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# MONOLITHISM AND MODERNIZATION : Cité Libre: première série and its emergence from the Quebec intellectual milieu.

ROBERT A. PERIN

M.A. Thesis (History 599)

Carleton University

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The undersigned hereby recommend to the Faculty of Graduate Studies acceptance of this thesis, submitted by Mr. Robert A. Perin in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts.

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# A B S T R A C T

Chapter I focusses on the ideas developed in Quebec during the thirties by four intellectuals from the Hautes Etudes Commerciales. Their conception of agriculture, their remedies for the social ills of the Depression, their programme for repatriating the Quebec economy are analyzed. Chapter II centers on the concepts produced in the forties by Laval's Ecole des Sciences Sociales . The background to the intellectual shift from the thirties is considered. The idea of the working class and labor unionism and the proposals for reforming the framework of industry are examined. Chapter III looks at the immediate socio-political and the more remote intellectual backgrounds to Cité Libre. Chapter IV studies the thought of Cité Libre during the fifties. Its critique of the clergy's predominance within secular society, of the government's arbitrariness, and of the nationalist ideology's dogmatism and monolithism are explored. Its proposals for democracy, federalism, and the secularization of secondary education are considered. Its attitude to specialization and to the State are also analyzed. Finally, the conclusion recapitulates the evolution of these three intellectual movements.

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## INTRODUCTION

This thesis initially sought to analyze the thought of Cité Libre: première série. However, it soon became obvious to me that the publication emerged from a revolt against the traditional conception of French Canadian society. The premises of this rebellion were rooted in the observations made of Quebec's intellectual climate during the thirties. I therefore considered that a preliminary chapter discussing the ideology of French Canada during the Depression years would be relevant and illuminating. Chapter I elaborates upon my choice of four intellectuals as the major articulators of this philosophy. Their ideas captured the essence of the monolithism, dogmatism, and authoritarianism, which so thoroughly alienated the originators of Cité Libre. They symbolized the implicit alliance between the bourgeois nationalists and the ecclesiastical intelligentsia. Ultimately they proved to be a sturdy buttress of an authoritarian laissez-faire government. My analysis of the traditionalist ideology restricted itself to its main themes: the agricultural myth, proposals enunciated to relieve a society in the midst of economic depression, and the programme to put Quebec's economy in the hands of the indigenous bourgeoisie. These topics provide us with an adequate understanding of traditional thought.

The secondary source providing the most useful background knowledge to Chapters I and II was undoubtedly Falardeau's Essais sur le Québec contemporain. The essays presented by Lamontagne and Faucher on industrialization, Lemelin on agriculture, Keyfitz

on demography, and Tremblay on the nationalised ideology, made excellent references for understanding the currents of French-Canadian history. Oliver's doctoral dissertation offered a good generalized study of nationalist intellectual movements. Its treatment of the Depression ideology, however, was sketchy. Trudeau's interpretation of this topic tended to be polemical and eclectic. The most revealing primary sources were Le Programme de Restauration Sociale, which was later to be integrated into the platform of the Action libérale nationale; Barbeau's Pour nous grandir and Montpetit's La Conquête Economique, Vol. III propound the main themes of bourgeois ideology.

I considered that a study of the social Catholic philosophy put forward by Laval's Ecole des Sciences Sociales would help to explain the formidable intellectual revolution occurring in Quebec within thirty years. By introducing the concepts of pluralism, pragmatism, toleration, and secularization within the context of Catholic thought, Georges-Henri Lévesque and his colleagues greatly aided intellectual ferment in the province. By helping to invigorate Quebec's largest union and by supporting it vigorously, the Ecole sparked the hopes of many who would later look to the labor movement as the only instrument for challenging the status quo. To have shifted from the intellectual climate of the thirties to that of the fifties, without the mediation of Georges-Henri Lévesque would have been abrupt indeed and would have left questions unanswered. Chapter II, therefore, analyzes the new concepts of the proletariat, industrial unionism and social democracy as analyzed by the Lévesque group.

The reports of the Congrès des Relations Industrielles, which recorded major addresses given at the annual symposium hosted by Laval's Department of Industrial Relations, and the publication Ad usum sacerdotum, exclusively devoted to social problems, were important vehicles for the elaboration of social Catholic philosophy. In addition, proposals for restructing the industrial sector were treated at length in Réformes des Structures dans l'Entreprise and La Participation des Travailleurs à la vie de l'Entreprise.

Chapter III examines the immediate impulses which fostered the fruition of Cité Libre. Particular attention was focussed on the influence of France's Emmanuel Mounier and of the Asbestos strike. Herbert Quinn' s Union Nationale provided general background material for Chapter III. Le Personnalisme gave a very concise enunciation of Mounier's philosophy. Trudeau's Grève offered information about the observation formulated by the young intellectuals during the Asbestos strike. Although La Grève de l'Amiante was only published in 1956, Pelletier had already echoed in his article "D'Un prolétariat spirituel" published in 1952 its ideas on the nature of French-Canadian society. The contrasting interpretations of the Asbestos strike furnished by Trudeau's Grève, which emphasized the role of the proletariat, and Cousineau's Réflexions, which accentuated the contribution of public opinion was very revealing.

