

**PARADIPLOMACY IN CANADA: ROLE OF PROVINCES
IN FOREIGN POLICY**

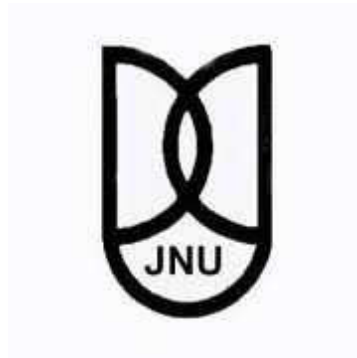
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MASTER OF PHILOSOPHY

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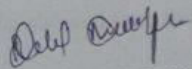


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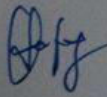
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
I declare that the thesis entitled "Paradiplomacy in Canada: Role of Provinces in Foreign Policy" submitted by me for the award of the degree of Master of Philosophy of Jawaharlal Nehru University is my own work. The thesis has not been submitted for any other degree of this University or any other university.


ROBIN MUKHERJEE

CERTIFICATE

We recommend that this thesis be placed before the examiners for evaluation.


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Acknowledgement

First of all, I would like to express my gratitude to my supervisor Prof.

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Any shortcomings in this dissertation are entirely mine.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

APEC	Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation
BC	British Columbia
BNA	British North America
CICS	Canadian Intergovernmental Conference Secretariat
CONEG	Conference of Governors of New England
CPCFQ	Committee of French-Québec Cooperation
CUSIR	Canada-US and International Relations
ECP	Premiers from Eastern Canada
EU	European Union
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GEGEA	Green Energy and Green Economy Act
ICAO	International Civil Aviation Organisation
IGRS	Intergovernmental Relations Secretariat
IMF	International Monetary Fund
MABAC	Montana Alberta Bilateral Advisory council
MAI	Multilateral Agreement on Investment
MOST	Ministry of Science and Technology
MOU	Memorandum of Understanding
NAAEC	North American Agreement on Environmental Cooperation
NAALC	North American Agreement on Labour Cooperation

NAFTA	North American Free Trade Agreement
OIRP	Office of International Relations and Protocol
PLQ	Parti Liberal du Québec
PNWBHA	Pacific North-West Border Health Alliance
PNWER	Pacific Northwest Economic Region
PQ	Parti Quebécois
SEUS-CP	Southeast US States and Canadian Provinces
STCSM	Science and Technology Commission of Shanghai Municipality
TPP	Trans Pacific Partnership
UIS	UNESCO Institute for Statistics
UK	United Kingdom
US	United States
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisations
WCI	Western Climate Initiative
WHO	World Health Organisation
WIEB	Western Interstate Energy Board
WTO	World Trade Organisation

PREFACE

This dissertation is submitted for the degree of Master of Philosophy at Jawaharlal Nehru University. The research described herein was conducted under the supervision of Professor Abdul Nafey in the Canadian Division of Centre for Canadian, U.S and Latin American Studies, School of International Studies, Jawaharlal Nehru University, between July 2014 and July 2016.

The work is to the best of my knowledge original, except where acknowledgements and references are made to previous work. Neither this, nor any other substantially similar dissertation has been or is being submitted for any other degree, diploma or other qualification at any other university.

The purpose of this dissertation is to explain the concept of paradiplomacy in Canadian context. For this purpose, four Canadian provinces, namely Alberta, British Columbia, Ontario and Québec have been chosen and their nature of paradiplomacy have been studied. This dissertation focuses on the study of the factors of paradiplomacy of these provinces, the instruments they use and their major paradiplomatic partners. The role of these provinces in the foreign policy making of Canada has also been studied.

The Canadian provinces mentioned above has been frequently called as constituent units or subnational governments throughout the dissertation which draws the best possible link to the concept explained by the various authors of paradiplomacy.

This dissertation shall of interest to scholars who wish to study this subject and are interested in the foreign relations of Canadian provinces.

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

1.1 BACKGROUND

In conventional terms, diplomacy is understood as a tool which sovereign nation-states use to pursue and promote their perceived national interests while dealing with other sovereign states and international organizations and actors. It is also acknowledged that non-state actors have also been fairly active in international relations, more so from around the middle of the last century. To name a few well-known non-state actors include varied multilateral organizations, multinational corporations, international civil society associations and, importantly, the subnational governments or provincial governments among others.

The role and functions of the subnational governments, mainly provincial but at times even local governments, has been a matter of discussion and policy consideration especially in federal type of states. However, the subnational entities have gained prominence particularly now in the context of economic globalization, and the decentralization of powers and governance that has followed economic liberalization in all types of political systems - federal and non-federal, democratic and non-democratic both.

The subject of subnational entities in foreign policy and international relations is somewhat difficult and different from studying, say, the role and place of multilateral institutions or multinational corporations. Subnational political entities fall under the sovereignty of nation-states; therefore, the degree of their sovereignty, or autonomy, in international relations is always under scanner; and sovereign states can always clip the subnational aspirations and autonomy for an international role. Subnational entities threatened to add duality of power centres within a nation-state. Also, it is important to gauge the amount and the utility of the contributions by these subnational entities to international relations.

However, a change has come about in the wake of globalization. It is not possible for federal governments all the time to deal with issues which are not directly of concern to them; or, more precisely, issues which can always be better handled by subnational governments – no matter, even if they pertain to international affairs. Scholars across the globe have looked into this phenomenon whereby the subnational governments try to establish some sort of diplomacy of their own – with or without the consent of the federal government. This type of diplomacy has come to be known as ‘paradiplomacy’.

1.2 CONCEPT AND ASPECTS

The term ‘paradiplomacy’ was first used in the academic debate in *The Territorial Dimensions of Politics: Within, Among, and Across Nations* edited by Duchacek in 1986. Another word called *parallel diplomacy* is equally used and was introduced and popularised by Soldatos and Duchacek (quoted in Aguirre, 1999). It has come into the academic discourse very recently. Economic globalization tends to act locally, affecting local communities, livelihoods, natural resources and pattern and potential of development. Paradiplomacy is one of the tools of the ‘local’ to engage with the international.

As a concept, paradiplomacy has few important aspects. Basically paradiplomacy focuses itself precisely on the nature of foreign relation of the government which is the federated entities of a federal state. In this context, the selection of word becomes very crucial as the nature of paradiplomacy is defined by the name which has been given to it. Foremost, one needs to clarify the concept, the perspective and the context of paradiplomacy, as used by different authors and critics:

For example, Kincaid (2001) prefers to call it as ‘Constituent Diplomacy’ of constituent units, rather than using the terms like ‘microdiplomacy’, paradiplomacy etc, which do not place the diplomacy of the nation-states above the diplomacy of the provinces. In this case, the provincial governments are an integral and constituent part of their federal state; hence, there is parallel diplomatic relations which is being carried by both federal and federated state, which suggests a sort of interdependency.

Lecours and Moreno's (2003) argue that the paradiplomacy cannot come in practice unless and until there is some sort of sub-state nationalism in a federal state or some sort of identity politics. It is the strength of sub-nationalism which promotes and persuades the subnational entities to pursue their own foreign relations which bring to them international accolades and recognition. The examples are Québec, Flanders¹, Catalonia² etc. where these subnational entities got greater autonomy and recognition for their distinctiveness. Although Lecours and Moreno acknowledged other factors as well which promotes the paradiplomatic activities by these subnational entities like trade, economy etc but the subnational identity for them is the primary pushing factor which leads to paradiplomatic activity. Other factors just complement them. One interesting observation can be made out of this argument that the use of subnational proves to be a point which places these provinces below the national interest of federal state. Unlike Kincaid's constituent diplomacy, which plays on equal terms with the federal states, subnational diplomacy is mostly at the lower hand. There is also a possibility that if the sub nationalism is such a strong factor that it supersedes the national identity, then the paradiplomatic missions of these subnational entities becomes equally important as that of federal states. The example could be of Québec when its nationalism was at such a peak that it even had two referendums for independence. In that case, the phenomenon of paradiplomacy gets automatically pushed forward.

Aldecoa highlights yet another dimension: for him, paradiplomacy comes from the regions where multiculturalism and plurinationalism are significant. This he derives from Putnam's thesis of 'two-level diplomacy' to explain the transformation of diplomacy in plurinational or multicultural states. This type of shared sovereignty fits best into the European Union model.

Hocking takes a different position, when he acknowledges globalization and economic interdependence as major factors in the rise of paradiplomacy. According to him, there is no clash of interest between the federal and provincial governments, rather they

¹ Flanders refers to the Dutch speaking northern portion of Belgium which is famous for its independence movement.

² Catalonia is an autonomous community of the Kingdom of Spain, located on the north-eastern Iberian Peninsula. Catalonia was defined as a "nationality" in the Spanish constitution of 1978. The others which were given were Basque country and Galicia.

complement each other in this neoliberal and globalised era. Hence there is also a promotion by the federal governments towards their subnational entities to promote their own interests.

1.3 DEFINITION, SCOPE AND RATIONALE OF STUDY

The present research would look into the aspects and practices of paradiplomacy of Canadian provinces across the globe and especially the relations between various Canadian provinces with those across the borders in the United States. It is largely influenced by Rosenau's 'two worlds of world politics' thesis, which argues for a conceptual distinction between state or 'sovereignty-bound' actors on the one hand, and non-state or 'sovereignty-free' actors on the other hand. In the non-state or 'sovereignty free' actors come the multilateral organizations, multinational corporations, non-governmental organizations etc. However, as Lecours (2002: 91-92) contends, these conceptual categories are ambiguous which gives rise to a third force in the form of subnational governments (provinces, regions and local governments), whose new role in world politics has hardly been understood as of now and its prominence is rising in this highly globalised and neoliberal world. Hence as Rosenau described the two categories of state or non-state actors, the existence of subnational entities doesn't fit in any of these, rather it can be called as a fusion of both the categories having features of both. Their international agency thus raises unique conceptual and practical challenges to the practice.

Paradiplomatic practices of Canadian provinces especially that of Quebec, have posed several challenges before the Federal Canada. No doubt, the nature of paradiplomacy is such that it causes some sort of a friction to the sovereignty of the nation-state. Although, paradiplomacy is well promoted at times by the nation-state itself but, at times, it could pose some sort of a threat to the state's sovereignty, especially in the case of Québec where it had two referendums for its separation from Canada. There have been instances in the history of international relations when federal/central governments checked the paradiplomatic overtures of subnational political entities; for instance, Catalonia was checked in its paradiplomatic activities by the Madrid government. Quebec had bargained hard to wrest control of immigration; in the early 1970s, long negotiations were held

between Quebec and federal government on the modalities of Quebec's participation and representation in international forum. The proposed research work would explore and analyze the factors behind the rise of Québec in paradiplomacy; and whether federal Canada acts as 'big brother' or there is by now a mutual co-living between the two levels of government. Quebec's experiences raises several pertinent and relevant questions related to the paradiplomatic practices of the other three provinces namely Alberta, British Columbia and Ontario.

The study would also highlight the nuances differences resulting from their varied external engagements: for example, Quebec is known for its cultural relations; Alberta is all about energy; Ontario has for very long been enmeshed with American industries and manufacturing firms; while British Columbia has business partnerships with APEC and other countries. A study focusing on the sectoral orientation of different provinces could help understand the nuances of paradiplomacy. A brief note, no matter how descriptive, of paradiplomatic ties between British Columbia and possibly other provinces with India would be useful for the study. The specific objectives of the study are to:

- Delineate the conceptual aspects of paradiplomacy and its growing importance and relevance in the context of globalization;
- To explain the domestic imperatives and dynamics of Canadian provinces seeking to develop global ties;
- Identify and analyze the instruments including institutional mechanisms that provinces use in their international relations;
- Ascertain the existence of and explain the variations, dimensions and different goals of the four provinces in their paradiplomatic engagements; and
- Appreciate how provinces define their foreign activities in relation to Canada's foreign policy.

1.3.1 RESEARCH QUESTIONS

- The central question that the research seeks to answer is: What is the nature and significance of the foreign relations of Canadian provinces? The sub-questions that guide the inquiry include:

- What accounts for the increased interest in international relations by Canadian provinces?
- How does the domestic environment encourage or constrain the international relations of Canadian provinces?
- Which instruments do Canadian provinces use in their international relations? ; And what institutional mechanisms are used to coordinate these activities?
- What variations can be detected in the international relations strategies of the different provinces?
- What is the nature of the interface between paradiplomacy and Canada's foreign policy?

1.3.2 HYPOTHESES

- Paradiplomacy of Canadian provinces is centred on their international economic ties.
- The selected Canadian provinces' paradiplomacy have United States as their major partner.
- The strong paradiplomacy of Québec is due to its strong subnational state status.

1.4 AIM AND OBJECTIVE OF THE STUDY

The present research would conduct a quantitative and qualitative analysis of foreign relations of four Canadian provinces namely Québec, Alberta, Ontario and British Columbia. This will be studies especially in the North American Context and the issues where the paradiplomacy of these Canadian provinces affects the foreign policy of federal Canada especially for North American countries will be dealt.

The specific objectives of this research are to:

- Critically analyze the motives and goals of paradiplomacy of Canadian provinces.
- The variables and factors which affect the paradiplomacy of Canadian provinces in the domestic context.
- Find out the tools used by Canadian provinces to pursue their interests in international relations.

- The constitutional, legal and institutional methods or mechanisms used by federal Canada to implement paradiplomacy at the provincial level and their critical analysis.
- The degree up to which the paradiplomacy of these four provinces differ from each other
- Find the extent up to which paradiplomacy contributes to the democratization of Canada's foreign policy and international relations.

1.5 LITERATURE REVIEW

To conduct the research on paradiplomacy of Canadian provinces, a lot of varied literatures have been used to facilitate the understanding of the concepts of the topic and the case studies of different provinces. Mainly books have been used as primary sources along with the government documents and newspaper articles and research articles which help us for a comprehensive understanding of the subject. To talk about the consulted literature for the topic, the present research has been divided into three major parts, mainly: (1) Understanding Paradiplomacy; (2) Paradiplomacy of Canadian Provinces; and (3) Case of Paradiplomacy by Québec.

Understanding Paradiplomacy: The book by Francis Aldecoa (1999) and Michael Keating (1999) *Paradiplomacy in Action: the Foreign Relations of Subnational Governments* gives a comprehensive treatment to the concept and to the theoretical understanding of the subject of paradiplomacy. How the subnational entities pursue their interests in the world affairs. It majorly deals with the repercussions upon subnational autonomy of the progressive constitutions of diverse regimes like European Union, NAFTA, APEC, or the intertwined relations between the foreign relations of these international regimes or subnational entities in federal states.

Another book, *Federalism and International Relations: The Role of Subnational Units* edited by Hans J. Michelmann, Panayotis Soldatos is also a major source for understanding the concept of paradiplomacy. Authors have majorly discussed the international role and activities of component units of major liberal democratic federal states and the reasons for their paradiplomatic activities. The major 'component units', as

the author calls it, are discussed to find the constitutional and institutional contexts under which their paradiplomatic activities proliferate.

The work by Andre Lecours entitled *when Regions Go Abroad: Globalization, Nationalism and Federalism* is another very important which discussed the movement of subnational entities towards foreign relations under the age of globalization. Lecours talks about the juxtaposition of globalization, economic interdependence and sub-state nationalism in the western world. Hence it gave us the idea of how globalization shapes territorial politics and organizations; he also deals with the challenges and tensions posed by federalism and nationalism to the practices of paradiplomacy.

For a comprehensive understanding of the theoretical aspects of paradiplomacy and its practice in world politics, the book *Theory and Practice of Paradiplomacy: Subnational Governments in International Affairs* by Alexander Kuznetsov is very crucial. The author constructs an integrative theoretical explanatory structure for researching on paradiplomatic components in international relations. This is based on multi-response questionnaire technique which provides the set of possible answers on a set of key questions for understanding of the subject.

For understanding the concept of paradiplomacy, a brief understanding of diplomacy is required and for that purpose the book *Diplomacy: Theory and Practice* by Berridge is very useful for understanding the theories of diplomacy and how it is being used in the present context. The study of this book helps to develop a working model for paradiplomacy of subnational units as well. It also develops an idea of the framework in which paradiplomacy functions.

Understanding Paradiplomacy of Provinces

To understand the foreign policy aspects and dimensions of subnational units and federal states, the book *Foreign Relations in Federal Countries* by Aldecoa and Cornago makes the present research very helpful. It discussed the role of constituent units in the public policy and foreign policy making of that state or the shared jurisdiction between the federal and federated states. It also discusses the constitutional powers shared by both or the legitimacy of the constituent units to conduct their own foreign policy. A part

separately on Canada has been discussed in the book about its constitutional validity and conduct of foreign relations.

For understanding the subnational entities' governance and actions with an approach of globalization, the book edited by Stéphane Paquin and Guy Lachapelle titled: *Mastering Globalization: New Sub-States' governance and strategies* is exemplary in this field. The reasons for subnational units to practice paradiplomacy in this era of globalization have been the focus of the book. The case of Europe and North America has also been taken which will help us further in our subject.

The book titled, *going Beyond Paradiplomacy? Adding Historical Institutionalism to Account for Regional Foreign Policy Competences* by Peter Bursens and Jana Deforche somewhat looks at the origin of the practice of paradiplomacy. How the regional powers function and their competency in making their own foreign policy? As the name suggests, the authors discuss the dimensions beyond paradiplomacy as well or different types of regional to global engagements.

As for the important question of varied dimensions and instruments of paradiplomacy, the work by Fritz Ikome Nganje entitled *Paradiplomacy: A Comparative Analysis of the International Relations of South Africa's Gauteng, North West and Western Cape Provinces* is also very valuable. The thesis comprehensively describes the perspective of different authors and their take on paradiplomacy. Even the ambiguity of using the word 'paradiplomacy' in world politics has been discussed when there are many factors and variables which change the meaning of the term.

Another edited book *Regional Sub-state Diplomacy Today* by David Criekemans discussed the augmentation of qualitative and quantitative relations of diplomacy of regional or sub-state powers. A comparative study of many sub-state powers like Québec, Wallonia, Scotland has been discussed to make the arguments clear and subtle.

Paradiplomacy in Canada:

In this theme, there are many literatures available which discusses the role of Canadian provinces either in comparison to other states of the neighbouring United States or in isolation. Their role in foreign policy making has also been discussed and the major areas where these provinces execute their paradiplomatic missions. As already discussed in the previous theme, the book by Andre Lecours titled *Canadian Federalism and Foreign*

Relations: Québec and Alberta explains the working of paradiplomacy in the Canadian context, focusing comparatively on Quebec and Alberta – one making cultural forays into the Francophone world and another tied through energy with American economy.

Venroff Riard's and Rich Jason's book named *Paradiplomacy and Canadian Provinces* is a text book which explains in simple words and style how paradiplomacy works for Canadian provinces and why paradiplomacy is important for them.

