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The language of sovereignty: Lucien Bouchard and the separatist movement in Quebec

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THE LANGUAGE OF SOVEREIGNTY: LUCIEN BOUCHARD
AND THE SEPARATIST MOVEMENT IN QUEBEC

by

Christine Elizabeth Smith

Bachelor of Arts
Plymouth State College
1995

A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of

Master of Arts Degree
Hank Greenspun Department of Communication
Greenspun College of Urban Affairs

Graduate College
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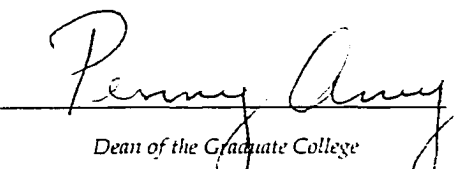
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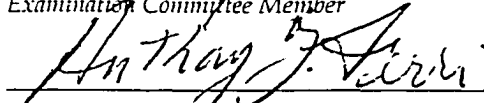
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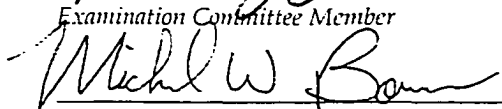
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ABSTRACT

The Language of Sovereignty: Lucien Bouchard and the Separatist Movement in Quebec

by

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The separatist movement in Quebec currently has a forceful leader in Lucien Bouchard. As a staunch advocate of the cause, the Premier plays a vital role in relevant public discussion. The unique aspect in this case is the bilingual component to the debate on sovereignty; separatist appeals must be made to both English-speaking and French-speaking audiences.

Using Johannesen's (1975) ethical evaluative criteria for human communication, four Bouchard speeches, two in each language, are analyzed toward an exegesis of the potential to sway voters. The resulting implications indicate a significant difference in the theoretical framework for sovereignty established by Bouchard within each group. The fact that English and French-speaking voters may not be substantively answering the same question on Quebec's separation raises ethical issues that warrant inclusion in future referendum deliberations.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

For some persons there exists an organic harmony between all matter and all activity, whose discovery is the purpose of their lives and whose evidence, being inexhaustible, can only be selected by the good judgement and perpetual curiosity of the individual. From this process derives that most valuable of human resources, an absolute standard of worth capable of unlimited extension.

- Robert Byron, First Russia, Then Tibet

Thanks,

Dr. Jensen, for making me want to be a better scholar

Dr. Ferri, a better teacher

Dr. Chapel, a better student

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Words can change the world. Throughout history, nations have been forged through hegemony, imperialism and, ultimately, war. It is not the bandy of bullets, however, that can wreak the most havoc in a people's bid for sovereignty. It is the exchange of words. Recent history offers a striking example in the case of Quebec province, and the current move to separate from Canada. One of the most outspoken proponents of this cause is Quebec's Premier, Lucien Bouchard, who has used his political position to further the cause of French-Canadian sovereignty.

Such advocacy on the part of a politician naturally invites scrutiny on many fronts. The unique aspect in this case is the bilingual component to the debate surrounding the issue. Bouchard, to achieve the goal of separation, must make his appeals to both English-speaking and French-speaking audiences. Further, and more significantly, his success turns on an appreciation of the disparate cultures concomitant with the two languages.

As a staunch advocate and verbal supporter of separation, the Premier plays a vital role in the public discussion on the topic. Because of the power his political position holds, Bouchard's personal and public views must be evaluated in terms of the

potential influence on voters. This potential influence directs the central question addressed here. Namely, how does Lucien Bouchard characterize separation to his various audiences? Moreover, how could word choice potentially affect his success at swaying voters toward his political agenda?

One of the more subtle issues raised here is the ethical implications of employing such tactics. To that end, Johannesen (1975) clearly states what is most likely intuitively known:

Potential ethical issues are inherent in any instance of communication between humans to the degree that the communication involves possible influence on other humans and to the degree that the communicator consciously chooses specific ends sought and communicative means used to achieve those ends. (pp. 11-12)

This analysis, then, focuses on the linguistic means by which Lucien Bouchard attempts to realize the political and philosophical goal of sovereignty for Quebec.

The significance of such an analytical tact rests not only in the opportunity to reveal patterns of persuasive political rhetoric, but to capture a perspective on a contemporary, dynamic, history-making event as well. Of vital importance to the task at hand is the discovery of one man's role in affecting that history, and how words can, indeed, change the world.

Justification

Scholarship on the Quebec issue has concentrated mainly on the nationalistic perspectives of Canadians on the subject of separation (Carens, 1995; Quinn, 1967,

Young, 1995). A few essays have attempted a thorough treatment of various linguistic components to the debate (Denis, 1993; Leblanc, 1995; Thomas, 1997). There are also examples of journalistic exposition on the topic in Canadian newspapers (MacDonald, 28 September 1998). To date, this consideration of Bouchard and his political rhetoric using ethical evaluative criteria is unique. While adding to the body of knowledge established with previous studies, it also adds an important perspective from which the separatist debate can be viewed. In recent decades, according to Paton (1992), it has been the case that "ethical theory engages much more with political and practical questions rather than merely concerning itself with its own philosophical foundations" (p. 49).

Dufour (1990) acknowledges the human factor in such political speculations:

"[u]nder the cover of logical arguments that apply in principle to everyone, a political idea is always marked by subjective elements related to the proponent's personality" (p. 82).

Further support for the individual element is offered by Young (1995). Discussing the political situation in Canada, he argues:

Since leaders must make momentous and rapid decisions in cases of secession, and since the high degree of uncertainty that prevails in such unprecedented circumstances allows them considerable autonomy in their choices, it is important to analyse the partisan factors in the Canada-Quebec case. (p. 175)

Given that opinion of Bouchard ranges from that of the "most popular politician in the country" (Farnsworth, 8 April 1996), to "perhaps the most charismatic, controversial and enigmatic individual to ever hold public office in Canada" (Nickerson, 8 May 1998), consideration of the premier's role in Quebec's current political dilemma is warranted.

Review Of The Literature

The essential investigation to be undertaken necessitates a review of three important factors in Quebec's political status quo: (1) a brief historical review of Quebec and its evolution in Canada, (2) a survey of the federal and provincial political systems and (3) Lucien Bouchard himself. The first two items comprise the remainder of the introduction. Bouchard will be discussed, along with a review of the separatist movement, in the next chapter.

Quebec and Canada

There is obviously little difficulty in finding general histories on a nation.¹ For the purpose of this analysis, scholars with extensive backgrounds in research and writing on the subject are most helpful. Several studies are particularly germane to providing an overall review of Canada's development with particular attention to Quebec.

An Historical Review

It is widely acknowledged that the first European to reach North American was the Norse settler, Biarni Heriulfson, who, in 986, was blown off-course on a voyage to Greenland and landed near the northern part of modern-day Newfoundland. A concise review of the first European settlements in North America can be found in Gordon Stewart's, Canada Before 1867. This 1996 publication by The Association for Canadian Studies in the United States [ACSUS] is part of a series of papers useful for a general review of the main events in Canada's settlement: Jacques Cartier makes the important

¹ See W. J. Eccles (1983), The Canadian Frontier 1534-1760. Albuquerque, NM: University of New Mexico; D. Creighton (1970), Canada's First Century. Toronto: Macmillan; S. B. Ryerson (1972). The Founding of Canada: Beginnings to 1815. Toronto: Progress Books

voyage up the St. Lawrence River in 1534 to what is, today, Montreal; Acadia becomes the first settlement in 1604; Quebec is founded in 1608 when Samuel de Champlain establishes what will become a strategic base for the development of a French-Canadian civilization in North America.

On 13 September 1759, British General Wolfe defeats the French under Montcalm on the Plains of Abraham at Quebec City. This event, along with the fall of Montreal to the British the following year, precipitates the end of the Seven Years War in 1763. The Treaty of Paris is signed in February and, in October, the Royal Proclamation officially designates Quebec as a British province. This act, now known simply as The Conquest, has defined Francophone and Anglophone relations in Canada since.

Christian Dufour's 1990 essay, A Canadian Challenge: Le défi québécois, offers an engaging narrative on the significance of The Conquest in terms of its relevance to the current socio-political conditions in Quebec. He reminds us that the term is, at least partially, directed at the French:

It is clear that what did happen during this period was as much France's abandonment of its colony as it was England's conquest. If France had wanted Canada, it would have been able to keep the country during the signing of the Treaty of Paris...(p. 30)

Dufour's precis is useful here for two reasons. First, it is indicative of the time taken to reveal how significant events in Canadian history are viewed from both English and French viewpoints. More importantly, however, it provides a clue to some of the underlying reasons for Quebec's separatist stance today.

The author uses the relationship between the new Governor Murray with the leading member of the French clergy to underscore the indelible effects of The Conquest:

The stakes in the negotiations between Murray and Briand were the heart of the Canadien identity of yesterday and the source of Quebec power today. The authority that Briand was able to maintain over the clergy evolved into the Quebec Government's control over the institutions of its specificity: education establishments; municipal corporations; and the hospital network. The Catholic Dogma of 1760 has become the power in the civil and social fields. (p. 39)

These two passages are critical to an understanding of the impetus behind much of the rhetoric invoked by Lucien Bouchard in his call for separation. Textual analysis reveals repeated emphasis on the need to preserve Quebec's "distinct culture", a culture recalling an era in which Francophones were ruled by the Catholic church.

A more elusive explanation is evident in Dufour's analysis as well. To conclude that "[e]verything indicates that it still exists in the collective subconscious of today's Quebecers and Canadians" (p. 40), the author is clearly alluding to not only The Conquest, but the fact that France chose not to fight for its colony in North America. While Dufour does not explicitly draw this conclusion in his work, the notion of abandonment by the French may explain the need for Quebec to be completely independent – from all those not willing to recognize its value as a distinct culture.

The Quebec Act of 1774 was a step toward the recognition sought by the province. Two provisions, officially acknowledging Catholicism and French Civil Law in Quebec, addressed part of the injustices claimed by Francophones as a result of the Royal

Proclamation Act of 1763. An informed collection of interviews with noted academics, politicians and journalists on the emergence of Quebec and Canada can be found in Robert Bothwell's Canada and Quebec: One Country, Two Histories (1995). The discussions take on Canada's history from The Conquest through the 1840 Act of Union uniting the provinces into the nation of Canada, up to the current constitutional crisis between Quebec and Canada.

One interview, with scholar Jacques Monet, is indicative of how the text's inclusion of particular detail helps put the current situation into historical perspective. In discussing pre-Union Quebec, Monet notes: "The first debate on the first day of the legislature of Lower Canada in 1792 was on the preservation of the French language. So that theme of the importance of the French language to French Canadians goes right back to that period" (p. 27).

These first hints of nationalism by the Francophones would become more defined in the early part of the nineteenth century with the formation of the Patriotes, led by the beau provocateur Louis-Joseph Papineau. In 1837, the group incited an armed rebellion against the British. Bothwell's interview with noted historian Fernand Ouellette (pp. 28-31) offers a good description, from both English and French historical perspectives, of the Rebellion and its role in Quebec's emerging nationalistic movement.

Returning to Stewart (1996), another perspective regarding the Rebellion's role in today's separatist movement is offered:

The 1837 rebellion, in short, was not a mass uprising by the French Canadians. It was an armed outburst born of longstanding political frustrations that had been

intensified by economic distress, and it was led by an articulate group of men who, as a class, had suffered at the hands of the chateau clique but who also tried to make a broader appeal in the name of French-Canadian nationalism. (p. 27)

The “chateau clique” reference was a popular term for Upper [English] Canadian Assemblymen in the early 1800s, so-called by [Lower] French-Canadian Assemblymen for what they viewed as an elitist form of privileged government. In any case, both Ouellette and Stewart highlight the establishment of a politically-driven independence movement in Quebec – one from which Lucien Bouchard and his separatist ideology directly descends.

The Quebec Act of 1774, Patriotes Rebellion in 1837 and 1840 Act of Union all played a defining role in passage of the Constitution Act of 1867, known historically as Confederation, which remains the essential basis of the Canadian constitution. In order to appreciate the rhetoric surrounding Separation today, a review of the political system from which the current debate stems is in order.

Canadian Politics

Constitution

Canada is a constitutional monarchy with a parliamentary system of government and is modeled after the British political system. For a useful overview of the Canadian constitution and a brief comparative analysis of the Canadian and United States’ political structures, Earl Fry’s The Canadian Political System (1996) is a competent resource. In it, he reviews the important documents in Canadian constitutional development, including both the 1867 Constitution Act (also known as the British North America Act

[BNA]), which created the federal system in Canada, and the 1982 Constitution Act, officially patriating the BNA. The 1982 Act is particularly significant to the separatist movement of recent decades because it includes the Charter of Rights and Freedoms and the now infamous “notwithstanding clause” (Fry, 1996, p. 4-7). In 1988, Quebec Premier Jacques Parizeau, invoked the clause to override the Charter, a sort of Canadian Bill of Rights, to keep Quebec's language law in force. Essentially, the Canadian Supreme Court had ruled parts of the Bill, emphasizing French language usage in Quebec, unconstitutional. Parizeau's move allowed the province to continue enforcing it. Lucien Bouchard would lead the drive to make this policy a law.