Finally, Chapter IV concerns itself exclusively with the thought of Cité Libre: première série. As mentioned in that chapter, I have chosen to restrict the study to the first ten years of the publication's existence because I feel that the

problems emerging from the post-Duplessis era differ fundamentally from those of the fifties. Many of the questions posed by Cité Libre: première série relating to education, the Church, government either had been resolved or were beginning to be answered with the advent of the Lesage government. In addition, the publication itself underwent modifications in 1960. It was converted from a quarterly to a monthly. Its editorial board was restructured and enlarged in keeping with the magazine's mushrooming popularity. Its pages revealed an influx of new contributors. The Chapter attempts to encompass the whole of Cité Libre's critique of French-Canadian society. It is, therefore, subdivided into three major headings which reflect the magazine's essential preoccupations. The first section discusses clerical domination of society, especially within the educational system, and of thought. The second examines their criticism of the authoritarian government and also looks at their concept of labor unionism and political attunement. The third studies their assault on nationalist ideology, its fundamental idealism, its dogmatism, and monolithism, and also concentrates on the theory of federalism. I have excluded from consideration isolated articles of a specialized nature, which were not written by the Cité Libre group, and generally those expressions of personal opinion which emanated from within the team but did not reflect the policy of the magazine. All the other articles, however, comprise a coherent and comprehensive philosophy.

Quinn's book remains the only general work dealing with

Quebec in the fifties and proved itself useful as a source of reference. Savard's Master's dissertation on Cité Libre was fairly detailed, but its perspective was sociological rather than historical.

# CHAPTER I

## SOCIAL MYTHS IN INDUSTRIAL REALITY

The dawning of the twentieth century portended the rapid deterioration and eventual collapse of a traditional way of life in Quebec. As the years wore on, the characterization of its society as one predominantly entrenched in the soil, revolving around a large tightly-knit family unit, inspired and vigorously led by the Church was becoming less consonant with the facts. Agriculture, both as an economic system and as a social framework, was losing its ascendancy with alarming speed. Indeed, whereas in 1901 the rural population constituted a preponderant 60.3% in the province's social spectrum, by 1941 it had plummetted to 36.7%.[1] For the same span of years, furthermore, well over 180,000 agricultural workers are estimated to have abandoned their 'ancestral heritage'.[2] Since those between the ages of 15 and 34 comprised the overwhelming majority of 'deserters', the hope, still ardently raging in the hearts of French-Canadian traditionalists, for the continuation and burgeoning of the farming tradition appeared to be quite illusory. The industrial centres of Quebec and New England, like sirens, attracted the young ambitious generation with an irresistible and almost hypnotic force. Already by 1920 a mixed economy prevailed in Quebec. Thus, agriculture could boast that it embraced only as many workers as were being drawn by the manufacturing, construction, and 'sweating' industries.[3]

The statistics relating to the province's production, however, should have shocked the defenders of agrarianism even more. At the turn of the century, fully 65% of Quebec's output emanated from the agricultural sector, but by 1940, the farm only provided 10% of her total production.[4] In 1920, manufacturing accounted for 38% of the provincial economy's production and could claim for the first time to have surpassed agriculture by the minute margin of 1%.[5] The post-Great war era provided the setting for a decisive assault on French-Canadian traditional living, inflicted by the formidable forces of industrialization. "It was only when a number of material and/or power-oriented industries were married to the polygamous hydro-electric concern and when the two processes, old and new, joined together in the upswing of the late 1920's that industrialization did challenge old Quebec."[6] Clearly, the province found itself in the throes of a fantastic industrial expansion which, coupled with its attendant phenomenon, urbanization, radiated the comforting warmth of material betterment, but also unleashed a torrent of anxieties, dislocations, and frustrations. How then did the Quebec mind respond to the enormous physical changes occuring around it?

The leadership of the intellectual movement lay predominantly with an anti-liberal clergy.[7] Nourished on the writings of de Maistre, de Bonald, and Montalembert, animated by a fear of social unrest which had triggered a vicious anti-clerical reaction in nineteenth-century Europe, it established the foundations of a social philosophy, the principle tenets of

which went unchallenged for about fifty years. But, how could such a total monopolization of thought occur? During the nineteenth century, the clergy gradually had infiltrated, both explicitly, by its physical presence, and implicitly, by the influence that it wielded, those institutions prevailing in Quebec society. Thus, by its outset, the Church controlled the helm of the social movement; her leadership was all-pervasive and unrivaled.