In the paper *Canadian Paradiplomacy in Practice: Confessions of a Paradiplomat* presented by Andrew Petter, the author discusses the multi-level governance structures in European Union and North America. He talks about the relevance, need and motivation for the Canadian provinces to come forward to conduct their own paradiplomatic missions and the degree up to which federal Canada promotes this sort of diplomacy by spending a major portion of its GDP in maintaining foreign relations. Being a diplomat himself, he also identifies the major provinces which are strongly involved in the paradiplomatic activities. He also had a major disagreement with André Lecours over the observation that sub-state nationalism is a major cause for the sub-state diplomatic activities. Although Québec could be a good example of this but he argues that economic globalization, more than protonationalism has persuaded Québec for maintaining its diplomatic missions throughout the world.

In one of the book discussed above, *Relations in Federal Countries* by Aldecoa and Cornago, a major portion of the book is dedicated to the authorities given to the Canadian provinces constitutionally by federal Canada and how they put forward a conflict of interest in selected regions. How provinces in Canada helps in the foreign policy making and the limitations put by federal Canada over them. For the recent advances of Canadian provinces in their paradiplomatic missions, their official websites will also be consulted.

Paradiplomacy of Quebec:

The article by Gérard Pinsonneault, *Federated States and the Management of Immigration and Integration: is Québec a Model or an Exception?*, looks into how Quebec wrested the subject of immigration from the federal hands and the way the provincial government manages issues of immigration and immigrants' integration with Quebec culture and society.

Another book edited by multiple authors, *foreign policy of constituents units at the beginning of 21st century* gives the method of constituent units by which they make or contribute in foreign policy in this globalised world. In the same book, an article by Andre Lecours *Canadian Federalism and Foreign Relations: Quebec and Alberta* deals extensively about Canadian federal system and gives two case studies of Québec and Alberta. The history of foreign relations, legal and constitutional validations by the federal Canada, their major areas of interest in paradiplomatic missions and future and scope of their relations which affects the foreign policy of Canada are also discussed.

To understand the role of Québec in Federal Canada within and beyond its borders, Alain Gagnon's work, *De la nation à la multination; les rapports Québec-Canada*" is relevant. The co-authored article by Guy Lachapelle and Stéphane Paquin entitled *Québec's International Strategies: Mastering Globalization and New Possibilities of Governance* gives a good idea about Québec in the present international scenario.

Article written by Nelson Michaud *Québec International Relations: Past and Current Directions* in the book entitled *Québec Questions* is also helpful to understand the presence of Québec at international level historically till now. How Québec way back in the 19th century established its own bureau in Paris, before the Ottawa government. What were the circumstances, which led Québec to establish its presence in the Francophone countries initially and later everywhere. All these factors are discussed in the above mentioned article.

For understanding the presence of Québec in the United States and Francophone countries, the article *Quebec's Relation with the United States* by Earl. H. Fry will be consulted. This also discussed the historical development in the foreign relations of Québec and the conflicts and tensions between federal Canada and Québec. The information provided by her bureaus and her official website will be consulted.

1.6 RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

The choice of the approach of research is informed by the purpose of the research, which is to understand the nature and meaning of paradiplomacy in select Canadian provinces. In the case of our present research, deductive approach has been used which would test the validity of the two assumptions or hypothesis proposed. This deductive approach to

the research has been taken for the purpose of accepting or rejecting the assumptions made in the hypothesis, which will pass through a lot of observations and investigations with the various sources available to us. To conduct this test four variables have been chosen, which can decide the fate of the hypothesis. The three main variables would be (1) Ethnicity, (2) Trade and Business and (3) Sub Nationalism. The motive of the research would be to observe the interdependence of these three variables in four selected Canadian provinces. How these variables can be located in four selected Canadian provinces and how the shift in one variable alters the degree of another, which might change our assumptions.

All the researches in this area so far have highlighted broadly two factors or variables namely: ethnicity or sub nationalism (in the case of Québec) and availability of raw materials which facilitates trade and business as Canada is primarily a raw material exporter. All the researches so far hardly acknowledge the fact that domestic factors and economic prosperity of provinces could be the factors as well for promoting paradiplomacy of Canadian provinces. The present research would focus on these factors and analyze how these factors help provinces contribute or shape the foreign policy of Canada.

The methods which will be used in this research are Objective, descriptive, deductive and Qualitative in nature. The choice of the method is derived from the objective of the research to a comprehensive understanding of the topic through an in-depth and contextual analysis of selected Canadian provinces. Secondary source material will be used to build and clarify the concept and theoretical nuances of paradiplomacy from a comparative political perspective. The information will be collected from a review of official records of the international relations of the four provinces along with their websites. Also international policy documents and international reports on foreign trips will be consulted.

During the conduct of a foreign policy survey or research of federal Canada, the importance or provinces are usually undermined. If we take the liberal international values of Canada then we cannot neglect its liberalism in its own land as well. Due to this phenomenon, Canada has become so important for research point of view in the area of

paradiplomacy. A federal state like Canada which gives healthy amount of autonomy to its provinces for conducting their own foreign relations surely depends on its provinces for its foreign policy making. Hence, the role of Canadian provinces becomes a major subject of research in the foreign policy making of Canada. In other words, in order to understand the foreign policy making of Canada, the role of provinces also needs to be studied. In the present research, only four major provinces are chosen, taking into account, many factors like economy, ethnicity and sub nationalism which are the driving forces which push Canadian provinces to persuade federal Canada to make necessary amendments or suggestions in its foreign policy making. Although this cannot be overtly said that this remains the sole cause but certainly there is some sort of influence which the provinces professes on federal Canada to make its foreign policy. In this context it is very significant to study the paradiplomatic relations of these provinces. It becomes a very interesting subject in academic discourse keeping in mind the future of Canadian foreign policy.

1.7 STRUCTURE OF THE DISSERTATION

The dissertation is divided into five chapters which includes the introductory chapter. In this part, points related to the justification for undertaking the research of this nature has been attempted to answer. This research tries to locate the study of the subject in the broader academic discourse on paradiplomacy and it tries to associate itself with the variables used. It also attempts to qualitatively analyze the foreign relations of subnational entities using the methods as chosen in the research methodology part. Chapter two discusses the concepts and theoretical underpinnings of paradiplomacy. Its necessity in the new world politics and its relevance in the Canadian and North American context are the area of focus of this chapter.

Chapter three discusses paradiplomacy in the context of Québec. It discusses the historical, legal, constitutional validity of Québec for its paradiplomatic missions. The factors which persuade Québec for its foreign relations and her major partners, areas where she practices her paradiplomacy are discussed. The role of Québec and its contribution to Canada's foreign policy will also be discussed.

Like the third chapter, chapter four focus on the foreign relations of the rest three Canadian provinces, which are Alberta, Ontario and British Columbia. Their historical and constitutional validity from federal Canada and their major partners and fields where they conduct their paradiplomatic missions will also be discussed. To conduct a profound research, the factors which persuade these provinces to have their paradiplomatic missions will also be located. The role of these provinces separately in the contribution of foreign policy making of Canada will also be studied.

The last chapter would conclude from the research findings from the above chapters. It would also try to answer to the research questions posed at the first chapter. It would analyze the importance of provinces for the foreign policy making of Canada.

CHAPTER II

PARADIPLOMACY IN CANADA

2.1 INTRODUCTION

The present chapter broadly deals with two aspects. Firstly, it gives a broad understanding of paradiplomacy from the point of view of its theoretical understanding discussed in the previous chapter. Secondly, the different Canadian provinces and their socio-cultural, economic and political aspects are briefly discussed along with the intergovernmental relations of the provinces and the relations with the federal government. From the survey of Canadian provinces, the selection of four Canadian provinces and their justification of selection for the study of paradiplomacy will be done in the present chapter. This helps to build further chapters. The understanding of the two broad topics enables an enquiry to study the relevance and significance of paradiplomacy in the context of Canada and North America up to an extent. The present chapter attempts to find the answers of two specific questions. These are: i) Whether the Canadian provinces are accountable enough for conducting paradiplomacy and their accountability is being drawn from the constitutional and legal authorities or not? ii) What are the specific reasons for Canadian provinces to pursue their interests at an international level? Through this question, the domestic factors which attributes to the nurturing of paradiplomacy of Canadian provinces will be studied. If there are other factors which influence paradiplomacy of Canadian provinces, it will also be studied.

2.2 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK OF PARADIPLOMACY

Paradiplomacy as a concept gives many dimensions and perspectives due to its relevance in the current global political system or the democratic regimes of the developed and developing nations. Even the term paradiplomacy itself was questioned by many authors. Nevertheless, agreeing to the common actions or goals which it serves, paradiplomacy as a concept has been widely accepted by scholars across the globe and its relevance of study in the current global politics can't be ignored. In that case, it is difficult to look

deep into this subject with a single theoretical perspective. Since the notion of sub-state actors or precisely constituent units in this case matters a lot when this chapter deals with their foreign relations, hence how these subnational entities juxtapose themselves with their federal state's foreign relation needs to be studied. It also depends on present international politics, different geopolitical locations, balancing of power etc. hence for this research; mainly three theoretical perspectives have been chosen, which are: neo-liberal theories, the international relations theory of social constructivism and historical institutionalism.

2.2.1 NEO-LIBERAL THEORIES

One of the key reasons which can be stated for the rise of the involvement of subnational entities, constituent units or local and regional governments in the foreign affairs in present international politics is the new era of neo-liberalism. This portrays well, the current changing global scenario where the role of conventional states are restricted to certain fields like defence, nuclear activity, peacemaking etc but the sub-state actors like the subnational governments or constituent units have shared the nation state's responsibility by entering into the domain of foreign relations which was considered the sovereign right of nation states until recently. According to Keohane (1977: 24-25) the current politics of world affairs have taken a different course from traditional interstate routes to multiple channels for connecting societies where the sub-state actors play a major role for connecting societies. It seems that the hierarchy in world politics is fading off where the high politics like military security and low politics like environment and social welfare are no longer inherited by hierarchical powers. The sub-state actors or the regional powers and subnational powers share this role. It wouldn't be wrong to say that this global system has shared its political authority from upper strata to a lower strata.

2.2.2 SOCIAL CONSTRUCTIVISM

As one tries to study the character of paradiplomacy under the theoretical light of Neo-Liberalism, it leads to the over simplification of its manifestations. To better understand the political and social manifestations of paradiplomacy, theory of social constructivism is pertinent. Only through the lens of social constructivism, one can acknowledge the

identity politics of the subnational units, its distinct culture and politics and also its local aspirations. This theory unlike other theories doesn't undermine the local politics, needs and aspirations of subnational entities.

2.2.3 HISTORICAL INSTITUTIONALISM

It comes with the arguments of the institutionalists that the preferences and actions of actors in the current political setting are determined by prevailing institutions – that is, formal and informal rules, norms and political standards (Lecours, 2002: 27). This explains how the subnational entities pursue their international agency. Hence it offers an alternative perspective which shapes the domestic method of paradiplomacy. As scholars like Bursens and Deforche (2010) explained that the foreign relations of subnational governments can be understood and explained through institutional contexts. Lecours (2002: 96) argues that the subnational governments remark their international presence due to the interaction between regional and national actors and their agencies or institutions. The rises of these institutions often carve the path for the rise of regional actors like subnational governments to show its international presence. In the case of Canada, after Canada got its independence and formed the British North America Act, the loyalists from the bordering United States formed institutions in their respective provinces which helped these provinces to grow and form their own liaisons with the United States. Hence these institutions helped the provinces for their future paradiplomacy.

2.3 FACTORS OF PARADIPLMACY

As the theories like neo-liberalism, social constructivism and historical institutionalism have been briefly discussed, which positions the rise of paradiplomacy or the establishment of foreign relations of subnational governments in the current world scenario, one must look into the reasons behind pursuing paradiplomacy by the subnational or constituent governments. At this point, there will an analysis of the factors which are dominant and give rise to paradiplomacy in certain parts of the world or in certain continents like Europe and North America. If one would study broadly then it is found that there are mainly three factors which push the subnational governments to

expand or initiate their foreign relations. These are geographic factor, economic factor and the historic factor.

2.3.1 GEOGRAPHIC FACTOR

Geographical locations of certain regions in any nation state play an important role in establishing its paradiplomacy and mark its international presence. As Michelmann argues (2009: 327-328) that the provinces or the regions which are landlocked or inland are less likely to establish foreign relations with other nation's provinces or the nation itself than the regions or provinces which are situated at the borders. It can be observed that the provinces which are situated at the frontiers of the neighbouring nations are more likely to indulge themselves in the foreign relations. Although their nature of paradiplomacy is restricted but they have more chances to mark their global presence. Physical geography is also a dominant factor for pursuing paradiplomacy. The abundance of natural resources like minerals, forests and agricultural land are also the motivating factors for any regional power to manifest it into its economic interest. It often shapes the foreign relations of federal nation. Alberta could prove to be a pioneer example where due to heavy deposits of fossil fuels and energy reserves, it shapes the relation between neighbouring U.S with Canada. The main areas where these types of regions are active could be border and conflict resolutions, peace and security, exporter of raw materials or finished goods in international trade and so on.

2.3.2 ECONOMIC FACTOR

If any factor which could be given the maximum priority for paradiplomacy, it shall be the economic factor. It is one of the major driving forces behind any region's progress or international presence. Michelmann (2009) argues that if one takes any country as a whole, its economic prosperity is a major factor behind its regions or provinces going abroad. This means that paradiplomacy is more pertinent or a more common phenomenon in developed nations than developing nations. Hence the foreign relations of subnational governments of the prosperous nations of Europe and North America are more in number than other African or Asiatic nations. This can even be proved better if one takes the examples of nations like Germany, Belgium, Russia, and Japan etc which

are economically significant and has a strong tendency of paradiplomacy for its provinces or regions. This example is not only restricted to the developed or economically prosperous nations but the regions or provinces within the nations which are economically prosperous. For example, provinces like Québec, Ontario, British Columbia and Alberta are economically prosperous and have a significant global economic presence, but on the other hand provinces like Nova Scotia, Newfoundland etc shows less international presence. Hence it is right to say that wealthier regions are more into global economy and are more into establishing their foreign relations.

2.3.3 HISTORICAL FACTOR

History plays an important role for the growth and confidence of any country. Similarly, there are certain regions with a nation state which are more prominent than the other due to its rich and vast historical legacy. One can say that the regional entities having a historical legacy profess a regional identity which manifests itself into paradiplomacy. This historical legacy or the historical factor creates a sense of sub nationalism which gives an impetus to the regions to establish their foreign relations. It can be considered as one of the founding factors of paradiplomacy in the current global system.

2.4 THE LEGAL AND CONSTITUTIONAL STRUCTURE OF PARADIPLMACY IN CANADA

Before discussing the selected Canadian provinces and their nature of paradiplomacy, one must examine the roots of Canadian provinces which make Canada as an exemplary federal state. Since the existence of Canada through the British North America Act (BNA) Act 1867³, which made Canada a centralized federation, today it has 13 constituent units which consists of provinces and territories, (Lecours, 2009: 119-120). In 1931, through the Statute of Westminster⁴, Canada moved one step ahead in its sovereignty and got rights to conduct its own foreign relations, which were until the

³ Canada got the status of a country through the British North America Act or BNA Act in 1867. Though United Kingdom retained all legislative and Canadian foreign policy powers with them.

⁴ Statute of Westminster is an act of the British parliament, which gave legislative independence to the self-governing dominions of the British Empire like Canada and New Zealand.

1960's was attached to Britain, is now set free. This was discussed by Balthazar (1999: 154) as "British umbilical cord".

As Nossal, Roussel & Paquin argues (2011: 286), most of the federal constitution of the world keenly watches their reach to international relations, the Canadian Constitution Act, 1867, observed silence over it. If the scholarly reading of Canadian constitution is done, one can observe that it doesn't assign any specific roles to either federal Canada or its provinces over foreign relations. It is not clear that the conduct of foreign relations is exclusive to federal Canada, which leaves the scope for the provinces to indulge themselves in the foreign relations. Section 91 of the Constitution Act, 1867⁵, assigned 29 specific heads of power to the federal government, which authorizes the federal government responsible for making laws for the Peace, Order, and Good Government of Canada. Section 92⁶ of the Canadian Constitution Act, 1867, assigned 16 specific heads of power to the provinces. Lastly, sections 93, 94A and 95 enumerated concurrent powers (Cameron, 2002: 108 – 111 Government of Canada – Privy Council Office⁷, 2010b Simeon and Papillon: 6 – 7).

In the above mentioned sections, it cannot be clearly said that federal Canada is solely competent for making its foreign relations and this was evident as until 1931 when the statute of Westminster came, the making of foreign relations was under the desire of London. As soon as the federal Canada got its full autonomy over foreign affairs, the capacity of making treaties or foreign relations by the provinces was being questioned. The role of federal Canada in implementing such treaties were also asked and whether it falls under the jurisdiction of federal Canada or not as it is nowhere clearly mentioned in the Canadian Constitution Act. The first province which challenged such authority of

⁵ Section 91 of the *Constitution Act, 1867* grants the Parliament of Canada its basic legislative authority.^[1] It reads as follows: "*It shall be lawful for the Queen, by and with the Advice and Consent of the Senate and House of Commons, to make Laws for the Peace, Order, and good Government of Canada, in relation to all Matters not coming within the Classes of Subjects by this Act assigned exclusively to the Legislatures of the Provinces; and for greater Certainty, but not so as to restrict the Generality of the foregoing Terms of this Section, it is hereby declared that (notwithstanding anything in this Act) the exclusive Legislative Authority of the Parliament of Canada extends to all Matters coming within the Classes of Subjects next hereinafter enumerated; that is to say, repealed*"

⁶ Section 92 of the *Constitution Act, 1867* grants the Provinces of Canada their basic legislative authority.

⁷ Privy Council Office is the secretariat of the federal cabinet giving advice and support to the Prime Minister and leadership, coordination to the departments and agencies of the government.

federal Canada was Ontario in the Labour Conventions case of 1937⁸ (Patry, 1980: 155). The Judicial Committee of the Privy Council in London in the year 1937 ruled that according to the principle of Parliamentary sovereignty, the provinces were not subservient to federal Canada and are not bound to implement treaties concluded by the federal government (Nossal, Roussel Paquin, 2011: 287 – 288). Since then, the negotiation, signature and ratification of treaties are exclusive to federal government and their implementation belongs to both federal and provincial governments. After all the relaxations given by the Canadian Constitution Act 1931 and its aftermath, the provinces got more and more autonomy in having their own foreign relations. This led to the rise in the international presence for major provinces like New Brunswick, British Columbia, Ontario, Alberta and Québec.

2.5 MOTIVES AND OBJECTIVES OF PARADIPLOMACY

One has to understand the motives and goals between the nation states and the subnational governments. One of the primary goals of nation states to maintain diplomatic relations with other nations is to maintain peace and security, to promote its economic interests and so on. Though subnational governments can help the nation states pursuing the same but this solely cannot be the objective of subnational governments. In the background of the foreign relations of subnational governments, there are many objectives which at times correlate with its federal nation and at times it doesn't. Factors like economy, culture etc are always primary objectives for the subnational governments to go abroad but there are a few other objectives as well. The goals and objectives of subnational governments will be discussed in the following paragraphs.

