# The Birth of a Nationalist Social Democracy: The Intellectual Origins of Social Democracy in Québec, 1900-1967

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**Abstract:** *This paper examines the intellectual origins of social democracy in Québec as represented by the Parti Québécois (PQ). It begins by applying Anthony Smith's theory of 'ethnie' and distinction between ethno-religious and territorial nationalism to the Québec case. It argues that the formation of the Québécois nation after 1759 was a product of competing ethno-religious and territorial versions of nationalism. The paper then illustrates how many of the social democratic ideals of the PQ were taken from Québécois social Catholic thought of the first half of the 20th century. Finally, it is argued that PQ retained the collectivist and corporatist tendencies of social Catholic thought while exchanging social Catholic thought's ethno-religious nationalism for a more secular and territorial nationalism.*

## Introduction

This paper will examine the emergence of social democracy in Québec using an intellectual history approach which focuses on the ideas of political actors as opposed to their organizational history or the structural conditions within which they are embedded. While I would not argue that the organizational setting or structural setting of political actors does not affect their ideas, I am aiming to trace the salience of the certain ideas across different times and different organizational formations. I want to depict how certain ideas embed themselves within a number of different political groups and movements thereby having broad impacts on the politics of the whole society. I will begin by applying Anthony Smith's theory of 'ethnie' and distinction between ethno-religious and territorial nationalism to the Québec case. It will be argued that the formation of the Québécois nation after 1759 was a product of competing ethno-religious and territorial versions of nationalism. A definition of social democracy is then outlined consisting of four elements: 1.) collectivism, 2.) use of the state to promote economic and social equality, 3.) state intervention in the economy and 4.) public ownership of key sectors of the economy. Québécois social Catholic thought of first half of the 20th century is then examined and it is argued that it had four common and interlocking characteristics: ethno-religious nationalism, Catholicism, collectivism and corporatism. Despite the fact that this thought was not social democratic, it is important to note that social Catholic thought was the source of ideas which prepared the soil in which a more genuine Québécois social democracy eventually took root. It will be illustrated that the period from 1948 to 1967 saw the creation of a number of groups or modifications in the ideas of older groups which modernized and secularized Catholic social thought and displayed a secular territorial nationalism that was compatible with social democracy. Finally, it will be argued that the PQ embodied the collectivism and corporatism of the 19th century clerical nationalism and Catholic social thought of the first half of the 20th century filtered through the secularization and modernization processes of Quiet Revolution liberalism. It will be illustrated that, within the case of Québec, ethno-religious nationalism is incompatible with social democracy. It was the replacing of ethno-religious nationalism with territorial nationalism that allowed the PQ to be concerned with social inequalities relating to race and gender and therefore be truly social democratic.

## Competing Québécois Nationalisms between 1759 and 1900

It is impossible to understand the development of nationalist social democracy of the PQ without first having a firm of understanding of Québécois nationalism. To gain an understanding of Québécois nationalism, I will apply Anthony Smith's theory of nationalism to the Québec case to argue that the formation of the Québécois nation was the product of competing territorial and ethno-religious nationalisms in the period from the Conquest to the end of the 19th century.

Smith's focus is on what he refers to as 'ethnies' which are "named human population with shared ancestry myths, histories and cultures, having associations with a specific territory, and a sense of solidarity".[1] Fernand Dumont in *Genèse de la société québécois* argues that a "sentiment nationale [national sentiment]" in New France developed within local cultures comprised of families, parishes and villages which led to the creation of a Québécois language and Québécois customs different from those of France.[2] The national sentiment of New France that Dumont identifies is akin to Smith's concept of an ethnie. Clusters of myths, symbols, memories, values and traditions emerged from the shared experiences of several generations of cohabiting population within New France creating a sentiment of being different from France.

Smith argues that ethnies took two primary routes to transform themselves into nations. The first route was that of "territorial nations", such England and France, who defined the nation as a legal and territorially bound entity in which citizens are bound by a common code and have uniform rights and obligations.[3] An offspring of territorial nationalism were frontier nationalisms like the United States, English Canada or Australia. These 'frontier nations' consisted of immigrant fragments from other ethnies and emphasized "a 'plural' conception of the nation, which accepts, and even celebrates, ethnic and cultural diversity within an overarching, political, legal and linguistic national identity".[4] In theory, no one was excluded from the territorial or frontier nations on the grounds of race, age, gender or religion.[5] However, in practice, "the solidarity of citizenship required a common 'civil religion' formed out of shared myths and memories and symbols, and communicated in a standard language through educational institutions. So the territorial nation becomes a mass educational enterprise. Its aim is cultural homogeneity".[6] The second route from ethnie to nation that Smith identifies is that of "ethnic nations" such as Germany or Greece who were "gradually or discontinuously formed on the basis of pre-existing ethnie and ethnic ties, so that it became a question of 'transforming' ethnic into national ties and sentiments through processes of mobilization, territorialization and politicization".[7] Smith argues, in the German and Greek case in particular, that the ethnic concept of the nation mingled with the territorial and civic concepts. In the Greek case, Smith argues that "subsequent history of the Greek case after 1833 can be understood as a conflict between two ideals of the nation, the territorial and

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[1] p. 32- Smith Anthony. *The Ethnic Origins of Nations*. Oxford: Blackwell. 1986.
[2] p. 84- Dumont, Fernand. *Genèse de la société québécois*. Montréal : Les Éditions du Boréal. 1993.
[3] p. 135- Smith, *The Ethnic Origins of Nations*
[4] p. 194- Smith, *Nationalism and Modernism*
[5] ibid.
[6] p. 136- ibid.
[7] p. 137- ibid.

the ethnic, and two models of national integration, civic and genealogical-cum-religious."[8]

I would argue that, like Smith's analysis of the Greek case above, the Québec case illustrates competing nationalisms within its transformation from an ethnie to a nation. First, there is the ethno-religious nationalism of the Catholic clergy from the Conquest onwards. Smith argues that ethno-religious nationalism is characterized by an assumption of common origins and descent, popular mobilization around the national idea and the substitution of customs and dialects for the legal codes and institutions that provide the cement of territorial nations.[9] Smith also argues that "traditional ethnic religion" was drawn into the service of ethnic nationalism often coupled with "a kind of missionary nativism, a belief in the redemptive quality and unique inwardness of the ethnic nation".[10] After the Conquest, the French colonial elite returned to France and therefore the leaders of the Catholic Church became dominant within Québécois society. The Québécois clergy saw "notre langue, nos droits et notre religion" (Catholic faith, the civil code and the French language) as the basis of the "nationalité canadienne-française [French Canadian nationality]".[11] In 1789, Mgr. Hubert speaks of "notre nation [our nation]" which he defines simply as a "population différente [different population]".[12] Thus, to resist against British colonization and to secure their privileged place within Québécois society, the clergy created a popular mobilization around French Canadian ethnic origins and the French language. Ironically, to protect the foundations of the Québécois nation, the Catholic clergy between 1759 and 1840 preached collaboration with and submission under the English colonial regime.[13] They saw the English Crown as a benevolent protector of the Catholic Church, the French language and the French Canadian nation. The clergy argued that this dual allegiance to both the French Canadian race and the British Empire was necessary for national survival. In 1799, Mgr. Plessis preached that it was the will of God that Québec had been saved from the sacrilegious French Revolution by the Conquest.[14] He even goes so far as to state "Does it not seem a hard thing, my brothers, to have to call those people enemy from whom this Colony originated".[15] Thus, in the clerical ideology of the late 18th century, the French are considered the enemy and the Québécois nation had been given the benevolent British Crown by God in order to develop a blessed and perfect Catholic nation within the new world. As we can see, religion was essential component of clerical nationalism. The Québécois nation and the Catholic religion were considered inseparable.

A territorial nationalism competed against this ethno-religious nationalism within Québécois society in the 18th and 19th centuries. At the end of the 18th century, liberal ideas were held by a small group of Francophone and Anglophone professionals living in Montréal. This group put forth liberal ideas such as religious tolerance, freedom of

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[8] p. 149- ibid.
[9] p. 137- Smith, *The Ethnic Origins of Nations*
[10] p. 138- Smith, *The Ethnic Origins of Nations*
[11] p. 91- Monière, Denis. *Le développement des idéologies au Québec: des origines à nos jours*. Montréal: Editions Québec-Amérique, 1977.
[12] p. 167- Dumont, Fernand
[13] The best articulation of this ideology is Mgr. Joesph-Octave's Plessis' "Sermon on Nelson's Victory at Aboukir" in Forbes, H.D. *Canadian Political Thought*. Toronto: Oxford University Press. 1985. p. 2-9.
[14] Mgr. Plessis- p. 4
[15] p. 3- ibid.

thought, speech and press and sympathy for the French and American Revolutions in their newspapers, such as the *La Gazette de Montréal*.[16] These liberal professionals spoke of the "nation canadienne-francaise [French Canadian Nation]" as early as 1784.[17] The establishment of an elected assembly in 1791 gave a boost to these emerging liberal ideas. A systematic and coherent Québécois liberalism developed within the Francophone liberal professional class in the period from 1800 to 1840, especially within those liberal professionals elected to the Assembly of Lower Canada.