Pastoral letters and mandements, which formed the basis of the Quebec Church's social thought, reflected an antipathy if not an outright opposition to industrialization. Inspired by the view that such a process lessened the proximity of ecclesiastical authority, subverted its influence and eventually dissolved a virtuous way of life wherein such supreme values as stability, obedience, piety, family unity, sociability, and sobriety flourished, clerics engendered the vocation agricole. Readapting the old nationalist myth sprung out of the Rebellion, they began to believe that French Canada was the unique possessor of a divinely ordained calling. As Catholicism's only bastion in North America, Quebec could radiate the virtues which a rural context cultivated best amidst a desert of rampant Anglo-Saxon materialism. Even as late as 1946, the episcopacy in a collective letter extolled those who upheld agriculture as a vocation.

> Aux descendants de défricheurs apôtres de comprendre les avantages qu'il y a à continuer leur mission, à agrandir le corps mystique du Christ, en ouvrant des paroisses nouvelles et en baptisant la terre canadienne pour qu'elle guarde bien vivante et la foi et les vertus de nos ancêtres. 8

Despite this visceral attachment to the soil, the Church did not choose to flout the socio-economic realities governing the province. Unwilling to abandon her urbanized parishioners to perdition, she was determined to make the best of a bad situation and accommodated herself, rather begrudgingly to the industrial-urban fact. Keenly aware that the rapid rise of an unbridled labour movement would jeopardize social and religious stability, the ecclesiastical authorities led a vigorous assault against international unions which were trying to obtain a foothold in Quebec. Indeed, Les Chevaliers du Travail, the Quebec affiliate of a continental syndicalist organization, did not long survive the onslaught. This desire to exclude international unionism led the Church to a timely and totally domestic discovery, the syndicats catholiques. Thus, she assured that the proletariat would wholly be imbued with the correct social teachings of the Church and that the radicalism, anti-clericalism, and even the violence characterizing labour relations in Europe and North America would be squelched.

Later, unsatisfied with limiting her influence to the syndicats only, the Church realized the importance of organizing the province's urban youth, lest her message become atrophied by a restricted appeal to a particular age category. Thus, the Jeunesse Ouvrière Catholique and the Jeunesse Etudiante Catholique were founded as social action groups dedicated to the dissemination of Church doctrine and the proselytization of their respective secular milieus.

The Church's social philosphy was interpreted almost exclusively in Quebec by the conservative Society of Jesus. In 1911, the Jesuits created the Ecole Sociale Populaire to apply the guidelines enunciated in ecclesiastical documents, and especially in the papal encyclical Rerum Novarum, to the contemporary problems of Quebec in the midst of social transformation. Their influence also extended to Church sponsored conferences, called semaines sociales, which were designed to deal with these burning issues.

Unquestionably, therefore, the Church represented a formidable force in the province: it exerted considerable weight within institutions, the syndicats catholiques, the various youth movements; its preponderance in rural areas could not be challenged; its social philosophy, which had percolated down to all segments of the population, was so pervasive that it could not be ignored.

Quebec's burgeoning lay intelligentsia simply could not refer to an established tradition in economics or sociology, other than to the Church's social philosophy. In the field of economics, there was of course Errol Bouchette, who, at the turn of the century, uttered his battle-cry in the wilderness, "Emparons-nous de l'industrie", but this feeble example surely attests to the aridity with which the subject was cursed. Indeed, it is perhaps symptomatic of this disconcerting unproductivity that the patriarch of Quebec economists, Edouard Montpetit first obtained a degree in law before pursuing his studies at Paris' Ecole libre des sciences politiques and at

the Collège des sciences sociales in economics and sociology. Sociological research could hardly boast a rich heritage in the province. Léon Gérin's investigations of rural Quebec barely qualified as the only existing study in that field.

The universities, where the stimulation and clash of ideas could incite the greater maturation of thought, primarily were oriented to the traditional professional disciplines, but were beginning very elementary explorations in the more practical fields. The Hautes Etudes Commerciales, founded in 1910 and carefully mirroring its milieu, dispensed courses in economics and commerce, the contents of which were circumscribed by papal pronouncements and other ecclesiastical literature. The Ecole des sciences sociales of the Université de Montréal, headed by Montpetit, only opened its doors in 1920. Laval displayed an even greater reticence to evolve toward new horizons. The Institut des sciences sociales, initiated by Georges-Henri Lévesque in 1933, only assumed the status of a university department five years after its foundation.

Despite these formidable obstacles, a minute nucleus of lay thinkers, who displayed an interest in economics and sociology, did emerge during the thirties. Who comprised this embryonic cell? We have already alluded to Edouard Montpetit. There was also Esdras Minville, Quebec's first home-grown economist, Victor Barbeau and F. A. Angers, both professors at the Hautes Etudes Commerciales, the latter being an editor-in-chief of its journal, Actualité Economique. These four academics established and articulated a coherent lay school of

thought. It cannot be disputed that other individuals expressed themselves in the area of social philosophy. But, they either reflected the ideas which were better enunciated by the above-mentioned intellectuals or, elaborated upon concepts in isolation, without affiliation to any institution. For the purposes of this study, it would be impractical and clumsy to incorporate isolated individuals. Finally, there existed other institutions of a political, social, or academic nature which studied social questions, but they were not nearly as consistent, comprehensive, concentrated, or solidly established as the men at the Hautes Etudes Commerciales.