An examination of various aspects of Canadian constitutional development can be found in (Magnusson & Soberman, Eds.) Canadian Constitutional Dilemmas Revisited (1997). While it does not directly address Confederation as it relates to Quebec, this selection of academic essays contains two studies (Frémont, p. 119; Johnston, p. 131) dedicated to minority and aboriginal rights, issues relevant to the current debate.

Parliament

The Canadian federal government is run by its Parliament in Ottawa. It consists of the House of Commons, currently with 301 elected members (MPs), and the Senate, currently with 112 appointed members (see Appendix A). The House is the main legislative body while the Senate, legislatively, has become obsolete (Fry, 1996, pp.18-24). Although the official head of the federal government is the ruling British Monarch, since the patriation of the constitution, the real power lies with the House of Commons. The leader of the majority political party, by virtue of party dominance, becomes prime

minister. Legislatively, this position is potentially the most influential in the federal government.²

The other significant political position is the Official Opposition leader, currently Bouchard, who heads the leading minority party in the House. The current Prime Minister of Canada is Jean Chrétien, leader of the Liberal Party.

National Assembly

Since 1791, the Quebec provincial government has also followed a parliamentary system. There are currently 125 elected Members of the National Assembly (MNAs). The Assembly's official internet site (www.assnat.qc.ca) is useful in detailing the evolving political leadership in the province since its founding. In 1996, Bouchard and the PQ were voted in as the majority in the Assembly, thus making Bouchard the province's premier.

Elections

Both federal and provincial elections in Canada can be called anytime within a five-year term limit. Canada is a responsible government, meaning the majority party and its cabinet would be expected to step down after a no confidence vote by the house (or national referendum), necessitating a new election.

House MPs represent districts, or "ridings," in each of the ten provincial governments. MP candidates are generally chosen by party conventions at the riding level. By elections occur periodically to fill vacancies arising between general elections (Fry, 1996, pp. 32-37). This is, in fact, how Lucien Bouchard became premier of Quebec

² For a comprehensive guide to the Canadian political system and methods of government, see A. Gagnon & J. Bickerson (1990). Canadian Politics: An Introduction to the Discipline. Ontario: Broadview.

and leader of the Official Opposition in Parliament.

Political Parties

Canada has a multi-party political system. The two most historically prominent have been the Liberals, currently the majority in the House, and the Conservatives. Since the first Quebec referendum on separation in 1980, the Parti Québécois, currently led by Lucien Bouchard for the Opposition, has emerged as the dominant provincial party in Quebec, as well as a strong voice in Parliament. The Progressive Conservatives who, under Brian Mulroney leading up to the 1993 election, have also had a direct effect on the political status quo in Canada. Their devastating defeat in that election marked the entrance of the PQ in the House. Stewart (1996) notes how significant third party influence has been in Canada:

As a consequence of the stronger following of third parties in Canada than in the United States, nine of the past 22 governments formed in Ottawa have been "minority governments" - meaning that the party selected to lead the nation does not command majority support in the House of Commons. (p. 40)

While the Liberals do currently enjoy the majority, the 1993 election diverted enough support from Mulroney's Conservatives to the PQ to allow the provincial separatist movement in Quebec a national platform for its agenda.

An important resource for understanding how significant historical events have been shaped by the transforming political system is the 1997 publication, Whistling Past the Graveyard: Constitutional Abeyances, Quebec, and the Future of Canada, by David Thomas. It is a meticulously researched study of the differences between constitutional

theory and Canada's current political reality. Thomas offers hints to the motivation behind prevalent separatist rhetoric today: "[w]ithin a federal system such as ours, territorial and jurisdictional issues are dangerously tied to all of our cultural, social, economic, historical and philosophical problems" (p. xiv). The analysis of Bouchard to be undertaken will clarify this relationship between the political system and the politics involved in the separation issue.

Thomas also spends considerable time examining the historical implications of the 1990 Meech Lake Accord (pp. 178-192), one of the two, along with the 1992 Charlottetown Accord, failed efforts by Canada and Quebec to arrive at a constitutional reconciliation of the 1982 Constitution Act. While these events will be discussed as each relates to the political philosophy of Bouchard and the PQ, several texts delve more deeply into the phenomena. A Meech Lake Post-Mortem: Is Quebec Sovereignty Inevitable ? (1991), by Pierre Fournier (translation by Sheila Fischman), is a decidedly Québécois stance on the Meech Lake Accord. For a look at the Anglophile perspective on the event, the edited collection of essays in The Meech Lake Primer: Conflicting Views of the 1987 Constitutional Accord (1989), by M. D. Behiels is helpful. It is also a useful, if dated, review of the key academic scholarship leading up to the Accord's final defeat in 1990. Another edited collection, The Charlottetown Accord, the Referendum, and the Future of Quebec (1993), by eminent Canadian scholars Kenneth McRoberts and Patrick Monahan, takes the discussion of Canada's constitutional development up to the emergence of Lucien Bouchard as a proponent for French-Canadian nationalism.

The next chapter deals more comprehensively with Bouchard, his political

background, and the role he plays in the current separation debate. Chapter Two also reviews the independence movement in Quebec, highlighting the key figures and historical events leading up to the current political crisis in the province.

The third chapter outlines the methodology selected for this examination. It reviews the texts from which the data will be extracted and analyzed, as well as the limitations of the data used. The chapter also establishes this study as an ethical rhetorical analysis in outlining the evaluative criteria applied to the data analysis.

Chapter Four comprises the essential investigation undertaken in this study. The evaluative criteria are correlated and the resulting implications are further considered in an effort to discover how Lucien Bouchard manipulates both the French and English languages to frame the separation debate to his various audiences.

The final chapter should be considered a catalyst for prospective research on the data analysis. It also suggests related areas of potential academic inquiry attendant to the study of Lucien Bouchard and his political career, as well as the separation debate from both Anglophone and Francophone perspectives.

CHAPTER 2

LUCIEN BOUCHARD AND THE SEPARATIST MOVEMENT

He may be anathema to the rest of the country, but in Quebec, Bouchard is... quite simply a saviour, the prophet whose oratorical thunder brought the Yes side within a whisker of victory...and whose political acumen, they hope, will lead them out of the Canadian federal wilderness to the promised land of independence.

(Barry Came, *Maclean's*, December 4, 1995)

Lucien Bouchard never intended to be a politician. His chosen career was that of a lawyer, in Chicoutimi, in the rural Lac-Saint-Jean area of Quebec in which he and his family had been established for six generations. Born on 22 December 1938, he graduated from Jonquière Classical College in 1959 and earned his law degree from Laval University in 1964. It was here, during the 1964 federal-provincial conference at the Quebec legislature that Bouchard made his first political speech. In his autobiography, On the Record, he describes the event: “For the first time, I experienced the unique sensation that comes from communicating with a crowd” (p. 41). The book, originally published as À visage découvert in 1992, was translated into English in 1994, two years before he would assume the premiership of Quebec. In it, Bouchard details the evolution of his political career more than that of his personal life. It is one of two full-length texts that have been published about him to date. The other, Lucien Bouchard: En attendant la suite (1996) by biographer Michel Vastel, recounts the life and political career of the man using Bouchard’s text, as well as the author’s own research and more recent interviews with

family, friends, political contemporaries, and Bouchard himself.

Further illuminating Bouchard's experience at Laval University and its role in cultivating the political philosophy of later years, Vastel (1996) argues:

Puis que ses années de rhétorique avec les pères oblats de Jonquière, c'est donc à Québec, dans cette université pontificale centenaire, que Lucien Bouchard s'initie au maniement des mots et au sens des mouvements stratégiques qui font les grands généraux de la politique.¹ (p.29)

It was also at Laval that Bouchard met future Prime Minister Brian Mulroney, for whom he would later write speeches and from whom, in 1985, he would accept an appointment as Canadian ambassador to France.

Bouchard's political affiliations, however, had begun three decades earlier at the 1964 conference. This experience precipitated his joining the Liberal Party during the next election: "The upshot was, that, in 1968, I participated in the federal election campaign...the tune is well known, particularly to contemporary ears" (Bouchard, 1994, p. 57). This is a telling statement. More than an historical account, it reveals the origins of the political philosophy that would evolve into his current political stance on Quebec's separation.

In addition to the two texts on Bouchard, the Quebec National Assembly's official Internet site (www.assnat.qc.ca/eng/members/boul-1.html) contains a general account of

¹ "More than his years of rhetorical study with the Oblats in Jonquière, so it is at Québec, in this century-old pontifical university, that Lucien Bouchard inaugurates himself in the handling of the words and the sense of strategic movement that makes the great political generals." (My translation)

the premier's public and political career: chief counsel for the Cliche Commission (1974-75), investigating the construction industry in Quebec; co-author of the Martin-Bouchard Report (1977-78), the result of a Commission on public and parapublic collective bargaining; Canadian ambassador to France (1985-1988); progressive-conservative MP for the Lac-Saint-Jean riding (1988-1990), also serving as Minister of the Environment (1989-90).

The most significant moment in Lucien Bouchard's political career came on 22 May 1990. By resigning from the Progressive Conservative Party to serve as an independent for the Lac-Saint-Jean riding, Bouchard effectively destroyed any hope for the passage of the Meech Lake Accord, as he intended. It shook the nation and destroyed his friendship with Mulroney. Bouchard reflects on the break in his autobiography: "He had gambled on thirty years of friendship...and on the difficulty of breaking with a party and a whole group of friends. He was wrong, that's all" (p. 238).

That summer, Bouchard and a group of independent MPs formed the Bloc Québécois (BQ), the federal counterpart to the provincial Parti Québécois. The Bloc would eventually join forces with the PQ. Later, under the PQ platform and as its president, Bouchard would be sworn in as Premier of Quebec on 29 January 1996.

The first years of the Bloc Québécois are recounted in Manon Cornellier's The Bloc (1995). Relying on interviews, newspaper accounts and BQ publications, Cornellier chronicles the BQ's first attempt at running a separatist candidate, Gilles Duceppe, in a national election: "Bouchard's small group launched its campaign with no resources. In

the early days, the small campaign staff called the troupes from a [Montreal brassiere]...public telephone...On August 13, for the first time in Canadian history, an openly sovereigntist Quebec MP was elected to the House of Commons” (p. 17).

Just three years later, in the 1993 election, the BQ had garnered enough popular support to win 54 of Quebec’s 75 seats, out of the 295 total. Led by Lucien Bouchard, the BQ became the Official Opposition in the House. Precipitated by the failed 1995 referendum on sovereignty and then premier Jacques Parizeau’s resignation from the Parti Québécois, Bouchard resigned from the BQ and joined the PQ to run for Quebec premier in January 1996.

Peter Newman has authored a particularly in-depth account of Bouchard’s political affiliations throughout the years. From an Anglo perspective Newman highlights the Premier’s course:

He had been a loyal liberal, influential enough to be named vice-chairman of the party’s Quebec political commission by Pierre Trudeau in 1968...He then switched to being a loyal follower of the Parti Québécois from 1973 to 1984 but changed allegiances again and became a loyal Canadian when offered a plum ambassadorship...He later also became a loyal Conservative, occupying the senior positions of Secretary of State, environment minister and political minister for Quebec...[finally] he abruptly abandoned the Tories at the most crucial juncture of their mandate in 1990 to become the loyal leader of his own separatist party. (p.338)The question of loyalty Newman raises here would be explained by Bouchard as a process of

maturation and an effort to support the interests of an independent Quebec. An excerpt from Bouchard's resignation letter to Prime Minister Mulroney in 1990 reveals his more recent stance on the question of Quebec sovereignty: "I have the profound conviction that we must rethink this country. It is necessary to stop trying to fit Québec into the mould of a province like the others" (Bouchard, 1994, p. 245).

Bouchard also concludes in his book:

From three decades of personal travel through various periods, circles, and roles, I have come to the following conclusions: Federal structures hinder Québec's development and deprive it of an opening on the world...(p. 276)

These two passages would tend to support Bouchard's position that he has not based decisions on political affiliation for the sake of party loyalty but, rather, has used party support as a way to affect changes related to the political agenda he has envisioned for Quebec.

Challenging these motives, the Federalists undertook a secret psychological analysis of Bouchard in 1997. At the behest of Liberal MP John Godfrey, Dr. Vivian Rakoff, a prominent Canadian psychiatrist, compiled an analysis of Bouchard's mental stability. Author Lawrence Martin used the results as the basis for his book The Antagonist: Lucien Bouchard and the Politics of Delusion. Rakoff concluded that Bouchard suffered from an aesthetic character disorder that may affect his ability to view separation rationally. While dismissed as simply partisan politics, it does provide insight into the provocative nature of the rhetoric and the charged emotions of those involved.

Regardless, the means by which Bouchard reveals and communicates his political agenda to the French-speaking and English-speaking citizens of the province is the primary investigation to be initiated here.

In order to more clearly understand the political environment in which Bouchard and the notion of sovereignty in Quebec emerged, a review the separatist movement is useful.