2.5.1 ECONOMIC INTEREST

(Cornago, 2005, Keating, 1999: 4) rightly puts that economic motives are the primary reasons behind the paradiplomatic relations of subnational governments. The subnational governments use their agencies to establish trade relations, establish commercial bureaus, promote tourism, make markets for their goods and promote foreign companies to

⁸ Labour Conventions Reference is a decision of the judicial committee of the Privy Council concerning the distinct nature of federal and provincial jurisdiction in Canadian federalism.

establish their trading units there and attract foreign direct investments in their respective regions. This helps the subnational governments to witness economic prosperity at their home and make them have a bigger say at the national level politics. It also promotes investors for foreign direct investments by giving them tax benefits and direct subsidies. This can be evident from the fact that the subnational governments of the developed nations establish their trade offices or commercial bureaus overseas to attract investors and entrepreneurs. There are also overseas trade missions by the subnational governments which are represented by the big entrepreneurs, government officials etc. The presence of a strong private sector in the specific regions in a state also promotes economic diplomacy of this kind. It can be said that economic interest is the only goal of a subnational government, which gets the least resistance from national governments. However this economic diplomacy is often conducted by the national and subnational governments jointly.

2.5.2 POLITICAL OR REGIONAL GOALS

Paradiplomacy with a political motive can be called as protodiplomacy. This is mainly done by the subnational governments or constituents units to seek international recognition which would make them a separate entity or it might become an independent state at a later stage, but it is surely very rare in current scenario. Recent examples could be given of Québec (Lecours, 2002: 107) to obtain the statehood. Similarly Catalonia of Spain in the past had similar interests when it established its office in morocco and uses Arabic as language to attract Moroccan voters in its domestic politics. The subnational governments often have high level talks and meetings with other sovereign nations. These are usually between premiers of those subnational state and high level politicians. As Keating (1993: 13) discussed that paradiplomacy also acts as a function which is political in nature when used 'as an element in a stateless nation-building'. The political leaders of these subnational governments often renounce sovereignty but not political power itself. Hence one can say that protodiplomacy gives the subnational governments, a greater autonomy for showing their international presence. This helps to promote their distinct identity and culture and political visions.

To promote this type of protodiplomacy, the regional powers often use their history or their culture to promote this phenomenon. Diasporas are always the crux for beginning such type of relations to achieve such political goals. These political motives often create tension between the federal and the regional powers, as in the case of Catalonia, Québec etc. Although there are conflicts but this observation can't be generalised. In the case of US and Canada, the bordering states and provinces play a major role in normalizing the situations, which are building up new relations between Ottawa and Washington. If one sees this objective in a different way, one would see that certain regions in any nation have different goals and aspirations. Paradiplomacy help these regional aspirations to grow and make the subnational governments of these regions significant across the globe.

2.5.3 SOCIO-CULTURAL GOALS

Socio-cultural goals plays a different role in maintain paradiplomacy of subnational governments. As the social constructivist theory⁹ suggests, when diplomatic relations between nations goes into turmoil, the subnational governments and their social constructivist approach through socio-cultural means, maintain the liaison for further dialogues. But socio-cultural relations cannot be set as an objective or a goal for the entire subnational entities as for that, they need to have a distinct ethnic, cultural, historical and linguistic background. In this type of paradiplomacy, the subnational governments promote their social-cultural legacies and maintain relations with other subnational entities. Although, the subnational entities have very high aspirations when it comes to socio-cultural ties but it has got its own limitations. It is mostly done with other subnational or national entities who share some common heritage, culture, language etc. unlike the economy as a goal which can be applied or executed by the subnational entities wherever there are chances, the goal of socio-cultural interests can only be realized with a limited set of other nations or subnational entities. Mostly they are common colonies or speaking the same language. Québec is again a good example in this case where it maintains socio-cultural relations with many international organizations and even countries which have colonial past as a common history and French as a common

⁹ The term Social constructivism was coined by Peter L. Berger and Thomas Luckmann, which is a social theory of knowledge.

language. Also in the case of Alberta, where almost one fourth of its population is immigrant from Ukraine and Ireland, it has maintained a healthy paradiplomatic relation with Ireland, Eastern Europe and especially Ukraine as it shares common cultural notions. It also helps Alberta in its domestic politics. There are many regions in the world which are known for their socio-cultural goals, some of them are: Flanders in Belgium, Catalonia in Spain, Land of Baden-Wurttemberg in Germany and many others.

2.5.4 CROSS-BORDER TALKS

This objective of regional powers or subnational entities depends entirely on their geographical proximities and peripheries. The geographical neighbours, which are often regional powers, share similar tensions and problems. These issues can be resolved when these subnational entities sit for a negotiation. This can be done when they involve in such paradiplomatic activities. This makes the regional powers competent to pursue their objective to resolve such issues. Kincaid (2002:82) calls this sort of activity as 'housekeeping' functions. The subnational units which share common problems as discussed before enter into talking through legal and formal institutions which are often supported by the federal government. They indulge in activities like economy, infrastructure, immigration, traffic control, culture, environment, border tensions etc. although the range of these regional or subnational units is smaller and they are restricted to their cross-border relations. The manifestation of this type of diplomacy is through bilateral transborder cooperative agreements; this is called by Duchacek (1990:20) as 'informal inter-elite networks'. Two principal factors which Keating (1999) discusses are: cultural affinities of subnational units across the borders and the presence of regional agencies or organizations which facilitates the permeability of national borders. Cross border relation between subnational units is a major goal which the subnational units try to accomplish but it often becomes a major challenge as it depends on the national policy of the federal state with its neighbouring nation. Paradiplomatic relation of this sort is hard to achieve if the nations are under constant military threat or political tensions. The best example could be given of India and Pakistan where the states in India like Kashmir and Punjab and the provinces in Pakistan like Sindh and Punjab cannot

establish relations with each other easily although they are bordering subnational units. This is due to the political and military conflict between India and Pakistan.

Apart from the four objectives or goals discussed in the above paragraphs about paradiplomacy, there are certainly other objectives of subnational units or regional powers. It certainly depends on the local issues. The goals and objectives of the subnational units are often local or area specific and hence their goals and objectives could be diverse. Paradiplomacy is often done for development assistance, especially for the neighbouring states. This could be the contribution of one subnational unit to other in the field of infrastructure, health, sanitation, education etc. It is also done for influencing global policy debates. Environment and infrastructure could be the major impetus for the regional powers to go abroad. Hence goals and objectives of paradiplomacy are varied in nature.

2.6 TOOLS OF PARADIPLMACY

So far there have been discussions about the intentions and need for the subnational units to conduct their foreign relations abroad. The method of conducting paradiplomacy is somewhat close to traditional diplomacy. The manifestation of this diplomacy takes a very different shape in different context and time period. Few of the tools or the instrument of paradiplomacy has been discussed below.

2.6.1 SETTING UP OF REPRESENTATIVE OFFICES

As the subnational units grow and make their presence felt across the globe, they have to work on their political representations by setting up their representative offices abroad to achieve their international goals. These are called delegations in the case of Québec other provinces like Ontario, Alberta and many others call it representative offices, commercial bureaus etc. This helps the subnational governments to strengthen the relations with their host partners as explained by Criekemans (2010b:45). These representative offices include trade offices, commercial bureaus, immigration bureaus, consulates etc. The subnational governments judiciously use their infrastructure and resources to set up their representative offices which serves their desired purposes. Some of the purposes they aspire to achieve are: political representation, immigration, economic interest, cultural

and educational ties, environment etc. Duchacek (1990:14) argues that lobbying is also done by these foreign offices to gain foreign capital.

2.6.2 SIGNING OF MOUS, AGREEMENTS AND INTERNATIONAL TREATIES

Under many circumstances, when the federal nations are unable to establish bilateral relations or their relations are at a standstill, the subnational governments establish paradiplomatic relations by signing Memorandum of Understandings (MOU's), agreements or treaties. Not only the MOU's but there are a number of International Treaties signed between the subnational governments and the international organizations, other international agencies, other nations or subnational governments etc. It is often seen that subnational governments are collaborating and operating with multilateral organizations like United Nations (UNESCO, WHO etc), the World Bank etc. They mostly do it to promote their own cultural and educational interests (Crikemans, 2010a: 23). It has its own limitations as it is permissible only under certain legal and institutional premises. Not all the subnational governments in the world are authorized to make these international treaties possible. Few subnational units who indulge in such activities are Belgium, Switzerland, Austria and Germany. The subnational governments of these provinces have the legal authority to sign international treaties with or without the consent of their national government. Although the set of these subnational units are very small as compared to other instruments of subnational governments but it is one of its kind and very important in the current era of world politics.

2.6.3 PUBLIC DIPLOMACY

When subnational governments get highly involved in their paradiplomatic activities, they pursue their public diplomacy, i.e. a type of diplomacy which directly affects the population of the host nation. It can also be called as a later stage or developed stage of paradiplomacy. This instrument of diplomacy is only accessed when the two participating nations are in a very amicable stage and ready for information and infrastructure exchanges. In this case, the subnational governments get a chance to acknowledge each other's presence. In this instrument of diplomacy, debate and dialogues are mostly

common. A lot of investment is done to help Municipal Corporations or Metro poles. Concept of twin cities or sister cities¹⁰ come out. Example can be given of Calgary (a city in the Canadian province of Alberta) which is a part of twin city program with Jaipur, India. Other examples are Luck now: Montreal, Mangalore: Hamilton and Mangalore: Delta. Public diplomacy also involves helping the host subnational region or getting help from it to ameliorate its infrastructure, health, sanitation, education, environment etc.

2.7 PARADIPLOMACY IN THE CANADIAN CONTEXT

As the theoretical aspects of paradiplomacy has already been discussed along with its objectives and its manifestations, the phenomenon of paradiplomacy in the context of Canada needs to be studied at this point as it would further justify the purpose of studying paradiplomacy of Canadian provinces and its place in the Canadian foreign policy making. Specific contexts of the paradiplomacy of Canadian provinces in this section will be studied.

Studying the Canadian provinces gives us the observation that the foreign relations of Canadian provinces are contextual in nature and depend on varied circumstances. Not all the provinces in Canada are equally represented abroad and have same potential or need to represent themselves abroad. Hence to analyze the factors behind provinces' foreign policy, the chapter would look at the socio-political, economic and cultural dimensions of Canadian provinces, to observe how federal Canada become facilitators or put constraints at times before the Canadian provinces to pursue their paradiplomatic missions. To understand it better, we also have to go through a survey of the relation of Canadian provinces with the federal or national government at the centre. One also has to consider the domestic factors and their contribution to Canadian foreign policy making. To understand all these, we would separately study them in the following subsections.

2.7.1 INTERGOVERNMENTAL RELATIONS

¹⁰ Twin cities or Sister Cities are a kind of legal or social agreement between towns, cities, counties, prefectures, provinces, regions etc in distinct geographical and political locations. They are mostly inclined towards promoting cultural and commercial ties.

To understand the intergovernmental relations of Canadian agencies in its federal structure, one first needs to know its division of government and its functions. The Canadian government is divided into three parts: the federal, the provincial and the municipal government. They all have been assigned with certain executive and legislative powers as per the Canadian constitution Act. Often, their jurisprudence juxtapose over one another. In the case of Canada, the making of public policy by any of the three levels of government rarely crosses jurisdictional lines and the actions of one government do not affect other government. Hence the intergovernmental relations in Canada focus on the relations among federal and provincial/territorial executives - First Ministers, Ministers, and senior officials. These relationships serve a number of purposes. They provide forums for the exchange of information, for bargaining, negotiation, and consensus-building. As discussed in the previous sections of this chapter, the jurisdiction of the municipal and provincial governments lies beyond the national borders. That is the reason, the municipal authorities indulge in knowledge and infrastructure exchanges with other municipal corporations of their host nations and developed the twin cities or sister cities concept. The provinces take an active part in indulging themselves into the foreign affairs with other nations or subnational units. As discussed before, the involvement in foreign affairs is authorized to both federal and provincial governments. Here the intergovernmental relations help a lot when the federal Canada go on diplomatic relations and the premiers of particular Canadian provinces also accompany them. The federal Canada also extends its support in terms of logistics and finance to the provinces governments. Hence the intergovernmental relations include: federal-municipal cooperation, federal-provincial cooperation and provincial-municipal cooperation. Our major concern would be federal-provincial cooperation. This chapter tries try to analyze the role of federal Canada in promoting provinces for attaining their international presence through public policies.

One has to understand that the intergovernmental relations in Canada have evolved through the changing dynamics in Canadian politics. The mechanisms of intergovernmental relations in Canada are informal. They are not mentioned in the Canadian constitution hence they don't have any constitutional validity. They are neither mentioned in any law or statute. They have surely evolved in response to the requirement

of time and on an ad-hoc basis. They are forums for the exchange of information, and for negotiation and persuasion. There are meetings in the intergovernmental relations like the first ministers' conference, ministerial meetings, officials meetings etc. and the (CICS), the Canadian intergovernmental conference secretariat¹¹, which serves high level intergovernmental conferences, provide resources and logistics for organizing conferences, distributing documents and press releases. It doesn't have a policy advisory role.

There are many areas where federal-provincial relations are dynamic like immigration, industrialization, trade etc. the first federal-provincial agreements happened in 1868 regarding immigration, in which a constitutional power was shared between parliament of Canada and the provincial legislatures. This trend continued till date in Canada and these types of agreements have been multiplied, and the jurisdictions have been shared by federal and provincial governments. The federal-provincial relations are an important part of Canadian policy making. They mostly work in trade, immigration etc. It is important to look for cooperation between them in the field of international relations.

Although different provinces deal with the federal government at different levels, but almost all provinces get support and cooperation in the field of international relations through informal channels. Some of the examples are: The Canada-U.S and International Relations (CUSIR) Branch has overall responsibility for the coordination, monitoring and reporting of the Government of Manitoba's international relations. In the field of international trade, Canadian provinces getting involved in the international trade agreements are signed by the federal government. In 2006, Québec signed an agreement with the federal Canada concerning UNESCO to recognise the specificity of Québec within the Canadian state regarding its special jurisdiction on culture, education, language etc. due to this advancement in the paradiplomacy of Québec, it moved one step ahead in its intergovernmental relations when Québec holds a permanent representative into the Permanent Delegation of Canada to UNESCO in Paris. This Permanent

¹¹ The Canadian Intergovernmental Conference Secretariat is an independent Canadian government agency enacted on November 29, 1973 by an Order in Council from the first ministers created for the purpose of continuing governing of Canada. The agency reports to the Parliament of Canada through the Prime Minister. Each of the provinces and territories of Canada has their own similar agency.

Delegation of Québec to UNESCO will be considered a member of the permanent delegation of Canada and will have the diplomatic designation of a Counsellor. It is one of the most decisive initiatives by Québec in its international relations approach, cooperated by federal Canada. Similarly, partnering with different provinces, the federal Canada encourages the provinces in their international relations by working on intergovernmental relations. This has especially done through NAFTA in the last decade when Ontario and British Columbia negotiated their terms. To better understand the Canadian provinces in terms of their ability to mark its presence abroad, it is required to do a survey of their social, political, economic and cultural background. We will see this in the following subsection.

2.7.2 SOCIO-POLITICO-ECONOMIC AND CULTURAL SURVEY OF SELECTED CANADIAN PROVINCES

There are ten provinces and three territories in Canada. Each province is unique in its own way. Considering the most important provinces concerning social, political, economic and cultural prosperity, Ontario, Québec, Manitoba, British Columbia, Alberta and Saskatchewan are the most important. Among these, except Saskatchewan and Alberta, rest all entered the confederation in 19th century and these two in the early 20th century. Due to the limitations of our research, it is required to deal very briefly with these Canadian provinces from the point of view of their strong international presence.

- 1- Ontario, located in the east-central Canada, is the most populous province. It shares its international boundary with the states of the U.S namely: Minnesota, Michigan, Ohio, Pennsylvania and New York. Although it's official language is English but French is also spoken in the north-eastern, eastern and extreme southern parts of the province. Ontario is very important from the point of view of manufacturing. Hence from the trade point of view, it is a very important province, whose largest trading partner is the American state of Michigan.
- 2- Another Canadian province, Alberta is also important from many perspectives. It is a western province bordered by the American state of Montana to the south and also its important trading partner. Alberta has considerable ethnic diversity. Most of the first generation Albertans was from the present United Kingdom but a

considerable amount of them is also from Germany, France, Ukraine and Scandinavia. It has a high proportion of francophone. It is a province with heavy fossil energy deposits; hence its economy is significant among the Canadian provinces. Most of its trade relations are with the United States. The ministry of economic development and trade facilitates trade, investment and business opportunities for Alberta. From the point of view of paradiplomacy, Alberta is very important as it is a major trading province in Canada. It often persuades Canada in its foreign policies towards the United States and some other nations concerning its commercial interests.

- 3- British Columbia, situated on the west coast of Canada, is bordered by the American states of Idaho, Oregon, Washington and Alaska. Historically, it was famous for its fur trade¹². It is an ethnically diverse province. It is basically a resource dominated economy, mainly focused on forestry and mining. Over a past few decades, it has seen many ups and downs in its economy and the employment pattern has also changed. Immigration is a major issue in the politics of British Columbia. Foreign affairs are dealt under intergovernmental secretariat in which there is a section for international relations. It has surely made formal institutions and channels for pursuing its paradiplomacy. It primarily focuses on bilateral relationships and multilateral forums with north-western U.S states.
- 4- Québec is one of the most important provinces in Canada from the point of view of international relations. It is the largest province in terms of area and second most populous province in Canada with French as the official provincial language. It is situated at the eastern coast and is bordered by the American state of Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont and New York. It has a long history with the French settlers. The Québec Act¹³ first set the governance pattern of Québec. After the Canadian confederation¹⁴, Québec became one of the four parts of

¹² Fur trade was a vast commercial enterprise started from the early 17th century to the mid-19th century in Canada, deals with the exploration and trade of fur between modern day Canada and Europe. It was done in relationship between aboriginal people and European traders.

¹³ Québec Act or British North America (Québec) Act 1774 was an act of parliament of Great Britain to govern the province of Québec.

¹⁴ Canadian Confederation was the method of including British colonies of Canada, Nova Scotia and New Brunswick were federally united into one dominion of Canada on 1st of July, 1867. Upon Confederation, Canada was divided into four parts, namely: Québec, Ontario, Nova Scotia and New Brunswick.

Canada. The modern Canada is the result of Quiet Revolution¹⁵, which changed the political, economic and cultural face of Québec. In terms of the foreign relations across the globe, Québec is the most represented province of Canada around the world. It has its own agreements and relations with many sovereign states, subnational units and international organizations. The affair of international relations is carried on by the ministry of international relations. It wouldn't be wrong to say that Québec is a pioneer example in the case of paradiplomacy.