To what influences were these academics subjected in their elaboration of a social philosophy? The clergy, which disposed of an almost total monopoly in the Quebec educational system, implanted at a very early stage in these men's lives the seeds of a profound anti-materialism. This philosophical idealism conceived of an ultimate and unalterable opposition between the realms of the spiritual and the material and, therefore, stressed the primacy of the former. The evanescence of the physical world bowed before the infinitude and absoluteness of the immaterial. Consequently, the immediacy of the present was deemphasized considerably. Taken to its extreme, this conception preached resignation in the face of suffering, complete submission to authority, and generally a total passive acceptance of the here and now. In addition, the majority of the teaching clergy imparted the notion of Quebec's special mission in North America. Victor Barbeau would later reflect this basic

attitude when writing about Quebec as an ". . . îlot en Amérique ou la simplicité, la sobriété des moeurs subsiste . . ."[9] and about his compatriots as possessors of a special vocation. "Bien plus qu'une manière d'être (être Français en Amérique), c'est une manière d'agir. C'est un rayonnement, un apostolat. Et qui dit apostolat, dit combat."[10]

The social philosophy of these intellectuals, however, did not derive its inspiration exclusively from the Church. Aside from their allegiance to Catholicism, these men partook in the spiritual fraternity of the disinherited bourgeoisie. Their historical middle class patrimony, invited them to preside over the nation, conduct its business, and guarantee its political, economic, and intellectual progress.

> Il appartient à la bourgeoisie, en collaboration avec les autorités constituées, d'imprimer à la masse son orientation ou . . . de façonner elle-même par ses exemples, ses conseils, ses directives à la fois éclairés et disinteressés, l'opinion publique . . . . En d'autres termes, le rôle de la bourgeoisie . . . en est un de direction.[11]

The knowledge that they were the rightful heirs of the mantle of leadership, that they should chart the nation's course, only served to exacerbate them, because a foreign bourgeoisie had appropriated their ideology and usurped their rightful claims to the economic, social, and political monopoly of the nation.

Finally, the theories propounded by the intellectuals were coloured deeply by their impressions of the depression. The material benefits of urbanization and industrialization appeared to be considerably mitigated by the anxieties,

dislocations, and intense frustrations which attended the French-Canadian people in the wake of the economic disaster. By 1932, bedecked in the finery of modernization, Quebec, nevertheless, was racked with severe unemployment, which claimed 100,000 workers.[12] From the passage of the Unemployment Relief Act to August 1931, the province outdistanced all her sisters by having to provide direct assistance to 66,438 families and 262,137 individuals.[13] Wages plummetted. The proletarian's task of eking out an existence for himself and his family was made that much more arduous and precarious.

The social philosophers, therefore, distilled an ideology from a solution which blended religious teachings, middle class values, and their own perception of the socio-economic effects of the depression. Consequently, their elitism not only reflected the hierarchical structure of Thomism, indirectly inculcated into them from childhood, but also their class notion of a well-ordered and stratified society. Their messianism not only expressed French Canada's mandate to proselytize Protestant North America, but also the bourgeoisie's duty to orchestrate French-Canadian life for the sake of national progress. Their dislike for the foreign middle class and their observations of the havoc wreaked in the thirties by large-scale industrialization coincided.

This synthesis, however, was not perfect. Conflicting and contradictory tensions inherent in this ideological amalgam beckoned for their allegiance. The leaders of French

Canada's economic renascence stood at the threshold of an even greater industrial expansion, hesitant, because the educational system and the prevailing tenets of their religion instilled a deep suspicion of materialism. Reflecting these contradictions, Barbeau, the author of Mesure de notre taille, a book puporting to demonstrate the penury of Quebecers in the ownership of industry, stated, "Nous aussi nous avons adoré le veau d'or sans que personne, hélas, d'assez courageux, d'assez clairvoyant, ôsat répéter le geste de Moise".[14] Propelled by the daily degenerating conditions crying for solution, these men elaborated during the decade a social programme reflecting the opposition between idealism and materialism, traditionalism and industrialization, forces which, at the time, were rending their province.

What proposals did this body of thought, called "la pensée sociale", afford a Quebec unmoored by rapid industrialization and economic depression? Its underlying assumption is that the foreign middle class precipitated Quebec into an urban and industrial precipice; only the autochtonous bourgeoisie could restore this badly dislocated society to normalcy.