The Parti Québécois

Coleman (1986) establishes a perspective for the history of Quebec's drive for independence (p. 4):

The French-language community has lived in Quebec for close to four hundred years, and through its well-developed sensitivity to the history of those years, its religious traditions, its language, and its self-consciousness it views itself as a nation. From within this community has grown a political movement that wishes to endow Quebec and by implication this community with a sovereign state.

The impetus for more recent separatist rhetoric came out of the Quiet Revolution in Canada during the 1960s: "The series of changes set in motion during this period were the catalyst to the independence movement" (Coleman, 1986, p. 4).

The 1969 October Crisis, in which several kidnappings and the murder of a government official led to passage of a war measures act, also influenced Bouchard (1994):

My compromise with Federalism, already fragile and tenuous, was shaken...I did not recognize my country nor its idea of justice. Moreover, I was deeply

disillusioned by the people I had helped, albeit modestly, get elected to Ottawa and Quebec City...Then Trudeau revealed once and for all his determination to keep Québec as a province, a simple module, like the other nine...I recognized the validity of Lévesque's arguments about the necessity for Québécois to assume their own fate as a nation and take control of their own affairs... (pp. 59-60)

Bouchard (1994) finally reflects on the evolution of the determination of his political and philosophical ideology:

An unconscious process of maturation led me to the idea of independence. I can't remember the day or the week, because there was no critical turning point...Some time after I chose sovereignty, Parizeau showed up in Chicoutimi. I signed my Parti Québécois card in front of him (p. 60)

Five years later, in the fall of 1976, the PQ, led by René Lévesque, won the PQ's first majority in the Quebec National Assembly. It was during this term that the Charter of the French Language and the mandate for the 1980 Referendum (see Appendix B) were created.

"Vive le Québec libre!"

These stunning words, "Long live free Quebec!", by French President Charles de Gaulle, ending a speech during the 1967 Montreal Expo, aroused the nation. One of those incited to action after de Gaulle's exhortation was René Lévesque. Later that year, he left the Liberal Party to create the Sovereignty-Mouvement Association. The following October, the association was transformed into the Parti Québécois. As much as Lucien

Bouchard has been chastised for his vacillating political loyalties, the precedent for this type of maneuvering was certainly established much earlier, with Lévesque perhaps serving as the most influential of exemplars.

After the failed 1980 referendum, Bouchard's beau ideal adopted the *beau risque* strategy that would lead to the end of the PQ majority in the National Assembly, and a constitutional resolution that would seal Quebec's destiny, perhaps forever. The idea behind the *beau risque* was that, despite the loss in 1980, a possibility for constitutional reform allowing Quebec to remain in Canada still existed. The policy allowed the PQ to stay in power after the April 1981 provincial elections. That support disintegrated, however, the following year when Canada voted to repatriate the constitution - without Quebec's consent.

The "Night of the Long Knives"

In the fall of 1982, Lévesque represented Quebec during the repatriation negotiations. During the night of 4 November, several of the provincial premiers met secretly and struck a deal on reforms that would exclude Quebec's request to be recognized as a distinct society (Newman, 1995). Further, it restricted existing powers Quebec had over its language and education policies. This stab in the back prompted the Quebec National Assembly to swiftly pass a resolution rejecting the new constitution. To this day, the province considers the 1982 Act of Constitution a decisive factor in what may eventually lead to its sovereignty. Bouchard (1994) recalls the personal effect of the formalization of the Act:

I will never forget the epilogue...the spectacle of the Queen (she was also our Queen that Day), Pierre Trudeau, Jean Chrétien...gather on April 17, 1982, on the lawn of Parliament Hill to affix their signatures to the bottom of a constitution that had orphaned Québec...This is to me the key event triggering all that had happened and will happen, the breach through which Québécois democracy will escape from a régime that violated its moral commitments. (p. 95)

The emphasis on the past tense in referring to the queen was not for the sake of historical narrative. Bouchard was obviously deliberate in emphasizing how the Act forever transformed Quebec's relationship with the rest of Canada, including its royal ties. In fact, Bouchard reaffirmed this view of the monarchy a few years later; during his 1996 swearing-in ceremony as premier, he refused to swear allegiance to the queen (Nickerson, 30 Jan 1998), as was customary.

Changing of the Guard

The 1984 federal election brought Brian Mulroney and the Progressive Conservative Party to power. The provincial elections proved that Lévesque and his inability to make progress with the constitutional dilemma had eroded PQ support. On 20 January 1985, the PQ held a policy convention in Montreal. The party voted against running the next election on the sovereignty issue (www.uni.ca/history.html). Five months later, Lévesque resigned from the premiership, as well as the PQ. Pierre-Marc Johnson would fill in for the remainder of the year.

With Mulroney's promise to return Quebec to "the Constitutional fold with

honor and enthusiasm” (www.blocquebecois.parl.gc.ca/theroad.htm), Quebec’s 1985 election brought the Liberals, led by Robert Bourassa, to power. In addition to Bouchard’s ambassadorship, Mulroney’s tenure included a renewed effort to address the repatriation issue. Quebec Premier Bourassa and the province devised what would become the basic precepts of the Meech Lake Accord. Ottawa was given the five minimum conditions it would have to meet in order for Quebec to recognize the 1982 Constitution (Bouchard, 1994): 1) Recognition of Quebec as a distinct society, 2) Veto over any change to Constitution, 3) Guarantees concerning the appointment of Quebec judges to Canada’s Supreme Court, 4) Federal compensation to provinces opting out of federal programs, 5) Increased power for Quebec over immigration duties within the province.

In the summer of 1987, the provincial premiers finalized their negotiations over the Meech Lake Accord, resolving to have it ratified in each legislature by 23 June 1990. Although the premiers had agreed on the proposal, the sticking point among voters throughout the provinces rested on the “distinct society” concept: “Distinctiveness was taken to imply a claim to superiority or preferential treatment, not merely difference, and was seen as dangerously open-ended” (Thomas, 1997, p. 221). The various ways in which this distinct society concept is invoked in contemporary separatist rhetoric will be further explored in the analysis of Bouchard’s speeches.

For Whom the Bell Tolls

And so began a war of words that could not be overcome. Mulroney and the

Progressive Conservatives did manage to get reelected in the 1988 federal elections, but the next year, Quebec's Liberals would only remain in power with a change of leadership, in reelecting Robert Bourassa. With the imminent failure of the Accord, Bouchard's patience with Bourassa, Ottawa, and the rest of Canada's refusal to recognize Quebec's uniqueness was waning. When Newfoundland and Manitoba changed their position on Meech, with what Bouchard saw as Ottawa's approval, the events of 22 May unfolded. Bouchard's resignation condemned the Accord.

The next day, Bouchard honored a speaking engagement at a Chamber of Commerce luncheon in Montreal. While the country was still reeling, as, indeed, he himself was, Bouchard attempted to explain his position on the surely doomed status of Meech, as well as the philosophy behind his decision:

I believe in my heart that we shouldn't start anything we can't finish together. If we let ourselves become divided again, we're finished. We have to stick together. If there's a bell tolling for Quebec, it is the bell of unity, and I call on all Quebecers to join together in a great demonstration of the unity I know we can achieve.

(Cornellier, 1995, p. 2)

One month later, Premier Bourassa enlisted the help of Parizeau to form a parliamentary commission in order "to study Quebec's political and constitutional future" (Cornellier, 1995, p. 22). Bouchard was the first person Parizeau contacted to serve on the commission. Bouchard (1994) would later reflect that the Bélanger-Campeau Commission, which ultimately condemned the constitutional status quo, was a better

vehicle for forming the BQ than he himself could have devised.

The month after that, on 25 July 1990, Bouchard and six other Quebec MPs held a press conference to announce the formation of the Bloc Québécois. Formed as essentially the federal arm of the Parti Québécois, the BQ was “not yet a formal political party [but] a group of independent MPs who were united by a common purpose [intending] to act as messengers from Quebec to English Canada...” (Cornellier, 1995, p. 31). The press conference outlined the BQ’s essential mandates: (p. 31):

- act as “spokespeople for Quebec’s intentions, in Ottawa and English Canada”;
- “ensure that the Quebec people were able to freely exercise their right to self-determination, and strive to have this right understood throughout Canada and respected by federal institutions”;
- promote the emergence of power relationships that would favor Quebec in the implementation of a new political arrangement with its Canadian partner”; and -
- “consolidate the Quebec people’s political strength and authority at the federal level around Quebec’s interests alone”

Cornellier (1995) concludes his summary of the conference acknowledging that the groups’ brief announcement “was not enough to answer all the questions about the reasons for the Bloc’s existence [but it was] the start: the formal birth of the Bloc” (p. 31).

From Little Acorns...

The Bloc was formally founded as a national party on 15 June 1991. Bouchard

was elected its first president. The next year, the recommendations of the Bélanger-Campeau Commission precipitated negotiations that led to Ottawa's proposal for constitutional reform, the Charlottetown Accord. It failed in a national referendum on 22 August 1992. The provinces did not like the attempt at special status recognition for Quebec included in the proposal.

During the federal election in 1993, Bouchard was reelected, the BQ won the stunning victory that ousted Mulroney, and the Bloc became the Official Opposition in the House of Commons (www.assnat.qc.ca/eng/members/boul_1.html). Jean Chrétien headed the Liberal Party as Prime Minister. In September, 1994 the Parti Québécois, led by Parizeau, won a majority in the provincial election and took over in the National Assembly. The party vowed to hold another referendum on sovereignty.

“Que l’on continue. Merci”

Perhaps recognizing that the political power behind the separatist movement was emerging at the provincial level, Bouchard began talks with PQ forces about using his position in the BQ to serve as its spokesperson in Ottawa: “he was relieved to be able to devote himself to his reason for being in politics for the past four years - sovereignty” (Cornellier, 1995, p. 135). Quebec decided to hold the second referendum in 1995.

During the campaigning leading up to the vote, Bouchard was struck with the flesh-eating disease, necrotizing mytosis, which took his left leg. Faced with the amputation, it was reported that the BQ leader simply told the doctors to do it and followed with a note to his supporters, “Carry on. Thank You” (Nickerson, 8 May

1998)². It became the rallying cry for sovereigntists in the party. Bouchard's martyrdom in French-speaking Quebec was assured.

It was also a time for personal reflection. Ever since the failed Meech Lake Accord, Bouchard had been wrestling with his role in the separatist movement: "This is the choice confronting you: to be a traitor in the eyes of your accusers, or a coward in your own" (Bouchard, 1994, p. 227). The 1995 referendum led to Bouchard's election as premier of Quebec.

On 30 October 1995, the second referendum on Quebec sovereignty failed by a 51.58 to 49.42 percent margin. In a press conference, Premier Parizeau blamed the defeat on "money and the ethnic vote", and further claimed, "We will have our country and we will get our revenge" (www.uni.ca/history.html). The next day, Parizeau resigned as Premier and member of the PQ.

Three months later, on 15 January 1996, Bouchard resigned as Opposition leader, as MP for his riding, and leader of the Bloc. The PQ had been planning for his arrival. The Jonquière MP resigned from his riding in order for Bouchard to run as a party member. On 16 January, Bouchard announced his intentions to run as a member of the PQ. He became party president on 27 January and was sworn in as Premier two days later. In the 1998 elections, sovereigntists prevailed again, reelecting Bouchard Premier.

Now that a brief review has highlighted Bouchard's role in the separatist movement of recent history, a closer look at how he "brought the Yes side within a

² The connotation for the French was that the situation required one to continue on, despite ominous circumstances; a parallel Quebecers drew to the constitutional dilemma.

whisker of victory” (Came, 4 December 1995), will be taken. First, the methodology used in the analysis will be reviewed, then applied to several of Bouchard’s key speeches on Quebec sovereignty. Finally, a discussion of the ethics involved in taking Quebecers to the precipice is an important step in objectifying the parameters of the separatist debate for all those involved.

CHAPTER 3

METHODOLOGY

While an analysis of Lucien Bouchard's political legacy may be premature at this point in history, an examination of the public record relative to his sovereigntist ideology is a worthy subject for academic analysis. To date, the application of ethical criteria is a unique approach to scrutinizing Bouchard and the separatist stance. There are several compelling reasons for applying such a standard. First, as mentioned earlier, "ethical issues are inherent" (Johannesen, 1975) in persuasive communication. Political campaigning on any issue certainly falls under this category. Next, the existence of polling data and its application in the development of a party agenda calls attention to the fact that demographics are devoid of value qualifications that may influence their interpretation. Finally, an inquiry into the broader implications of such an important issue as severing a nation can only benefit any meaningful discussion of possible outcomes.

For the purpose of this analysis, Richard L. Johannesen's classic study, Ethics in Human Communication (1975), offers a general definition of ethics, along with several explicit evaluative criteria that are relevant and appropriate to a study of Bouchard. Ethics centers around "value judgements concerning degrees of rightness and wrongness, goodness and badness, in human conduct" (p. 11). Johannesen offers twelve "basic

issues" for consideration. Eight of them will be used in this analysis. Each of these standards will be applied to four of the premier's speeches. A brief description of the rationale for using these four, as well as a general description of the methodology in employing the evaluative criteria follows.