- 5- Nova Scotia, one of the three Maritime Provinces, is the second smallest province in Canada. It is mostly inhabited by ethnic communities of Scotland (31.9%), England (31.8%), Ireland (21.6%) and France (17.9%) as of 2006.its GDP share is significantly lower than the national average and the GDP growth has lagged behind the rest of the country for at least the past decade. It is a resource based economy. In the past few decades, it has hardly made any agreements or pacts with other subnational units or has shown paradiplomatic activities beyond its borders. Hence, from the point of view of paradiplomacy, it is a less important province.
- 6- New Brunswick is one of the Canada's three Maritime Provinces. It is a constitutionally bilingual province and the only bilingual province as well. New Brunswick's urban areas are mostly service based economy, especially into the sectors like health, education, finance etc. The rural areas are mostly dominated by forestry and mining. 92% of its foreign trade is with the United States. It has a department of intergovernmental and international relations. In 2003, New Brunswick released its first ever international plan called "*Prospering in a Global Community: New Brunswick's International Strategy*". Hence New Brunswick is no less important in terms of its paradiplomacy than any other prosperous Canadian province.
- 7- Manitoba is located at the centre of Canada. It is bordered by North Dakota and Minnesota of the United States. Major ethnic groups are English, German and

¹⁵ Quiet Revolution (La *Revolution Tranquille*) in French, was a period of socio-political and cultural transformation in the province of Québec in the 1960's. It brought secularization and made Québec a welfare state, increased its federalist and sovereign character

Scottish. It is a moderately strong economy based on natural resources, agriculture. Tourism, mining etc. The Canada-U.S. and International Relations (CUSIR) Branch has overall responsibility for the coordination, monitoring and reporting of the Government of Manitoba's international relations. Although it has some paradiplomatic activities, but it is mostly restricted with the United States.

- 8- Prince Edward Island is a group of island and one of the three Maritime Provinces is the smallest in terms of area and population. It is also dominated by Scottish, English, Irish and French. It is one of the few provinces in Canada with a few visible minorities. Its economy is dominated by seasonal industries of agriculture tourism, fisheries etc. It has a very little global presence; hence in terms of paradiplomacy, it is not very important.
- 9- Saskatchewan, bordered by American states of Montana and North Dakota, is a prairie province. Largest ethnic group is German (28.6%), English (24.9%), Scottish (18.9%) and Irish, Ukrainian French and so on. Its economy is based on agriculture, forestry, fishing and hunting. Over the last decade, its import and export have shifted from United States to china. It also exports to Japan, Indonesia and Mexico. Although it conducts trade but basically as a raw material supplier. It can moderately be seen as paradiplomacy but comparing to the rest of the provinces, Saskatchewan doesn't seem important.
- 10- Newfoundland and Labrador is the easternmost province of Canada. It was an exporter of fisheries but in the last few years, due to the collapse of cod fisheries in 1990's, the province suffered unemployment. It moved to services in 2010 onwards and it balances its economy. Surely not a very crucial province in terms of paradiplomacy.

2.7.3 PARTICIPATION OF PROVINCES IN CANADIAN FOREIGN RELATIONS

Canadian provinces participating in Canadian foreign relations or contributing in the foreign policy making of Canada is a practice, started just a few decades ago in the Canadian politics. As discussed in the previous sections that after the Labour

Conventions case by Ontario, the jurisdiction of Canada on foreign relations were changed and were shared by the provinces as well. But before finding the role of provinces in Canada's foreign relations or foreign policy making, one has to understand its impact on foreign policy. What are the existing factors, especially domestic factor which impacts Canada in its foreign relations? How far provinces are important in that? The next point would be the mentioning of a few selected Canadian provinces and their importance.

2.7.4 PROVINCES IN ACCORDANCE WITH CANADA'S FOREIGN RELATIONS

Canada, a former British colony, is a country which has historically shown remarkable presence around the globe. In the approach towards its international politics, it has been recognised as a middle power¹⁶. This middle power tendency of Canada is shown in its foreign affairs as well as observed by Nossal and Richard (1989). Canada's middle power attributes constitute of its democratic, liberal and internationalist tradition. It has always pursued its foreign policies keeping in mind its liberal and democratic values to uphold its middle power factor. Canada has also shown great amount of cooperation with the next door neighbour, the United States. It has always engaged into bilateral talks and multilateral forums to engage with the U.S. even before the Statute of Westminster came into force. The majority of Canada's international trade is performed with the U.S. The slight shift in the search for an alternate trade partners other than U.S. has started with in the early the 21st century.

It is important here to note that the Canadian provinces are the integral part of its foreign relations. No Canadian province seeks for such interests which are not in favour of Canada or harm the values of it. Hence while pursuing their foreign interests; it has been observed that Canadian provinces uphold the democratic and liberal values. Like Canada, they have mostly engaged into paradiplomatic activities with the neighbouring American states. Recently, when the intergovernmental relations were strengthened between the federal and provincial governments, the Canadian provinces through their established

¹⁶ The term Middle Power first used in the Canadian political discourse during WWII when Prime Minister Louis Saint Laurent called Canada " a power of the middle rank" which pursues middle power diplomacy.

international institutions have moved beyond the North American borders and pursued their interests. It can be said that the paradiplomacy of Canadian provinces is integral to Canadian foreign relations.

2.7.5 DOMINANT PROVINCES ENGAGING GLOBALLY

There is little doubt over the fact that out of the ten provinces in Canada, few of them are formally engaged in paradiplomatic activities. There are many reasons behind this: it could be the geographical conditions, availability of natural resources, immigrant population etc. To figure out the major provinces which have the most paradiplomatic presence, this chapter identifies a few factors which are important for any province for conducting its paradiplomacy. These factors could be: economic and political prosperity of the state, sub nationalism, immigrant population, boundaries with the U.S, availability of raw material or energy, manufacturing competence and services.

- 1- If one talks about the major provinces which engage globally, considering the factors mentioned above, they would be Québec, Ontario, Alberta and British Columbia. If one talk about regional diplomacy or paradiplomacy, one cannot neglect Québec as there are many reasons to accept Québec for studying paradiplomacy. Being the largest province in terms of area, it is the only French speaking province, having a French colonial legacy. The immigrants are from French or francophone descents and Québec promoted itself as an independent sovereign entity under the leadership of *Parti Québécois*¹⁷. After two referendums¹⁸, Québec lost its claim for sovereignty but managed to acclaim the status of a distinct province within Canada. Being a distinct province, it managed to maintain its own foreign relations with other sovereign nations or international organizations like the Francophonie. The sentiment for Québec nationalism is also a dominant factor which gives impetus to Québec to avail its international recognition. Canada has a significant French descent population of 29%. Québec

¹⁷ Parti Quebecois is a provincial political party in Québec founded by Rene Levesque, Canada which advocates national sovereignty for Québec.

¹⁸ There were two referendums in Québec, one in 1980 and other in 1995 to seek independence for Québec as a sovereign nation from Canada. In both the referendums, Québec lost its fight for sovereignty by a very thin margin of votes during the plebiscite.

is known as a post-industrial economy with average growth. It is dominated by manufacturing and service sector. Its most productive sectors are Aerospace and finance. The economy of Québec represents 18.75% of the total GDP of Canada in 2014. Canada has a total exports in and outside Canada worth 157.3 billion Canadian dollars. Its international export (60.4%) is greater than its interprovincial export (39.6%). Its exports are mostly to United States (72.2%), Europe (14.4%), Asia (5.1%) and Middle East (2.7%). It has access to the North American Market through NAFTA. Hence apart from being a Francophile nation, its trade is more with the neighbouring United States. Hence peripheral dependency is a crucial factor also in the case of Québec. As mentioned in the previous section, all its international affairs are managed by ministry of international relations. Quebec has its bureaus (mostly commercial) in most of the major cities in the world. It has a vision to represent itself at a global platform. Taking these issues into consideration, Québec becomes a good subject to study paradiplomacy.

- 2- Alberta would be the second most important province in terms of its significant global presence. This is probably the reason for Alberta to look for its trade partners abroad or outside Canadian borders. It mostly deals with the American state of Montana for the destination of its energy supplies. As discussed before, it is a considerably ethnic diverse province with a progressive economy. It has the second largest GDP or the GDP share after Ontario (19.04%) in 2014. Alberta is known for its production of fossil energy since the 1940's. By 2013 Alberta's GDP was \$331.9 billion with 24.6% in energy. Its largest trading partner is the United States. All its economic policies are in synchronization with the American bordering states and the United States itself. From the trade point of view Alberta becomes a very important province to study paradiplomacy. All the foreign affairs of Alberta are managed by Ministry of International and Intergovernment Relations. This ministry also manages Alberta's relations with federal Canada. Alberta maintains its offices and sends envoys to major cities in the world like Washington D.C, Chicago, Shanghai, Beijing, Hong Kong, Taipei, Berlin,

London, Seoul, Tokyo etc. A province which has set up formal institutions to mark its presence abroad is worth studying under the realm of paradiplomacy.

- 3- Ontario is economically the most prosperous province in Canada having GDP share in Canadian GDP up to 36.59% in 2014. 76.9% of Ontario's economy comes from service sector, but manufacturing plays a major role in Ontario's economy. Ontario is majorly into the exports of motor vehicles, precious metals etc. it was the leading province in Canada and in North America for attracting FDI in 2013 with \$7.23 billion. As of 2016, Ontario has surpassed Alberta to become the fastest-growing provincial economy in Canada. The Green Energy and Green Economy Act, 2009 (GEGEA)¹⁹, takes a two-pronged approach to creating a renewable-energy economy. These are probably the reasons which attract the investors from the United States and the rest of the world to Ontario. To pursue these goals, Ontario has obtained in the last few years, a significant presence across the globe. The Office of International Relations and Protocol (OIRP) provide advice, tools and services to the Ministry of Intergovernmental Affairs of Ontario. This works with other Canadian provinces, federal Canada and international partners concerning Ontario. It has many trading partner nations and institutions. Hence from the point of view of paradiplomacy, Ontario will be our major subject of study without any contestation.
- 4- British Columbia is one of the westernmost provinces in Canada which is historically famous for its fur trade. It is mainly a resource dominated economy. There are two major bases for its economy: forestry and mining, but largest section of employment is generated in finance, insurance and real estate. Its economy is right after Ontario, Québec and Alberta. The Intergovernmental Relations Secretariat (IGRS) which is a part of the office of the British Columbian premier makes sure that B.C is successful in achieving its priorities that require intergovernmental engagement and cooperation, it mainly involves in bilateral and multilateral partnerships with the federal government, other provinces and territories, and international jurisdictions. Hence, British Columbia and its

¹⁹ The Ontario Green Energy Act (GEA), formally the Green Energy and Green Economy Act, 2009, introduced in the Ontario legislature on February 23, 2009, is intended to expand renewable energy production, encourage energy conservation and create green jobs.

paradiplomatic relations need to be studied if one wishes to study paradiplomacy of Canadian provinces.

2.8 ACCOUNTABILITY OF PARADIPLOMACY AND ITS CANADIAN CONTEXT

Although paradiplomacy is actively pursued by the Canadian provinces, which stands with the value of Canadian character as well, but it lacks some sort of legal institutional framework. A legal or institutional framework where the proper channel is followed or democratic methods used by the federal Canadian government, to give each and every Canadian province, ample opportunity to grow and mark its presence outside Canadian borders. There is surely some corollary between the foreign affairs power of the subnational governments and the nature of its organizational structure falling under its international relations, Duran, Criekemans, Melissen (2010:51). By this argument, it can be observed that the paradiplomacy becomes more structured, methodical and consolidated when the subnational governments get a formal and extensive constitutional mandate for their external relations either done by themselves or by the federal government. Most of the subnational governments in the world, except a few like Québec, Flanders etc work on ad-hoc basis and they work under the interests of sovereign nation. Michelmann (1990:308), to determine the organizational structure of subnational governments, economy plays a major role. Similarly, regional or subnational powers with high number of immigrants, international bordering subnational units enjoy more bureaucratic privileges in paradiplomacy than less wealthier, homogeneous or landlocked regional powers.

As discussed above in the previous paragraphs and in the previous sections that not all regional or subnational powers in a country have equal participation in the foreign policy making of the country or establishing their own foreign relations. The reasons for them have already been discussed. For this reason, in the case of Canada, provinces like Ontario, Alberta, Québec etc represent themselves more internationally than less prosperous provinces like Nova Scotia, Newfoundland, Prince Edward Island etc. hence the accountability of paradiplomacy within Canadian borders can be questioned as it

doesn't follow any democratic participation. Moreover, even the general notion among national and political leaders and bureaucrats regarding international relations is that it's a national affair and regional powers have no role in it. In other words, the territorial decentralization of foreign policy in some nations doesn't lead to corresponding awareness among its citizens for this political reality, as also discussed by Lecours (2008:12), that these debates and discussions over territorial decentralization and making territories competent for having their own foreign policy are not perceived well among masses and these are only relevant at the national level. Even if there is awareness for such decentralization, there is a lack of understanding about the linkage between domestic and foreign affairs. Canada, on this issue, majorly violates this notion. Most of the premiers of the provinces, their ministers and bureaucrats often represent their respective provinces or the Canadian nation in major international events. They often seem to be negotiating with the federal Canada to achieve their proper goals according their own terms. Although the democratization of paradiplomatic participation can be seen absent in Canadian context but it surely stands up regarding awareness of the potential of regional powers to go abroad. It can be concluded by saying that up to a major extent, paradiplomacy or the institutions of paradiplomacy are more or less accountable in the Canadian context. It can be said that there is no strong institutional character to it but it is surely in a process for some amendments in this respect. Keeping in mind, all the arguments about paradiplomacy, and a detailed survey of it in the following chapters in which their activities so far and their role in Canadian foreign policy or relations will be done and studied.

2.9 CONCLUSION

This chapter covers the major theoretical aspects of paradiplomacy along with the mentioning of its instruments, the general motives behind the paradiplomacy of constituent units and factors which are behind the paradiplomatic activities. Discussing about paradiplomacy in general, it has been attempted to define the concept and every aspect of paradiplomacy in the Canadian context. The justification for the selection of four major provinces for the purpose of defining paradiplomacy in the Canadian context has been provided which builds the foundation of further chapter as well. The

constitutional and legal justifications behind provincial paradiplomacy have been studied. As it has been observed that federal Canada rarely poses any objections to the provinces to conduct their paradiplomatic activities but the provinces has no substantial constitutional validity to perform their paradiplomatic activities. Though the constitution can be interpreted in different ways, as done by scholars but there is no absolute constitutional or legal authority is mentioned in the Canadian constitution which gives it right to pursue paradiplomacy by provinces in their own way. The federal Canada has made legal formal institutions for provinces to go abroad but it lacks constitutional backing. Hence it wouldn't be wrong to say that Canadian provinces enjoy power to execute their foreign relations pragmatically but are given less privileges constitutionally for their paradiplomatic activities.

The second observation regarding the democratization of paradiplomatic activities among Canadian provinces is equally ambiguous. Although there are no legal or constitutional restrictions for provinces to conduct their paradiplomacy but not all the provinces are given equal opportunities to conduct their paradiplomacy. The paradiplomacy of provinces uniquely depends on their nature of domestic politics and economic prosperity. For the same reason provinces like Québec, Alberta, British Columbia, Ontario and New Brunswick are more into foreign activities than other provinces. There is no formal legal statutory authority by federal government of Canada which gives equal scope and opportunity to all the Canadian provinces and territories to represent them abroad.

CHAPTER III

PARADIPLOMACY OF QUEBEC AND ITS IMPACT ON CANADIAN FOREIGN POLICY

3.1 INTRODUCTION

The present chapter defines paradiplomacy in the context of Québec. The ‘French Fact’ of Québec has historically and politically defined Canada as a nation as well as the functioning of Canadian federalism. Québec has always been at the forefront of paradiplomacy worldwide. In fact, a large number of empirical studies have drawn their theoretical insights from Québec’s international relations. The history of Québec’s international relations, its global presence, its legal and constitutional validity and its institutions are discussed in this chapter. It also discusses various factors of paradiplomacy of Québec and the role of Québec in Canadian foreign policy. In this chapter, mainly two problems will be discussed: first will be the nature of Québec’s foreign relations and whether it is dependent on the traditional diplomatic partners of federal Canada and dealing with the same methods and areas? Is Québec’s paradiplomacy is different from Canadian diplomacy? Second question will investigate the areas of contestation between Canadian foreign interests and Québec’s paradiplomacy. Whether the paradiplomacy of Québec is challenging the sovereign nature of Canada or the Québec’s foreign relations are in accordance with the foreign interests of Canada or not? It can also be observed or not whether Québec has enabled Canadian government to project itself as a francophone country and it has served the national interests of Canada.

3.2 QUÉBEC: PARADIPLOMACY IN THE CANADIAN CONTEXT

So far, there has been a profound study of the theoretical and conceptual meaning of paradiplomacy. This chapter also attempts to study paradiplomacy in the Canadian context. In this chapter, Québec and its paradiplomacy is being studied along with its contribution to the Canadian foreign relations. The history of Québec’s international relations has been briefly discussed. The study will be now focused about the details of

the beginning of Québec as an international actor. The legal and constitutional setting of Québec in Canada will be a major subject of study in this chapter. As of now, it wouldn't be wrong to claim that Québec holds a distinct position in Canada which already had two referendums. Now the focus of study will be about the challenges faced by federal Canada to share its authority over foreign relations with Québec and making it more sovereign than ever. Seeing the intensity and magnitude of Québec government or Parti Québécois to make an international impression worldwide, it seems at times that Québec voluntarily challenges federal Canada to represent itself as a francophone power in the North American context, satisfy its economic interests and sustain its domestic politics. The present chapter would deal with all these aspects in detail.

3.2.1 HISTORY OF QUÉBEC'S INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

Canadian provinces and its international relations are not a new phenomenon. As Canada redefined its federalism and the provinces got success to decentralize the Canadian federation, provinces got a opportunity to go abroad. One of the pioneers in this approach was Québec whose presence in international scenario is a long history. Québec started this method of paradiplomacy by sending its first representatives to Paris. Québec bureaus were open in Belgium, U.K and U.S. this was an action of 19th century. This representation of Québec at international level was checked during the WWI, the financial crisis of 1930's or the Great Depression and the WWII. Québec's offices were closed in Belgium and Britain in 1933 and 1935 respectively. Although Québec was the first province to show some international presence but due to unavoidable circumstances Québec had to put a break to its paradiplomacy. It was dormant for quite a long period of time until Québec witnessed the Quiet Revolution. The Canadian welfare-state system motivated the factors for a revolution during this dormant period. The Quiet Revolution in Québec led to the formation of Parti Libéral du Québec (PLQ) government which sought to decentralize Canadian federalism. This made Québec a unique province in Canada and Canada acknowledged its distinct nature. In 1968, Parti Québécois (PQ) was formed which fought for Québec's independence. In the path of finding sovereignty, Québec secured a distinct place in Canada as well as in the world.

Although Québec started showing its desire to go global long before any Canadian province but the major breakthrough in this practice came around 1960's after the Quiet Revolution as discussed above. By this time, Canada had also become sovereign through the Westminster Statute and Québec also was in a struggle to fight for its sovereignty. The negotiation between federal Canada and Québec gave prominence to Québec's international activities. In this regard, Québec first opened its Maison du Québec in Paris in 1961. It was evident for Québec to begin its foreign relations with France with which it shared the same cultural heritage and language. This was not something which came all of a sudden into the picture of Québec's international agenda; Québec had a long history of fighting for its language and educational rights at its home with the slogan *Maitre chez nous*²⁰. Finally after a long negotiation with the federal government that Québec got its Bill 101 passed²¹. Interestingly, the language rights of Québec from federal Canada were gained later than its relations with France in the field of education. May be the paradiplomatic relations of Québec helped to consolidate the language movement at home. The liaison with France continued when Québec signed the first agreement on education with France in 1965. The agreement on education was not only restricted to France. Québec pursued its movement at home internationally when it participated in international conferences on education of francophone countries. One major step ahead for Québec to consolidate its global presence was adopting the Gérin-Lajoie doctrine in 1965. This policy helped Québec to give it a policy base to its foreign relations. In merely less than a decade, Québec was recognised as a legal actor in international politics, Nossal, Roussel, Paquin (2011: 306).