Early Québécois liberalism, mainly put forth by Papineau and the Patriotes, culminated in the rebellions of 1837 and 1839. The Patriotes' liberalism embraced a territorial concept of nationalism and the nation. They identified the survival and prosperity of the Québécois nation with the institution of parliamentary democracy. These early Québécois liberals wanted the creation of a legal and territorially bound nation with uniform rights for all citizens much like the British and American model. After 1839, Québécois liberalism continued on with 'Les rouges' represented by l'Institut canadien, various newspapers and A.A. Dorion's rouge political party. The goal of Les rouges was the creation of a liberal society with universal male suffrage, abolition of the seigniorial system, separation of church and state, elimination of tithes, judicial reforms and even annexation to the United States.[18] Clearly, like Papineau and the Patriotes before them, Les rouges were aspiring to the territorial concept of nation represented by the United States and Britain.

The Catholic Church was firmly opposed to Papineau and the Patriotes and strongly condemned the Rebellions of 1837 and 1839. While the seigneurs fully supported the clergy, a large number of the population, both liberal professionals and habitants, started to disengage from the Church and lend their support to the Patriotes in 1820 to 1839.[19] The defeat of the Patriotes and the exile of Papineau allowed the gradual re-ascendance of clerical nationalism to ideological dominance within Québécois society. In the period after 1839, the Church maintained its objection to the principles of sovereignty of the people and freedom of opinion. Instead, the clergy argued against the separation of church and state and preached blind obedience to the Catholic Church, the established government and the British Crown. Lead by Mgr. Bourget and Mgr. Laflèche, the clergy amplified their nationalist arguments. As did their predecessors, Bourget and Laflèche identified the Québécois nation with the Catholic religion. Mgr. Laflèche stated that "la foi sera le ciment de la nation [the faith will be the cement of the nation]".[20] Laflèche also took the messianic mission of the Québécois nation to greater lengths comparing Jacques Cartier to Abraham and claiming that Québec was the Promised Land where the chosen people of God would live and prosper.[21] The clerical nationalists also argued that the survival of the nation depended upon the institution of a rural, non-materialist and Catholic society where the Church, not the state, would lead society. This explicitly anti-statist position was summed up in a pastoral letter written by the bishops of

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[16] p. 16-18- Roy, Fernande. *Historie des idéologies du Québec aux XIX et XX siècles*. Montréal: Éditions du Boréal. 1993.
[17] p. 113- Dumont, Fernand
[18] See Bernard, Jean-Paul. *Les Rouges: liberalisme, nationalisme et anti-clericalisme au mileau du XIXéime siècle*. Montréal: Les Presses de Université du Québec. 1971.
[19] p. 146-148- Monière
[20] p. 179- Monière
[21] p. 273- Dumont, Fernand

Québec in 1875 which stated that the Church was the "société parfaite [perfect society]" and that "l'État est dans l'Église et non pas l'Église dans l'État [the state is in the Church, not the Church in the state]".[22]

Within this very conservative nationalist stance we can nonetheless see the seeds of a social aspect to Québécois catholic thought. While the Church would allow politicians to take care of economic affairs and political patronage, it argued that it had exclusive jurisdiction over education and social assistance. In relation to the plight of the working class in Montreal, Mgr. Bourget preached against profiting from the misery of others and argued that the Church must combat poverty and unemployment.[23] The social concerns of these conservative bishops illustrates the underlying collectivism of Québécois Catholicism- Catholics must be concerned about the weaker in their society and work cooperatively to alleviate their suffering.

After 1867, the Québécois nation was transferred from being part of the colony of the United Province of Canada within the British Empire to a partner within a federal Canada with control over its own provincial government. After 1867, both Québécois liberal nationalists (who were opposed to Confederation) and Québécois clerical nationalists (who were in favour of Confederation)[24] had to work with the slowly coalescing frontier nation of English Canada. The general response from both Québécois nationalisms was to insist on a large amount of provincial autonomy for Québec within the federal framework in order to defend the Québécois nation from assimilation into the newly forming English Canadian nation. This situation created another double allegiance within both types of Québécois nationalism between the Québécois nation and the political entity of a federal Canada within which the Québécois nation was bound.

The creation of the Québécois nation and Québécois nationalism happened in the period between 1759 and 1900 when two competing nationalisms arose in response to the Conquest. The Conquest simultaneously did two things. First, it definitively detached the developing Québécois ethnie from its 'mother ethnie' of France. After the Conquest, clerical nationalism saw France as an enemy instead of the mother country and liberal nationalism looked to the United States as its model for a territorial nation. Second, the Conquest posed the threat of assimilation, which would be the destruction of the Québécois ethnie. It is the need to respond to this threat of assimilation and being flung off from the mother ethnie that forces to the Québécois ethnie to define and defend itself.[25] The two groups that arose to define and defend the Québécois ethnie against assimilation into the British nation and later English Canadian nation were the Patriotes/Les rouges and the clergy. It is in the competition between these two nationalisms that the Québecois ethnie is transformed into a nation containing both territorial and ethno-religious nationalisms. Such a competition between nationalisms is consistent with Smith's model. Smith states that "all nations bear the impress of both

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[22] This letter is cited on p. 224 of Dumont, Fernand. *Genèse de la société québécois*. Montréal : Les Éditions du Boréal. 1993.

[23] p. 232- Dumont, Fernand

[24] The Bleu party who was considered the party of the clergy and was the political force in Québec fighting for confederation. The Québec bishops also supported confederation, although with a considerable amount of hesitation. For a discussion of the Québec bishops and confederation see Ullmann, Walter. "The Québec Bishops and Confederation" in *Confederation*, edited by Ramsay Cook, Craig Brown and Carl Berger. Toronto: University of Toronto Press. 1967. p. 48-70.

[25] Fernand Dumont makes a similar point. See Chapter 3 in *Genèse de la société québécois*.

territorial and ethnic principles and components, and represent an uneasy confluence of a more recent 'civic' and a more ancient 'genealogical' model of social and cultural organization…given nations will exhibit ethnic and territorial components in varying proportions at particular moments of their history" (p. 149). We can confirm Smith's point in relation to the history of Québec. Ethno-religious nationalism of the clergy was dominant in the time period immediately after the Conquest as a defensive strategy against assimilation. In 1791 to 1837, there is a rise in the popularity of the territorial nationalism of the Patriotes culminating in the rebellions of 1837 and 1839. The period from 1837 to 1900 saw the re-assertion of the dominance of the cautious and defensive ethno-religious nationalism of the clergy but this re-assertion was constantly being challenged by the territorial nationalism of the Rouges.

It should also be noted that the Québec's two nationalisms are presented here as pure and ideal types. However, in practice, these nationalisms often took on aspects of each other. The ethno-religious nationalism of the early church was tinged with territorial nationalism in its call to preserve the civil code from France. Likewise, Étienne Parent, a representative of Rouge territorial nationalism sounds like an ethno-religious nationalist when he stated that the "la mission providentielle [providential mission]" of the French Canadian race was to preserve their unique culture and language.[26]

Finally, it is important to note that it was the *political* activity of ethno-religious and territorial nationalists that transformed the national sentiment of the pre-Conquest French Canadian ethnie into the Québécois nation. Both ethno-religious and territorial nationalists worked to politicized the New France ethnie. As Smith states: "Any ethnie, then, that aspires to nationhood, must become politicized and stake out claims in the competition for power and influence in the state arena".[27] As we have seen, the culture, myths and symbols of the New France ethnie were politicized by the activity of these two competing nationalisms.

These two competing visions of the Québec nation were in real and long-lasting conflict with one another throughout the 19th century. Each nationalism had its own political party (rouge and bleu), its own education institutions (l'Institut canadien and Université Laval) and their own newspapers. From 1750 to 1900, conservative clerical nationalism and liberal nationalism were the two main ideological currents in Québec society. Both ideological currents were nationalist in that they were against assimilation and in favour of certain amount of political autonomy for the Québécois nation. However, as we have seen, their nationalisms took two distinctively different forms. The liberal nationalists subscribed to a territorial concept of the nation inspired by the ideals of liberal societies such as France, Great Britain and the United States. The clerical nationalists subscribed to an ethno-religious nationalism which stressed 'French Canadian' ethnic origins and imbued the Québécois nation with a religious destiny. Corresponding to their different nationalisms, clerical and liberal nationalists differed on how they saw the development of the Québécois nation. Clerical nationalism saw the development of the nation under the guidance of the Catholic Church which provided education and social welfare to improve the lives of the Québécois population and attain a perfect Catholic society. Thus, the ethno-religious nationalism of the Québécois clergy led to a strong collectivist tendency in their thought. On the other hand, Québécois

[26] p. 272- ibid.
[27] p. 156- Smith, *The Ethnic Origins of Nations*

liberals strove for the creation of liberal democratic institutions and espoused an economic liberalism which ignored the socially disruptive consequences of a free market economy. Thus, the territorial nationalism of Québécois liberals led to a stress on individualism as opposed to the conservative collectivism of the clerical nationalists.