The four "basic issues" not engaged in this inquiry are: Ethics and Advertising, Ethics and Propaganda, Ethics and Tastefulness, and Ethics and Ghostwriting. The first two are ultimately outside the scope of the textual analysis of this study. The third necessitates too relative an evaluative standard to be sufficiently addressed here. The final issue is not relevant in the case of the four speeches to be analyzed. They are each worthy of inclusion in an ethical analysis of human communication, but rather the situational appropriateness standard established for this study.

Speeches For Analysis

Excerpts from various Bouchard speeches will be used to support the analysis, but four key speeches will provide the basis for the most substantive examination. It is important to note that, since the evaluation approaches the nature of the persuasive rhetoric employed, the texts of speeches and Bouchard's political writings will be used. Method of delivery is integral to the final assessment of any rhetorical act but, as value standards are being applied to the general ideals and principles of the speaker, the text of delivered speeches provides the more objective starting point for evaluation. Additionally, both French and English texts are being consulted in the examination process. This is vital to a discussion of the more contemplative elements of the evaluative criteria. It would be impossible to attempt a discovery of persuasive means employed

with various cultures without consulting their primary means of linguistic communication. In the case of Quebec, this clearly means political rhetoric directed at French-speaking and English-speaking constituencies.

The "Centaur Speech"

This speech was delivered to the English-speaking community in Quebec, on 11 March 1996, at the Centaur Theatre in Montreal. The text to be analyzed is in English. This speech holds particular import for Anglophones in the province; The goals set forth here are used as benchmarks for English-French relations, as well as the recognition of Anglophone rights in Quebec.

The Inaugural Speech

Delivered on 25 March 1996, at the Quebec National Assembly, Bouchard's inaugural address, spoken in French, is exemplary of the ideas he had developed as a member of the Federal Cabinet on the way to his election as premier of Quebec. Themes employed in speeches to both English-speaking and French-speaking audiences are evident in this speech. Application of the evaluative criteria will bear out the occasion's role in Bouchard's approach.

The "Why We are Sovereignists" Speech

This treatise, delivered as a speech in the House of Commons in January 1994, predates Bouchard's election as Quebec Premier but is important in putting forth the basic tenants of the Parti Québécois. Since Bouchard's election, it had been added to the general information available at the Quebec government's official site (www.premier.gouv.qc.ca). The text used here is the English translation of the document.

The Calgary Address

On 14 September 1997, nine provincial premiers of Canada met in Calgary, Alberta to revisit the repatriation issue. Quebec was the sole province not represented at the talks. The Calgary Declaration was dismissed in the province and Bouchard publicly reacted both in writing and at a news briefing days later.

Originally printed in the Montreal daily newspaper *Le Devoir* on 17 September 1997, this article, published in French, recounts the 1995 Referendum and outlines Quebec's future plans for sovereignty. It is relevant to an analysis of the consistency in Bouchard's arguments addressing both Francophone and Anglophone audiences. This essay was also the basis for a news briefing the day before (www.premier.gouv.qc.ca/discours/a970916.htm), but, since only the spoken version is considered official, using the newspaper version of the speech is less controversial in terms of potential problems with translation, as well as last minute omissions or additions during delivery.

Evaluative Criteria

In his research, Johannesen (1975), expands on previous scholarship in evaluating the ethics of human communication, including religious, political, ontological and situational perspectives, toward establishing a set of "basic issues" (p. 66) for consideration of various communication situations. As the author establishes early on:

The quality of judgement of communication ethics usually would be improved (1) by *specifying exactly* what ethical criteria, standards or perspectives we are applying, (2) by justifying the *reasonableness* and *relevancy* of these standards,

and (3) by indicating in what respects the communication evaluated *fails to measure up* to the standards. (p. 15)

Since the goal of this evaluation is to assess the ability of, or at least degrees to which, Lucien Bouchard's various audiences can make quality judgements on the sovereignty issue, an analysis of the evaluative criteria using these three standards is necessary. First, each criterion will be explicitly stated. Second, its situational applicability will be briefly discussed. The third standard must be applied in terms of highlighted excerpts from each of the four Bouchard speeches to be analyzed, and will be addressed in the next chapter.

A slight qualification in the discussion of the criteria is necessary. While Johannesen simply lists each item in terms of its broad philosophical implications, each of the issues will be further qualified in text-dependent terms. That is, ethical criteria that can be discussed outside the scope of the text will be supported by passages in Bouchard speeches where a term or phrase relates to the evaluation taking place.

Conversely, several of the evaluative criteria can be effectively considered only in terms of the text or the speaker. For example, the question of absolute versus relative standards in assessing political communication can certainly be discussed in broad, philosophical terms without taking into account a particular political speech or event. The question of ethics and audience adaptation, however, cannot be adequately addressed without thought to particular circumstances.

Such is the case here. The evaluative criteria will be applied in either text-dependent or text-independent terms. As a general guide, the first three criteria are text-independent considerations. The fourth and fifth are general issues that have a clear and

appropriate relationship to discussion of separatist issues. The remaining three questions are text-dependent issues that provide the most substantive discussion on the applicability and relevance of an ethical component to the debate on sovereignty. The rationale for these groupings is essentially for the purpose of clarity in applying general criteria to a specific case.

The Criteria

1. Absolute and Relative Standards - This issue involves considering the flexibility of the ethical criteria being employed. A related question for this item is whether or not "ethical standards vary for communication in different fields, such as...politics?" (p. 67).

Addressing this question is a necessary first step in defining the parameters of the analysis to be undertaken.

2. Maximum or Minimum Standards - The key question to be asked here is whether or not ethical evaluative criteria should be formed as "minimum criteria to be met in order to maintain ethicality...or maximum ideals we are obliged to strive for?" (p. 67). A related issue is whether or not ethical criteria should be stated negatively or positively.

Discovery of the negative or positive quality of sovereigntist arguments will also help further clarify the nature of the rhetoric employed with various audiences.

3. The End as Justification of Means - "Does the necessity of achieving a goal widely acknowledged as worthwhile justify the use of ethically questionable techniques?" (p. 68).

Also what role does "sincerity of intent" (p. 69) place in evaluating the communicator?

These questions are text-independent, but critical to an appreciation of Lucien Bouchard's role in framing the separatist debate. It should also be emphasized that the purpose of

this study is not an exhaustive analysis of Bouchard's sincerity of intent, but rather, to establish that voters have established a perception of his intent based his rhetoric. From that point, this analysis highlights portions of Bouchard's French and English speeches in an attempt to pinpoint where the two audiences may be getting different views of the Premier. This is the point at which the ethical criteria becomes a valid evaluative standard.

4. Ethics and Ethos - Invoking ancient Greco-Roman rhetorical theory, this issue address the "degree to which an audience has a positive or negative perception of a communicator's personal qualities" and the role it plays "in determining whether the audience will accept the communicator's information, arguments, or proposal" (p. 69).

Again, the personal ideology of Bouchard must be explored in order to discover any potential influence on voters' decisions.

5. Ethics, Emotional Appeals, and Rationality - The question here is whether or not emotional appeals are "inherently unethical" (p. 70). This question must be considered in terms of the audience's awareness and acceptance of personal agendas in the separatist debate.

6. Ethics and the Demagogue - Does the persuader in question warrant the label demagogue using these five, generally accepted, criteria? A demagogue (p. 76):

[a] wields popular or mass leadership over an extensive number of people.

[b] exerts primary influence through the medium of the spoken word - through public speaking, whether directly to an audience or via radio or television.

[c] relies heavily on propaganda defined in the negative sense of intentional use of suggestion, irrelevant emotional appeals, and pseudo-proof to circumvent human

rational decision-making processes.

[d] capitalizes on the availability of a major contemporary social cause or problem.

[e] is hypocritical; the social cause serves as a front or persuasive leverage point while the actual primary motive is selfish interest and personal gain.

This clearly involves an analysis of Bouchard and, for the purpose of this inquiry, must be limited to the separatist issue.

7. Ethics and Nonverbal Communication - “Do the ethical standards and perspectives commonly applied to verbal communication apply equally as appropriately to nonverbal elements in human communication?” (p. 77). Further, should lack of conscious intent on a communicator’s part put relevant nonverbal cues outside the ethical evaluative process? Determining the degree of a person's intent or motivation in a speech act is speculative, at best. If at some point, however, such an academic inquiry is undertaken, having potential examples for analysis is a necessary starting point. This criterion, then, extends the sixth one in including nonverbal cues and their role in Bouchard's perception of and effectiveness with his various audiences.

8. Ethics and Audience Adaptation - Here, Johannesen uses an ethical perspective in addressing the traditional pre-speech analysis considerations of public speech:

Most human communicators seek to secure some kind of response from receivers. To what degree is it ethical for communicators to alter their ideas and proposals in order to adapt to the needs, capacities, desires and expectations of an audience? (p. 78).

The final criteria is perhaps the most essential in attempting a detailed analysis of the relevant texts.

Using each of these eight criteria, a textual analysis of four exemplary speeches by Lucien Bouchard will more clearly reveal the nature of the rhetoric surrounding Separation in Quebec. By considering the issues in terms of the ethical implications of the language employed, a greater appreciation for the motives of the cause's leading proponent can also be revealed. Understanding these motives is essential in better objectifying the debate for those who must make an informed choice in deciding on the future of their people.

Limitations of the Data

There are two important qualifications to note in the source credibility of the texts to be analyzed. First, each of the four speeches used is the version available on the Internet. In the case of the Calgary essay, typographical errors or textual omissions from the original are the responsibility of the on-line newspaper that printed it. Therefore, any data analysis based on the text is subject to the precision of the newspaper in posting the article. It should also be noted, however, that the electronic version is the one available to the general public and, so, can be considered the “final version” in terms the information's accessibility.

The other three speeches were taken from an official Canadian government website and contain a disclaimer: “Check against delivery, ” or “La version lue fait fait [“Only the read version is official”].” The disclaimers are standard on official government documents, and are likely to address the potential for impromptu changes during delivery. For the purpose of this analysis, slight impromptu changes would not affect the

substance of the discussion. As it is the central ideas and themes being evaluated, the textual notes are a legitimate source for extracting the relevant passages. While it is possible that a phrase or idea was added or omitted during the delivery of one of the speeches, the literature review and other supporting source information provided here substantiate the typicality of separatist rhetoric, as well as Bouchard's philosophical positions relative to Quebec's separation.

The second qualification relates to the translation of two of the addresses. Both the Inaugural speech and Calgary reaction were delivered in French. Neither the government nor the on-line newspaper site provided an English translation. It is important to note, then, that the translations provided for relevant passages in each of these texts, as well as all other original French texts cited throughout, are my own. In order to avoid any significant controversy in the meaning of such passages, the most literal translation, with respect to connotative meaning, is provided. There is, of course, the problem of idiomatic expression. Overcoming subjective meaning in translating intent is a necessary, if precarious, part of any translation. Relevant expressions analyzed here also include a discussion about the nuance and implication intended. The purpose is not to enter a protracted argument about what, exactly, is said, but rather, what is meant by what is said. Any objections raised over translations should not be directed toward the source document authors, but to myself.

Another important aspect of relying solely on the French text for the two speeches in question deserves mention. Since one of the goals of this study is, to an extent, further clarification in defining the parameters of the debate, it is vital to

understand the nature of the definitions being offered to relevant audiences. There are cultural implications attendant to language usage. Relying on translation creates further distance between denotative and connotative meaning in communicating one's message. So, while a general understanding of the concepts discussed relative to separation suffices in applying a number of the ethical criteria, it does not for all. In order to appreciate the nature of the dialogue between Bouchard and his various audiences, both French and English-speaking, the actual words, as delivered must be used.

CHAPTER 4

DATA ANALYSIS

During the 1962 provincial election campaign, Jean Lesage and the Liberal party were elected behind, at least partly, a slogan invoked even today in the separatist rhetoric of Lucien Bouchard and the Parti Québécois. "Maîtres chez nous" - "Masters in our own house" - became a powerful image and an evocative notion for the people of Quebec. The clear intent of the slogan was not to put out the welcome mat of mutuality between English and French. It was to strengthen and perpetuate the cultural and linguistic boundaries established much earlier in the history of Quebec's drive for autonomy.

Nearly four decades later, it would seem this house is still under construction. The architects' designs may have weathered a few revisions since the initial plans were drawn up, but the blueprint remains essentially the same: "la Francophonie" - a sovereign French state in North America. The "Nation of Quebec" has certainly been a controversial image since the first formal calls for freedom. Even recently, the two attempts at independence via referendum, in 1980 and 1995, clearly demonstrate the conviction and determination of those espousing the necessity for Quebec to break away. One of those proponents, Bouchard, has inherited this alcazar of French self-determination and is now charged with completing the scheme. While changing times may have altered the current tenants'

taste in design, the Premier's task is unchanged. Using history as bricks, words as mortar, it is time to look at the house that Bouchard built.