Apart from these major events, after 1961, Québec sent its representatives to Paris, London, Brussels, New York, Tokyo and Mexico City. In 1967, through a law, a department in the Government of Quebec was established which looked after the Québec's international affairs²². There were similar incidents with the United States as

²⁰ It was a slogan during the rallying in the period of Quiet Revolution under the leadership of Jean Lesage and his ruling Liberal party during the 1962 electoral campaign.

²¹ Also known as Charte de la langue française made French the official language of government and of the courts in the province of Québec.

²² In 1967, through the Québec legislature, Ministry of Intergovernmental Affairs was created by the Daniel Johnson government replacing and expanding on an earlier Ministry of Federal-Provinces Relations. Its primary task is to "promote and defend Québec's interests internationally.

well. It was not only the sovereign nations that Québec dealt with, Québec participated with the non-state actors like regional organisation, international organisations, multilateral associations etc in the past to promote its international ambitions.

3.2.2 GLOBAL PRESENCE OF QUÉBEC

Québec has managed to mark its presence at various levels of government in different countries. Some of them have been discussed below.

- Presence in United States

The government of Québec has adopted a new international policy accompanied by an action plan which comprises of 38 measures. United States is a priority of Québec and has concluded bilateral agreements with the states, federal administration and the Congress of the United States. To improve Québec-United States relation, Québec has opened eight offices in U.S which are in Atlanta, Boston, Chicago, Houston, Los Angeles, New York, Silicon Valley and Washington, D.C. Apart from the diplomatic bilateral engagements between the national and subnational governments of United States, Québec also participates in the multilateral forums formed between American states and Canadian provinces like Great Lakes Frontier, Niagara Frontier, New York Ontario Québec and New England Eastern Canada forum etc. Since April 2003, Québec participated in a number of missions to the U.S. The premier of Québec has visited U.S more than 20 times and the ministers of International Relations have travelled almost 10 times to its southern border since last decade. This was accompanied by cabinet ministers as well. There are important areas where Québec is in cooperation with the U.S. like education, environment, climate, culture, economy etc. Some of the alliances and agreements between U.S. and Québec to promote the above mentioned interests are south-eastern United States-Canadian Provinces Alliance, American Council for Québec Studies, Great Lakes Commission, and Western Climate Initiative and so on. The main objectives of the government of Québec in U.S are: to stimulate and encourage business relations for Québec companies, positioning Québec as a key partner for the United States in a variety of areas, including climate change and to promote Québec studies in the United States.. Québec wants to dominate the export of electricity to the bordering

states of America for its revenue; hence it is heavily dependent on U.S. The U.S and the Québec share the common environmental problems and seek the common solutions. U.S is also important for Québec to promote and develop its market in the United States. Apart from these important areas, there are also some other issues where Québec and U.S can work jointly. It seems the Québec and U.S are natural allies and Québec's presence in United States is commendable. Québec's cultural and commercial relations with the American states have been studied by Bernier (1996). This economic, cultural and environmental dependence of Québec on the United States have a major impact on federal Canada's policy towards the United States.

(Haiti and Mexico)

Other important nations in North America are Haiti and Mexico. Haiti is a priority country for Québec's international relations due to identity and French cultural and community. It also accepts a lot of refugees from Haiti who are a significant majority in Québec. In 2013, a mission was sent to Haiti by the minister of culture and communications and a return visit to Montréal by her counterpart took place in November, 2013. Next important country is Mexico. Québec government's office has been working for the last 35 years to ensure prosperous economic relations with Mexico. The economic interests of Québec with Mexico were intensified since 1994, with the inception of NAFTA. The main areas of collaboration with Mexico are economy, culture, environment, immigration, tourism and education. In South America, Brazil is the only partner of Québec. Québec has its offices in Sao Paulo. Seven missions have been sent to Brazil since the early 2000s. During a trip to Québec in May 2004, the Governor of Paraná, Roberto Requião, signed a multisector cooperation agreement with Québec Premier Jean Charest. Main areas of collaborations are immigration, education, economy and Francophonie.

Presence in Asia

(China)

Major nations in the Asia pacific regions in the interests of Québec are china, Japan and India. In 1978, two high-level Chinese missions, one in agriculture and the other in

education, came to Québec. Two years later, in 1980, a first agreement was signed following a mission to China by the Québec Minister of Education. In 1986, the agreement was broadened and, this time, was signed by the Government of Québec and the State Education Commission of China²³. The first mission by a Québec Premier took place in 1984 when René Lévesque visited China. There are Québec studies in china, one in Beijing and the other is in Shanghai. The main area of interest of Québec with china is trade and economy, science and technology and the concept of sister or twin cities. In 2014, the trade between Québec and china totalled almost \$12.5 billion. Government of Québec started its agreements with Chinese ministries in the field of science and technology in the early 2005. Now it has agreements in Ministry of Science and Technology (MOST) and the Science and Technology Commission of Shanghai Municipality (STCSM). The exact instrument of paradiplomacy can be seen between Québec and china when Québec involves in direct deal with the Chinese provinces like Shanghai (2011) by Jean Charest, Shandong in 2006 by Jean Charest, and Xi'an in the same year and many more. Montreal and Québec city has partnered with many cities to establish the relationship of twin cities concept.

(India)

India is Québec's number-four trade partner in Asia, after China, Japan and South Korea. Trade with India grew constantly between 2004 and 2014, from \$580 million to \$1.1 billion. It was projected to be \$15 billion bilateral trade by 2015. There is an Agreement on social security between Québec and the Republic of India. There is a joint declaration between government of Québec and government of Maharashtra in the field of information technology, biotechnology, aeronautics, tourism etc. Gujarat has been one key state which has championed the concept of paradiplomacy, when it made its presence in Québec under the banner of Vibrant Gujarat. There were other important Indian states as well which represented themselves in Québec. The main area of collaboration between India and Québec are trade, research and innovation, higher education etc.

²³ Also known as the Ministry of Education of the People's Republic of China is the agency of the State Council of the People's Republic of China which regulates all aspects of education in mainland China. It has collaborations with many state and non-state actors of the world.

(Japan)

Québec has a government office in Tokyo. Québec's relations with Japan are built on longstanding ties of friendship and confidence and are grounded in a shared vision and common values. They are aimed at strengthening political relations, increasing trade, promoting culture and developing collaboration linked to innovation. Québec first made its presence felt in Japan during the 1970 world exposition in Osaka. Japan has also established Consulate General in Montréal. Recently the president of the national assembly of Québec visited Japan in January 2016. Since 2010, the bilateral visits are frequent. Like china and India, Japan is also a very important country regarding paradiplomacy as Québec government office in Tokyo has been trying to establish relations with certain Japanese prefectures like Kyoto in which they signed a memorandum and the cities of Hiroshima and Montréal have been twinned since 1998²⁴. Japan is Québec's second largest export market in Asia (after China). Japan is Québec's second largest export market in Asia (after China) and seventh largest worldwide. The value of Québec's exports to Japan totalled 1.2 billion Canadian dollars in 2014, a 28.4% increase over 2013. Iron and pork account for nearly 40% of exports. Québec's imports from Japan amount to 2 billion Canadian dollars, down 14.6% compared to 2013. Vehicles top the imports list, representing 40% of its purchases of goods from Japan. Québec is majorly interested in Japanese innovation. It has also collaborated with Japan in the field of innovation, education, culture, promoting French identity and French language, promotion of la Francophonie etc.

Europe

Europe is the second largest trading partner of Québec after United States. Europe is Québec's largest cultural market. It is also involved in the areas of research and innovation with developed European countries. Québec-Europe relation is a priority as is reflected in the Québec Government's European Strategy. Principally there are seven countries which are at the priority list of Québec, these are: Germany, France, Italy,

²⁴ Exchanges between our two cities began with a speech delivered by the Mayor of Hiroshima at the "International Conference on Peace and Security" held in Montreal in 1986. A great number of exchange activities followed, starting with mutual visits by delegation groups.

Belgium, Spain, United Kingdom and Russia. It also has strong affinity towards regional European organizations and European Union. Québec has its representative offices in Berlin, Paris, Madrid, Brussels, Rome, London and Moscow. Mentioned below are majorly important countries which hold a reputed position in the foreign affairs of Québec.

(Germany)

Relations with Germany started officially in 1971 by opening representative office in Düsseldorf. Being the strongest economic power in Europe, Québec has maintained a healthy political relation with Germany and has collaborated in many areas like trade, economy and culture and technology. Recently there have been many agreements between Germany and Québec in these sectors. Québec and Bavaria have developed a strong relationship since 1989 based on technological innovations, artistic creations, education etc²⁵. In 2014, Québec and Bavière have celebrated 25 years of partnership and cooperation. Québec over the years has tried to establish its relationship with other German provinces as well.

(France)

Quebec has political relations with Québec for more than 50 years. France is the priority state for Québec in Europe and holds an important place for Québec in its international politics. Hence the bilateral relations between Québec and France are very strong. Established in 1977, alternating meetings of the heads of Quebec and French ministers set the direction and priorities of the France-Québec relations. There is a Consulate General of France in Québec which takes care of this bilateral relation. The same work is done by a Québec delegation in Paris. Québec has time and again proved itself to be the champion of paradiplomacy. Even in the case of France it has established provincial relations with French provinces like Alsace, Aquitaine; Île-de-France, Midi-Pyrénées, Poitou-Charentes and Rhône-Alpes. With mainland France it has done numerous bilateral agreements in education and training, culture and communication,

²⁵ Bavaria is a federal state of Germany, its capital is Munich and it has major collaborations and partnerships with Québec. there is also a representative office of Bavaria in Montréal since 1999. Bavaria has *Offices jeunesse internationaux du Québec* (LOJIQ) for academic and innovative researches.

economic development, social security, justice, environment etc. France-Québec cooperation is supported by a unique mechanism, the Standing Committee of French-Québec cooperation. Created in 1965, the CPCFQ is the privileged instrument of the implementation of government commitments in Quebec and France²⁶. It provides overall coordination of French-Québec cooperation.

(Italy, Spain, Russia and United Kingdom)

The relations between Russia and Québec started over the last decade except United Kingdom where Québec opened its bureau in 1962. The main areas of collaboration between them and Québec are economy, education, tourism, municipal affairs and bilateral cooperation. Québec has its delegation in Madrid but the bilateral relations with Madrid and with Rome are based mostly on education and economy.

Relations with the European Union

There is a political commitment between European Union and Québec. Québec has healthy bilateral relations with major E.U members. Québec has managed to maintain relation with many institutions of European Union like The European Commission, The European Parliament, The Economic and Social Committee and so on. Brussels is the capital of European Union, helps Québec government in every aspect possible. Québec obtain many benefits from being in relation with The E.U. it gets expertise in science and technology, youth education, culture and social sector. Commercially, Québec and Europe are traditional partners. After the U.S., Europe stands second in the import and export of goods to Québec. The European Union has implemented since 1 January 2014 a new curriculum called "Horizon 2020" to promote research, innovation and competitiveness²⁷. This program, with a budget of 80 billion Euros over the period 2014-2020, covering different policy areas such as: justice, liberty, security, research, environment etc. These benefits are open to Québec for availing the benefits of such

²⁶ The cooperation between France and Québec is done by a unique body known as commission permanente de cooperation franco-quebecoise which was established in 1965. At its biannual meetings, the representatives of Québec and France review the strategies and priorities of their bilateral cooperation.

²⁷ Horizon 2020 is the financial instrument implementing the Innovation Union, a Europe 2020 flagship initiative aimed at securing Europe's global competitiveness. It is open for the partners from around the world.

programs. Europe holds a very important place in the eyes of Québec politicians historically and it has proved to be the epitome of cultural capital for the Quebeckers.

Relations with other Multilateral Organisations

There are bilateral relations of Québec with the federated states and regions of Latin America and Asia. It has strong bilateral relations with the BRICS nation and it closely observes its developments²⁸. Québec work with North American and global thematic cooperation groups (like climate change). Québec is active in the regional groupings like the Conference of Governors of New England and premiers from eastern Canada (CONEG-ECP)²⁹, the Council of Great Lakes Governors³⁰, the Great Lakes Commission, Western Climate Initiative. It is equally present in the international multilateralism as well. Few examples are Alliance of Southeast US states and Canadian provinces (SEUS-CP), Western Climate Initiative (WCI)³¹, Conference of Heads of Government of Partner Regions and so on. There are many negotiation of agreements and international treaties to which Québec has declared it bound like Convention on the service and the service abroad of judicial and extrajudicial documents in civil and commercial matters, United Nations Convention on Biological Diversity and many more. There are many international organisations which are present in Québec like International Civil Aviation Organisation (ICAO), UNESCO Institute for Statistics (UIS) etc. Some Non-Governmental Organizations are equally present as well which uphold the liberal character of Québec and Canada known for its civil society. Québec is an integral part of The Francophonie. Québec's main motive there is to promote its culture, heritage and language and get recognised as a major French speaking community at a global level.

²⁸ In search of non-traditional trade partners, Québec being an open economy finds business and trade prospects with the BRICS nation.

²⁹ The mission of this conference is to advance the interests of American states and five Canadian provinces (Québec is also a part of it) and to encourage cooperation in developing networks and relationship, taking collective action, engaging in regional projects and endorsing projects by others, undertaking research and increasing public awareness of shared interests.

³⁰ On June 15, the Conference of Great Lakes and St. Lawrence Governors and Premiers released the first-ever regional strategy to jumpstart the Great Lakes-St. Lawrence maritime transportation system. Once fully implemented, the strategy will help grow the region's maritime sector, which already contributes more than US\$30 billion to the US and Canadian economies and accounts for more than 220,000 jobs. The States and Provinces will work with other levels of government, industry and other stakeholders to advance implementation of the strategy.

³¹ Western Climate Initiative was started in February 2007 by the governors of five western U.S states with a goal of developing a multisector, market based program to reduce green house gas emissions.

Québec also represents itself in the UNESCO where its main objectives are to promote and get expertise in culture, education and science. Similarly, Québec has maintained many lateral relations with many state actors, non-state actors etc. It wouldn't be wrong to say at this point that for the last 50 years Québec has championed the practice of paradiplomacy, not only in Canada but also across the whole world.

3.2.3 LEGAL AND CONSTITUTIONAL VALIDITY OF QUÉBEC IN ITS INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

Before the discussion of Québec and its legal and constitutional setting in the Canadian context, one must know and as discussed in the previous chapter that Canada until 1931 was not an absolute sovereign nation. Through the Statute of Westminster, Canada got its sovereign rights to establish its own foreign relations. This change in Canadian political fabric was percolated to the federated states, i.e. Canadian provinces as well. Questions were being raised about the autonomy and jurisdiction of Canadian provinces as Canada was formed in agreement with its provinces. The notion of federalism was challenged. After 1931, there was a debate over the dictating terms of federal government to the provincial governments. The principle of Parliamentary Sovereignty came through the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council which stated that the provinces were not obliged to undertake legislative measures in order to implement treaties concluded by the federal government (Nossal, Roussel Paquin, 2011, p. 287 – 288). There are many sections in the Canadian Constitution Act of 1867 which enabled provinces to conduct their own foreign affairs, these are section 91 (powers of federal government), section 92 (powers of provinces in different domains), finally section 93, 94 A and 95 discusses the shared powers. The role of provinces in Canadian constitution becomes ambiguous. Since none of the provinces were mentioned precisely regarding their foreign policy or foreign relation, Québec is no exception constitutionally. Québec can thus conduct its foreign policy only within the constraining requirements of the federal government (Balthazar, 1999, p. 160; Bélanger, 2002, p. 198 – 201). There were two accords happened between Québec and federal Canada: Meech Lake Accord (1987) and Charlottetown Accord (1992) which proposed some amendments in the constitution of Canada to recognize Québec as a distinct province. Even in these two accords, the mentioning of the

autonomy of Québec in its foreign relations, same was the case with Charlottetown Accord. Hence it wouldn't be wrong to say that the legality or constitutionality of Québec to conduct its own foreign relations is very weak. Although Québec has developed formal institutions to conduct its foreign relations and intergovernmental relations as well but it surely lacks constitutional validity.

3.2.4 INSTITUTIONS OF QUÉBEC'S PARADIPLOMACY

The fact that Québec is the most represented Canadian province in Canada has no contestation. It is the most active province in its paradiplomatic missions. It has established formal government institutions to conduct the same. In 1967, the Legislative Assembly of Québec or the National Assembly called at that time unanimously adopted an act creating the Intergovernmental Affairs Department. It looked after the federal-provincial relations but later it expanded its role and looked after Québec's international relations³². This was seen by the members of the Legislative Assembly as the extension of Québec's domestic jurisdiction. This department was equally focused on the cultural heritage of the francophone Québec and participated with equal intensity with the Francophonie. At present Québec have seven General Delegations or government offices in Brussels, London, Mexico City, Munich, New York City, Paris and Tokyo. These offices are considered as the most important offices of Québec abroad. Next to the general Delegation is the Delegation which is like the General Delegation headed by a delegate appointed by government. They have offices in Boston, Chicago, Los Angeles and Rome. Then comes the nine bureaus of Québec which are headed by a director appointed by a minister or deputy minister and it deals in limited areas. They have offices in Barcelona, Beijing, Dakar, Hong Kong, Mumbai, Sao Paulo, Shanghai, Stockholm and Washington. Then there are the trade offices which are headed by the resident of the host country and provide service in specific number of areas. They are present in Atlanta, Berlin, Houston, Qingdao, Seoul and Silicon Valley. Québec also represents itself in The Francophonie and The UNESCO. These are the formal institutions set by the government of Québec to conduct its paradiplomatic activities and so far it has been successful in it.

³² This change in the jurisdiction of Québec's domestic affairs to international affairs by forming the Ministry of International Affairs came through Bill 33.

3.3 FACTORS OF PARADIPLMACY OF QUÉBEC

As discussed in the second chapter that there are few major and many minor factors which effect the paradiplomacy of any constituent unit. In the case of Québec, there are four major factors which are dominant. They are a) Nationalism b) Globalization c) Economy d) Geography. The following section will deal with these points.

3.3.1 NATIONALISM

In the case of Québec, nationalism plays a decisive role for the province to represent itself abroad and prove it to be a distinct society in Québec. The history of Québec nationalism or Francophone Nationalism in Québec dates back since the BNA Act of 1867 as Québec was once of the province which constituted Canada and French speaking population was dominant. In its modern context Québec nationalism asserts Québec to be an independent nation. This nationalism was pursued outrageously after the Quiet Revolution where *Parti Liberal du Québec* played a prominent role but *Parti Quebecois* was the only party which advocated national sovereignty for Québec. This nationalism brought two referendums to Québec for its separation from federal Canada. Finally the negotiation between federal Canada and Québec made Québec a distinct society in Canada. Québec was given autonomy or exclusive privileges in the field of culture, education and immigration. This was enjoyed by Québec for many decades. Québec had set its own domestic policies which includes the above mentioned three rights and few others. When economic prosperity hit Québec's doors after the Quiet Revolution, Québec expanded its domestic policy and started engaging in international affairs taking into consideration, its Francophile character. One can say that the engagement of Québec's in international affairs is merely an extension of its domestic affairs.