> . . . L'industrialisation rapide du dernier quart du siècle a congestionné les villes, désagrégé notre classe moyenne, prolétarisé une proportion effroyable de notre population, suscité une multitude de problèmes au sujet desquels on s'interroge aujourd'hui avec inquiétude.[15]

To restore the social organism, the intellectuals prescribed

that the process of urbanization be retarded, if not altogether arrested. They unveiled a blueprint, the Programme de Restauration Sociale, the formulation of which Rumilly attributed to the labourious scholarship of Esdras Minville. This plan of action purported to achieve the moral regeneration of urbanized man, whose values both spiritual and cultural, had been prostituted by a system which seduced him with the promise of physical well-being. Here, the academics' idealism waxed strongest. They appeared to be rejecting capitalism and industrialization in an attempt to create a more human environment for their compatriots. Their grasp on reality, however, was not completely abandoned. The Programme explicitly disclaimed the desire to displace capitalism, affirming that its shafts were directed against the excesses only of the system. Indeed, these men were well in the mainstream of bourgeois thought when they demanded that a material awakening flourish in the province so that the Quebecois, that is their middle class, could control their own economic environment without any demeaning external influence.

Tneir idealism incited them to revolt against that aspect of the Quebec worker's vicious exploitation and proletarianization which had rendered him an uncultured and soulless animal. The more humanisticly-inclined of the four professors, Victor Barbeau, grippingly described the anaemia and sterility pervading a society which pandered to the body and devoted little of its attention

to succouring a much neglected spirit.

> Tout crie l'ennui ainsi que le démontre le bruit que nous faisons pour nous étourdir. D'où vient-il cet ennui, sinon de la banalité, de la futilité de nos existances . . . . Indolents et paresseux nous n'avons d'intérêt et de curiosité que dirigé vers le bas, soit le cinéma, soit les sports, soit les vains délassements des salons, où l'on a jamais su causer.[16]

Echoing his colleague, Edouard Montpetit bemoaned with the cynicism of an academic, the cultural wasteland that manifested itself among the lower classes, no doubt as a consequence of mass urbanization and standardized culture. "On ne cause plus guère dans nos salons! On chante encore, et quelles chansons! You're the cream in my coffee ou Tie a little string around your finger, facéties ridicules qu'il suffit de traduire en français pour pouffer de rire. On court au cinéma américain, maître du monde . . ."[17] Mass education was held partly responsible for the cultural penury pervading the urban milieu. "Quinconque entreprendrait le recensement de notre fortune en arriverait, je le crains, à la conclusion que notre pauvreté s'est accrue au fur et à mesure que l'enseignement s'est étendu, popularisé."[18] Barbeau contended that a spirit of pragmatism and materialism imbued the primary school which constituted, at the time, the educational norm for the vast majority of French-Canadians. This practical curriculum substantially depreciated the value of those subjects providing students with spiritual and cultural nourishment. A reorientation of the educational content was advocated so

that much greater emphasis be placed on language, history, and religion. Thus, national consciousness and pride as well as a pious sobriety would be instilled in the urbanized masses.

The academics, however, turned to the vocation agricole as an immediate and efficient method for the rehabilitation of society's severed fibres. They considered that their industrialized compatriots had displayed a naive eagerness in jettisoning marginal farming and fishing, since the new urbanized environment only met unskilled labour with idleness and deprivation. At least, agriculture had provided a stable milieu uncontaminated by philosophies considered to be subversive of the national and religious character. It must be emphasized, however, that in all the literature produced by this group of urbanized intellectuals, there is not the slightest suggestion for a total reversion to the soil to the extent that Quebec's industries, and therefore, her cities, would disappear. These men merely considered agriculture as the most traditional and efficient means of decongesting urban centres by syphoning off the great mass of unemployed proletarians to the farm, from which the large majority of Quebec's unskilled labour had initially originated. Victor Barbeau invoked the myth of la vocation agricole in order to achieve "le repatriement et la réadaptation du chômeur"[19] and his colleague, François Angers, elaborated a scheme which sought to rehabilitate thousands of idle workers by a massive colonization project

in the Abitibi region.[20] The entire mystique of the vocation agricole, the emphasis that was placed on it, and the frequency with which it recurred in the literature of the period, not only was directed to lure the unemployed back to the farm but more important, was designed to arrest the drainage of rural labour to the already glutted cities.

An effusive romanticism enveloped the sincere apologias for the traditional system that was being discarded rapidly by an overwhelming portion of the population. An agrarian existence, it was claimed, fostered the fruition of an intimate family relationship and a virtuous Christian life uncomplicated by the imperatives of competition and efficiency, which regulated the capitalist system and sapped man's morality. The farmer, unlike his urban counterpart, was not expected to evince any interest in the profit motive because agriculture, being a profession rather than an industry, ". . . récompense l'effort de ceux qui l'aiment pour la vie qu'elle donne . . ."[21] This idyllic way of life superseded mere corporal necessities; it sustained the whole man. "Elle conserve la santé physique, intéllectuelle et morale de la race."[22]

The thinkers of the thirties esteemed that any more explicit elaboration of this theme was superfluous because of the sanction given to agriculture by the Church. Indeed, Montpetit cited in his magnum opus, La Conquête Economique, a statement produced in June 1919 by the executive of the National Catholic Council of War. The American bishops,

comprising this organism, addressed themselves to the serious problems facing the economy as a result of the return of a multitude of soldiers from the European front. In order to resolve the massive glut on the labour market, they proposed, ". . . la colonisation des terres neuves ou libres par les retours du front et les matelots munis d'un capital d'exploitation. Cette initiative utiliserait des hommes, grossirait la classe des propriétaires, donnerait une impulsion à la production."[23]

What of the properly proletarian problems befalling urban man? Did they find any solutions in the body of thought upon which the intellectuals of the thirties expatiated? Certainly, these men sought to palliate the severity of a basically exploitative order.

