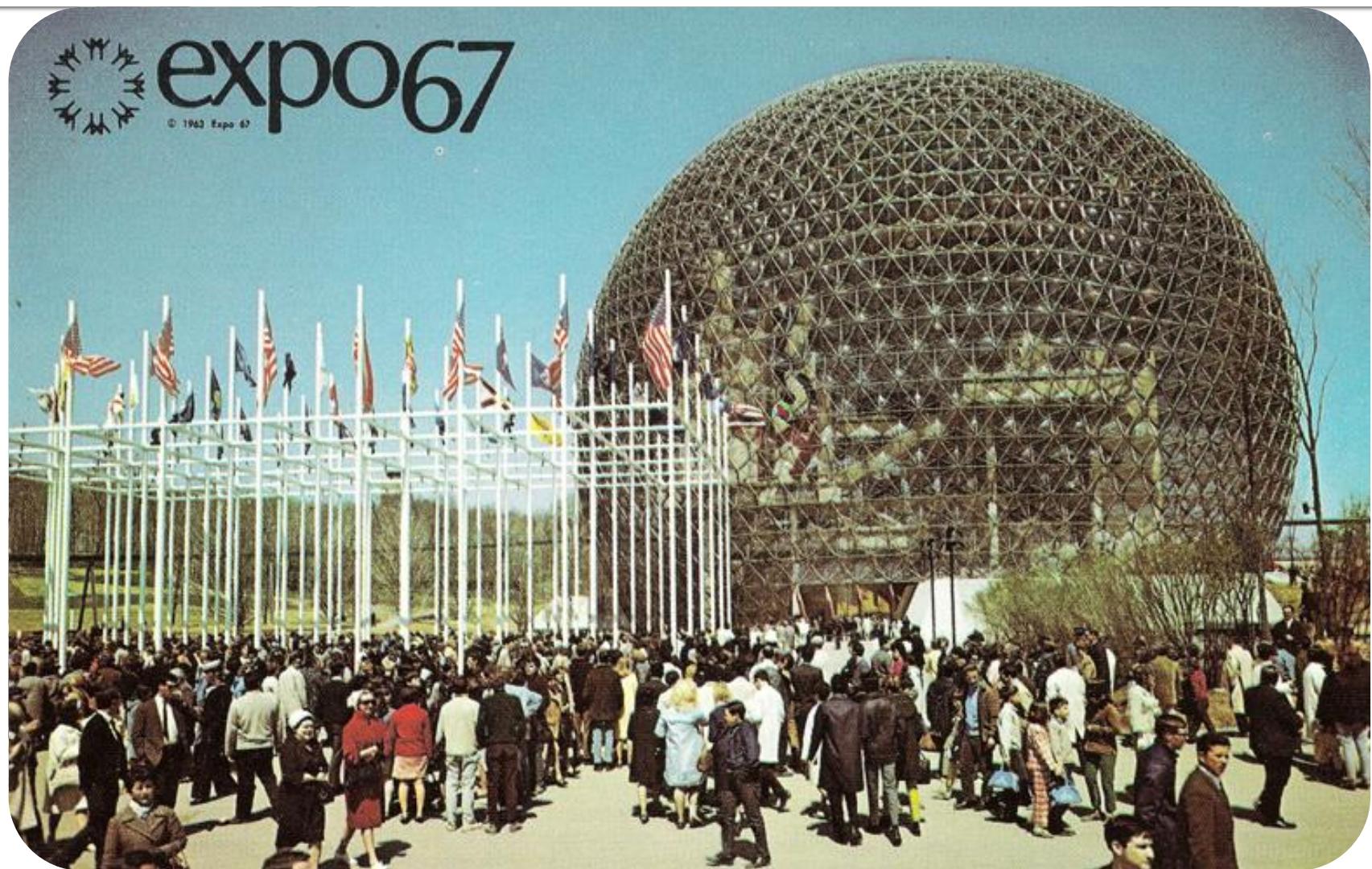


- Noted constitutional scholar
- Weakness in Canadian constitution
- Canada's own assertion of sovereignty could be ineffective on areas under provinces (ie natural resources, property rights, education)
- 1930s: The Labour Conventions Case
- The Fed govt could not use its authority over foreign relations to legislate matters under provincial jurisdiction; Provinces should be allowed to conduct their own diplomacy under their jurisdiction (1965)

Quebec & foreign policy

- Constitutional ambiguities for Canadian foreign policy on issues under provincial jurisdiction (ie education)
- The Québec government also sought to stake out diplomatic ties. In 1961, it opened the Maisons du Québec in Paris, London and New York.
- France was still influential in Africa >> invitations to Quebec on educational conferences!