As economic and cultural prosperity had grown in Québec, it nurtured Québec nationalism. The manifestations of Québec nationalism was seen even in its foreign relations with major developed countries of the world. Québec surely had intensions to portray its desire for Québec sovereignty movement abroad. Québec sent its delegations to London, Paris, New York, Berlin etc and even to the Francophonie. Within three decades, Québec had established its multilateral relations with the francophone world or

former French colonies. The intension was to make the world realise the need for Québec's sovereignty which was boosted by Québec nationalism. It wouldn't be wrong to say that the paradiplomatic relations of present Québec is the manifestation of its nationalism which is being pursued by Québec since 1960's.

3.3.2 GLOBALISATION

If one talks about globalization, different authors have interpreted the word in the context of paradiplomacy in their own ways. If one is talking of international affairs and domestic policies, globalization has a major role to play, hence the domestic and international affairs of provinces and subnational units are also affected by globalization, Alexander S Kuznetsov (2015). It is due to globalization that the barriers between regional powers and the world is fading of and cultural and economic interests are playing a major role in juxtaposing interests of regional powers across the world. There are no more national or international boundaries and regional or subnational units are freely engaging in paradiplomatic activities in the 21st century. Although the reach of paradiplomacy depends on the strength of globalization that exists in that part of the world, but globalization has readily making regional powers to overcome barriers which were very difficult a few decades ago. Globalisation comes with many indexes like culture, economy, politics etc. But the extent and impact of globalisation is hard to measure in the existing indexes.

Certainly globalisation as a factor is dominant in developed countries where the regional or subnational regions are free to interconnect with each other. It is a phenomenon which is dominant in intra developed nations. For example, paradiplomacy is highly practiced in Europe and North America. In these continents, effects of globalisation are high and barriers are less. For example, the formation of European Union (EU) and NAFTA in North America are pioneer advancements in the Pan-European or Pan-North American concepts. If one looks for paradiplomacy of the subnational units of these regions like Québec, Ontario, Washington, New York City, Flanders, Wallonia, Catalonia etc, they have a high amount of diplomatic bilateral exchanges among themselves. They share more in common due to their high level of prosperity and effects of globalisation. If there is a comparison between the developed and underdeveloped nations to underdeveloped

nations of Africa and Asia where globalisation and modernisation are not very dominant, paradiplomacy as a concept is not very pertinent. Paradiplomacy to flourish needs need globalization which are the components of democracy. Hence the democratic setup of a nation also promotes paradiplomacy in its federal structure. It wouldn't be wrong to aspire of paradiplomacy when the different sub-continents of the world are under the perseverance of globalisation. If the case of Québec is taken, globalisation is surely a very important factor for its paradiplomacy. Québec is a part of a liberal, democratic federal structure. Its GDP is quite high in Canada and even in the world. It is a part of a developed country and lies next door to the United States, which is a great example of a globalised nation. The coexistence of all the above factors consolidates globalisation in Canada and Québec gets that opportunity to represent its interests beyond its borders. Hence globalisation is a very important factor for the paradiplomacy of Québec.

3.3.3 ECONOMY

Economy can be called as a direct interest for any subnational unit to conduct its paradiplomatic activities. Economy is the only factor which can overcome all the barriers faced by a regional or subnational power to represent itself abroad. When international trade is concerned U.S and Québec seem natural allies as U.S states like Washington, New York etc are next door neighbours and offer a lot to each other. It is interesting to note that federal Canada shapes its economic policies according to the economic interests of the provinces and Québec is one of the leading provinces in them. It is because of the provinces like Québec and others that North America got consolidated economically and the Canadian-U.S border opened in 1989 (Canada-U.S free trade agreement) which later became NAFTA which included Mexico as well. Since the inception of the free trade agreement in 1989, Canadian export to U.S had risen from 71% to 89 % in 2002. It was interesting to note here that the export percentage had fallen to 80% by the end of 2015. This might be a good example of globalisation and Québec to pursue its economic interest, was looking for new markets in Asia and Africa. It was at this period that Québec opened its trade bureaus in Mumbai, Shanghai, Beijing, Seoul, Hong Kong, Dakar etc. These bureaus have principal purpose to generate trade between the host nations and Québec and attract investments or look for Québec markets abroad.

Trade liberalisations and globalisation are the main reasons for the U.S and Canada to enter into agreements and letting its provinces or states trading with each other. It has been proven as a successful attempt by both the nations to deal into economic affairs at micro level. Canada and U.S are historically so similar that the Canadian provinces and the American states best serve the local economic interests of the two subcontinents. There were instances when Canada and U.S had to modify their economic policies due to the interest of particular provinces or states and Québec is one of them.

3.3.4 GEOGRAPHY

The geography of a region or a sub-state is certainly not the primary factor which motivates a subnational unit to pursue its paradiplomacy but its role in the paradiplomatic activities cannot be ignored. There are two components when one talks about the geography of a region concerning paradiplomacy. These are physical and political geography

Physical Geography- it is an acute observation that the regional powers or the subnational units which are located near the sea are active in their maritime activities. Subnational units which are landlocked are less likely to conduct their paradiplomacy. The abundance of natural resources like forestry, minerals etc also stimulate the subnational units to look for better markets which can be outside the national boundaries. In the case of Québec, geography has a lot to contribute. Québec has several climate change agreements and environmental agreements with the neighbouring U.S states which almost share the same topography. In 2002, government of Québec signed an agreement with the government of the state of Maine concerning transboundary environmental impacts. These state shares a border of 300 kms and a number of watercourses. The geography of both the nations made them enter into paradiplomatic actions. Similar environmental and climate agreements are made in the past between Québec and the American states like New Hampshire, Vermont and New York.

Political Geography- The geo-political location of a subnational unit is always a positive factor for its paradiplomatic activities and in the case of Québec it's pertinent. Although it doesn't contribute much to its paradiplomatic activities and its manifestations are

limited but it can't be ignored. The abundant French descent population or the French speaking African decent people of Québec have significant contribution to the path of Québec foreign affairs. Québec maintains its relations with French speaking Africa due to its Diaspora there. All the paradiplomatic relations between Québec and middle-east and Africa focuses on education, culture etc keeping in mind the French speaking population.

3.3.5 DOMESTIC POLITICS

Quebec's international affairs are called merely the extension of its domestic policies. In the past there is some advancement in Québec domestic politics which pushed Canada to go abroad. These are: adoption of the Gérin-Lajoie doctrine and promoting Québec as 'distinct society'. Both these domestic affairs are interrelated to each other. Both are actually two phases in the transformation of the domestic policies of Québec which gives the provinces its legal authority for conduction its international affairs.

Gérin-Lajoie doctrine- since 1965, which can be said as the first phase of Québec's international affairs, there was a notion among politicians and scholars to challenge the sovereignty of the Canadian provinces and extend it further to international platform as well. Hence so far, the fields like culture, health and education which were so far according to the Canadian constitution were subjected to federal Canada and Québec jointly was pursued differently now. It got its international flavour when Gérin-Lajoie, vice premier Minister of Québec minister of education formulated this doctrine which suggested that Québec should promote its domestic or internal policies abroad. This doctrine was inspired by André Patry, who was a jurist and a professor who specialised in international relations and advisor to Jean Lesage. Due to this shift in the domestic policy, Québec signed its first agreement on education with France in 1965, although there was a Maison du Québec in Paris by 1961. It was followed by opening bureaus in United States and many cities in Western Europe. Québec also participated in international conferences on education of francophone countries. It was at this time that the Ministry of International Relations and The Francophonie of Québec was started in 1967. Due to this doctrine, Québec got its legal authority for conducting its foreign relations (Roussel Paquin, 2011, p. 306).

Québec as 'distinct society'- The second phase in the change of domestic policy of Québec to give Québec its international character was the two accords (Meech Lake Accord and Charlottetown Accord). This phase was started around mid 80's. By this period, Québec had some major representations abroad but the effect of globalization had less impact on Québec's international relations. But Québec was still struggling with its domestic politics. To mark a global presence, Québec had to sort out first its domestic issues. The two failed constitutional amendments, Meech Lake Accord and Charlottetown Accord gave the notion to Québec as 'distinct society'. The term was invented as a description for Québec by Jean Lesage. This made Québec a unique province in Canada. Although the term 'distinct' or 'unique' are vague and controversial. Nowhere in the constitution of Canada has it mentioned Québec as a 'distinct society' but constitutional scholar Peter Hogg argued that there is surely some indications in the constitution which proves that Québec is a distinct province and this has to be reflected in the law. To pursue this, constitutional amendments were later proposed in the above mentioned accords but didn't get much success. It was not a constitutional success but it created awareness among the masses. Québec was also referred to as a distinct society by the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism. This consolidated Québec's intention to represent itself abroad and become the champion of paradiplomacy later.

3.4 ROLE OF QUÉBEC IN CANADA'S FOREIGN POLICY

When the study the foreign policy of any federal nation is conducted, the activities of central government are the priority but in the case of Canadian federation, when one talks about foreign policy of Canada, provinces have a major role to play in it. They have a major contribution in the foreign policy measures of Canada. This cannot be called solved in a simple equation. The role of provinces is always dependent on the type of government at the centre. It is about how Canadian prime ministers have seen the roles and responsibilities of provinces. Although the indirect contributions of provinces in Canadian foreign policy and the general trend of provinces towards a particular region or area affects Canada but to measure any direct contribution to the Canadian foreign policy making by the provinces is a matter to be studied deeply. Hence the subject will be discussed into following different parts.

3.4.1 SELECTED CANADIAN PRIME MINISTERS AND THEIR INTERACTION WITH QUÉBEC

Lester B. Pearson- In the 1960's, when Quiet Revolution was taking place in Québec, federal Canadian government of Lester B. Pearson was in tough negotiations with the political unrest and the aspiration for Québec to become an international actor. On an official visit to Canada, the then president of the French Republic, Charles de Gaulle visited Montreal and raised the slogan '*vive le Québec libre!*' To maintain its diplomatic relations with France, Canada had to project Québec at the forefront and negotiate in its foreign policy with France.

Pierre Trudeau- He was the Canadian prime minister for two terms right after Lester B. Pearson. He had the policy to project Canada as a sovereign state whose foreign policies are not guided by the provincial demands. His rise to power was due to his policy to contain Québec. Other provinces were not as vibrant as Québec at that period.

All the other following prime ministers of Québec took the policy of Trudeau as harsh and were ready to negotiate with the provincial governments. The succeeding foreign policy of Canada after Trudeau has been influenced by the provincial demands and especially Québec.

3.4.2 INSTITUTIONAL CHANGE IN THE CANADIAN FOREIGN POLICY MAKING

The foreign policy making are not the exclusive domain of central government or foreign ministries (Keohane: 1974, 39-62), as it was rightly observed, the federal Canada cooperates a lot with the provincial paradiplomatic activities which brings them enter into the unconventional areas or regions. It can be called as a mutual coordination between the two entities. The paradiplomatic activities of provinces are mostly economic in nature. It would be wrong to say that the provincial interests are in absolute contrasts with Ottawa or at least it is the case with most of the provinces except a few instances with Québec where it challenges Canada's sovereignty. To deal with such issues, federal Canada brought some institutional changes in its foreign policy apparatus.

Federal Canada started reorganising its Department of External Affairs in 1982 as there were too many agencies conducting foreign policies without coordination. This change in foreign policy making apparatus was surely to deal with the change in role of provinces' foreign relations and Québec was the major cause for it. There was a change in foreign policy process for federal Canada when it started giving priorities to 'low politics'. The increased paradiplomatic activities of provinces made federal Canada rethink about its foreign policy making. Three major institutional changes were brought by federal Canada. First, as the paradiplomatic activities of provinces were mainly based on international trade, the functions of the Department of Industry, Trade and Commerce were transferred totally into the Department of External Affairs. Trade commissioners in Canadian embassies and consulates would now be reporting through a new structure where the Secretary of State for External Affairs would ultimately be responsible. Now, the trade functions were given formal equivalence to the traditional diplomatic functions of the department, and in the long range planning and budgetary commitments, the trade side has reason to expect superior treatment. Foreign policy had always been a line function, and the Department of External Affairs maintained its own responsibilities free of other ministries and agencies. With the reorganization, all agencies and departments of the federal government would be required to report any activity with international implication to the Department of External Affairs. Thus a new coordination and coherence was to be achieved through the foreign ministry. At the time of the reorganization, the department already had identified more than thirty-five formal mechanisms for the provinces to participate in Canada's foreign relations and for provincial international economic relations to be coordinated through the federal government but the mandate under reorganization was to make these mechanisms more effective and to develop new ones if necessary.

3.4.3 QUÉBEC AND CHANGING CANADIAN FOREIGN RELATIONS

As Québec rose to become a paradiplomatic power in Canada and worldwide, Québec became more and more autonomous in its foreign affairs. The traditional diplomatic relations of federal Canada changed in a few decades and Canada's foreign policy cantered more on economic activities and cultural relation than ever before. It was all due to the change in dynamics of foreign relations between Québec and major state or sub-

state actors in world politics. The relations between Canada and the U.S took a sharp turn as Québec sold hydroelectric power to New York and the New England states. Canada's National Energy Board could prevent Québec from striking individual deals with New England and prevent its international trade and process of recognition but it was hard for federal Canada to damage Québec's economy and preventing the sale of a renewable resource. Hence a lot of autonomy had been given in past to Québec by the federal government. similarly Québec had deal in education with France in early 60's and in the last two decades, Québec had a major investment in china and the Chinese entrepreneurs and investors shifts the attention of Québec from its traditional partners like U.S to far east country like china and Japan. Little obstacle was put by Ministry of External Affairs of the federal government. This was not only for Québec but Canada also started looking for alternate business partners through paradiplomatic activities of Québec. It wouldn't be wrong to say that federal Canada's foreign policies are complementary to the foreign relations of Québec.

3.5 CONCLUSION

This chapter discussed the history of Québec's foreign relations, the factors which motivates Canada to conduct its paradiplomatic activities and the role of Québec in Canada's foreign policy. It discussed the institutional changes brought by federal Canada to deal with the changing dynamics of Québec's international politics and how Canada followed the path Québec pursued to sustain its domestic politics. To deal with the questions raised at the beginning of the chapter needs to be addressed here. Is Québec following the traditional diplomatic path of federal Canada to conduct its paradiplomatic relations or it has carved its own new path in the background of its own interests? The foreign relations of Québec are in contestation with the foreign policy of federal Canada or they supplement each other?

To deal with the first question, a lot of literature has been studied and already discussed in the previous sections. The major breakthrough of Québec's international relation is starting with its establishment of maison du Québec in Paris. To leave an impact on the francophone world that Québec is the premier francophone constituent unit in the North American Continent, Québec had set up its bureaus and delegations around the world. It

had set up offices in even Tokyo and Madrid which were not the natural allies of Québec. Québec was not only restricted to the francophone world but moved to East Asia for new markets and the traditional partner of Canada, i.e. U.S. it had opened new doors of business, commerce, education, infrastructure etc with the neighbouring U.S states and federal Canada could do nothing but supporting the initiations by Québec for its own economic prosperity. The question regarding the conflict of interests between the federal Canada and Québec over the matter of sovereignty was being addressed right at the beginning of the foreign relations of Québec. Québec is motivated politically and empowered constitutionally to deal with non-Canadian partners in trade, commerce, scientific and student exchange etc. But Québec's motive is usually economic in nature and is compatible with the federal government. Within its boundaries, it fights for its sovereignty with two unsuccessful referendums but when it goes abroad, it has a unique motive which is trade and commerce. This can be substantiated by giving the example of U.S-Québec trade which is more than 80% now. This is not with France or the francophone world. Now it has started looking for alternate partners and embedded its offices in East Asia as well. This sort of paradiplomacy is done uniquely for economic purposes. It has to be understood that the Canadian values of liberalism and internationalism are imbibed in Canadian provinces as well and even in Québec. We can conclude by saying that even when Québec conducts its paradiplomatic activities, it doesn't not come in contestation with the nature of foreign relations of Ottawa.

CHAPTER IV

PARADIPLOMACY: ALBERTA, BRITISH COLUMBIA AND ONTARIO; ROLE IN CANADIAN FOREIGN POLICY

4.1 INTRODUCTION

The history of the international affairs of Canadian provinces like Alberta, British Columbia and Ontario runs parallel to that of Québec. Québec can be seen as a precedent in international affairs which started during the period of Quiet Revolution. The above mentioned provinces had begun their international activities around the same period as Québec though it was not as institutionalised as Québec. The present chapter discusses mainly three provinces namely: Alberta, British Columbia and Ontario. The historical background of the international relations of these provinces will be studied along with their constitutional validations. The dominant areas of paradiplomacy for the three Canadian provinces will also be discussed. Specific role of provinces in Canadian foreign policy making would be studied, which will take the chapter further and raise questions regarding the comparison of the three Canadian provinces with Québec. The association of Québec and the other three provinces with multilateral institutions, different sovereign nations and constituent governments gives the nuances to understand the level of competence in paradiplomacy between Québec and the rest three provinces. There will also be an inquiry on the subject of U.S being the prime paradiplomatic destination for the above three provinces and international trade and commerce (economy) being the major factor of their paradiplomacy.

4.2 History of International Relations and Institutions

In this section, the history of international relations of the three provinces and their constitutional and legal validity will be discussed. For the convenience, the section is divided into three parts and each part will discuss a separate province.

4.2.1 ALBERTA

Alberta came into the international scenario much later than Québec made its international presence. It came in the global picture in the late 1970's which was initially centred on the U.S. Alberta started its paradiplomatic activities by pursuing its domestic economic activities abroad. It was energy deposits and natural resources which made Alberta to seek new destinations outside its boundary³³. Initially, Alberta was dependent in its inter-provincial (agreements between Alberta and other provinces or federal Canada) but U.S proved to be a better partner next door as the heavily industrialised American states bordering Alberta required energy supply for their industries³⁴. For establishing this new relationship, Alberta faced challenges with the federal government as Alberta tried to negotiate with the American states at its own terms. The issue of price control was under the jurisdiction of federal government through a legal and institutional channel called National Energy Program.³⁵ Alberta government felt that Ottawa was not concerned to care for its economic interests hence it decided to move to the U.S. The legal and constitutional validity of Alberta was no different than Québec or any other Canadian province as all the Canadian provinces derives their authority for international relations from the same source i.e. the Canadian constitution. The international relations of Alberta, British Columbia and Ontario have not started through any movement or legislative or constitutional change; rather they have evolved overtime and took the shape as formal institutions where the ministries regulating it as it looks today. Alberta has established the Alberta International and Intergovernment Relations, also known as the Ministry of International and Intergovernment Relations to manage its international affairs and the provincial relations with the Canadian federal government or with other provincial governments. The principle role of this institution is to flourish economic and

³³ Alberta is an energy rich Canadian province. It has coal, minerals, natural gas and oil sands deposits. It is also a major producer of electricity and a major supplier to U.S as well. 55% of its electricity produced comes from coal and 35% from natural gas. The western electricity coordinating council controls the electricity supplies of Alberta.