When the Royal Commission on Price Spreads released its report in 1934, Quebec was particularly criticized for its toleration of the grossly inhuman working conditions prevalent in certain of her industries. Paltry wages, incredibly lengthy hours of labour, unsanitary and unhealthy surroundings, unconscionably immense profits garnered by some employers, all these factors incited H. H. Stevens to recommend full-scale unionization of the province's proletariat and the implementation of strong effective labour legislation. However, the Quebec social thinkers, whose laissez-faire instincts required that the State play a minimal role in the life of the nation, exhibited a greater reticence than the founder of the

Reconstruction Party. They did, however, mould a programme which attempted to establish the primary principle that "le droit du travailleur à une honnête forme d'existance est le premier devoir que la loi morale propose à l'industrie."[24]

Le Programme de Restauration Sociale proposed to attain social justice for the oppressed worker. It demanded, for example, the abolition of such heinous abuses as child labour. The necessity of implementing better and safer conditions of labour was perceived. Thus, to ensure the employer's observance of health and security regulations, the state would be required to undertake regular inspections of industry. Furthermore, the government was empowered to standardize working hours, establish a guaranteed income gauged upon the 'requirements' of an average Quebec family and a minimum wage for the unskilled worker. To protect the rights of labour, full-scale unionization was urged. Le Programme, however, only endorsed the syndicats catholiques. It was thought that these organisms alone could represent equitably the just demands of the working class. F. A. Angers articulated the academics' hostility toward international trade unions.

> Il n'est certes pas allé aussi loin, ni aussi vite que ses principes le lui auraient permis. N'empêche son inclination est à gauche. Sa tendance est assez bien illustré par la courbe même de ses revendications, notamment en ce qui touche la durée du travail: Avant 1872, il bataille pour la journée de neuf heures . . . (et aujourd'hui) il se prononce pour la journée de six heures et la semaine de trente heures

> . . . le patron a le droit de vivre tout comme l'ouvrier . . .[25]

Relieving those segments of the population especially afflicted by the excesses of the depression with government-sponsored social assistance was regarded with a jaundiced eye. For such projects were thought to encourage indolence by destroying individual initiative. It is clear that the achievement of a "just" wage constituted in this case the first priority of the social thinkers' programme. However, they were prepared to accept welfare programmes, but only under strick guidelines. Social assistance, they stressed, should be organized on a contributory basis and purveyed by individual industries. "L'assurance sociale (deviendrait) alors l'assurance corporative."[26] Thus, such plans as unemployment insurance, old age security, workmen's compensation, and family allowances would all be administered by the private sector. Esdras Minville observed,

> "L'organisation du bien-être social dans la province de Québec procède de l'initiative privée. Et c'est le sentiment général chez les catholiques qu'il doit continuer d'en être ainsi. Que l'Etat intervienne pour suppléer, compléter, non pour déplacer, dominer . . ."[27]

Finally, cancerous slums, which slowly corroded the national fibre and mushroomed with the establishment of every new industry, were to be arrested by Le Programme's suggestion that a provincially-operated

National Housing Commission be created. This organism would be designed to provide easier loans, the funds for which would be collected from the government and private enterprise, so that decent living quarters could be built.

The keystone of the arch had yet to be laid in the formulation of French-Canadian social philosophy. The bourgeois intellectuals observed that the socio-economic crisis strangling Quebec could be effectively broken only with the creation of a commercial or industrial bourgeoisie, which together with its professional counterpart would constitute the elite imparting the correct national values to the people. But, since a foreign upstart already monopolized the indigenous economy, the Quebec middle class would have to erect parallel socio-economic structures, truly "national" ones in conformity with the French-Canadian character. "Nous avons demandé à nos gens de faire comme les Américains, de faire comme les Anglais, de faire comme ceux-ci et ceux-là—jamais ou presque jamais comme eux-même . . . nous en sommes à leur offrir un programme d'action adapté à leur taille, proportionné à leurs moyens."[28]

The social thinkers perceived the futility of attempting to establish indigenously-owned industries which would compete with the well-established foreign concerns, whose position had been consolidated by bountiful mergers and monopolies since the 1890's. They rejected the anonymity

and enormity of the framework characterizing modern capitalism which was to be the vehicle of the accelerated industrial expansion of the forties. In order to better facilitate the establishment of their parallel structures, national campaigns were launched against foreign trusts and monopolies, like Beauharnois Light, Heat and Power. The professors at the Hautes Etudes Commerciales mercilessly excoriated the impersonality of sprawling industrial and commercial concerns, excess profits, cut-throat competition, and other blatant abuses of an unregulated capitalist system.