Expo '67 & Canada's Centennial



Expo '67....

- There were some 120 governments present at Expo in 60 pavilions, and thousands of private exhibitors and sponsors participated in 53 private pavilions.
- Over 50 million paid admissions recorded from April 28 to October 27, not counting over 5 million admissions by performers, the press, official visitors & staff. Expo 67 cost Canada, Québec and Montréal \$283 million to put together and to run.

De Gaulle & France in the 60s

- Decline in France's influence but still prominent with informal ties in Africa
- De Gaulle pulled France out of NATO
- De Gaulle also tried to stop Great Britain from entering the European Common Market
- New sense of threat and insecurity in France
- Looks to Quebec, second-largest French speaking entity outside of France
- In close contact with nationalists in Quebec

De Gaulle at Expo '67 ** EXAM

- July 24, 1967, a state visit to Expo '67
- General Charles De Gaulle, President of France, proclaimed from the balcony of Montreal's City Hall, proclaimed: "**Vive le Québec libre.**"?
- slogan of a Québec separatist party
- De Gaulle provoked a diplomatic incident that resulted in the cancellation of his visit, initiated a campaign of French interference in the domestic affairs of Canada and, above all, lent his prestige to the Québec independence movement.

Charles De Gaulle (video*)

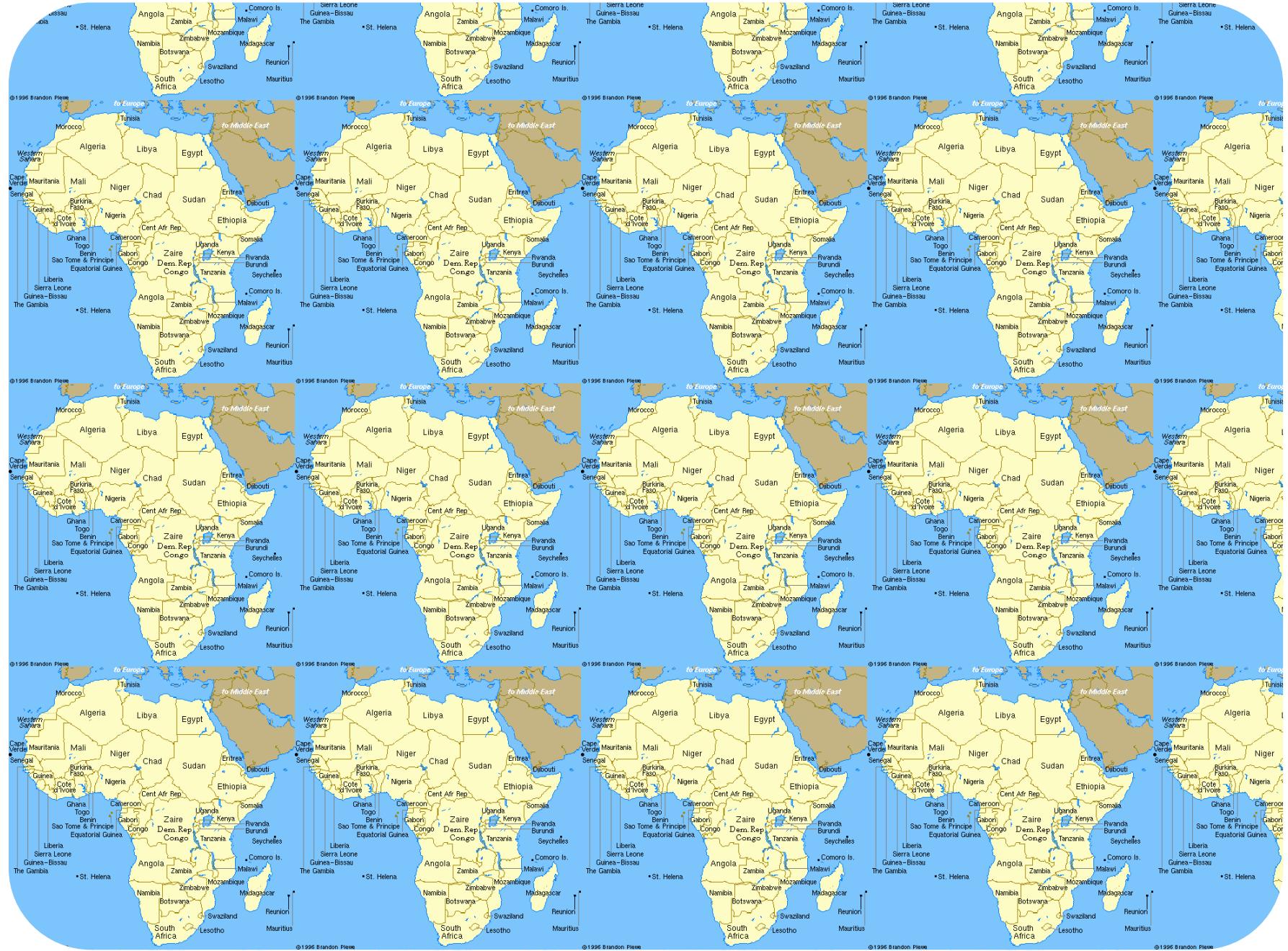


Reaction to De Gaulle...