³⁴ With the neighbouring U.S. Alberta has been involved through Canadian partnership with U.S. in trade like NAFTA, NAAEC, and NAALC.

³⁵ National Energy Program was an energy policy of the Government of Canada from 1980 to 1985. It was created under the Liberal government of Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau by Minister of Energy Marc Lalonde in 1980, and administered by the Department of Energy, Mines and Resources. Its main goal was the security of supply and ultimate independence from the world oil market; opportunity for all Canadians to participate in the energy industry; particularly oil and gas, and to share in the benefits of its expansion; and fairness, with a pricing and revenue-sharing regime which recognizes the needs and rights of all Canadians.

trade development between Alberta and other constituent units abroad or provinces at its home. Its other focus areas are science and innovation and trade and investment attraction. Unlike Québec, it doesn't have a separate body to deal with its international affairs. It has a single body to pursue its economic interests via inter-provincial channels or with other nations or constituent units across the world.

4.2.2 BRITISH COLUMBIA

The history of the international affairs of British Columbia is not very long and most of its paradiplomatic activities are focused on the north-western American states. To deal with the foreign affairs and to pursue its provincial interests abroad, British Columbia has made an international relations section within its Intergovernmental Relations Secretariat. This institution primarily focuses on bilateral relationships and multilateral forums with the neighbouring American states and a few important countries of East and South-East Asian nations. It also has a strong relationship with the APEC partners as well. Although it deals with the issue of aboriginal people, multiculturalism and other subjects as well but as far as its international activities are concerned, it is based on its economic activities. This works on the expansion of its domestic market and attracting foreign investors at home.

4.2.3 ONTARIO

As mentioned in the previous chapter, the first province to challenge Canada's exclusive right over foreign affairs was done by Ontario in the Labour's Convention case. Surely it was involved in the international affairs much before Alberta and British Columbia but not before Québec. In terms of economy and international trade, it has even surpassed Québec. It has very well managed its international affairs and also its inter-provincial relations along with the relations with the Canadian federal government. The Ministry of Intergovernmental Affairs works with provincial, federal and international partners on issues that affects Ontario's social, political or economic interests. There is a special body for the foreign governments to conduct the paradiplomatic activities of Ontario which is known as the Office of the International Relations and Protocol (OIRP). The OIRP provide protocol advice, tools and services to the foreign governments. Like Alberta and

British Columbia, the primary motive for its international activity is the expansion of its domestic economy and attracting foreign investors at home but it also works on a number of important issues like education and training, environment, health etc. But Ontario primarily focuses in its economic interests while pursuing its paradiplomacy.

4.3 MAJOR AREAS OF PARADIPLMACY

This section would discuss majorly three aspects of paradiplomacy of the three selected Canadian provinces. The major areas or factors for each province to get involved in paradiplomatic activities will be analysed. Their major paradiplomatic partners and their instruments to represent themselves abroad will also be the focus of this section.

4.3.1 ALBERTA

(Areas of Interest)

The primary reason for Alberta to pursue its diplomatic interests abroad was the need of a trade destination for its energy reserves. Alberta through its Ministry of International and Intergovernment Relations is known to establish its bilateral and multilateral relations mostly with the western American states. Alberta is majorly into international trade and promotes Alberta as a good place for international companies to invest or setting up their offices in Alberta as well. Alberta portrays itself as a business friendly province. It promotes investment and often collaborates with its foreign partners. To attract foreign investors, Alberta organises several business missions. The Ministry of Economic Development and Trade also provides Albertan companies with access to information on projects financed by international financial institutions and leads the Alberta Government's participation in the World Bank's Private Sector. The ministry takes care of the trade between its key partners. Alberta is a major exporter of electricity, fossil fuels and other petroleum products and is eager to enter into new markets.

(Key Partners)

Alberta is the second largest exporter among Canadian provinces, second after Ontario but before Québec. Its total export was estimated around \$121.4 billion in 2014. Out of this \$92.3 billion was energy exports and the rest was agricultural and other goods.

Hence, it wouldn't be wrong to say that Alberta's major exports constitutes of energy. Alberta exported 24.7% of Canada's total exports in 2014. Its major export destination is the U.S market which constitutes 90.2% of its total exports in 2014. Interestingly, Alberta's exports to the U.S. increased 20.3% in 2014. Alberta's second most important export partners is Asia-Pacific region in which China and Japan are key partners, although its export has shrank since 2013. Others important partners are Europe and Mexico. Its major exports are crude oil and natural gas. Others exported items are agro based products, chemicals, manufacturing exports and forestry. It becomes obvious that for its huge energy reserves, U.S. becomes its major partner next door. To pursue its trade interest, Alberta indulges into paradiplomatic relations with its neighbouring American states. It even seeks help from the federal government to flourish its trade. It has entered into many agreements and co operations in the recent past, like (PNWER) Pacific Northwest Economic Region³⁶, whose members are British Columbia and Alberta and Yukon Territory and the American states of Alaska, Washington, Oregon, Montana and Idaho. Through this multilateral relation, Alberta had a strong trade relation with the American state of Montana. It borders Alberta and has a more comprehensive relationship than any other American state. Alberta oil supplies the major refinery at Billings. There is a Montana Alberta Bilateral Advisory council (MABAC), which was established in 1985 to discuss area of common interest, identity opportunities for cooperation and resolve emerging issues. The government legislators, senior officials and representatives from the business community participate in its dialogues. There are MOUs in the field of trade, energy, education, agriculture, environment etc have been signed between the two constituent units and they also get involved in agriculture, transportation, border issues and transboundary border dialogues³⁷. Alberta is also a participant in CanAm border trade alliance³⁸. Alberta is a participant is major trade and

³⁶ It is a statutory public/private non-profit body, created in 1991 by western American states and Canadian provinces. Its primary goal is to work for regional collaboration and to continue economic growth while maintaining the region's natural resources.

³⁷ Crown Managers Partnership is one of the recent MOU signed between Alberta and Montana to work together and build positive and productive working relationship on cross border issues within the crown of the continent ecosystem.

³⁸ CanAm is a broad based, grassroots organisations comprised of business, private and public sector organisations, and individuals involves in this trade, border crossing, transportation and tourism. It has seven major fronts situated at the U.S. Canada border, namely: Cascadian Pacific, Rocky Mountain West.

cross-border agreements like NAFTA, PNWBHA³⁹, NAAEC, NAALC, TPP, the Rocky Mountain Trade Corridor⁴⁰, and the Western Interstate Energy Board (WIEB) and so on.

Through the act of legislation, Alberta has promoted its trade and commerce with its international partners which eventually promotes its paradiplomacy like, Alberta International Trade and Investment Agreements Implementation Act of 1995, NAFTA Reservations for Alberta Measures (1998), Canadian intergovernmental Agreement regarding the North American Agreement on Environmental Co operation (NAAEC, 1993), Canadian Intergovernmental Agreement regarding the North American Agreement on Labour Co operation (NAALC, 1993) and Alberta Legislature Resolution on the Multilateral Agreement on Investment, 1998. It has twinned with major cities in the world and made sister-province relationship like Hokkaido, Japan (1980) Heilongjiang, China (1981), transboundary partnership with Montana of U.S in 1985 and Alaska of U.S. in 2002. Alberta has 12 international representative offices, responsible for Alberta's advocacy in trade promotion, investment attraction, education and culture. Its offices are in Beijing, Guangzhou, Hong Kong, Japan, Korea, Mexico, New Delhi, Shanghai, Singapore, Taiwan, United Kingdom and Washington. The immense amount of international presence and the contribution of Alberta in Canadian GDP with its trade make Alberta a prosperous province highly indulged in paradiplomacy.

4.3.2 BRITISH COLUMBIA

(Areas of Interest)

British Columbia proves to be one of the key provinces in Canada when it comes to organise and institutionalise its international affairs. The Intergovernmental Relations Secretariat (IGRS) is an integral part of the office of the premier of British Columbia which looks after its international requirements. Similar to Alberta and Québec, United States is the leading partner of British Columbia. It holds historic, cultural, geographic

Mid Continent, Great Lakes Frontier, Niagara Frontier, New York Ontario Québec and New England Eastern Canada.

³⁹ Also known as Pacific Northwest Border health alliance is a partnership between British Columbia and Washington where other provinces like Alberta is also a participatory works for the betterment of public health.

⁴⁰ It focuses on the implications of trade expansion between U.S and Canada for transportation planning in Montana and the rocky mountain west. It focuses on economic internationalisation.

and economic ties with the U.S. It mainly works on cross border legitimate trade, tourism sustainable resource management, softwood lumber trade, clean energy and in green technologies sectors. It also works on regional, national and global support for action on climate change and clean energy.

(Key partners)

As discussed above, U.S. is the leading partner of British Columbia in every sort of foreign activities it pursues. Its paradiplomacy is entirely focused on the neighbouring American states. It has shared goals and has joint leadership with the states of California, Montana, Oregon and Washington to rebuild regional and global consensus on climate change and clean energy. It is also a participant in PNWER and PNWBHA. It has significant sales in film and media production, technology transfer and financial services. British Columbia has done many international trade agreements and has signed MOUs with the American states like California, Montana etc in the last decade⁴¹. Canada being the member of WTO since 1995, British Columbia holds a reputation among the provinces to negotiate with the federal government according to its own terms in international trade. In 2015, British Columbia had 52.1% of its total exports with the U.S. next to it was mainland china with 16.8% and Japan with 10.1%. The principal exports of British Columbia are wood products (Lumber, Cedar, Plywood etc.) which constitute 23.7% of its total exports. Next major exports are energy products like natural gas, coal and electricity which constitute 16.2% and machinery and equipments which constitutes 13.4% of its total exports. Out of the total exports, 26.3% of wood products are supplied to the U.S. but surprisingly Japan consumes 27.5% of its wood products and 23% by Europe. Similarly in other exported goods by British Columbia, apart from the U.S, Japan and China are major consumers of its goods like wood products and machineries. It holds 24.5% of total Canadian exports of pulp and paper products. In total, British Columbia holds the fourth position in the total share of exports which is 7.5%, right after Québec which is 16.6% , Alberta which is 19.2.% and Ontario which is 40.9%. It can be rightly

⁴¹ In 2003, British Columbia and Montana signed MOU'S called Environmental Protection Arrangement to cooperate on environmental protection, climate action and energy. Through PNWBHA, British Columbia has also signed MOU's with Washington to share and protect health information in the field of public health.

said that although Japan and China are major trade partners of British Columbia but trade with the U.S. holds a respectable position in almost all the exported products which amounts for 18,737,150,910 Canadian dollars.

The B.C. Francophone Affairs Program⁴² supports programs and services in both English and French through the Canada – British Columbia Official Languages Agreement on French-Language Services for approximately 70,000 Francophone and 300,000 Francophiles in B.C. Provincial activities in these areas are related to Health and Social Services, Economic Development, Justice, Arts and Culture, Communication.

4.3.3 ONTARIO

(Area of Interest)

Ontario can be called as the most economically prosperous Canadian province. It has commendable paradiplomatic relations with major developed and developing nations of the world. Ontario's paradiplomatic relations are managed by Ministry of Intergovernmental Affairs which also deals with other provincial governments as well as federal Canada. Ontario holds its offices in London, U.S. etc. It can be rightly said that Ontario's paradiplomatic relations are majorly focused on its economic missions abroad. International trade is the primary objective of Ontario's paradiplomacy. The extension of its domestic trade with other provinces can be seen in the activities of Ministry of Intergovernmental Affairs. Ontario's major exports are agriculture and other food products, fabricated metal products, machinery and equipment, plastics, chemical, apparel, textiles and so on. If economy is not taken into consideration, Ontario has a very mild presence across the globe. Unlike Québec, which involves into different type of paradiplomatic activities, Ontario is mostly about trade and commerce when it comes to paradiplomatic activities, Lecours (2010:29-42). In the 90's, Ontario had already seventeen international offices but due to financial reasons, they were closed. In 2003,

⁴² Only 1.4 % of the British Columbian population speaks French but it has a Francophone Affairs Program in its Intergovernmental Relations Secretariat. It serves two major interests. Firstly, it focuses on the inter-provincial trade relation between British Columbia and Québec and secondly, it shapes and gives its secretariat an international outlook to seek its paradiplomatic interests in the francophone world.

Ontario opened three ‘International Marketing Centres’⁴³ in Shanghai, Munich and New York and four more in Tokyo, London, Los Angeles and New Delhi in 2005. In the case of Ontario, it is important to note that when it indulges into any foreign collaboration, it mostly seeks the involvement of federal government like Alberta does, but unlike Québec whose autonomy in its paradiplomatic domain is beyond doubt, as observed by Lecours (2010:29-42). Examples could be given of Ontario’s foreign representative offices when Ontario physically place its centres within Canadian embassies and use the Canada “brand.”, in order to seek its economic interests. The bureaucratic unit responsible for overseeing Ontario’s international relations is the Office of International Relations and Protocol, is a part of the Ministry of Intergovernmental Affairs. The Ministry of Economic Development and Trade also assumes a function of marketing Ontario to the world as a preferred business location.

(Key Partners)

Although, like any other Canadian province Ontario has a healthy and strong bilateral relations with the U.S. but it also has major collaborations with European and Asian countries. With the U.S, Ontario’s paradiplomacy is primarily with the American states having trade with it, especially with the Great Lakes states. It has strong bilateral relations through multilateral forums with the north-western American states. Ontario has Reciprocal Enforcement Agreement with Major European and Asian countries and major American states like California, Florida, New York, Oregon, and Vermont etc. It has a strong international role on the COF’s mission in China in October 2014. In terms of international trade, Ontario has the highest growth rate of 11.1% by the end of 2015, much higher than any other province. Ontario constitutes 40.9% of total exports of Canada to any country in the globe. More than Alberta and Québec, Ontario holds an international trade with the U.S. of 43.3% of the total Canadian export. Its other important trade destinations are United Kingdom. With the U.K. it has trade of more than 12,542,951,531 Canadian dollars. Next important trade destinations are Mexico, Hong

⁴³ Through the Economic Developers Council of Ontario, Ontario has become the location of choice for companies that are expanding globally, serving them as a gateway to financial opportunity and market growth for Ontario-based companies. It is done to increase the province’s competitive advantages in investment. This institution attracts FDI to Ontario, creating awareness of Ontario-based produced products, building strategic relationship with media and local governments and finding potential commercial markets. The nine International Marketing Centres Location are in Brazil, China, France, Germany, India, Japan, Mexico, United Kingdom and United States.

Kong, mainland China, Norway, Japan and Germany. It has developed significant trade with Mexico through the multilateral co operation in NAFTA. Ontario seems heavily inclined for its international trade with the U.S and it is one of the few Canadian provinces which trade in finished goods. Ontario's inclination for trade with the U.S. can't be ignored. In the last two decades Ontario has opened representative offices in many places like London, Hong Kong etc with the help of federal government, but over the last decade, the dependency on trade has increased with the U.S.

4.4 PROVINCES' ROLE IN CANADIAN FOREIGN POLICY AND THE SOVEREIGNTY CHALLENGE

In this section, two major points will be discussed. There will be a study to analyse the role of three provinces namely Alberta, British Columbia and Ontario in shaping the foreign policy of federal Canada. In other words, it will be analysed that how far these provinces persuaded federal Canada in its foreign policy making. The question of the contestation of interests between the federal Canada and the paradiplomacy of the provinces will also be studied in the following subsections.

4.4.1 ALBERTA

As discussed in the previous sections, Alberta is primarily an energy supplier to its neighbouring American states and all its paradiplomatic activities are based on the same. Even with its other major trade partners like china and Japan, it has mainly energy supply relations. Alberta has been thoroughly involved in the diplomatic relations of federal Canada with the U.S to pursue its own economic interests. Alberta has been consistent in influencing Ottawa's negotiating positions regarding energy policy, climate change and agriculture trade liberalisations. Throughout the history of the international affairs of Alberta, it has been very cooperative and has always been in good terms with the federal government but Alberta still persists on establishing its own identity and to willingly represent its own interests at the international front. In some instances, the diplomats and ministers of Alberta have tried to establish direct relationship with the American states in

the past. Example could be of Ralph Klein⁴⁴ along with several senators and representatives had directly met U.S. vice president Cheney on the banning of Albertan beef by America resulting from the incidence of “mad cow” disease in 2003. This resulted to a significant drop in the trade of Alberta with American states and Klein took this opportunity and without any intervention from the federal Canadian government, he negotiated with America for lifting up this ban. The direct relations with the neighbouring U.S continues and with eleven subnational units of different countries when Alberta twinned with several cities across the globe. It wouldn’t be absolutely correct to say that Alberta’s paradiplomacy is entirely focused on economic issues. Alberta has also (as part of Canada’s foreign aid program) been exporting its governance expertise, advice and training to a number of foreign governments, including China, South Africa, and Russia but the resources, infrastructure and expertise it uses to promote its economic interests are way more than of its paradiplomatic activity. An inference can be drawn that when Alberta pursuing its own interest individually always follows its economic interest but when it indulges in any sort of activity jointly with the federal government, its nature of paradiplomacy shifts a little.

As already discussed in the previous sections that Alberta is a signatory to a number of multilateral forums with the neighbouring American states, it often works in these forums to pursue its own interests without any involvement of the federal government. Some of the multilateral forums are like PNWER, Rocky Mountain Trade Corridor and many others, which are in good trade relations with Alberta and Alberta working in these without any involvement of the federal government. Like Québec, Alberta has always been an advocate to its regional interests at a global level. It has always advocated for a greater role in Canadian foreign policy, treaty negotiations and decisions regarding any treaty approval and implementation. Although it has no major contestation with the Canadian foreign policy making but it surely has a persuasive role. Never in the past, can it be said that Alberta has questioned the sovereignty of federal Canada like Québec.

4.4.2 BRITISH COLUMBIA

⁴⁴ He was a Canadian politician who served as the 12th Premier of Alberta and leader of the Progressive Conservative Association of Alberta from 1992 until his retirement in 2006.

The study so far has shown us that British Columbia being the least represented province internationally among the four provinces selected for our study, has the least interference in the foreign policy making of Canada. It is equally dependent on U.S. when it comes to its international trade but this trend has started recently since 1999 with the various trade agreements. Since then U.S. became a major export destination of British Columbia and started joining the bilateral forums like Alberta to persuade federal Canada for trade relaxations. It has good trade relations with Japan, which is also its second trade destination. Like Alberta and Ontario, British Columbia has always involved in the paradiplomatic activities outside the Americas with the help of the federal government's intervention. Moreover, British Columbia's paradiplomatic relations are not as developed as Ontario or Alberta that it can persuade the federal government in altering its foreign policy. It majorly involves in bilateral or multilateral relationship with the neighbouring American states and precisely in few selected sectors like trading of agricultural supplies, finished goods etc.