Through what channels, then, would French-Canadians direct their economic energies? What did the slogan "Emparons-nous de l'industrie" mean for Quebec in the thirties? Esdras Minville exhorted his compatriots to launch themselves in undertakings which were best adapted to their national spirit: the artisanat, fishing, forestry, agriculture, coal mining.[29] Edouard Montpetit similarly suggested that his compatriots massively invade the petite and moyenne industrie, which would be supported by an enormous Achat chez nous crusade.[30] Victor Barbeau's gospel of cooperation sought to relieve the pressures of feverish competition. Small farmers could pool their resources and thus improve their yield; manufacturers could abet one another instead of resorting to mutually ruinous competition, which only benefitted "le marchand anglais ou juif." Furthermore, his theory of corporatism

was merely the extension of parallel structures to the public sector. Instead of protecting foreign capitalist interests, the Quebec government, endowed with a corporatist framework, would become the incarnation of the national spirit, transcending the narrow vision of petty interest groups. With the bourgeoisie at its head, it would promote the common good of French Canada. "Producteurs, consommateurs, ouvriers, patrons, techniciens, capitalistes, rentiers, prolétaires, (seraient), de sa part, l'objet d'une égale solicitude . . . elle (humaniserait) l'économie politique trop longtemps 'la science naturelle de l'égoisme humain'."[31] Thus, corporatism would reflect the aspirations of a native bourgeoisie, rather than those of its foreign counterpart.

These men, therefore, delimited a certain sector which they claimed as their preserve and upon which "les Anglais" could not trespass. But how could they promote French-Canadian participation in industry and still remain faithful to their philosophical idealism? The basic premise to which they conditioned their leadership of Quebec's economy was well articulated by Minville.

> La fin qu'il faut assigner à la vie économique et sociale, ce n'est pas tant l'accumulation des richesses dans la société, considérée comme un tout que l'équitable répartition des biens humains entre les membres de la société.[32]

Their assigning the profit motive a very secondary role revealed the Church's influence. Thus, separate structures

again were made imperative for the successful practice of Christian virtue in business, which would surely atrophy in the unscrupulous Protestant environment.

Within this commercial and industrial sanctuary, French Canada could nurture its own language, culture, and religion, and maintain its abhorence for materialism without fear of subversion by competition.

The thirties, therefore, witnessed the emergence of the first lay school of social thought in French Canada. To what extent can we consider the ideology propounded at the Hautes Etudes Commerciales as lay, since the material churned out is quite liberally seasoned with ecclesiastical documents and the pronouncements of the hierarchy? Certainly, the academics were offspring of their culture in which religion was assigned an essential role. In this perspective, the Church would exert a greater influence in molding their ideas than in a totally secular context. But, these men comprised the intellectual wing of the bourgeoisie, whose duty it was to justify the interests of their class. In their self-assured manner, they perceived no incompatibility between their middle-class goals and the welfare of the Church. In a society predicated on authority, extensive citations from encyclicals and mandements could not but reinforce the validity and respectability of their theories. Thus, while the intellectuals considered themselves dedicated and convinced Catholics, we should not conclude

that they were the slavish pawns of the Church.

The Catholic academics, therefore, intended to re-establish that fragile equilibrium which had been swept away with the tidal wave of industrialization. A government-sponsored colonization campaign would subdue considerably the potentially explosive pressures of massive urban unemployment. The implementation of the most elementary industrial reforms would soothe proletarian unrest. Educational changes would infuse in the French-Canadian masses that culture, that national spirit, that meticulous attention to language, and that anti-materialism, which were seen as quintessential elements for the edification of French Canada.

Obviously, then, the intellectuals interpreted the problems afflicting the urbanized proletariat as essentially spiritual: lack of uplifting culture, of religion, of national pride. Tney displayed a singular lack of understanding for the material needs of the industrialized masses, as the quotation from F. A. Angers reveals.

> En prêtant à l'ouvrier le désir d'arriver à manger aussi grassement qu'eux (les bourgeois), à habiter dans les maisons claires, chaudes, bien décorées, à s'assoir aussi confortablement qu'eux pour lire son journal dans les mêmes fauteuils douillettement bourées, à avoir un tel soin de son corps et de sa santé qu'il coure chez le médecin au moindre bobo, ne commettent-ils pas tout simplement l'erreur de croire que ce qu' ils estiment nécessaire pour être satisfait de l'existance l'est devenu également et de la même façon qu l'ouvrier."[33]

But, this failure only serves to underline the intellectuals' inability to understand the forces of industrialization

motivating their society. Why is it that a farmer would exchange the security of rural life for the anxieties of the cities? This question they never posed.