**Elements of Social Democracy**

For the purposes of this paper, I will define social democracy as consisting of four main elements: 1.) collectivism, 2.) use of the state to promote economic and social equality, 3.) state intervention in the economy and 4.) public ownership of key sectors of the economy. First, social democrats believe in collectivism over individualism. They believe that society works best when people cooperate and pool their resources together instead of always competing against each other as individuals. Second, social democrats want to use the state to promote economic and social equality. State action to reduce economic inequalities generally involves the development of a welfare state with universal, public and free education and health care as well as unemployment and old age insurance. Modern social democracy also includes state action to reduce social inequalities relating to gender and race such as legislation protecting the rights of these groups and programs to improve their economic status. The focus on rights of minority groups and women requires that social democracy adhere to basic liberal values such as constitutionalism, separation of church and state and religious tolerance. It also assumes that social democracy's goals are to be achieved within an electoral, democratic and parliamentary framework. Third, social democrats advocate state intervention within the economy to create a more even distribution of wealth and full employment. This government intervention in the economy can take various forms such as limiting the power of monopolies, encouraging cooperatives and ensuring a strong labour code. Fourth, social democrats believe in public ownership of certain key sectors of the economy like electricity, water, automobile insurance, telephone or railways. Nationalization of these key sectors ensures that essential services can be provided to the population at an affordable price.

Class analysis and ideas of class struggle can be attached to these four elements of social democracy. However, notions of class conflict do not necessarily need to be engrained into social democratic parties, movements or ideas. As the Québec case will illustrate, a social democracy consisting of all of the four elements outlined above can exist on a staunchly corporatist outlook that sees workers and owners compromising and working together to achieve social democratic goals as opposed to constantly struggling against one another.

**Catholic Social Thought from 1900-1947**

The period of 1900 to 1947 saw the emergence of Québécois Catholic social thought which, while it was not social democratic, definitively had a number of social democratic elements to it. There were 7 principal representatives of Catholic social thought in the mainstream of Québec society in this period: Ligue nationaliste, Action Catholique movement, Confédération des travailleurs catholiques du Canada (CTCC),

L'Action libérale nationale (ALN), the Québec cooperative movement, Faculté des sciences sociales at Université Laval and the Bloc Populaire Canadien.

First, the Ligue nationaliste was an association and later a political party which was led by Henri Bourassa and Olivar Asselin and was active from 1903 to 1914. The Ligue nationaliste mixed strong anti-British imperialism with proto-social democracy: anti-trust/anti-monopoly sentiment, nationalization of electricity, government control over railways, better labour regulation and old age/hospital/unemployment insurance, arbitration to end strikes, economic nationalism and corporatism.[28] Levitt argues that "What the Nationalists did was to embed a design for the economic and social progress of French Canada into a program of Canadian nationalism".[29] Bourassa believed in uniting the Québécois nation through a strong provincial state and defended a two nation theory of federalism. He believed that the messianic mission of French Canada was to build an exemplary society, based on French Canadian culture and Catholicism, as an example for the English nations of North America to follow. He was mildly anti-statist and wanted strict limits on nationalization. He was also firmly anti-feminist and blatantly racist believing in the superiority of the Latin race. Asselin was more left-wing and statist than Bourassa. Asselin proposed a state sponsored system of forestry co-operatives, denounced an economy that produced billionaires but incessantly increased the suffering of the poor and argued for the nationalization of telephones, railways and telegraphs.

The second generator of social Catholic ideas in Québec in the first half of the 20th century was a number of different groups which were active between 1920 and 1950 and can be grouped under the rubric of the 'Action Catholique movement '. The Action Catholique movement strongly emphasized the social doctrine of Catholicism. Its thought was inspired and sanctioned by the papal decrees *Rerum Novarum* by Leo XIII (1891) and *Quadragesimo Anno* by Pius XI (1931) which critiqued the abusive and unjust nature of capitalism and promoted 'Catholic' trade unionism.[30] The Action Catholique movement included Abbé Lionel Groulx, *L'Action Française*, *L'Action Catholique*, École sociale populaire and young Catholic movements such as Jeune Canada, Jeune Étudiant Catholique and l'Action catholique de la jeunesse canadienne-française. Groulx, who was the editor of the *L'Action Française* from 1921 to 1928 argued that the economy must serve the culture and the faith of the nation. Thus, the national question became also an economic question and he argued for the need for economic development to take into account the cultural interests of the Québécois nation by reducing the Anglicization and Americanization of Québec's economy.[31] He was clear that economic success would not be attained through individualism and competition but through collective national action. He wanted neither lassiez-a-faire capitalism nor socialism but envisioned the reversal of urbanization and industrialization through a return to traditional Québécois agricultural society which was sloganized in the phrase "retour à la terre [return to the earth]".[32]

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[28] See Levitt, Joseph. *Henri Bourassa and the golden calf : the social program of the Nationalists of Quebec, 1900-1914*. Ottawa: Éditions de l'Université d'Ottawa, 1972.
[29] p. 34- ibid.
[30] p. 67- Roy, p. 277- Monière
[31] p. 66-69- Roy
[32] p. 250- Monière

Along the same lines, the École sociale populaire (ÉSP) was a group of reformist clergy (mostly Jesuits) who held conferences, organized study circles and published numerous brochures. In 1933, the ÉSP published a manifesto called *Le programme de restauration sociale* in 1933 which was inspired by the CCF's *Regina Manifesto*. The ÉSP was considerably more social democratic than Groulx but it still stayed within the general boundaries established by the Catholic Church. It put forth social democratic demands such as old-age pensions and the need to reduce the power of trusts and monopolies but control of education would stay within the Church. The Catholic social thought of this time period also inspired Catholic youth movements like Jeune Canada and Jeune Étudiant Catholique which produced the social democratic and liberal leaders of the next generation like Jean Marchand, Michel Chartrand, Gérard Pellitier and André Laurendeau. Many of the ideas of Groulx, the ÉSP and the young Catholic movements were represented in *L'Action Catholique* which was the official magazine of the Catholic Church of Québec and had a very wide distribution.

Catholic social thought was collectivist but not overtly statist. It wanted the creation of an autonomous French Catholic state for Québec which would be powerful enough to prevent the economic domination of the Québécois by English Canadians and Americans and reduce economic inequalities through social welfare measures. Yet, this state would stay out of education which would remain the exclusive domain of the Catholic Church. Further, the organization of society would also be overtly corporatist with the clergy playing an important mediating role between the workers and the owners. As one bishop put it at the time: "la main de l'ouvrier unie à celle du patron entre les mains du prêtre [the hand of the worker is united with the hand of the employer within the hands of the priest]".[33]

Third, the Confédération des travailleurs catholiques du Canada (CTCC) was created in 1921 under the auspices of the Catholic Church to undermine the emergence of "International" (American and English Canadian) unions in Québec which the Church believed to be too socialist. The CTCC promoted corporatism, collaboration between owners and workers and provincial autonomy.[34] The CTCC also rejected the notion of class conflict and was firmly apolitical believing that role of a union was to find compromises acceptable to both the owner and the worker and not to engage in political action.

Fourth, the Action Libéral National (ALN) was a short lived provincial political party that broke off from the Parti Libéral du Québec in 1934 and based it platform on the ÉSP's *Le programme de restauration sociale*. It called for control of the Québécois economy by the Québécois government, reduction of trusts, a program for the retour à la terre, public health insurance and a better labour code.[35] It decided to join with the Conservatives under Duplessis to create the Union Nationale which was elected in 1936. But after Duplessis got into power, he refused to implement any of the ALN's reforms so the ALN broke away but was unable to elect anyone by itself and eventually dissolved in 1939.

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[33] Cited on p. 69, Roy
[34] p. 255-259- Monière
[35] p. 91- Roy

Fifth, the Catholic co-operative agriculture movement in Québec which started in 1924 was very critical of the inequalities and inefficiencies of free-market capitalism.[36] At the same time, this cooperative movement was anti-union, anti-industrialization, anti-urbanization, anti-statist and anti-socialist. Instead, it wanted a rural, corporatist and agricultural society based on co-operation not profit and individualism. Less radical, the Desjardins caisse populaire movement argued that institutions were needed to combat the exploitation of the poor and farmers within the capitalist system.[37] To do this, they created credit unions to provide credit to their customers at reasonable rates and gave back their dividends. Both movements were made up of catholic nationalists who saw cooperativism bringing about a more humane economic system which would ensure the survival of the Catholic rural Québécois nation.

Sixth, the Faculté des sciences sociales at Université Laval, lead by Père Georges-Henri Lévesque, advocated corporatism as a way out of the economic depression of the 1930s.[38] Lévesque believed that corporatism found the perfect balance between economic liberalism and socialism. He held that corporatism could reduce the excessive materialism of capitalism while maintaining the political dominance of the Catholic Church and not endangering private property. However, he was against statism because it would subordinate all human activity to the "volonté [will]" of a secular and materialist state which would neglect the soul.

Seventh, the Bloc Populaire Canadien (BPC) was a political party that was active on the federal and provincial level between 1942 and 1947. The BPC was born out of the struggle against conscription during World War II and grouped together young progressives with established MNAs and MPs. Groulx was also heavily involved in guiding the policies and strategy of the party. The BPC was anti-British imperialist, nationalist and provincial autonomist believing that the American economic and cultural threat required a new pact between Québec and English Canada within a decentralized federalist framework.[39] It was also anti-communist, corporatist, economic nationalist, anti-trust and somewhat anti-Semitic. The BPC believed that the messianic mission of the French Canadian people on the North American continent was to create a just, Catholic society. Onto their nationalism, they graphed social democratic calls for limited nationalization, a reformed education system and better labour code.