Although, there was no major contestation between the interests of British Columbia's foreign interests and the interests of federal Canada but in two major international schemes of federal Canada, British Columbia has been a vocal opponent. These were the Continental Free Trade and the Multilateral Agreement on Investment (MAI)⁴⁵, where British Columbia projected its dissent. There is evident Asian angle to this issue to the province's international interests, as demonstrated by a formal Asia-Pacific initiative. It can be said that British Columbia is one of the least represented provinces among the four provinces selected for our study and it has small implications on the foreign policy making of Canada. No period in history has witnessed a major conflict of interests between the federal Canada and British Columbia.

4.4.3 ONTARIO

Ontario being the most economically prosperous province has major paradiplomatic relations with the developed nations across the world like the neighbouring U.S. West European nations, China, Japan etc. During a thorough survey of the paradiplomacy of

⁴⁵ MAI was a draft agreement negotiated between members of the OECD between 1995 and 1998. It sought to develop multilateral rules that would ensure that international investment was governed in a more systematic and uniform way between states.

Ontario, two things are evident. Firstly, Ontario's paradiplomacy is heavily based on its economic activities, international trade and commerce. If this dominant factor be absent with Ontario, the amount of paradiplomacy it practices will certainly be reduced. Secondly, its paradiplomacy is based primarily with the neighbouring U.S. states. As already discussed, a major share of its export is focused on a few American states and to pursue this, it takes part in many bilateral or multilateral agreements. To pursue its economic interests, Ontario often persuades the federal Canada in its foreign policy making but it never challenges it. On many occasions, Ontario seeks the collaboration of the federal government when it indulges in any foreign activity. It often places its centres within Canadian embassies. With the projection of Canada at the forefront, Ontario seeks its paradiplomatic interests. This can be observed when the diplomats, senior legislators or ministers of Ontario attend the international meeting between the federal Canada and their partners. This helps Ontario to project its interest before other nations or constituent units.

Few incidents can't be neglected like the federal government's negotiation with NAFTA, which involves the protection of foreign investors and their investments. In the past, the failure of federal negotiators to give meaning to provincial laws on expropriation caused a number of legal problems. But still Ontario as a province goes hand in hand with the federal authority. It doesn't prove at all to be a sovereign challenge to the federal government; rather both the governments complement each other in their respective interests.

4.5 CONCLUSION

In the present chapter, a number of aspects of the paradiplomacy of three Canadian provinces namely: Alberta, British Columbia and Ontario have been studied. The history of the international relations of the three Canadian provinces studied here suggests that their engagement is very recent and they all have been following similar path for their paradiplomatic activities. The constitutional or legal setting of international affairs of these provinces is loosely set in the Canadian context and the formal institutions which regulate the paradiplomacy of these provinces are highly developed than rest of the provinces. Each province has been dealt separately to understand their nature of

paradiplomacy, their key areas of interest with their major paradiplomatic partners. The factors of paradiplomacy of these Canadian provinces have also been studied which gives us a platform to compare it with Québec which has been proved as a champion of paradiplomacy internationally and their engagement in paradiplomatic activity in economic affairs in no less than Québec. At the last, the role of these provinces in the foreign policy making of Canada is also studied. Mainly two aspects have been observed in this: firstly, the finding of active role of provinces which alters the Canadian foreign policy up to a great extent. In other words, the paradiplomacy of Canadian provinces majorly influence federal government's foreign policies and challenges its sovereignty or not. Secondly, whether provinces holds a moderate role in influencing the foreign policy of Canada and plays a rather persuasive role where they work in collaboration with the federal government.

After a detailed study of the above mentioned points, it can be said that the three Canadian provinces discussed above are too much into paradiplomacy than the rest of the six provinces. But when it comes to the dedication of resources, Québec performs better than the other three provinces. Québec has made so far almost 800 agreements in which half of them are in force, its agreements belongs to diverse subjects like climate, culture, education, trade, financial aid, science and innovation, healthcare and sanitation, immigration, commerce and many more. The primary motive of the other three provinces seems mainly focused on their economic interests. It would be wrong to say that there are no other engagements of these three provinces but the extent and focus and the resources they use to pursue their interests other than their economic activity are very less. Most of their paradiplomacy is based on trade and commerce. The provinces mainly indulge in bilateral or multilateral trade agreements like Rocky Mountain Corridor, PNWER etc. Questions can be raised that if there were no economic paradiplomacy by these provinces, would there be any paradiplomacy at all by them? Unlike other provinces, Québec has more than 30 representations abroad and seven major delegations, more than any province of Canada. There are many cultural, political and commercial missions every year as mentioned by Nossal, Roussel & Paquin (2011: 304). Unlike the rest three provinces, the Ministry of International Affairs of Québec appoints a separate heads in all its missions and has a head of the ministry as well, where as the other provinces have

minimum representative heads abroad and their international affairs department is headed by the provinces' premiers. In other words, the ministry comes under the office of the premier as in the case of British Columbia. It can be concluded that the paradiplomatic activities of Québec are better developed than the rest three provinces when it comes to institutional representations.

It has been observed throughout the chapter that like Québec, Alberta, British Columbia and Ontario have huge trade dependency on the U.S. All three have the U.S. as their major export destination. Most of the bilateral trade agreements and multilateral trade forums they are involved in, are cross border based. They have a significant amount of presence in the neighbouring American states. To facilitate their paradiplomatic and economic interests, they often negotiate with the federal government for trade liberalisations. In the domain of international activity, the Canadian provinces follow the path of federal Canada and uphold the dependency model of Canada. The three provinces have significant presence across the globe like in mainland China, Japan and western Europe but a major portion of their international trade is done with U.S. it could be said that the American states are the major paradiplomatic partners of these three Canadian provinces. Apart from that, it can be observed that most of the paradiplomatic activities of these provinces are based on its economic interest hence economy seems to be the driving force for these provinces to conduct their paradiplomacy.

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSION

This dissertation is an attempt to understand the federal structure and the federal autonomy given to the Canadian provinces to pursue their interests at external level. For this purpose, four important provinces had been chosen based on their socio-politico and cultural analysis. Their international presence has also been a factor behind choosing the four selected Canadian provinces. Alberta, British Columbia, Ontario and Québec have been chosen to study their paradiplomatic relations with different constituent governments or subnational units of the world and each provinces separate dimensions regarding its paradiplomacy have also been studied. The case of Québec has been studied in a separate chapter to study its special sub state factor and its unique nature of paradiplomacy. The roles of provinces in foreign policy making of Canada and their contestation with the federal government have also been studied.

The above inquiries have been made to deal with the broader questions which were asked in the first chapter. After studying the four selected Canadian province and the theoretical aspects of paradiplomacy in the Canadian context, the nature and significance of paradiplomacy in Canada becomes comprehensible. This chapter will do a further enquiry into the least discussed dimensions of paradiplomacy of Canadian provinces and would try to conclude the above studied subject by understanding the nature and significance of paradiplomacy. The principal factor behind paradiplomacy of Canadian provinces, the way paradiplomacy can be seen in the domestic context and the principal instrument behind paradiplomacy of Canadian provinces are to be concluded in this chapter. The economic paradiplomacy of Canadian provinces and their U.S. dependency will also be studied. At the end, to finally conclude our dissertation, there will be a brief study of the suggestions of further research on this subject.

5.1 THE NATURE AND SIGNIFICANCE OF PARADIPLOMACY IN CANADA

Canada being a liberal democratic nation, which has time and again shown its democratic, liberal and international views, stands for the democratic set up in its political governance as well. Canada is known for its liberal values at home and abroad, which has given space to every political and social entities. The political entities like the non-state actors, constituent units, civil societies; NGOs, interest groups, minorities etc have been given ample opportunity to grow politically in every front. The present section will try to analyse through the findings of the whole dissertation, about the paradiplomacy of Canadian provinces.

In such a democratic set up like Canada, the provinces have got immense autonomy, the right of these provinces for conducting their paradiplomatic activities are barely coming from legal, constitutional or statutory authorities. Although, Canada has made little efforts to democratise the process of giving equal opportunities to the provinces for their international representation, but at the same time, Canada has never been seen to obstruct any of the provinces whenever they have desired to pursue their international interests. Even if there is conflict of interests between the federal and provincial governments at home, Canada has never tried to curb their interests. The interesting case of Québec can be seen where Québec sought two referendums for separation from Canada but still Canada tried to represent its international values through Québec's interests. At one instance, Canada projected before the world to be a bilingual country and took the membership of the Francophonie as well. Taking these liberal values of Canada, the provinces also incorporates these values in themselves. It wouldn't be wrong to say that the values of Canadian provinces separately, are no different than the Canadian nation. Although, all the Canadian provinces are not represented equally at a global platform and this might be because of the domestic factors which created the difference among provinces, but the nature of paradiplomacy Canadian provinces pursue at a global level are similar in nature. No Canadian province has been seen violating liberal, democratic or internationalist values of Canada even if pursuing their economic or political interests abroad. Provinces have always indulged in activities around the world like: financial aid, bilateral talks, peace activity, cross border talks, health and infrastructure partnership, immigration issues, cultural exchanges, climate cooperation etc.

Alberta and British Columbia have time and again had partnered with various American states across the border to work on the degrading environment of the region. These two states along with Ontario and Québec have shown immense concerns over climate change and this can be seen in the various agreements and MOU's which have been signed between them. The financial aid to developing nations in francophone Africa to create economic empowerment by Québec and Ontario is one of the few examples. A lot of negotiations have been done between Europe and the four provinces in the field of scientific innovation. By entering into legal partnership through negotiations, NAFTA was created, which has reduced illegal activities across the Pan North American continent. Education and cultural partnerships has been the key to Québec's paradiplomatic missions with France and the francophone world. Québec, Alberta and Ontario have many MOU's and academic partnerships with many developed and developing nations across the globe. It can be concluded that the nature of the paradiplomacy of Canadian provinces is in harmony with the nature of the Canadian state.

The significance of the paradiplomacy of Canadian provinces extremely important in the current global politics, especially when the role of traditional state actors are changing and diplomacy has shifted its course in this nuclear era. Paradiplomacy has become an instrument for many conventional powers to release the political tension. When the world economy is directed by prominent financial institutions like the IMF, World Bank, WTO and so on, it has becoming challenging for the traditional state actors to deal with such complexities. At this juncture, paradiplomacy becomes significant and relevant. The contestation for power between the sovereign states, which can be seen under the lens of realism, has become very pertinent. The activities of the subnational or constituent units become very important to create the liaison between them which can be called as the manifestation of the social constructivist theory. Even the changing of the traditional role of state actors gives an opportunity for the constituent or subnational units to substitute them and enter into the world politics. It can be concluded that the change of the nature of world politics and the impact of globalisation of it creates the breeding ground for subnational or constituent units and let them enter into the global picture.

The case of Canada and especially these four provinces as discussed becomes critically important. As these provinces share the same democratic, liberal and internationalist values as Canada, they seem to perfectly understand the changing globalising world and have adapted themselves to the changing world politics. Paradiplomacy has become their tool to manage their interests at this period of world politics which ultimately serves the mother nation, and in this case Canada. Even when pursuing their own diplomatic interests, the Canadian provinces have never harmed the interests of Canadian nation and on the contrary, have served vested Canadian interests and values. Since their nature is same, they can be called as two limbs of a same person. Hence not only for Canada and its provinces but any developing or developed nation, having a strong federal structure provides a nurturing ground for their subnational or constituent units to serve the national interests coming through their interests and works in a symbiotic relations. A conclusion can be drawn that paradiplomacy of Canadian provinces has a great significance and it is required for the economic and political empowerment of Canada.

5.2 THE PRINCIPAL FACTOR BEHIND PARADIPLMACY OF CANADIAN PROVINCES

As discussed in the second chapter about the factors of paradiplomacy, several components had been discussed using various examples of the subnational governments or constituent units, it becomes clear about the motivation of the regional powers to pursue their interests at an international platform. In the case of Canada and its provinces, almost every factor which is coming from the theoretical understand of the subject is important. In the second chapter, three factors namely: geographic, economic and historical factor have been discussed and their viability have been tested in the third and fourth chapter. It has been observed that all the three factors and a few particular local factors are necessary and are pertinent in the context of Canadian provinces and especially the provinces chosen for our study. In the case of Québec, historical factor is a very crucial factor with which it enables Québec to establish its international relations with the francophone world. In the case of Alberta and British Columbia, their geographical location along with the availability of natural resources is an important factor. Alberta is situated at an important geo-political relation where it has made

productive bilateral relations with the cross-border American states. The situation is almost same in the case for British Columbia. Ontario's paradiplomatic factor is purely based on its economic intensions since the time it has developed into an industrial province.

At this point, it can be concluded that the global motive or the primary factor behind the four selected Canadian provinces is economy. Although Québec in its initial stage of paradiplomacy, right after the Quiet Revolution was more emphatic over its historical factor, but as it has followed the path of globalisation and changing global interests, Québec has become a trend setter where most of its bilateral and multilateral relations are based on North America and especially with U.S. It manages foreign relations with Asian and francophone countries but a major portion of its international trade is done with U.S and most of its resources and infrastructure are focused on the U.S. with which it has a good economic relation. The intensity of economic relation Québec shares with the U.S. can't be matched with any francophone country with which Québec shares its historical legacy. Ontario's has the highest share of international trade in Canada than any other province. Without its international trade, it seems that Ontario wouldn't be having any foreign relations at all. All its other activities in foreign relations serve its objective to facilitate its commerce and trade. Alberta also looks at the bordering American provinces as its potential trade partners for its supply of energy and all its treaties, agreements and negotiations facilitates its trade relations with the U.S. British Columbia is no different than these Canadian provinces discussed above, when it comes to the factor of paradiplomacy. It also indulges mostly with the U.S and has time and again, negotiated with the federal government for NAFTA which could ease its relations with U.S. after observing all the important factors behind the paradiplomacy of the four selected Canadian provinces, it can be inferred that economic factor is the principal factor behind the paradiplomacy of Canadian provinces. The paradiplomacy of Canadian provinces which is primarily serving their global economic interests can be best seen from the neo-liberal perspective.

5.3 PARADIPLOMACY AND SOCIO-ECONOMIC CHANGES

Canada has always been a nation of immigrants. Its foundations are based on multiculturalism. It has always been active in international affairs to engage with its diverse population at home and deal with immigrants coming from outside. Hence Canada right after the end of WWII witnessed globalisation. Since Canada as a nation holds a strong federal character, Canadian provinces equally participated with Canada to engage with the diverse multicultural milieu. As discussed in the second and third chapter that Québec was one of the first province to engage in international affairs. The initial reason of Québec and other Canadian provinces to represent themselves abroad was to deal with the existing domestic context then, but later the provinces took this opportunity and moved towards the institutionalisation of their international affairs.

First Québec and later important provinces like Ontario, Alberta and British Columbia participated into this newly developed trend and pursued their domestic interests abroad. Québec, Alberta, British Columbia and Ontario aggressively pursued their economic interests outside the Canadian borders and paradiplomacy became of their tools to negotiate their terms with the federal government. Due to this new political phenomenon among Canadian provinces, a lot of socio-economic changes have been witnessed, which was more visible in the last three decades. Due to the availability of new paradiplomatic partners, Canadian provinces got destinations for their industrial good, natural resources and finished goods. This resulted in the economic prosperity of Canadian provinces. It can be said that paradiplomacy was essential for the growth and prosperity of Canadian provinces. As prosperity prevailed in Canadian provinces, it brought major socio-economic changes. The demography of Canadian provinces which were more into paradiplomatic activities also changed. To serve the economic interests of Canadian provinces immigration also elevated during this period. More focus was given to the concepts like multiculturalism and pluralism. New economic upper and middle classes were created. It can be concluded that the paradiplomacy of Canadian provinces brought significant changes in the socio-economic aspects of Canadian life.

5.4 PARADIPLOMACY AND U.S PARTNERSHIP

As discussed in the previous sections that economy is the principal driving force behind Canadian provinces' foreign relations. Most of the paradiplomatic relations conducted by

the Canadian provinces are based on their economic relations with other subnational governments or constituent units of the world. In other words, it can be said that without the economic interest, paradiplomacy for Canadian provinces could be of very low importance. Québec at times seems to overpower the economic factor with the political factor in its paradiplomacy but this also has been seen drastically changing its shape in the last few decades. Most of the foreign relations of Canadian provinces are with the neighbouring United States. It would be wrong to say that without U.S. there is no paradiplomacy of Canadian provinces, nevertheless Canadian provinces would be pursuing their paradiplomacy so aggressively as it is pursuing now. For Alberta, Ontario, Québec and British Columbia, all have U.S. and its states as major paradiplomatic partner. A healthy amount of trade missions is sent to the American states every year by the provincial governments of Canada. A lot of bilateral trade agreements have been signed between the Canadian provinces and American states over the last few decades. On a lot of areas like education, climate, environment, cross-border trade, health, infrastructure etc, Canadian provinces and American states jointly work with mutual cooperation. The amount and intensity of the resources and infrastructure with which Canadian provinces like Alberta, British Columbia, Ontario and Québec are involved with the U.S. are no match with any other nation across the world. It can be concluded that the U.S. dominates the paradiplomatic activities of Canadian provinces. The pattern of paradiplomacy would be difficult to challenge between Canadian provinces and American states as far as the strong bond between Canadian provinces and American states are intact.

5.5 THE FUTURE OF CANADIAN PARADIPLMACY

The study of the Canadian provinces and particularly the four provinces of study reveals a lot of aspects regarding the paradiplomacy of Canadian provinces. Most of the international activities of Canadian provinces constitutes of these four provinces, hence the study of these four provinces gives us a good idea about the overall paradiplomacy of Canadian provinces. Throughout the dissertation, it can be observed that the paradiplomacy of Canadian provinces are based on its economic ties with the neighbouring American states. The proximity with the U.S and the domestic economic

requirements suggests us that these two aspects are necessary for Canadian diplomacy. In the dissertation, it has been observed that apart from the U.S. countries like U.K., France, China, Japan etc. have become very important partners of the Canadian provinces in the last two decades after the end of Cold-War and the advent of trade liberalisations and globalisation. The trade relations of the four mentioned Canadian provinces with these countries have shown a significant growth during this period. In this period, many new trade offices and commercial bureaus have been opened in the South-Asian and East-Asian region. These representations of Canadian provinces serve the economic needs of the provinces. Although other important activities like cultural, educational and scientific exchanges are also a part of their paradiplomatic program but trade relations with these nations seems the main motive for the Canadian provinces to make their presence felt at this region.

Surely Canadian provinces are looking for alternate trade partners other than the conventional U.S. This curiosity and the newly developed trend among the Canadian provinces might affect the structure of their paradiplomatic relations. There doesn't seem to be any change in the factors or motives behind the paradiplomacy of Canadian provinces in the future but the Canadian provinces can look for alternate partners. This might change the nature of paradiplomacy of Canadian provinces. This possibility of the Canadian provinces to move beyond U.S doesn't seem impossible as Canada being an immigrant society and a healthy amount of its population now belongs to China, Japan, India and other Asian nations. There are many Asian entrepreneurs in Canada who belong to Asia and already have a major impact on the domestic politics and immigration issues in Canadian provinces. This domestic factor of Canadian provinces might affect their global objective and activity as well. It can be concluded that the Canadian provinces are moving beyond their conventional partnership in their paradiplomatic activities with the U.S. and seeking other potential partners mainly derived from their domestic issues.

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