

Association After Sovereignty? Canadian Views on Economic Association with a Sovereign Quebec*

PIERRE MARTIN

*Département de science politique
Université de Montréal*

Cet article présente une analyse de l'opinion publique au Canada anglais au sujet de l'appui à une association économique entre le Canada et le Québec, si ce dernier devenait un pays souverain. Plusieurs sondages révèlent un appui significatif à l'idée d'association économique au Canada anglais, mais le plus récent indique un certain durcissement. L'analyse des déterminants de l'appui individuel à l'association porte à croire que la volonté des Canadiens d'accepter une association économique avec un Québec souverain s'explique par la logique du réalisme international et par leurs opinions sur la nature même du Canada.

This article analyses public opinion in English Canada on the issue of whether Canada should enter into an economic association with Quebec if the latter declares itself a sovereign country. Surveys indicate that there has been significant support for this idea in English Canada, although the most recent poll suggests a hardening of positions. Analysis of determinants of individual support for association suggests that the willingness of Canadians to accept economic association with a sovereign Quebec can be explained on the basis of the logic of international realism and perceptions of the nature of Canada.

Let us suppose that, after a referendum sometime in the near future, Quebec declares itself a sovereign state. Immediately, Quebec leaders offer to initiate negotiations on economic association with Canada. What next? Would Canada accept such an offer? The least one can say is that there is no consensus on this question. Most of those who predict that sovereignty would lead to an economic catastrophe assume that Canadians would refuse any kind of association. Sovereignists in Quebec doubt this assumption. 'Money talks,' Parti Québécois leader Jacques Parizeau often says; and thus, he assumes, Canadians will set hard feelings aside to negotiate a deal with Quebec when they realize that the

costs of an acrimonious rupture would be, to a large extent, mutual.

What would actually happen is not altogether clear, but forecasts of the long-term impact of Quebec sovereignty are contingent on whether Canada would accept an economic association with Quebec. On this question, the opinions of analysts in the Rest of Canada (or ROC, for short) tend to converge: In essence, although we can assume that government officials might be inclined to act 'reasonably,' public opinion would never accept the idea of association. For example, Philip Resnick writes:

The pressure of public opinion within English Canada might be averse to concessions to Que-

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