While their specific ideas varied considerably, I would argue that the social Catholic thought of these seven groups shared four common and interlocking characteristics: ethno-religious nationalism, Catholicism, collectivism and corporatism. First, social Catholic thought was ethno-religious nationalist in that it strongly believed in the existence of a unique Catholic Québécois nation blessed by God. However, the social Catholic concept of nation altered slightly in the period we are examining. At the beginning of the 20th century, the Ligue Nationaliste held that the French Canadian nation

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[36] See Beauchamp, Claude. "La coopération agricole au Québec, 1938-1953" in Dumont, Fernand, Jean Hamelin and Jean-Paul Montminy. *Idéologies au Canada français, 1940-1976, Tome 2, Les Mouvements Sociaux – Les Syndicats*. Québec: Presses de l'Université Laval, 1981. p. 75-108.

[37] p. 274-276- Monière

[38] p. 67-71- Vincenthier, Georges. *Une idéologie québécois de Louis-Joseph Papineau à Pierre Vallières*. Montréal: Hurtubise HMH. 1979.

[39] See Comeau, Paul-André. "Le Bloc populaire canadien" in Dumont, Fernand, Jean Hamelin and Jean-Paul Montminy. *Idéologies au Canada français, 1940-1976, Tome 3, Les Partis Politiques – L'Église*. Québec: Presses de l'Université Laval, 1981. p. 121-153.

included French Canadians living outside Québec and fought to secure rights for the members of the French Canadian nation living in provinces with Anglophone majorities. However, starting with Groulx, social Catholic thought identified the French Canadian nation with the 'terre' of New France and excluded Francophones outside of Québec from their considerations. Groulx stated that the nation's greatest patriotic love should go to "notre province de Québec, vielle terre française, issue de la Nouvelle-France, terre qui plus toute autre portion du Canada, a été pour nous source de vie, milieu générateur par excellence [our province of Québec, old French earth, from New France is the earth that more than any other part of Canada is for us our source of life and the excellent generator of ourselves]".[40] Groulx idealized the 'golden age' of New France in which a rural society lived under the protection of the Catholic Church who defended the Catholic religion and ensured the continuance of the French Canadian race. He painstakingly documented the history and immigration of New France which he saw as the ethnic source of the French Canadian race. He defined race as follows: "la personnalité bien nette, bien caractérisée, d'un groupe ethnique [the personality well characterized of an ethnic group]".[41] For Groulx, like other social Catholic thinkers, the Québécois nation was racially based. Two of Groulx most famous books, widely read by social Catholic thinkers, were entitled *L'appel de la race* and *La naissance d'une race* in which he argues that the French Canadian race with its origins in New France was the basis of the French Canadian nation within Québec.

However, for Catholic social thought, the nation was based on more than just race. Groulx argues that the "nation canadienne-française [French Canadian nation]" was the communion of French Canadian culture, language, history, religion, territory and race animated by "une vouloir-vivre collectif [a want-to-live collective]" and a "personnalité distinct [distinct personality]".[42] The culture, language and religion of the French Canadian race are elevated to determinants of French Canadian nationhood. History, encapsulated in a revisionist glorification of New France, and the collective will of the French Canadian race to express its unique personality also contribute to his definition of the nation. The Catholic religion provided the French Canadian nation with a messianic destiny to be the example of the perfect Catholic society for all of North America. In summary, Groulx makes an appeal to the former greatness of New France through the re-appreciation of the race which sprung from its territory. This race forms the basis of a Catholic French Canadian nation with a unique culture, history and language imbued with a religious destiny.

The ethno-religious nationalism of social Catholic thought produced a number of specific ideas and sentiments. The need to protect the nation was usually seen as necessitating the maintenance and expansion of traditional and rural Québécois society. Many of these Catholic social thinkers argued that the poverty and unemployment of the working class could be reduced by giving them farmland and returning them to agricultural work. There were ethno-religious nationalist motives of social Catholic thought's insistence on the expansion of rural society. Rural society was seen as the repository the Catholic values and producer of the large families needed to ensure the survival of the French Canadian race which was the basis of the Québécois nation.

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[40] Groulx cited in Monière, p. 247

[41] p. 1- Groulx, Lionel. *La naissance d'un race*. Montréal: Bibliothèque de l'Action francaise. 1919.

[42] p. 246- Monière

Ethno-religious nationalism also instilled strong anti-imperialist and economic nationalist tendencies within Catholic social thought. All social Catholic groups rejected the need for the Québécois nation or Canada to align its foreign policies with those of the British Empire. Further, all of these Catholic social thinkers had economic nationalist sentiments that desired control of the Québécois economy by Francophone businessmen and the provincial Québec state instead of English Canadian and American ownership of Québécois natural resources and industry. This economic nationalism and anti-imperialism was created out of ethno-religious nationalism's desire for the French Canadian ethnic group to control its own destiny. However, it is important to note that these groups did not want Québec to separate from Canada. The need for the nation to control its own destiny led these groups to advocate a large degree of autonomy for the Québec provincial state from the federal Canadian government. They saw Confederation as pact between two nations and wanted to establish a decentralized federalist framework. The commitment to a federal Canada and French Canadian nation led to the reproduction of the 'double allegiance' between the maintenance of the federal Canadian state and the fulfillment of the destiny of the Québécois nation within social Catholic thought.

The actors and ideas of these seven groups combined ethno-religious nationalism with their Catholicism. In social Catholic thought the affirmation of the race and nation was through the Catholic religion. Catholicism was an expression of the nation, the assurance of the continuance of the race and the fulfillment of a messianic destiny. Like the clerical nationalism of the 19th century, the Catholic religion and the French Canadian nation were inseparable for social Catholic thinkers.

These social Catholic groups also found the basis for their social concerns within Catholicism's teachings of charity and the need to help one's fellow human being. It is hard to underestimate the impact of Leo XIII's *Rerum Novarum* and Pius XI's *Quadragesimo Anno* on the thought of these groups. While condemning socialism and defending private property, these Encyclicals strongly condemned the economic injustice inherent in the capitalist system and argued for a more even distribution of wealth based on a collectivist conception of society. For instance, Pius XI argues that "the riches of economic-social developments that constantly increase ought to be so distributed among individual persons and classes to the common advantage of all, which Leo XIII had praised…in other words, that the common good of all society will be kept inviolate. By this law of social justice, one class is forbidden to exclude the other from sharing in the benefits."[43] The preaching of Leo XIII and Pius XI led Québécois social Catholic groups to critique the economic inequality within Québécois society both because such inequality was unjust and because it had socially disruptive consequences for the Québécois nation. Thus, all of these groups proposed social welfare measures such as improved social assistance and universal, free education in order to cope with the economic inequality that they saw within Québécois society. Further, the fight against 'trusts' of gasoline, milk, coal, bread and electricity was justified on the grounds that

[43] Paragraph 57, *Quadragesimo Anno*, Puis XI, http://www.vatican.va/holy_father/pius_xi/encyclicals/documents/hf_p-xi_enc_19310515_quadragesimo-anno_en.html. See also Leo VIII. Rerum Novarum. http://www.vatican.va/holy_father/leo_xiii/encyclicals/documents/hf_l-xiii_enc_15051891_rerum-novarum_en.html

these monopolies unjustly exploited the masses which was against the principle of social justice preached by the Catholic Church.[44]

Ethno-religious nationalism, Catholicism and concern for social justice of Québécois social Catholic thought combined to form a very strong collectivist tendency. In 1917, a writer in *L'Action Française* wrote: " L'individu n'est fort que par le groupe qui l'utilise et le complète…Il suffit que, instruit de son rôle, exécutant l'acte qui lui est confié, il assure l'œuvre que poursuit la collectivité [the individual is only as strong as the group which uses him and completes him…Sufficiently instructed in his role, executing the act which is confided in him, he assures the work that the collectivity pursues]".[45] Thus, contrary to liberal individualism, the social Catholic thought of this time held that individual effort does not have sense or direction unless it is involved in a collective movement aiming at the realization of a collective or national project. I would argue that Québécois ethno-religious nationalism had a collectivism inherent within it that Québécois territorial nationalism did not have. Québécois territorial nationalism, with its focus on uniform rights and obligations, saw members of the Québécois nation as individuals with certain rights and duties. Conversely, Québécois ethno-religious nationalism saw members of the nation as a single part of the greater whole of the French Canadian race and Québécois nation.

Catholicism, ethno-religious nationalism, concern for social justice and collectivism leads social Catholic thought to embrace corporatism. Social Catholic thinkers did not believe that class conflict was an inherent feature of society. All the groups discussed above, even the unions, believed that classes could and should work together for the benefit of the nation. In paragraph 81 of *Quadragesimo Anno*, Pius XI preaches that "the conflict between the hostile classes be abolished and harmonious cooperation of the Industries and Professions be encouraged and promoted".[46] Groulx argued that there is a harmony of classes within the French Canadian nation due to the homogeneity and solidarity of the nation created out of its adherence to the Catholic religion.[47] Groulx saw the fundamental division in the Québécois economy being, not between capitalist and worker, but between English and French. He stated that "the great levers of economic life are not in our hands; the great sources of wealth do not belong to us" and argued that once the Québécois are "masters in our own house" all classes can work together to create a more equal and just society.[48] Thus, social Catholic thought, which stressed the solidarity of the ethnic group, was inherently orientated to solutions which involved the cooperation of the whole ethnic group instead of solutions which pit one part of the group against another.