- Prime Minister Pearson went on television to tell De Gaulle that his statements were "unacceptable to the Canadian people."?
- The newly appointed Minister of Justice, Pierre Trudeau, asked what the French reaction would be if a Canadian Prime Minister shouted "Brittany to the Bretons?"?
- Revealed the tension in Canada, ultimately did not cause a major incident other than De Gaulle's own demise

1960s in Canada & IR

- De Gaulle's sanity questioned by the French citizens themselves...
- No such thing as "divided sovty" in int'l law
- Terrorist activities by the FLQ
- Intelligence groups in France assisting nationalists in Quebec
- Intensification of separatist movement (QC)



The Gabon Conferences (1968)

- 67: France promoted an idea of a coalition of education ministers of France and its former African colonies
- Meeting in Libreville, Gabon (Feb 1968)
- Quebec invited to this conference and not Canada
- Pearson furious, Canada complained to Gabon (aid recipient) => rude response
- Second meeting in Paris (April 68)
- Pearson complained again, pointing to francophone premier in NB...(fed-provincial delegation better) => again, not much change resulted

The 1968 Constitutional Conference

- *Feb 7, 1968: Constitutional conference*
- *Federalism and International Relations*
- Made it clear that Canada was founded in diversity but only Federal govt should deal with external relations
- Minister of Justice Pierre Trudeau took a hard stance
- Next few years: La Guerre des drapeaux

The Kinshasa Conference **EXAM

- Jan, 1969, Congo
- Francophone Education Ministers Conference
- Second real test of fed vs prov jurisdiction
- Congo not dependent on France for aid
- Dec 68: President Mobutu invited Ottawa (no invitation to QC)
- Quebec and New Brunswick as co-chairs of delegation => victory for Ottawa!

The Niamey Conference (1969)

- Niger convened a francophonie conference
- Niger fully dependent on foreign aid
- President Diori believed Canada had a right to be represented; faced pressure from France to only invite Quebec
- France offered to match Ottawa's annual aid to Niger (\$2.8 million) if only Quebec was invited; otherwise completely withdraw
- Diori invited Quebec, apologized to Trudeau, then invited Canada afterwards

Creation of the ACCT **EXAM

- The Niamey conference created “Agence de coopération culturelle et technique”
- Canada and Canada-Quebec became founding members
- Dealing with multilateral cultural and technical cooperation
- France provided most of total budget (\$300,000) and Canada/Belgium covered rest
- Never became the Commonwealth equivalent...lack of \$\$\$

Quebec & Trudeau

- Trudeau proposed a two-fold strategy to improve federal-provincial relations.
- To enhance and encourage francophone participation in all national institutions, a policy of official bilingualism was set forth.
- To guarantee individual rights as well as the rights of Canada's two official linguistic communities, a renewed Constitution with an inserted ***Charter of Rights and Freedoms*** was tabled.

Victoria Charter 1971

- Constitutional conference, June 1971
- Clarified the jurisdiction of the federal government and provinces, and also allow for patriating of Constitution from GB
- Trudeau's Victoria Charter included 5 articles on foreign affairs, all of which stated that the federal govt would have exclusive jurisdiction on foreign policy/IR issues
- Quebec delegation rejected all five articles..!

ACCT conference of 1971

- 1970: A young economist, Robert Bourassa (Liberal Party) came to power in Quebec
- Promoted the idea of profitable federalism
- ACCT meetings of 1971: Ottawa->Montreal
- Quebec participated but had to keep Ottawa informed, not permitted to do anything against national interest
- Marked the end of the war of flags!

Take-away points

- Impact of domestic policy on external relations
- Federal-provincial tensions in foreign policy
- Difference between Pearson vs Trudeau
- Does this matter in light of the relative insignificance of la francophonie?

Conclusion

- Evolution of the challenge of national unity in Canadian history & Canadian external relations
- **Q. Discuss the phrase, “A house divided against itself cannot stand,” with reference to the impact of French-Canada in Canadian foreign policy in the 20th century.**