To review, the framework for the analysis is as follows: the eight criteria discussed in the previous chapter will be considered in terms of the four Bouchard texts. A brief summary section will conclude the discussion of each criterion. Any other noteworthy passages that warrant discussion outside the parameters of the evaluative criteria are also included. This is essentially to establish the foundation for the recommendations made in the final chapter. Finally, the summary section of this chapter attempts to be instructive in further defining the nature of the political rhetoric of Bouchard and the separatist movement in Quebec.

Absolute and Relative Standards

This general query into the flexibility of applied ethical criteria is particularly important in considering political issues. Denton (1991) invokes a familiar observation regarding popular opinion of the field:

Historically, it seems we have always been skeptical about politics and politicians. We accept the fact that they seldom espouse their own words and must make promises to garner support and votes. Politicians, as a group often rank below car salespeople as the most dishonest profession. (p. 1)

While perhaps not the most sophisticated attempt at describing the phenomenon, the remarks are a valid starting point for discussing this issue. The fact that a comparison of this sort exists in the minds of a populace is clearly indicative of a sort of relativism in judging the worthiness of a politician and his or her message. Thomas (1997) offers a

perspective on how word choice, in this case Bouchard's, may perpetuate this relativism in the minds of voters:

Words - the same words - mean different things to different people. It is not so much a legal world of terminological hair-splitting and exactitude...it all depends on the observer. It is a world of code-words and subtext, of images and myth, of historical revisionism and justification...(p. xvi)

This notion of relative meaning is evident in several Bouchard speeches.

The Calgary Address

The "maîtres chez nous" expression figures prominently in the imagery of this speech, both explicitly and implicitly. In it, Bouchard argues that "tous ces Québécois souhaitaient une plus grande maîtrise de leurs affaires" - "all of these [sovereigntist voters] wanted to exercise greater control over their affairs." Use of the "master over one's affairs" is strikingly similar to the expression he alludes to in this passage and specifically invokes later on in the speech. In considering whether or not the Calgary declaration meets the long-established five minimum conditions for rapprochement, Bouchard directs the Quebecois to ask themselves a question:

"D'abord y a-t-il, dans cette offre, plus de pouvoirs pour le Québec? Nous, Québécois, serions-nous, pour imprunter le slogan le plus populaire de notre histoire, davantage <<maîtres chez nous>>?"¹

Bouchard's answer, and the conclusion he intends the audience to draw, is "No" -

¹ "First, is there, in this offer, more power for Quebec? Would we Quebecers, to borrow [or repeat] the most popular slogan of our history, be 'masters in our house' to a greater extent?" (My translation)

"Absolument pas". The second part of the consideration here addresses the other aspects of the approach used. This essay is framed in terms of absolutes. Bouchard characterizes the declaration in Federalist terms:

Peniblement, ensemble, ils ont donc produit un document qui constitue le seule réponse possible du Canada au vote référendaire de 95. Je ne doute pas que mes collègues du Canada soient allés au bout de leur capacité d'agir, aient étiré jusqu'à l'extrême leur marge de manoeuvre. La déclaration de Calgary représente par conséquent le maximum absolu de ce que le Canada peut offrir aux Québécois.²

So on the one hand, Bouchard allows himself the privilege of using an expression that will have, relatively, a significant difference among French and English-speaking Quebecers. On the other hand, the ideals he applies to the Federalist views expressed is held up to a much more rigid standard. It's not simply that Bouchard uses the "maîtres chez nous" expression here to draw an analogy for the audience. The evocative nature of the phrase is directed specifically at the French-speaking segment of the Quebec population, thus drawing boundaries between the masters (French) and other (English) occupants of the house.

The ethical question that arises from this distinction has three essential segments. First, it is acknowledged that acceptance of equivocation on a politician's part is known to voters. Second, Bouchard chastises the Canadian Premiers for using their political "leeway" in order to circumvent Quebec's provincial power. Third, Bouchard uses the

² "Painfully, together, they produced a document constituting the only possible response by Canada to the 1995 referendum vote. I do not doubt that my colleagues from Canada did their utmost to act and made the maximum possible use of their leeway. As a result, the Calgary declaration represents the absolute maximum that Canada can offer Quebecers." (My translation)

political leeway the "maîtres chez nous" intimation affords him to further the separatist cause. The question thus becomes how does the issue of absolute versus relative standards apply when the proponents use the awareness of audience expectations, or lack thereof, to their own advantage in furthering a personal agenda? That is, should a politician like Bouchard be excused from reflecting on the ethical implications of such linguistic tactics? Given the stakes in this situation, it would seem incumbent upon those involved to at least acknowledge that considering this criterion is a necessary first step in an overall assessment of stated separatist objectives. This issue becomes more pronounced in reviewing the speech delivered to Anglophones after the failed 1995 referendum.

The Centaur Speech

The historical relationship between French and English Quebecers is portrayed in a much different light on this occasion, and is not simply a function of pre-speech analysis on the speaker's part. In offering a perspective on the failed 1995 referendum, and the implications for the future of the Anglophone community, Bouchard characterizes it as a "watershed event" (www.gouv.qc.ca/anglais/premin/comdisc/d960311.html) which they all lived through collectively, a rather different scenario than that of the English versus the French factions described in the Calgary Address. At one point, Bouchard states: "Think about it: the birth of modern Quebec, the unleashing of a tremendous energy, a will to explore, to build, to connect with the world. It was something we did together." While this is certainly intended to highlight the audience's common interest with Anglophone Quebecers, Bouchard clearly emphasizes the predominance of the

French ethic in forging the character of modern Quebec to the French audience of his Calgary Address. Here, that same relationship is characterized in more "English-friendly" terms. Without moving too remotely into an area of discussion best addressed with other evaluative criteria, using this example of the disparate historical perspectives of English-speaking Quebecers helps underscore the necessity to address this general concept of flexibility in applying ethical criteria.

Maximum or Minimum Standards

Johannesen (1975) asks whether the ethical evaluative criteria used in assessing human communication is best stated as a minimum set of requirements to be met, or as a set of higher goals to be achieved. Admittedly, the most insightful discussion relative to this issue is probably best left to philosophers and, ultimately, strains the limitations of this study. But, an important first step in establishing the theoretical framework for such a discussion is the discovery of the relevant terms, phrases and ideas that will fuel the debate. So, in an effort to take a first step toward establishing an ethical dialogue relative to Bouchard, one must consider if and how he and the separatists are employing this criterion. That is, are sovereigntists' goals stated as maximums or minimums? Further, is there any difference between how these goals are stated to English-speaking and French-speaking audiences?

A related issue is whether or not the criteria should be stated negatively or positively (Johannesen, 1975). Again, before delving too deeply into the issue, relevant passages in Bouchard's speeches must be explored.

The "Why We are Sovereignists" Speech

This speech contains common elements in the characterization of the inherent right of statehood. Here, Bouchard holds:

If one accepts the obvious, one must surely accept the consequences. Every nation has the right to self-government, that is, to decide its own policies and future. We have no quarrel with the concept of federalism when applied to uninational states. It is a different matter when it comes to multinational states, particularly to the Canadian brand of federalism.

Bouchard's description of sovereignty here as innate, in the sense of being independent from any outside authority, would tend to be a minimalist view. That is, if Quebec's sovereignty is a natural state, there are no transcendent goals for which to strive - the goal is a natural result of realizing the minimum condition of statehood.

This notion is further supported in Bouchard's emphasis on the status quo in responding to English Canada's feelings about the national sovereignty movement: "Take a look at the western world. Ninety-five per cent of its population live in nation states...The fact is that Quebec is the only nation of more than seven million people in the western world not to have attained political sovereignty."

Conforming to the status quo would clearly relate to the minimum criteria standard. Emphasizing this perspective is also an effective device for Bouchard in lessening the burden for those charged with the particulars of working out the separation. By highlighting the typicality of nationhood, voters are not being asked for as drastic a change as a set of lofty political-philosophical principles might. Here is a clear illustration

of how the maximum/minimum ethical criteria could be applied to the separatist debate; in appraising the evaluative tact to take, it is useful to understand how the language used with an issue may, itself, help determine the discussion's starting point.

The positive and negative quality to language is also an important aspect of framing the debate. Of course, the venue, audience, occasion and goals of a speech all play a role in decisions regarding tone and word choice on a speaker's part. But implicit philosophical ideals and political agendas are evident enough in the text of a speech. In order to appreciate how Bouchard depicts the ethical idea of sovereignty, in terms of positive and negative language, the Calgary Address offers some important insight.

The Calgary Address

The tone of this speech is established early on. Bouchard establishes a dynamic between the positive ideal of Quebec sovereignty and diminutive ploy of the English Premiers in the resolution devised at the Calgary summit. First, Bouchard uses the failed 1995 referendum to emphasize Quebec's desire for change. Describing it as the "plus grand exercice démocratique que nous ayons connu" - "the greatest democratic exercise we have ever known" - Bouchard explains that "[l]a plupart des électeurs du Non voulaient plus de pouvoirs pour le Québec et une reconnaissance par le Canada, ceux du Oui voulaient tous les pouvoirs et une reconnaissance internationale" - "Most of the No voters wanted more powers for Quebec and recognition by Canada, while Yes voters wanted all powers and international recognition." By contrast, the motives of English Canada are expressed by Bouchard through the actions of those attending the conference: "L'ambition du Canada, c'est que le Québec ne soit pas ambitieux" - "Canada's ambition is

that Quebec not be ambitious." Further, Bouchard explains:

les premiers ministres du Canada anglais ont fouillé dans tous les dictionnaires pour trouver les mots les plus anodins, les plus vides pour nous nommer.

Refusant de nous reconnaître comme une peuple ou comme un nation, apeurés même par la coquille vide de la société distincte, les premiers ministres du Canada anglais sont descendus au soubassement, où ils ont trouvé sans doute le terme le plus passe-partout qui soit: le <<caractère unique>>.³

So, on the one hand, Bouchard describes the difference between English and French Quebecers not so much as Yes/No, rather as degrees of the same positive outcome. On the other hand, English Canada is pitted against that ideal by being described as a negative force against the positive changes desired by the province. Ultimately, this strengthens the positive/negative dynamic between Quebec and the rest of Canada.

In considering the maximum/minimum criteria, the impact here is that Bouchard is asking Quebecers to choose between the positive ideal of a sovereign Quebec or a severely diminished province that could claim only a uniqueness "comme tout le monde!" - "just like everyone else" - which would clearly be an affront to the provinces' natural right to sovereignty.

Both the "Why We are Sovereignists" Speech and Calgary Address illustrate how the portrayal of the separatist agenda in maximum versus minimum terms using positive and negative language creates an ethical question regarding the true nature of the

³ "The English Canadian Premiers scoured every dictionary available to find the most banal, empty words to label us. Refusing to recognize us as a people or even a nation, afraid even of the vapid expression "distinct society", the Prime Ministers of English Canada have scraped the bottom of the barrel, where the undoubtedly found 'unique character' - all al purpose term if ever there was one." (My translation)

relationship between Bouchard's Quebec and English Canada. Both Anglophones and Francophones are given a choice between the positive future a sovereign Quebec could assure the people and the dismal prospects the status quo offers. The dilemma here is that one of these groups, the English-speaking Quebecers, are being asked to make this choice at the expense of a language, a culture and, at least in part, a history they share with English Canada.

The Ends as Justification of Means

In analyzing human communication, Johannesen (1975) asks whether or not achieving a goal acknowledged as worthwhile justifies using ethically questionable means. Further, what role does "sincerity of intent" (pg. 69) play in evaluating the communicator? In the case of Quebec, the question is certainly applicable. Wilson-Smith (1999) describes Quebecers' views of the newly reelected Premier; "even though they dislike the constitutional situation, the leader Quebecers trust most is the one least likely to try their preferred option for change" (pg. 12).

So here is a case where the people would seem to tolerate a bad situation in order to reach a desired goal. But whether or not sovereigntist methods would be considered justified after constitutional reform is another matter. The case of Parti Québécois language reforms in Quebec province offers a particular example of the universal question being asked here.

Since the enactment of Bill 101 in Quebec in 1976, wage earnings for the French-speaking population have generally increased. Shapiro and Stelcner (1997) summarize that, due to the increased demand for French speakers in the workplace because of Bill

101, “[t]he improvement in the relative position of Francophones is to a large extent related to the role of language policy in Quebec” (p. 126). The researchers do, however, note that the trend has not been similar for Anglophones in the province. In considering language usage, recent measures in Montreal highlight some of the problems that have arisen when the means used to achieve a goal clash with the stated intent.

Pas d’apostrophe

Montreal is home to the largest English-speaking population in Quebec. Language policies enforced there since the election of Bouchard and the PQ, including the emphasis of French on public signage, have prompted many to leave the area. Upset over restrictions on English signs, including the use of the apostrophe, many business owners have closed shop rather than fight what is seen as too restrictive a set of codes. Outspoken Montreal novelist, Mordecai Richler, was interviewed on the *60 Minutes* news program that aired a related story on 8 February 1998. He described the effects of the language policy on Anglophones in the area; “it’s kind of a genteel ethnic cleansing because about 250,000 people have left in the last fifteen years.”