The corporatism of social Catholic thought embodied a somewhat ambiguous view of the state. Following the teachings of Leo VIII, Pius XI dismissed the "confines

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[44] In an explanation of the *Le Programme de Restauration sociale*, Dr. Philippe Hamel actually uses quotations from Quadragesimo Anno to justify the nationalization of electricity. See p. 41 in *Le Programme de Restauration sociale expliqué et commenté*. Montréal: L'École sociale populaire publication mensuelle. 1934.

[45] Édouard Montpetit cited on p. 48, Vincenthier, Georges. *Une idéologie québécois de Louis-Joesph Papineau à Pierre Vallières*. Montréal: Hurtubise HMH. 1979.

[46] Paragraph 81, *Quadragesimo Anno*, Pius XI

[47] p. 246- Monière

[48] p. 259, 261- Groulx, Lionel. "Tomorrow's Tasks" in Forbes, H.D. *Canadian Political Thought*. Toronto: Oxford University Press. 1985. p. 255-265.

imposed by Liberalism" on the state which stipulated that the state must only protect property and provide law and order.[49] Rather, Pius IX argued that the state's "chief consideration ought to be given to the weak and the poor…For the nation, as it were, of the rich is guarded by its own defenses and is in less need of governmental protection, whereas the suffering multitude, without the means to protect itself relies especially on the protection of the State. Wherefore, since wageworkers are numbered among the great mass of the needy, the State must include them under its special care and foresight."[50] Pius XI goes on to praise social policy that had been put into effect by states to protect workers. Following Pius XI, most of these social Catholic groups in Québec wanted the creation of an autonomous provincial Québec state to provide social welfare measures such as unemployment/hospital/old age insurance and to fight foreign monopolies through regulation and limited nationalization. A minority of these groups (the cooperative movement, Bourassa and Pére G-H Lévesque) were less statist preferring to have economic inequalities solved within the private sector by social assistance organized by the Church with minimal state intervention in the economy. All groups were unanimous that education should remain in the hands of the Catholic Church in order to ensure the Catholic foundation of the French Canadian nation.

Finally, all of these social Catholic groups were firmly anti-feminist and racist. They argued that a good salary for workers would ensure strong families so that women stayed where they belonged- in their "foyer [the home]". As ethno-religious nationalists, these groups stressed the need to perpetuate the ethnic basis of the nation leading them to argue that women's fertility was required to ensure the vitality of the nation and therefore women needed to stay in their traditional roles as wives and mothers.[51] Yet, women were praised as transmitters of the Catholic faith and the French language to their numerous children and therefore were the saviours of the nation. Thus, social Catholic thought both put women on a pedestal and oppressed them. The ideas of these social Catholic groups were frequently racist. At the turn of the 19th century, Bourassa argued for the innate cultural superiority of the Latin race over the Anglo-Saxon race and all others.[52] In the 1940s, the Bloc Populaire Canadien was strongly opposed to 'invasion' of Québec by Jewish refugees from World War II.[53] There was general xenophobia within the ideas of these groups, in particular in their opposition to immigration from non-French sources outside of Québec. This xenophobia dovetailed with their insistence on the superiority of the Québécois nation and its messianic mission to set an example for all of North America. In sum, the Catholic thinkers of this time perpetuated what Stasiulus and

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[49] Paragraph 25, *Quadragesimo Anno*, Pius XI

[50] Ibid.

[51] p. 81- Roy, See also Dumont, Micheline. "Can National History Include a Feminist Reflection on History?" in *Journal of Canadian Studies*, Volume 35, No. 2, Summer 2000. p. 80-93. de Sève, Micheline "Women's National and Gendered Identity: The Case of Canada" in *Journal of Canadian Studies*, Volume 35, No. 2, Summer 2000. p. 61-79.

[52] p. 22-23, Levitt. For description of the 'race thinking' of Bourassa compared to his counterpart English Canadian politicians like J.A. McDonald see Stasiulus, Daiva and Williams, Glen "Mapping Racial/Ethnic Hierarchy in Canadian Social Formation, 1860-1914: An Examination of Selected Federal Policy Debates". unpublished. 1992.

[53] p. 136- Comeau Paul-André. "Le Bloc populaire canadien" in Dumont, Fernand, Jean Hamelin and Jean-Paul Montminy. *Idéologies au Canada français, 1940-1976, Tome 3, Les Partis Politiques – L'Église*. Québec: Presses de l'Université Laval, 1981. p.121-153.

Jhappan call a "white settler society construct" in relation to English Canada.[54] As much as its English Canadian counterpart, the Québécois white settler construct maintained "racial/ethnic and gender hierarchies expressed through laws, political institutions, immigration and settlement policies" which oppressed women and non-French and non-English minority groups including Québec's First Nations.[55]

The Catholicism of these social Catholic groups explains their virulent and often even fanatical and obsessive anti-communism and anti-socialism (the distinction between socialism and communism was rarely made). These social Catholic groups argued that communism would destroy private property, the family, the Catholic religion and institute a dictatorship of the state founded on terror, assassination and theft.[56] Anti-communism as well as papal teachings against socialism led these groups to strongly resist the label 'social democrat'. They were all firmly against the CCF which had been denounced by the clergy when it appeared in 1933 because the CCF program excessively suppressed private property, advocated "la lutte des classes [class struggle]" and espoused an overly materialist conception of the social order.[57]

Taking all of the above considerations into account, it is evident that these seven social Catholic groups were not social democrats but ethno-religious nationalist corporatists who believed in a collectivist vision of society. They took the ideas of the conservative Québécois clerical nationalist tradition of the 19th century and added a strong social dimension to them. In their advocacy of using the state to promote economic equality, their support for limiting the power of monopolies and desire to nationalize key industries they were social democratic.

However, their insistence that education remain organized by the Catholic church, latent or overt suspicion of statism and resistance to the label 'social democrat' makes it difficult to classify these groups as 'social democrats'. Further, through their blatant anti-feminism, racism and adherence to a Québécois white settle construct Catholic social thinkers perpetuated instead of reduced social inequalities. It is clear that social Catholic thought of the early 20th century did not fully accept basic liberal freedoms such as freedom of religion and separation of church and state. Further, some of this social Catholic thought had authoritarian tendencies. For instance, Groulx was suspicious of democracy and hoped for a Rousseau-like legislator to appear to unify the Québécois nation and lead it in fulfilling its messianic destiny of being an exemplary Catholic society for all of North America to imitate.[58] Thus, in many ways, Catholic social thought was pre-liberal collectivist as opposed to social democratic.[59] Eduard Bernstein argued that "with respect to liberalism, socialism is its legitimate heir, not only chronologically, but also intellectually…For Social Democracy, the defence of civil liberty has always

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[54] See Stasiulis, Daiva and Radha Jhappan. "The Fractious Politics of a Settler Society: Canada" in *Unsettling Settler Societies: Articulations of Gender, Race, Ethnicity and Class*. London: Sage Publications. 1995. p. 96-131.
[55] p. 96- ibid.
[56] p. 284- Monière
[57] p. 181- Casgrain, Thérèse. *Une Femme chez les hommes*. Montréal: Editions du jour. 1971.
[58] p. 251-252- Monière
[59] Wiseman argues that "The nationalist canons of Canon Groulx coincided with those of pre-liberalism not liberalism". See p. 799- Wiseman, Nelson. "A note on 'Hartz-Horowitz at Twenty': The Case of French Canada". *Canadian Journal of Political Science*, Volume 21, 1988. p. 795-806.

taken precedence over the fulfillment of any economic postulate".[60] Following Bernstein's reasoning, I would argue that social democracy presupposes an acceptance of liberal values such as religious tolerance, parliamentary democracy and respect for civil liberties. Québécois social catholic thought, due to its pre-liberal foundations, did not have the respect for liberal values required to be qualified 'social democratic'. Yet, despite the fact that this thought was not social democratic, it is important to note that social Catholic thought was the source of ideas which prepared the soil in which a more genuine Québécois social democracy eventually took root.

**Preparing the Way for Québécois Social Democracy (1948-1947)**

The period from 1948 to 1967 saw the creation of a number of groups or modifications in the ideas of older groups which secularized and modernized the ideas of Québécois social Catholic thought. While many of these groups discussed below were not social democratic, their activity nonetheless greatly contributed to the development of a modern liberal ideology out of which Québécois social democracy emerges. For the purposes of our discussion, these groups will be divided into two categories: non-social democratic and social democratic.

First, we will deal with the non-social democratic groups. In 1948, a group of poets and artists released a manifesto named *Refus Global* which condemned the conformism created by traditional, conservative and religious Québécois society.[61] In the place of religious conformism, the manifesto affirmed the right of dissent, the search for liberty and an emphasis on originality and creativity. While in no way social democratic, *Refus Global* opened up the possibility of secular dissent to the established order which is an important condition for the emergence of modern and secular social democracy. *Refus Global* also started to eat away at the religious conformity inherent in the ethno-religious nationalism of Catholic social thought.