The Wilson-Smith quote and language policy issue also relate to the "sincerity of intent" question, at least as far as Bouchard’s perceived intent with Quebecers. Excerpts from his first political writings help establish that the Premier’s intentions were clear, even early on. In 1961, while a law student at Laval University, Bouchard wrote an article in the school newspaper, Le Carabin, for which he was editor-in-chief. The article suggests an emerging philosophical stance on separatism in Quebec. On the subject of French Canadian efforts to break away, Bouchard states that it “could very well prove

beneficial to all of us. It doesn't really matter if they succeed or not. What matters is that an attempt is being made" (<http://www.uni.ca/lbessay.htm>). Citing another of Bouchard's student articles, Vastel (1996) points out:

Au moment où indépendantistes, sociaux-démocrates et libéraux se disputent les sièges du parlement étudiant, Bouchard rêve, en première page de son journal, de <<brûler d'une flamme inquiète et dévorante, à mi-chemin entre l'angoisse et la certitude>>.⁴ (p. 33)

More recently, Bouchard has reiterated this desire in the stance taken on language policy in Montreal. During his 1996 Inaugural address, Bouchard asserts:

Je l'ai dit et je le répète: Montréal est et sera une métropole nord-américaine francophone, avec une composante anglophone essentielle qui façonne son histoire, son identité, sa culture et son avenir. Une métropole francophone qui est le cœur du Québec moderne et qui bat au rythme des cultures du monde.⁵

(<http://www.premier.gouv.qc.ca/discours/d960325.html>)

Here is a case in which Anglophones are being directly, and perhaps adversely, affected by the practical manifestations of separatist goals. Whatever tact Bouchard takes in justifying the need for sovereignty to his English-speaking audiences, the implementation of separatist-related policies will have implications never as clearly

⁴ "At a time when the Independentists, Social-Democrats and Liberals were arguing over the sieges of student government, Bouchard dreamed, in the first page of his school newspaper, of "burning an uneasy and consuming flame, halfway between anguish and the truth." (My translation)

⁵ "I have said it before, and I will say it again: Montreal is and will be a French-speaking North American metropolis, with an essential English-speaking component which makes its own history, its own identity, culture, and future. A French-speaking metropolis that is the heart of modern Quebec and that beats to the rhythms of the cultures of the world." (My translation)

expressed to Anglophones. In the case of language policy, we have a plain example of the difference between how the concept of sovereignty is explained to Quebecers and what it will mean to the English and French. It is interesting to note that an English translation of the Inaugural Speech has not been made available at the government's official website. English Canadian have, however, heard these sentiments expressed publicly elsewhere. The Centaur Speech, delivered two weeks after the Inaugural Address, included essentially the same statement, but in a different context. Instead of emphasizing the French language as a cultural imperative, its emphasis is expressed in terms of the "economic edge [it] gives us" (www.gouv.qc.ca/anglais/premin/comdisc/d960311.html).

The implication here is that, whatever Bouchard's perceived motives may be with English and French-speaking Quebecers today, there is no credible argument that the separatists and federalists alike have not had access to the Premier's view of a sovereign Quebec. Considering the ethical question raised with this evaluative criterion, Johannesen (1991) answers his own query:

A social/institutional ethic for assessing politics can be rooted in the values and procedures central to the health and growth of [a] system of governing, representative democracy. Among them [is]...honesty in presenting motivations and consequences (p. 75-76)

So, at least on this point, there can, or rather should, be no confusion on the basis of discussion of the evaluative criteria. The means for achieving "la Francophonie" are known and tolerated, to a degree, and the ends are clear and have been reinforced throughout Bouchard's public and political career. It is here that Quebecers must begin to

resolve the issue of ends and means in a referendum vote on sovereignty. For Francophones, Bouchard clearly emphasizes the preservation of a cultural ethic attendant to the preservation of the French language. For English-speaking Quebecers, however, language is characterized not as a diminution of Anglophone history, but an economic advantage to the province as a whole.

Ultimately, then, the question becomes whether or not Anglophone Quebec is willing to acquiesce on the issue of English language preservation in order to get the constitutional changes they desire. Bouchard's role in framing this issue is key. However cognizant Anglophones may be of the Premier's tactics in justifying political goals, an ethical question about his actions remains. The choices Bouchard outlines for his French-speaking and English-speaking voters on this issue are clearly different. The result may be the same for both groups, but the effect it has on each of the populations in the province, as evidenced by recent language policy, has already proven to be quite different.

Ethics and Ethos

Reinhard (1991) characterizes the concept of ethos as:

The overall ethical appeal created by the speaker...The source credibility concept - though not as concise as term as *ethos* - tends to emphasize an important characteristic of this notion. Source credibility really is in the mind of the receiver [and is thus] a perception produced as a result of the interaction among people.

(p. 352)

Since Johannesen (1975) states this criterion as a question of the positive or negative "perception of the communicator's personal qualities " (p. 69), Reinhard's correlation

between ethos and source credibility is appropriate here.

The predominant view of Bouchard among Quebecers is that of an orator with a singular determination for independence. This view, of course, can be viewed as both as asset (mainly to Francophones), or a character flaw (predominantly by Anglophones). In any case, there is no dispute over his sphere of influence: "Little known in the United States, Bouchard is perhaps the most charismatic, controversial and enigmatic individual ever to hold public office in Canada" (Nickerson, 8 May 1998, p. 8). Another view of Bouchard touches upon his public speaking ability:

In an age of low political expectations, the common wisdom is that voters no longer trust high-flying rhetoric and white-hot oratory. If so, someone forgot to tell Bouchard. At the moment he is unrivaled in Quebec--and possibly Canada--as an orator. (Phillips, 1998, p. 10)

The Premier's influence in the final outcome of the 1995 referendum has also been noted: "As polls showed the separatist cause sinking fast, Bouchard rallied the "Yes" side to take 49.4 percent of the provincial vote - and more than 60 percent of the vote among French Quebecers" (Nickerson, 30 January 1998, p. 2).

Given the diverse litany of superlatives used in describing Bouchard, a closer look at the nature of his oratory reveals areas in which he wields particular influence. As established earlier, the "masters in our own house" allusion is a powerful image among French Quebecers. Bouchard can conjure impressions of significant meaning with his English audiences as well.

The Centaur Speech

Bouchard's initial remarks on this occasion establish his intent to relate to the English-speaking audience. First, he remarks on the appropriateness of the venue, where a play about French and English Montrealers had recently been performed: "[people] who disagree about politics but are bound together by their shared experiences of life."

Bouchard also employs the familiar image of language and cultural diversity, but with a different perspective than the usual context of French culture:

Linguistic and cultural diversity make our metropolis vibrant and unique. It's not enough to say that this diversity constitutes an asset. An asset is something you can buy or sell. But this is much more: it is part of the soul, the bones, the very fiber of Montreal, and therefore of Quebec as a whole. In a sense, our well being depends on it.

Here we have a sharp contrast between the Montreal characterized to Anglophones within the city limits and the predominately Francophone audience in the Quebec National Assembly during Bouchard's Inaugural Address. Further, considering the language issues discussed in the means/ends criterion, there is clearly more than audience adaptation taking place here in the Centaur Speech. More than finding common ground on a controversial issue, Bouchard is suppressing the most contentious implications of French political authority in Montreal to subvert potential discord with the audience - people who will play a vital role in the next referendum vote.

There are equally powerful images of linguistic and cultural diversity for Francophones. Reacting to the resolution devised at the 1997 Premiers' Summit,

Bouchard gave a press conference, then wrote an editorial in a Montreal newspaper decrying the proposal.

The Calgary Address

In attempting to explain the motives behind the Premiers' actions in devising the proposed "unique character" distinction for Quebec, Bouchard quips:

Je vois aussi qu'on y écrit que notre caractère est tellement unique qu'il est <<fondamental pour le bien-être du Canada>>. Est-ce une façon de dire que nous n'avons pas le droit de quitter le Canada, puisque son bien-être en dépend? Cette expression nous rendrait donc à la fois socialement uniques, mais politiquement eunuques?⁶

This passage also reveals and facilitates consideration of two linguistics devices found throughout Bouchard speeches. In the Centaur Speech Bouchard often alludes to popular English Canadian concepts and figures: politics as "a metaphor for hockey"; the appointment of several Montrealers ("Gretta Chambers, Charles Taylor...") to political posts governing the province. With his Francophone audiences, however, a different linguistic device is frequently employed. The passage cited above shows an example of Bouchard's adeptness in using a homonym for emphasis; in French, "uniques" and "eunuques", as well as being orthographically similar, have nearly identical pronunciations. It would seem that where he lacks proficiency in using the English language for such an effect, Bouchard is, at least, capable of using metaphor for persuasive

⁶ "I see where one writes that our character is so unique that it is 'fundamental for the well-being of Canada'. Does this mean that we do not have the right to leave Canada because its well-being depends on us? Does this expression make us socially unique but political eunuchs?" (My translation)

This passage also reveals and facilitates consideration of two linguistics devices found throughout Bouchard speeches. In the Centaur Speech Bouchard often alludes to popular English Canadian concepts and figures: politics as "a metaphor for hockey"; the appointment of several Montrealers ("Gretta Chambers, Charles Taylor...") to political posts governing the province. With his Francophone audiences, however, a different linguistic device is frequently employed. The passage cited above shows an example of Bouchard's adeptness in using a homonym for emphasis; in French, "uniques" and "eunuques", as well as being orthographically similar, have nearly identical pronunciations. It would seem that where he lacks proficiency in using the English language for such an effect, Bouchard is, at least, capable of using metaphor for persuasive means. Regardless, both tactics help forge the high degree of ethos Bouchard generates with voters. As a result of this closer textual examination, the ethical question raised with using ethos in political communication becomes relevant to the discussion of Quebec sovereignty. While it has been acknowledged that linguistic manipulation is accepted by voters to a certain extent, understanding that the manipulation is directed culturally as well may give some Anglophones pause in considering future separatist agendas.

Ethics, Emotional Appeals, and Rationality

The central question asked here is whether or not emotional appeals are inherently unethical. Pieper (1992) attempts a general redirect using part of the Socratic dialogue in the Gorgias:

Plato does not say, " If something is marvelously put together, then you should have your suspicions right away." No he simply asks to be aware of the

implications of the methods used in delivering the message are, perhaps, best left to philosophers. It is possible at this point, however, to get a clearer picture of the extent to which Bouchard uses emotional appeals to persuade his audiences. Webster (1998) summarizes the extent of Bouchard's influence with voters: "He makes Quebecers feel their humiliation; he paints visions of broad sunlit uplands, he angers the blood and stirs the soul" (p. 84). Even a cursory review of the speeches analyzed here, one in particular, uncovers passages that support Webster's estimation.

The "Why We are Sovereignists" Speech

This speech perpetuates the "us against them" formula aspect to the separatist movement in Quebec. First, Bouchard establishes the difference between Quebec and the rest of Canada: "[s]ome are willing to deny the obvious in order not to upset the status quo. They speak of one Canadian nation, whereas Quebec and English Canada are two different nations." As an aside, this sentiment was reiterated in the press two years later when Bouchard claimed that Canada was not a real country and became a hot topic in the news. He, in fact, addressed the controversy during the Centaur Speech:

I am well aware that Canada is a very real country for the people in this room and right across Canada. I wish I'd been more careful in the way I phrased a remark I made in January. I did a little better the next day when I said there are two real countries here. But I'm still working on it.

(<http://www.gouv.qc.ca/anglais/premin/comdisc/d960311.html>)

The attention given to this remark clearly illustrates the level to which the debate on sovereignty in Quebec has, at times, historically risen. The interesting thing here is that

only the 1996 remark garnered any attention in the press. The identical sentiment is more definitely and extensively expressed in the "Why We are Sovereignists" Speech, but has somehow escaped the level of public scrutiny given the latter remark.

Regardless, Bouchard establishes a dynamic in this speech hoping to extend the separatists' mandate around inclusion of English Quebecers. Again, as he does with the Inaugural Address, Bouchard emphasizes economic factors in discussing Anglophone interests and the "chronic inability of federal governments to control the budget deficit." Bouchard turns the economic situation into a fundamental division between Quebec, including Anglophones, and Federalism in general: "We should learn from the past, and this we should have learned: The political problem with Canada is Quebec, and the problem of Quebec is Canada."

Returning to Piper's (1992) argument, while a "marvelously put together" (p. 19) or emotionally laden concept may not be inherently unethical, the awareness that such appeals are sometimes intended to subvert an audience's ability to draw rational conclusions is crucial to an objective assessment of the situation. In the case of Bouchard and Quebec, we can see that the nature of the soul stirring is different for his English and French audiences. For Anglophones, Canada is portrayed as "the most overgoverned country in the Western World" in which English Canada represents the "viscious circle of Canadian Federalism."