In the 1950s, the Catholic Church in Québec stopped emphasizing "la retour à la terre [return to the earth]" and called for an economic system that was more just and fair for workers.[62] Mgr. Charbonneau, the Bishop of Montreal, supported the Asbestos strike in 1949 but retired in 1950 (probably forced to retired because of discontentment over his pro-worker stance). However, despite the growing sympathy of the Church towards the plight of workers in Québec, many young progressives (particularly those who had been involved in the CTCC and the Bloc Populaire) continue to drift away from adherence to the Church despite their roots in Catholic youth movements. As the 1960s began, there was a massive secularization of Québécois society characterized by the taking over of education and hospitals by the state and an "épidemie de deconfessionnalisation [epidemic of deconfessionalization]" within unions and hospital, teacher and agriculture

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[60] p. 147- Bernstein, Eduard. *The Preconditions of Socialism*, edited and translated by Henry Tudor, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 1993.

[61] See Borduas, Paul-Émile. "Refus Global" in *Historie des idées au Québec: des troubles de 1837 au référendum de 1980*, edited by Georges Vincenthier. Quebec City: VLB Éditeur. 1983. p. 209- 215.

[62] For a discussion of the ideas of the Catholic Church in Québec in this period see Arès, Richard. "L'évolution de l'Église au Canada Français de 1940 à 1975. Survivance et déclin d'une chrétienté" in Dumont, Fernand, Jean Hamelin and Jean-Paul Montminy. *Idéologies au Canada français, 1940-1976, Tome 3, Les Partis Politiques – L'Église*. Québec: Presses de l'Université Laval, 1981. p. 267-298.

associations.[63] In the 1960s, the Church was forced to accept the secularization of Québec society and Québécois nationalism. The Church abandoned its ethno-religious ideas of the messianic destiny of the French Canadian race and displayed a more subdued territorial nationalism akin to the liberal nationalism that it had fought against for so long. Thus, ethno-religious nationalism that had dominated Québec society for almost 200 years was dead. The Catholic Church in Québec accepted its declining political influence and distanced itself from overt political activity. The declining influence of the Church in Québec politics opened up the possibility for an ideology that was territorial nationalist, secular and yet collectivist, corporatist and concerned about economic equality.

The 1950s also saw the modernization of Québécois liberalism as it drops its traditional discourse against state intervention within the economy and society. An important vanguard in the modernization of Québécois liberalism was the journal *Cité Libre* founded in 1950. *Cité Libre* generally argued that social justice was realizable within the current capitalist system with modest state intervention and nationalization.[64] It was liberal reformist, anti-clerical and federalist in tone. There is also a rise of statism, liberal reformism and the ideology of "rattrapage [catch-up]" within the Parti Libéral du Québec (PLQ) in the 1950s culminating in a burst of near social democracy between 1960 and 1965 within the Lesage government with the nationalization of electricity, a better labour code and creation of Ministry of Education and Ministry of Cultural Affairs. However, in the period between 1965 and 1970, the PLQ reverted back to its old doctrine of economic liberalism. The importance of the PLQ and *Cité Libre* in this period was that they displayed a territorial nationalism that was significantly more collectivist, state interventionist and concerned with equality than the territorial nationalism in Québec in the pre-1950 period.

While there had been radical socialist groups and communist parties in Québec since 1899, the 1960s saw the growth of Marxism within the universities of Québec which linked together socialist revolution and independence. An exemplary journal coming out of the emergence of this 'Marxisme indépendantiste [Independentist Marxism]' was *Parti Pris* which was active from 1963 to 1968. *Parti Pris* applied Marxist analysis to Québécois society and called for the decolonization of Québec through independence and socialism.[65] *Parti Pris* displayed an atheist ethnic nationalism in opposition to the Church's ethno-religious nationalism. *Parti Pris* rejected that the Québécois nation could express itself through liberal institutions and civil rights accorded to all. Instead, *Parti Pris* called upon the Francophone working class to rise up and simultaneously break the chains of both national oppression and capitalism. Thus, it was to be an ethnic and socialist revolution. Léon Dion argues that by radically questioning the legitimacy of the Canadian political community "le nationalisme socialiste [socialism nationalism]" of *Parti Pris* contributed to the development of the conditions which encouraged the birth of the "le nationalisme social-démocrate [social democratic nationalism]" of the PQ.[66]

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[63] p. 285- Ibid.

[64] See Lamonde, Yvan and Gérard Pelletier. *Cité Libre: une anthologie*. Montréal : Éditions Internationales Alain Stanké. 1991.

[65] For a discussion of *Parti Pris*, see Chapter 7 of Penner, Norman. *The Canadian Left: A Critical Analysis.* Scarborough: Prentice-Hall of Canada. 1977.

[66] p. 88- Dion, Léon. *Nationalismes et politique au Québec*. Montréal: Hurtubise HMH. 1975.

In the period from 1947 to 1967 we also see the development of two genuinely social democratic groups within Québécois society. In 1960, there is the emergence of the first truly social democratic political party in Québec. Le Rassemblement pour l'indépendence nationale (RIN) was created in 1960 and was a founding part of the PQ in 1967. The RIN connected social democracy to the independence of Québec.[67] It stressed the colonization of Québec by the federal government and by American and English Canadian exploitation of Québécois natural resources. It also argued that the Québécois were alienated, dispossessed, colonized and strangers in their own country because of foreign economic domination and a federal political system that did not allow them to control their own destiny. The RIN argued that this situation would inevitably lead to assimilation. It also argued that an independent Québec state was needed to adequately economically, socially and culturally 'plan' Québécois society in order to preserve its survival. Like social Catholic thought, the RIN did not emphasize class struggle as part of their ideology. Planning would be done in a corporatist manner, redistribute wealth more evenly, involve limited nationalization and secure certain economic, cultural and social rights for all citizens of Québec.

The RIN strongly rejected ethno-religious nationalism and subscribed to territorial nationalism. As Denis Monière puts it, the RIN "rejette l'homogénéité religieuse comme caractéristique de la collectivité nationale et la remplace par l'homogénéité linguistique et culturelle [rejected religious homogeneity as a characteristic of the national collective and replaced it with linguistic and cultural homogeneity]".[68] Thus, the RIN replaced Catholic social thought's emphasis on race and religion with membership to the Québécois nation being determined by one's willingness to integrate into Québécois culture and learn the French language. For the RIN, the Québécois found their national identity within their culture and language to which all who want to become part of the nation must integrate themselves within. Thus, the RIN rejected that the Québécois were a minority and argued that the Québécois needed to become a "majorité assimilatrice [assimilative majority]".[69] In order to achieve this assimilative majority status, the RIN proposed to legislate French as the only official language of Québec and as the language of work.

It is my argument that the nationalism of the RIN mirrors the territorial nationalism that Smith ascribes to the great 'territorial nations' of England and France that we examined earlier. In fact, like the 19th century Patriotes and rouges, the RIN uses these historically successful nations as a blueprint for their nationalism. First, Smith states that territorial nationalism defined the nation as a legal and territorially bound entity in which citizens are bound by a common code and have uniform rights and obligations.[70] The RIN called for economic, cultural and social rights for all citizens of Québec within a liberal republican constitutional framework. Second, Smith reminds us that, in theory, no one was excluded from the territorial nation on the grounds of race, gender or religion.[71] However, in practice, "the solidarity of citizenship required a

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[67] See Pelletier, Réjean. "L'idéologie du R.I.N.: une idéologie d'affirmation" in Dumont, Fernand, Jean Hamelin and Jean-Paul Montminy. *Idéologies au Canada français, 1940-1976, Tome 3, Les Partis Politiques – L'Église*. Québec: Presses de l'Université Laval, 1981. p. 213-235.

[68] p. 335- Monière

[69] p. 42- Allemagne, André. *Le R.I.N. et les débuts du mouvement indépendantiste québécois*. Montreal : Éditions l'Étincelle. 1974.

[70] p. 135- Smith, *The Ethnic Origins of Nations*

[71] ibid.

common 'civil religion' formed out of shared myths and memories and symbols, and communicated in a standard language through educational institutions. So the territorial nation becomes a mass educational enterprise. Its aim is cultural homogeneity".[72] The RIN insisted that no one should be excluded from the Québécois nation due to race, gender or religion. However, the RIN did see the Québécois nation, embodied in the independent Republic of Québec, as 'mass educational enterprise' aiming towards 'cultural homogeneity'. The RIN called for only the French school system to be state funded within Québec. The state would provide the educational and cultural apparatus necessary to encourage the integration of immigrants and the Anglophone minority into the Québécois nation and to stop the colonization and assimilation of the Francophone majority in Québec. Like the states of Great Britain and France in the 17th and 18th century, the sovereign Québec state would be used as tool to ensure 'cultural homogeneity' within the territory of Québec.