For Francophones, English Canada is portrayed in equally sinister terms, but with a different motivation. Here, the common notions of language and cultural identity are used to "anger the blood" of a people subjected to a Conquest that will haunt the

them until the goal and natural right of independence is achieved. In chastising the Quebec Liberal leader, Daniel Johnson's, actions during the Calgary summit, Bouchard exclaims:

Quel désolant spectacle! Le successeur de Jean Lesage jetant la personnalité du Québec en pâture aus moins offrant...Ainsi, les premiers ministres ont démontré sans l'ombre d'un doute que si les Québécois veulent être reconnus comme le peuple qu'ils sont, s'ils veulent maîtriser leur destin, ils n'ont qu'un moyen d'y arriver, c'est de voter pour la souveraineté, la prochaine fois, à la majorité.⁷

(http://www.ledevoir.com/REDaction/AGOra/AGO_lbou170997)

Thus, in considering the excerpts cited so far, and these two passages in particular, it becomes evident that no matter how aware Quebec voters may be of a general awareness (or even acceptance) of emotional appeals in political discourse, the indication that the same arguments are not being made to the various cultural sensibilities in the provinces raises an ethical dilemma. It may well be in this case, then, that the only reasonable solution is to initiate the type of inquiry undertaken here, if only for the sake of greater objectivity in approaching the issue of sovereignty.

Ethics and the Demagogue

The nature of the inquiry with this criterion is fairly straightforward. Using each of Johannesen's five definitions, the question of Bouchard as demagogue can be addressed. First, does the person being scrutinized wield popular mass leadership? The Canadian press tends to support this claim: "Bouchard is by far the most popular

⁷ "What a sorry sight! Jean Lesage's successor relinquished Quebec's character to the lowest bidder...Thus, the Premiers have demonstrated, beyond a shadow of a doubt, that if Quebecers want to be recognized as the people that they are, if they wish to control their destiny, there is but one course of action, that is for a majority of them to vote next time for sovereignty." (My translation)

politician in the country, with a favorable rate exceeding 70 percent. The highest for any Quebec leader in 50 years..." (Farnsworth, 1996, p. A9).

The second of Johannesen's questions asks whether or not the primary influence of the person is through the spoken word. The clear and obvious answer to this is, yes. A quick perusal of the Parti Québécois' official website is an easily accessible example of the information available, i.e. press releases, speech texts, and, more recently, video clips of public speeches. Parliamentary debates are also regularly televised in Canada. Those not connected to the Internet can obtain transcripts from government sessions directly or at the larger libraries in the province. Bouchard is also not opposed to submitting his position in writing to the public via the press, as evidenced with the Calgary Address. In short, voters and citizens have wide access to Bouchard's public opinion in Canada.

Third, Johannesen asks if the person relies mainly on propaganda in the negative sense. This answer here is somewhat more obscure than those of the previous two questions, but truly essential in an appreciation of the "big picture" on the sovereignty issue. Several of the components to this criterion have already been discussed: the positive versus negative characterization of the separatist movement, the ethos Bouchard generates with his emotional appeals and, finally, it has been established that there is a certain expectation for politicians to "fudge too many positions, to round too many corners" (Wells, 4 January 1999, <http://www.nationalpost.com/990104/2152031>).

The second half of this query is whether or not the suggestiveness and emotional appeals are used mainly to "circumvent human rational decision making" (Johannesen, 1975, p. 76). In the case of Bouchard, this does not appear to fit into a "yes" or "no"

mold. Bouchard does, indeed, manipulate his message to suit various audiences, situations and goals, as is the legitimate domain of any public speaker or advocate. His intent may also be to circumvent the rational thought process:

Talk about having it both ways. But that is precisely what Bouchard does -- and with remarkable ability. In meetings with PQ activists, he talks about the need for Quebec to "join the family of nations," and emphasizes his wish to hold a third referendum. But in less partisan gatherings, he describes a constitutional accommodation that is sort of a sovereignty lite, in which Quebec remains in partnership with Canada, keeps economic ties, perhaps even joint citizenship.

(Wilson-Smith, 1997)

But an important qualification needs to be made here. However much one might wish to argue that this question should be considered solely in terms of the speaker, it seems unreasonable not to include the audience as part of the equation. Bouchard does not equivocate on his essential position regarding independence to any of his various audiences. The Premier intends to lead the next referendum on sovereignty. This point is clear in his own writings, as well as public statements in his official capacity.

Johannesen seems to emphasize that an audience's awareness of the ethical issue involved here is irrelevant- that the speaker's intent is solely responsible for the outcome. Using this standard then, yes, Bouchard does unethically rely on negative propaganda to circumvent the audience in achieving his goal. But awareness of the situation bears responsibility in the final analysis as well. Quebecers understanding this tactic, while not sanctioning it, cannot use it as an excuse to condemn Bouchard out of hand.

The fourth of Johannesen's five demagogue parameters considers whether or not a person takes advantage of a prominent contemporary social issue. The cannot be a legitimate characterization of Bouchard. He may be at the forefront of the separatist movement, but certainly not one of its initial instigators. As was pointed out earlier, Bouchard's decision to follow his convictions has had significant personal consequences, notably in the destruction of his friendship with Mulroney.

The final question asks if the person is a hypocrite. That is, does the social cause being advocated serve primarily a selfish interest on Bouchard's part. Again, as was just illustrated, Bouchard makes no secret of his or the Parti Québécois' essential mandate - sovereignty for Quebec. Whatever personal gain there is to be had here is not primarily Bouchard's. The issues and consequences are too immense to be at the discretion of a single person.

In the final analysis on the demagogue question, a reasonable conclusion seems to be, "No". While sovereignty is a fundamental issue for Quebec, Bouchard certainly did not choose it capriciously. Moreover, there does not seem to be an appreciable difference between the cause he publicly espouses and his primary motive in gaining Quebec's independence. So, while Federalist factions could certainly use this evaluative criterion to further their cause and divide the separatists, as they have, in fact, done (Martin psychological report), ultimately, Bouchard is too much on the record to successfully argue a true dupe of any sort.

Ethics and Nonverbal Communication

As was stated in outlining the methodology of this study, an intensive inquiry

into the nonverbal component in Bouchard's speeches is rather outside the scope of the analysis - mainly because it is a function of observing the speech act. News reports, have however, commented on the overall effect. So, it is an appropriate and worthwhile endeavor to establish a starting point - where results could then be added to the general discussion on ethos included here. Phillips (1995) cites the Canadian sociologist Drouilly in explaining nonverbal cues by Bouchard: "when he makes his awkward way to the center of a stage and hands his cane to an aide, their personal sympathy from his audience is palpable" (p. 11). Here we have established that, along with his powerful oratory, Bouchard's persuasive powers also relate to the nonverbal signals given to his audiences. Whether or not it is intentional cannot legitimately be guessed at by anyone other than Bouchard. But assessing the effects on Quebecers in terms of their votes could certainly be measured to some extent. The ethical component to this phenomenon would then become a factor as well.

Ethics and Audience Adaptation

At this point in the analysis, it should be clear that the last of Johannesen's ethical evaluative criteria is essentially a culmination of issues considered in each of the previous ones. With respect to the alteration of messages to suit various audiences, the discussion of the Centaur Speech in the emotional appeals section offers particular insight.

Denis (1993) offers a sociological perspective on one of the key terms debated in the sovereignty issue. In considering the notion of how the term "society" is defined he states:

the conclusion that both Canada and Quebec are societies is a largely *pragmatic*

one, reached on the basis of the political and cultural loyalties of sociologists. It is not a coherent conceptual conclusion, arrived at through a process of intellectual deliberation across the linguistic divide. (p. 257)

Here, we have another perspective on the difficulty in Bouchard's, and Canada's, ability to come to some sort of agreement on the "distinct society" issue. Ultimately, Denis (1993) considers it as "merely a blip on the map of *linguistic politics* - a phrase which refers to something other and much more wide-ranging than the issues of French vs. English languages in Canada" (p. 254).

That the fundamental issues involved in defining the parameters of what constitutes a society in Canada or Quebec may be beyond separatist rhetoric does not invalidate the inquiry of Bouchard and his party's role or motives in this regard. A brief, final look at instances of Bouchard's audience adaptation on the sovereignty issue will help in the final analysis of the ethical implications involved.

The "Why We are Sovereignists" Speech

This speech was delivered primarily to government officials in the House of Commons. It has since been included in the Quebec Government's online archive on the Sovereignty platform. Initially delivered to clarify the Bloc Québécois' position on the federal level, one of the key themes Bouchard uses here is a thinly veiled language stratagem in describing the government's lack of understanding of provincial affairs:

The channels of communication from Quebec to English Canada are significantly distorted as they cross the border...The government is free to immure itself in silence as it has been the practice in this House with regard to the sovereignist

aspirations of so many Quebecers...the Bloc Québécois has been sent here precisely to break this conspiracy of silence.

So, in this instance, the French language question is framed, not as a natural component to French culture, but, rather, one of the reasons for English Canada's failure to act on the sovereignty issue. In other words, in this case, it is not a realization for French Canada to achieve, but one which English Canada prevents through its action (silence). Shifting the responsibility here is a clear example of audience adaptation on Bouchard's part.

The Centaur Speech

As Bouchard states, the intent of this speech was to initiate "a dialogue" between members of the Anglophone and Francophone communities in Quebec. As such, the theme of togetherness permeates the discussion; "we must take steps to forge the bonds between us"; "nous sommes tous Québécois, we all love Quebec."

This speech also provides a sharp contrast to the "Why We are Sovereignists" Speech on the language issue. Among this English speaking audience, Bouchard plays down the issue rather strikingly: "But for now I think that we have left these old language barricades behind." So, what was the definitive barrier to realizing the separatist agenda in Ottawa is here, now, nothing more than a trivial footnote in Quebec's bid for sovereignty.

The Inaugural Address

There is a certain requisite formality to any inaugural ceremony. So it should hardly be expected that a politician would endeavor to articulate the most controversial of political views. In this respect, Bouchard holds to convention. The substance of the speech concerns the traditional topics of the economy, education, health and future

growth of the province.

A closer inspection of the text, however, reveals certain instances in which the same message is given two meanings and directed at two different audiences at once:

Il faut savoir que, pendant les quatres années à venir et afin de sortir de ce tunnel, nous ne pourrons pas faire, partout, le choix optimal. Oui, des besoins parfaitement justifiables ne seront pas comblés. Oui, des attentes parfaitement défendable ne seront pas satisfaites. Oser choisir ensemble , oser agir ensemble, ça signifie aussi, dans certains cas, accepter quelques retraites stratégiques, quelques reculs temporaires, afin de gagner, pour nous et nos enfants, la grande bataille.⁸

This is a long passage, but contains several important instances of audience adaptation on Bouchard's part. First, note the parallel structure in the use of "Oui". In every other context in Canadian politics, "Oui" has come to symbolize one thing - referendum. Bouchard's use is not solely in answering the economic question being considered. It is a subtle message to separatists that, while not explicitly discussed during the Inaugural Address, Quebec sovereignty is on the newly-elected government's agenda. The same thing could be said for the "great battle" remark at the end of the passage. Ultimately the tactic is a clever way in which to let both the Anglophone and Francophone communities in Quebec know that their mandates will be addressed during the upcoming term.

The singular achievement in this passage, however, is the fact that Bouchard is

⁸ One must understand that, in the four years to come and in order to leave this tunnel [of an oppressive Federalist economic system], we will not always be able to make the most popular choice. Yes, perfectly justifiable needs will not be filled. Yes, perfectly defensible wants will not be satisfied. Dare to choose togetherness. Dare to act together, meaning, also, in certain instances, to accept some strategic setbacks, some temporary retreats, in order to win, for us and our children, the great battle.

attacking Federalism, introducing controversial new policy and stirring nationalistic support in nearly the same breath. First the English Canadian status quo is darkly sketched as a tunnel. Next, Bouchard non-specifically hints at upcoming economic reforms that will adversely affect some Quebecers. Finally, he justifies the impending actions for the sake of the future of the nation - all the while getting the message across that Quebec has yet another item on the agenda - sovereignty. It is for instances of audience adaptation like this that Bouchard is considered such an influential public speaker.

The Calgary Address

Quebec sovereignty is the subject, and aim for that matter, of this address. A definite reactionary tone is evident throughout. As a result, the language and phrases used are generally more accusatory than those used in other speeches on the subject. In describing English Canada's so-called refusal to recognize Quebec, Bouchard observes; "[c]haque décennie et chaque année qui passe semble durcir ce refus. Et plus le peuple québécois est fort, vibrant, économiquement solide, moins nos voisins veulent nous reconnaître." - "This refusal appears to harden with the passing of each year and each decade. The stronger the Quebec people become, the more dynamic and economically solid, the less inclined our neighbors are to recognize us."

Here, Bouchard creates an inverse relationship between the relative economic strengthening of the province and English Canada's attempts to diminish it by refusing to at least recognize Quebec as a distinct society. As with the Inaugural Address, there are several audiences to whom Bouchard is speaking in these passages. First, it is a warning

to English Canada that the Calgary resolution will not deter Quebec from working towards independence. Second, it is a call to action for those separatists who were equally dissatisfied with the outcome of the summit. Finally, by characterizing the other Premiers' actions as anti-Quebec, it attempts to sway those undecided on independence toward "la Francophone".