Thus, the RIN replaces the ethno-religious nationalism of social Catholic thought with a secular territorial nationalism. References to 'race' are eliminated along with a strong insistence on the secularization of Québécois political institutions and society. A territorial nationalism is adopted along with adherence to liberal values such as tolerance, constitutionalism and separation of Church and state. The inclusionary nature of the RIN's territorial nationalism is considerably more compatible with social democracy than the ethno-religious nationalism of social Catholic thought. Further, the RIN claimed to be 'social democratic but not socialist'.[73] Thus, the RIN's self-identification as social democratic, secular territorial nationalism, respect for liberal values, desire for significant state intervention in the economy, support for limited nationalization and advocacy of an ambitious welfare state makes it 'social democratic' according to the definition outlined above.

The radicalization of Québécois unionism began with the Asbestos strike in 1949. In the late 1950s and 1960s, there was move away from Catholic and business unionism to a staunchly political and left-wing social unionism. The Fédération des travailleurs du Québec (FTQ) was created in the 1957 as a merger of several non-Catholic unions. The FTQ was a provincial association of the CLC, argued for pan-Canadian and international unionism, had a corporatist outlook and supported the NDP.[74] The Confédération des syndicats nationaux (CSN) was created out of the "deconfessionnalization" of the CTCC in 1960 and originally stressed class collaboration, corporatism, worker participation in corporate decision-making and was staunchly against openly supporting a political party. The CSN radicalized its ideology under the leadership of Pepin after 1965 and spoke of the exploitation of the workers under a capitalist system controlled by American capitalists leading towards the economic and cultural integration of Québec into the United States. Similar to the RIN, the FTQ and CSN displayed a secular territorial nationalism which emphasized language and culture over race and religion. However, these unions generally called for strong provincial autonomy for Québec as opposed to

[72] p. 136- ibid.
[73] p. 229- Pelletier
[74] Solasse, Bernard. "Les idéologies de la Fédération des travailleurs du Québec et de la Confédération des syndicats nationaux, 1960-1978" in Dumont, Fernand, Jean Hamelin and Jean-Paul Montminy. *Idéologies au Canada français, 1940-1976, Tome 2, Les Mouvements Sociaux – Les Syndicats*. Québec: Presses de l'Université Laval, 1981. p. 219-294. Roch, Denis and Serge Denis. "Québec Unions in Politics, 1960-90" in *Quebec: State and Society*, edited by Alain Gagnon. Toronto: Methuen. 1993. p. 199-223.

independence. Both the CSN and the FTQ in the 1960s can be considered social democratic in their desire to use the state to promote economic equality, secular territorial nationalism, support for state intervention in the economy and advocacy for limited nationalization.

The period for 1948 to 1967 saw the emergence of a modern liberalism within Québécois society frequently referred to as the Quiet revolution. However, the activity of this emerging modern liberalism also contained within it the beginnings of a modern social democracy. These groups, most of which were not social democratic, created the ideational and organizational conditions out of which the PQ emerged. Using the Hartz-Horowitz framework, Nelson Wiseman argues that the collectivism of Québécois society, caused by its status as a "feudal fragment", combined with Quiet Revolution liberalism to produce the social democracy of the PQ.[75] In Wiseman's words: "a feudal past when combined with a sudden influx of liberal ideas in the mid-twentieth century produced the environment where the seeds of socialism sprouted. Québec socialists since 1960 have drawn on the collectivist and organic principles of French Canada's feudal past and the egalitarian and rationalist components of its liberal Quiet Revolution".[76] Thus, the PQ used both the liberalism of the Quiet Revolution and the collectivism of social Catholic thought to set the stage for its assertion of a modern, secular and territorial nationalist social democracy in Québec. The liberalism of the Quiet revolution modernized and secularized the Catholic ideal of social justice and provided the liberal value base necessary for the emergence of genuine social democracy in Québec. The influence of the Quiet Revolution also created the emergence of social democratic groups which eschewed the ethno-religious nationalism of Catholic social thought in favour of a territorial secular nationalism. This territorial nationalism prompted these groups to embrace liberal values such as separation of church and state, civil rights, constitutionalism and religious tolerance and disregard a racial and religious based concept of the nation. Thus, the territorial secular nationalism of the RIN, FTQ and CSN created out of the Quiet Revolution was much more compatible with social democracy than the ethno-religious nationalism of social Catholic thought.

**Feminism and Social Democracy in Québec (1900-1967)**

The women's movement in Québec started in the 1893 with the establishment of Montreal Local Council of Women consisting of English women living in Montreal.[77] This organization's activity later merged with others to eventually lead to the creation of a women's suffrage movement in Québec which was dominated by English women. In 1921, the Québec suffrage movement coalesced around a bilingual organization called the Women's Rights League/La Ligue des droits de la femme which included a small number of Francophone women who were mostly wives of husbands employed in liberal professions in Montréal. The Francophone women in Québec's suffrage movement

[75] See Wiseman, Nelson. "A note on 'Hartz-Horowitz at Twenty': The Case of French Canada". *Canadian Journal of Political Science*, Volume 21, 1988. p. 795-806. Hartz, Louis. *The Founding of New Societies*. New York: Harcourt, Brace & World. 1964. Horowitz, Gad. "Conservatism, Liberalism, and Socialism in Canada: An Interpretation". *Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science*, Volume 32, 1966. p. 143-171.

[76] p. 804- Wiseman

[77] p. 69- Roy

generally adhered to the territorial nationalism of the liberal tradition in Québec. They believed that women needed the same citizenship rights as men to become full members of the French Canadian nation. They also associated ethno-religious nationalism with the Catholic Church who was against the expansion of women's rights. The Women's Rights League battled 19 years against the Catholic church and both political parties to achieve the vote for women in 1940 more than two decades after most of their counterparts in the rest of Canada. Thérèse Casgrain, president of Women's Rights League and later leader of the Québec CCF, believed that giving the vote to women would produce a more socially responsive government which could adequately deal with economic depression and wealth inequalities.[78] Thus, she connected giving women the right to vote with the achievement of social democracy- i.e. the use of the state to relieve economic inequalities.

Most francophone feminists in the first half of the 20th century were involved in Catholic feminist movements. The first Catholic feminist organization was the Fédération Nationale Saint Jean-Bapiste (FNSJB) founded in 1907. However, the Bishop of Montréal was clear that this organization should not "parler de l'émancipation de la femme, de ses droit méconnus [talk of the emancipation of women or thier misconceived rights]" and that the Catholic feminism should promote "les nobles causes dans la sphère que la Providence a assignée à la femme [the noble causes in sphere that Providence has assigned to woman]".[79] Thus, these feminists adhered to the ethno-religious nationalism of the clergy which saw their role as the source of renewal for the French Canadian nation. Within these strict boundaries set by ethno-religious nationalism of the Catholic Church, these Catholic feminists fought for higher education for women, home economics schools, changes to civil code and pure milk for poor city children. Using ethno-religious nationalist logic, these women argued that these improvements would help them better fulfil their role as mothers, protect the Catholic institution of the family and therefore ensure the survival of the Québécois nation. The FNSJB was followed by the Cercle des fermières (founded in 1915) who defined the work of rural women as a profession and sought to increase their effectiveness in supporting their husbands who were farmers.[80] Catholic feminists generally followed the social doctrine of the Church and demanded that the state reduce inequalities in Québécois society and put forth reforms to facilitate "la retour à la terre [return to the earth]". However, due to the opposition of the Catholic Church, these Catholic feminist groups did not demand the right to vote for women.

The progressive movements of the 1950s and 1960s like the Refus Global, CSN, FTQ, PLQ and *Cité Libre* simply ignored women's issues. Micheline Dumont argues that the rhetoric of the socialist nationalism of *Parti Pris* is rooted in sexism and the male is depicted as the sole bearer of national liberation.[81] Contrary to other progressive movements at the time, the RIN made improvements to "le statut de la femme [the status of women]" one of the principle themes of its election platform.[82]

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[78] p. 133- Casgrain,
[79] p. 70- Roy
[80] See Dumont-Johnson, Micheline. "La Parole des femmes. Les revues féminines, 1938-1968" in Dumont, Fernand, Jean Hamelin and Jean-Paul Montminy. *Idéologies au Canada français, 1940-1976, Tome 2, Les Mouvements Sociaux – Les Syndicats*. Québec: Presses de l'Université Laval, 1981. p. 5-46.
[81] p. 88-89- Dumont, Micheline
[82] p. 222- Pelletier

In spite of being ignored by other progressive movements, the women's movement in Québec gained strength in the 1960s culminating in the emergence of the Fédération des Femmes du Québec in 1966 which grouped together feminists calling for legalized abortion, contraception, access to education and improvements in women's economic status.[83] Many members of the Québécois feminist movement of the 1960s saw the independence of Québec and the liberation of women as one in the same. They also saw state intervention and the growth of the welfare state as way to improve to women's condition. These feminists took on the secular territorial nationalism of social democratic movements of the 1960s believing that membership in the Québécois nation was determined by language and culture. Similar to Québec suffragettes of the first half of the 20th century, they argued that women needed comprehensive citizenship rights and benefits to become full members of the French Canadian nation. Thus, these nationalist feminists saw the expression of Québécois territorial nationalism as necessary step for their liberation as women.