This review has undertaken an assessment of the degree to which Bouchard's alteration of ideas meets the "needs, capacities, desires and expectations of an audience" (Johannesen, 1975, p. 78). The passages cited demonstrate that, perhaps more than anything else, Bouchard acknowledges, anticipates, and respects the sensibilities of his various audiences on the sovereignty issue. This ability is certainly a key factor in the Premier's reputation as a powerful orator. The degree of this linguistic manipulation warrants the ethical evaluation offered here.

One important point to make is that, in terms of audience's cognizance of "linguistic politics", acceptance of the status quo does not legitimize it. While it might be argued that, practically, the degree of severity of potential abuses is lessened a bit with general knowledge of the issue at hand. The more outrageous act would seem to be that of a politician who takes advantage of voters' ambivalence toward straightforwardness in the political arena to gain an advantage in furthering their agenda.

Politics is a public medium. As much as Bouchard may take advantage of the venues available to him, they are also the means by which voters stay informed, and this is the information with which voters decide issues like Quebec's sovereignty. So, while Bouchard's linguistic tactics may not foster the most conducive environment for

consideration of separatist issues from Anglophone and Francophone perspectives, voters cannot protest the dearth of information available on his public and philosophical position on the issue.

Ultimately, then, in order to preserve an ethical component to future debates on separation in Quebec, voters must plainly apprehend the methods Bouchard employs, as clarified here. To that end, voters' ability to make a rational decision regarding the province, whether "yes" or "no" - "oui" ou "non", is perhaps the best way to ensure that any decision politically reflects majority opinion - and not the opinion of the political majority.

CHAPTER 5

IMPLICATIONS AND FUTURE STUDY

In the spirit of the generally interrogative nature of this analysis, it seems appropriate, at this point, to ask a question; what has this exposition accomplished? While any such study is but a nascent attempt to thoroughly analyze the vast ramifications of the stated evaluative goals, there are at least a few areas in which the notion of Quebec sovereignty has been further clarified toward an appreciation of the political figures and events surrounding it.

Lucien Bouchard has played a key role in furthering the Parti Québécois agenda on Quebec's independence. Textual analysis of four Bouchard speeches reveals a pattern in how the Premier uses common themes, manipulated in various ways, to characterize separation to French-speaking and English-speaking Quebecers. Bouchard's approach to Anglophone audiences centers on the economic benefits, while Francophones are reminded that sovereignty is a natural right delayed by the Federalist machinations of English Canada.

This study, by looking at the current separatist movement in an historical context, has also addressed how and why there is a difference between the language used with English and French audiences. Consideration of particular linguistic devices offers a

possible explanation for the reputation Bouchard has garnered as an orator. Whether he is, in fact, "a political Prince of Darkness bent on tearing the country apart," as labeled in the English press (Farnsworth, 1996), or "the combative champion of Quebec nationalism," as the Francophone media sees it (Nickerson, 30 January 1998), there is no question that Bouchard understands what will move his audiences. English Quebecers are offered a view of the future in which their culture and language will be a unique and welcome part of an independent state. French Quebecers are reminded of a past in which an historical wrong, The Conquest, must be remedied. Bouchard's linguistic tactics are obviously used for emphasis in both cases, but more specifically to appease on the one hand and incite on the other.

This study has also detailed the relationship between the political system of Federal Canada and the political maneuvering Bouchard employs to reject the status quo toward gaining independence. Bouchard makes a careful distinction with his Anglophone and Francophone audiences in this respect. For the former, the Federal system is an antiquated scheme that must be set aside in order for Quebec to reach its true potential. For the latter, Federalism is an oppressive bully that must be soundly defeated on moral grounds.

These distinctions, while perhaps ultimately varying degrees of the same idea, have implications beyond the speech writing ability of a politician. The application of ethical evaluative criteria in analyzing Bouchard's speeches bears out consideration of the potential effect on voters. Ultimately, the question becomes whether or not English and French Quebecers are answering the same question during a referendum vote. If it is

legitimately possible that they are not, then Bouchard's role in creating that situation become critical to understanding how the issue can be presented more objectively to the cultural, linguistic and political alliances involved. This study serves as a starting point for establishing that framework.

Future Study

The eight elements of Johannesen's (1975) ethical evaluative criteria applied here are broad enough in their scope to be considered individually. The only danger in terms of communication research is that the nature of the investigation in such a case would lean more towards a traditionally philosophical analysis. For example, attempting to answer the question of whether or not emotional appeals are inherently unethical, as discussed in the fifth ethical analysis here, is not unique to the study of speech communication. While the general question was applied to consideration of Bouchard in this particular case, an extended inquiry on this topic would tend to require an approach from somewhere outside the traditional arena of communication research.

There are, however, several criteria that could be more easily extended within the scope of communication scholarship. The final ethical evaluative criterion considered in this study, audience adaptation, could be used as a basis for research on analyzing polling data amongst English and French voters. Quantitative analysis of the key terms and phases discussed here could attempt to discover a correlation between word choice and voter reaction.

Nonverbal cues are also important to evaluating the speech act. An observationally based analysis of Bouchard could offer an even clearer picture of the

Premier's influence on the sovereignty issue. Illustrating the relationship between what Bouchard says and how he says it, would certainly give his various audiences a greater appreciation for the true nature of his persuasive abilities.

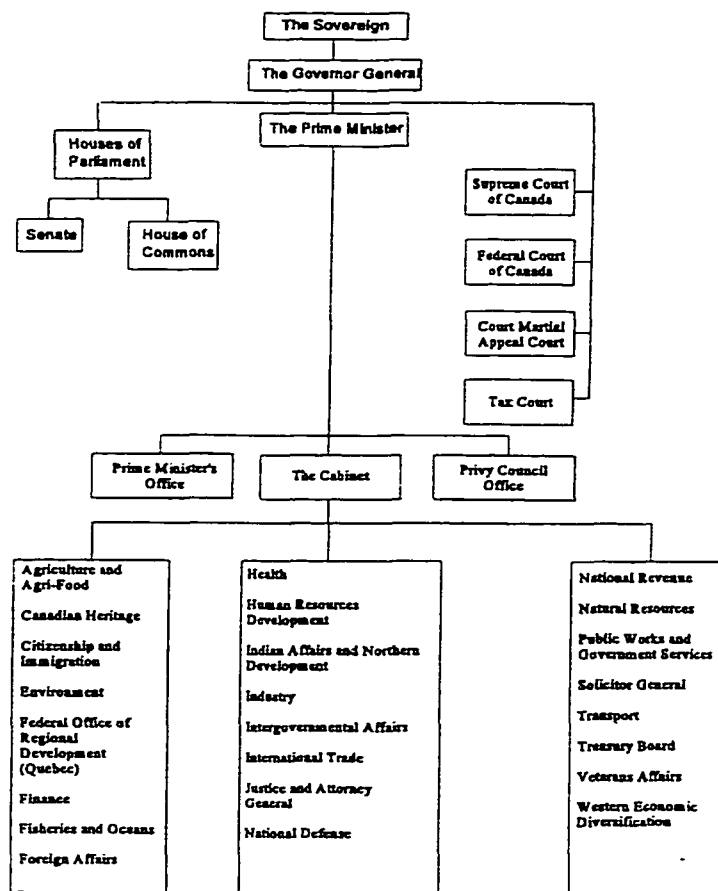
Finally, another important area to be considered in the analysis of Bouchard is that of his future audiences. In the event of a Yes vote on sovereignty, Quebec would become an even more important part of the political, economic, and cultural dynamic in North America. As infamous as he may currently be in Quebec and Canada, the Premier and his political ideology remain relatively unknown in the United States. A Yes vote on the next referendum would launch both he and the province into the forefront of political, academic and even media discussions of Quebec's role on the continent and throughout the world. Therefore, a similar study of Bouchard's speeches directed at American audiences could reveal further differences in his characterization of separation.

In any case, this study has taken an important first step; toward understanding the nature of the debate surrounding Quebec's sovereignty, toward examining Lucien Bouchard's role in framing that debate, and toward an appreciation for the ethical implications of such tactics amongst voters in the province. Most importantly, however, this study and its analysis of Lucien Bouchard's political rhetoric, has offered an example of how words can, indeed, change the world.

APPENDIX A

CANADIAN GOVERNMENT STRUCTURE

Exhibit 2
The Structure of the Canadian Government, 1994



Source: E.H. Fry, *The Canadian Political System* (1996), p. 13

APPENDIX B

REFERENDUM QUESTIONS AND RESULTS

First Referendum

May 20, 1998 Results: YES: 40.44% NO: 59.56%

Question

"The government of Quebec has made public its proposal to negotiate a new agreement with the rest of Canada based on the equality of nations; This agreement would enable Quebec to acquire the exclusive power to make its own laws, levy its taxes and establish relations abroad -- in other words, sovereignty -- and, at the same time to maintain with Canada an economic association including a common currency; No change in political status resulting from these negotiations will be effected without approval by the people through another referendum; ON THESE TERMS DO YOU AGREE TO GIVE THE GOVERNMENT OF QUEBEC THE MANDATE TO NEGOTIATE THE PROPOSED AGREEMENT BETWEEN QUEBEC AND CANADA? ____ Yes ____ No."

Second Referendum

October 30, 1995 Results: YES: 49.42% NO: 50.58%

Question

"Do you agree that Quebec should become sovereign, after having made a formal offer to Canada for a new Economic and Political Partnership, within the scope of the Bill respecting the Future of Quebec and of the agreement signed on June 12, 1995 Yes or No?"

Source: The Unity Link website [On line]. Available Internet: <http://www.uni.ca/pq.htm>

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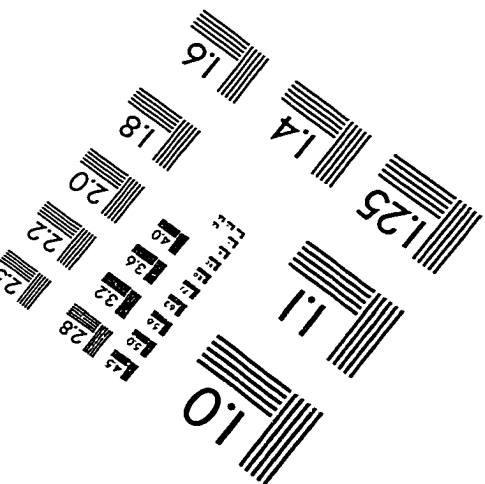
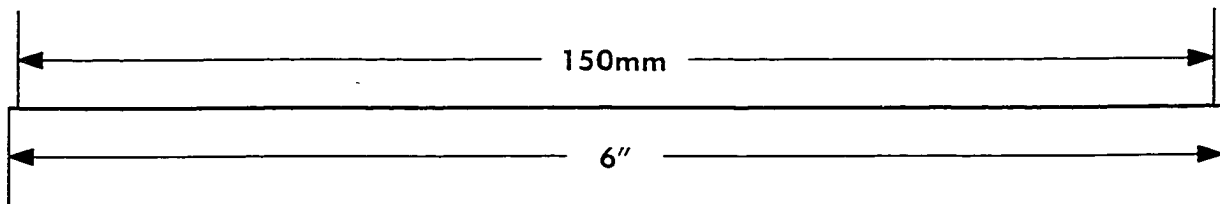
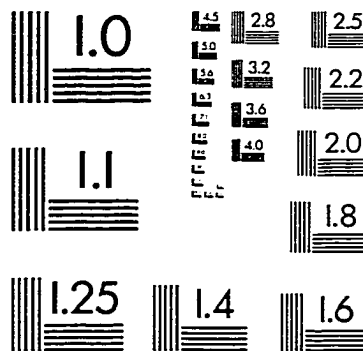
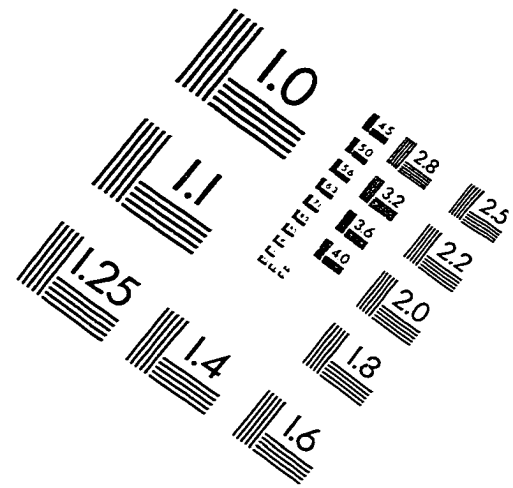
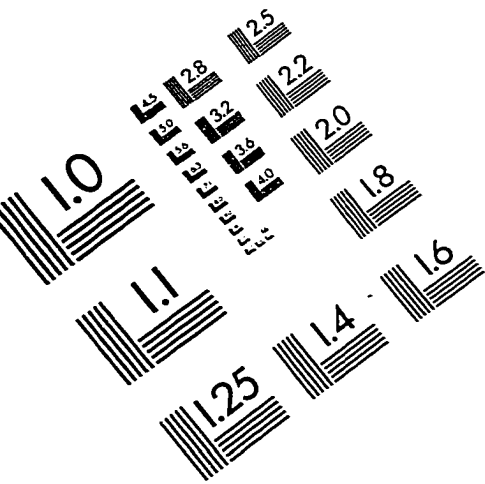
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