**Convergence of Québécois Nationalism, Social Democracy and Feminism in the PQ**

The PQ embodied the ideas of Québécois Catholic social thought of the first half of the 20th century filtered through the secularization and modernization processes of the Quiet Revolution. Thus, the PQ still retained the collectivist and corporatist underpinnings of social Catholic ideas but it was able to divorce these ideas from their ethno-religious nationalist context and present them within a secular territorial nationalist framework. In similar fashion, the PQ accepted the emphasis on 'liberté [liberty]', civil rights and secular social justice of Quiet Revolution liberalism while dropping its individualism, emphasis on protection of the private property and economic liberalism. The PQ also accepted the territorial nationalism of the liberal tradition in Québec while dropping its commitment to federalism. Within the PQ, the double allegiance between a federal Canada and the Québécois nation which had characterized both clerical and liberal nationalism in Québec was finally removed. In performing this ideological alchemy, the PQ created a potent indigenous and modern Québécois nationalist social democracy which would eventually vault them into power.

The emergence of the PQ also prompted a debate within Québec about whether social democracy needs a unitary state or if can be achieved within a federation. Pierre Trudeau in *Cité Libre* made the argument that social democracy can be achieved within a federation.[84] In *Option Québec*, René Lévesque made the argument that a sovereign Québec is necessary to achieve social democracy and that social democracy is necessary to achieve a sovereign Québec.[85] He argues that federalism impedes the social progress of Québec by draining its resources to Ottawa and not allowing it the powers it needs to fully develop Québécois society. Sovereignty would give the Québec state the powers and resources its needs to create a social democratic Québécois society. Further, only a strong welfare state, state investment in the economy and public ownership could stabilize Québécois society in the instability of the immediate aftermath of the

[83] p. 67-68- de Sève
[84] See Trudeau, Pierre-Elliott. "Réflexions sur la politique au Canada Français" in *Cité Libre*, December 1952. p. 53-70.
[85] Lévesque, René. *Option Québec*. Paris: Laffont, 1968.

achievement of Québec sovereignty. Thus, for Lévesque, social democracy is crucial for the project of Québec sovereignty and Québec sovereignty is crucial for achieving social democracy.

In its economic policies, the PQ aimed for a mixed capitalist economy which could provide wealth redistribution.[86] It argued that independence was needed for Québec to be a master of its own economy and stop foreign (English Canadian and American) economic domination. An independent Québec state could impose limited nationalization, promote the growth of small businesses and co-operatives that are usually owned by Francophones and set its own foreign policy. Such a state could also ensure an equal distribution of wealth in Québécois society through a strong welfare state, promote Québécois culture and ensure that French is the language of Québécois society. We can see in this brief description of the PQ's ideology several of ideas borrowed from Québécois Catholic social thought of the pre-1950 era: use of the state to reduce economic inequality, collectivism, cooperativism, anti-imperialism, economic nationalism and an anti-monopoly viewpoint.

Reflecting the strong corporatist tradition in Québécois social Catholic thought, the PQ's social democracy was not based on class struggle but what Léon Dion calls "une conception 'unanimiste' de la société [a unanimous conception of society]".[87] The PQ envisioned a society where everyone could compromise on what needed to be done and all classes would work together for the achievement of the goal of national independence. The state would work with labour unions and francophone capitalists to guide the Québécois economy towards growth and prosperity. Economic decision making by the state would done in concert with labour and Francophone business for the betterment of the nation as a whole.

The PQ's nationalism was secular territorial nationalism as opposed to the ethno-religious nationalism of social Catholic thought. The PQ supported the continued secularization of Québécois institutions and society. Following the RIN, the PQ stressed that the knowledge of French language and integration into the Québécois culture was necessary in order to gain membership to the Québécois nation. Using a newly sovereign Québec state, the PQ would ensure that the Francophone majority in Québec would be the 'assimilative majority' through restrictions on English education for Francophones and immigrants, strengthening sign laws, making French the official language of Québec and ensuring that French was the language of work. Yet, unlike the RIN, the PQ guaranteed a state funded system of English schools for the Anglophone minority within Québec. The PQ was also open to immigration as long as immigrants were to be integrated into the French speaking Québécois society. In sum, the PQ aimed to put forth a territorial nationalism in which all citizens were accorded a certain set of rights because of their presence in Québec's territory as a citizen and not their ethnic origin, language, class or gender.

Following the lead of the RIN, the PQ was also more responsive to women's issues than the traditional parties. Feminist activists within the PQ formed status of women committees and succeed in having the party adopt a platform for women's

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[86] See Jones, Richard. "L'idéologie du Parti québécois" in Dumont, Fernand, Jean Hamelin and Jean-Paul Montminy. *Idéologies au Canada français, 1940-1976, Tome 3, Les Partis Politiques – L'Église*. Québec: Presses de l'Université Laval, 1981. p. 235-266.

[87] p. 88- Dion

rights.[88] As such, the PQ was one of the first political parties in Québec to include the status of women in the employment market, family issues and the role of women in the service sector in its platform.[89] In being more responsive to questions of gender and eschewing a definition of nationhood based on race and religion, the PQ represented a modern form of social democracy as opposed to Catholic social thought or ethno-religious nationalism that was racist and anti-feminist.

Ultimately, it was the PQ's territorial nationalism that enabled it to be more inclusive of minority groups and women's issues. Territorial nationalism's inclusion of members to the nation regardless of ethnic origin allowed the PQ to accept immigration to Québec without fear of it endangering the survival of the nation. Territorial nationalism's de-emphasis on the need for an ethnic basis to the nation allowed the PQ to see women as more than just baby factories to renew the 'race'. Women could be allowed to control their own reproduction and work outside of the home without danger of cutting off the renewal of the nation. Finally, territorial nationalism's emphasis on universal citizenship rights encouraged the PQ to insist that rights such as the vote or access to education be accorded to all citizens regardless of race or gender.

**Conclusion: Nationalism and Social Democracy**

I would argue that, in the Québec case, ethno-religious nationalism is incompatible with social democracy. Ethno-religious nationalism in Québec was exclusionary and at odds with the liberal values needed to reduce social inequalities based on gender and race within society which is one of social democracy's aims. Nonetheless, Québécois ethno-religious nationalism did advocate using the state to promote economic equality, limiting the power of monopolies and nationalization of key industries within a corporatist framework. Thus, Québécois ethno-religious nationalism had collectivist tendency within it that made it conscious of economic inequality within society and prone to collective and corporatist solutions to achieve a more even distribution of wealth.

The PQ borrows its collectivism, corporatism and its concern with equality from the clerical nationalists of the 19th century and the social Catholic thought of the first half of the 20th century. However, the PQ replaces the ethnic-religious nationalism of this intellectual tradition with a secular territorial nationalism taken from the Québec liberal tradition which had its origins in the Patriotes and les rouges of the 19th century. The secular territorial nationalism of the PQ provides the liberal values needed for it to act towards social inequalities based on gender and race as well as economic inequalities. Thus, the Québec case points to the conclusion that if social democracy is to include nationalism within it, it must be a secular territorial nationalism and not ethno-religious nationalism.

However, many have raised questions about how 'territorial' or 'civic' the PQ's nationalism really was or is. In reference to today's sovereignty movement, Jeremy Webber in "Just how civic is civic nationalism in Québec?" argues that, while the sovereignists claim that they are civic nationalists, their nationalism often "slips" back

[88] p. 90- Dumont, Micheline
[89] ibid.

into ethnic nationalism especially under times of stress.[90] He claims that the "slippage" of civic nationalism into ethnic nationalism in Québec is "ultimately the product of tensions within civic nationalism itself".[91] He argues that any civic nationalism, because it cherishes a society's particularity, inevitably privileges some cultural phenomena over others. Undoubtedly, the territorial nationalism of the PQ contained and contains elements of ethnic nationalism as all territorial nationalisms do. A tension in the PQ's territorial nationalism between its civic and ethnic components is natural. However, it is important to note that 'slippage' in the PQ social democratic ideals concerning social equality would take place if ethnic nationalism within the PQ was more pronounced.

The accomplishment of the PQ was that it synthesized the collectivism of the 'social' aspect of clerico-nationalism of 19th century and the social democratic ideas of social Catholic thought of first half of the 20th century with the secularizing and modernizing liberal discourse of the Quiet Revolution into a secular and territorial nationalist social democracy which was responsive to issues of gender and race. In doing so, it synthesized components of what had been the two dominant ideological currents within Québécois society from 1759 to 1950: liberal nationalism and clerical nationalism. After the ascendancy of the PQ and the decline of the UN in the 1970s, the ideological division in Québécois society would no longer be between conservative clerical nationalism and liberal nationalism but between liberalism and social democracy. Both Québécois liberalism and Québécois social democracy subscribe to a form of territorial nationalism. However, these territorial nationalisms are different. The PQ territorial nationalism involves the ending of the double allegiance to both the Québécois nation and a federal Canada and the assumption of an assimilative role for the Québécois state. Liberal territorial nationalism involved the maintenance of the double allegiance and the continued cultural and linguistic affirmation of the Québécois nation. The history of Québec in the last 35 years can be understood as the competition between these two competing ideals of territorial nationalism.

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[90] Webber, Jeremy. "Just How Civic is Civic Nationalism in Quebec?" in *Citizenship, Diversity & Pluralism*, edited by Alan Cairns. Montreal: McGill-Queens Press. 1999. p. 87-107.
[91] p. 95- ibid.