Their idealism, their belief that farming could be made to work, propelled their philosophy. By seeking to resolve the delicate social problems of the depression primarily with an intensified agricultural programme, these "specialists" illustrated their inability to confront the realities of the Quebec economy. All their proposals for the restoration of agriculture could aspire to be no more than petty vulgarizations because of their unspecific nature. Lamenting the fact that only 9,400 out of a total 45,000 square miles of cultivatible land had enjoyed the bountiful benefits of a plough, François Angers dreamed of colonization schemes to settle 100,000 of Quebec's unemployed in Lac St. Jean and Abitibi counties.[34] He contended that by halving the area of existing farmlands, Quebec's annual yield would treble. Le Programme de Restauration Sociale violently flailed the provincial government for importing $100 million worth of agricultural produce a year, affirming that crop diversification would answer the needs of the domestic market. Barbeau observed that the rural environment was not conducive to tne perpetuation of an agrarian tradition. He, therefore, thought that the farmer's boredom could actually be eliminated by establishing organizations providing him with cultural and recreational activities. Finally, other suggestions, such as the easier

access to agricultural credit and the cooperative system of farming, were bandied about. But from this delineation of solutions propounded by the four academics, it becomes obvious that they simply could not fathom the nature of the difficulties experienced by the Quebec farmer. "It would have required a further reduction of the farm population to stimulate technical improvement and more intense production."[35] Indeed, the 1941 Census indicated that a shocking 44% of the province's farms were on the subsistence level, as compared to 28% for the national average, that the total number of acres per farm only attained 11% of the national average, that Quebec possessed a mere 18.1% of the purebred cattle and an incredible 3.7% of the tractors in Canada.[36] In addition, the incentive to shift from subsistence farming to the demands of a domestic market did not make itself manifest because of the low level of consumer demands. Nevertheless, their idealism and their lack of economic sophistication prompted them to reiterate that

> Il n'y aura pas de véritable prospérité . . . tant qu'une partie de la population sera obligée de soutenir par l'impôt des milliers de chômeurs à consommer sans créer de richesses. Leur permettre de créer les biens nécessaires à leurs propres subsistances, voilà ce par quoi il faut commencer.[37]

The idealization of agriculture prevented these men from considering it an industry, which also had to be subjected to the criterion of efficiency in order to prove itself viable.

The social thinkers can certainly be faulted for their

lack of sophistication in the field of economics and sociology. Montpetit's massive La Conquête Economique, a three volume collection of his more important writings, does not provide an incisive analysis of modern socio-economic theory or its practical application to Quebec society. On these points, his trilogy condemns us to dissatisfaction. Doubtless, its pages abound in verbose dissertations on economic liberalism and social Catholicism, but tinged as they are with a heavy political hue, they reveal very little grasp of technical disciplines. Victor Barbeau also exemplified this lack of sophistication in his Mesure de notre taille which gauged the size of industries according to the sole criterion of manpower employed. Thus, la petite entreprise comprised all those establishments employing less than twenty people, la moyenne, those with less than fifty employees, and la grosse encompassed all the rest. It is rather disconcerting that a professor at the Hautes Etudes Commerciales could dignify the department store, Dupuis et Frères, as a huge industrial concern.

It was the academics' refusal to employ the instruments provided by modern society to establish a French-Canadian presence in the economy which perpetuated the status quo. Their fundamental distrust of state intervention, their failure to accept the enormity of the modern capitalist structure and their consequent inability to fathom the industrial reality, made their proposals largely irrevelant. While their desire to "repatriate" the Quebec economy may

have been a noble enterprise, they could not measure up to the task with the tools which they had fashioned.

Footnotes

1. Charles Lemelin, "The State of Agriculture," Essais sur le Québec contemporain, ed. Jean-Charles Falardeau (Québec: Presses Universitaires Laval, 1953) p. 60.
These statistics manifestly are limited since the Canadian Census arbitrarily defined urban centres as communities with more than 1,000 inhabitants. However, they are adequate for the purposes of this study which is attempting to indicate a general trend.
I have made extensive use of Falardeau in introducing this chapter because his work is the most comprehensive socio-economic and political study of Quebec in the thirties available.

2. Nathan Keyfitz, "Population Problems," ibid., 80.
Mr. Keyfitz employed two different proceedures to determine the rate of desertion per census. The fact that very little disparity was evidenced in the two methodologies, save for two occasions, would tend to substantiate the findings.
For a description of Mr. Keyfitz's proce_dure refer to pp. 74-84 of the above-cited article.

3. Ibid., 78.

1921 Census Classification according to employment in Quebec:

| Total | Agriculture | Manufacturing, Construction and Labour Industries |
|---|---|---|
| 646,440 | 217,416 | 224,048 |

4. Albert Faucher and Maurice Lamontagne, "History of Industrial Development," ibid., 33.

5. Ibid., 33.

6. Ibid., 32.

7. Although in-depth research might reveal minor modifications to this thesis, nevertheless its fundamental premises have been widely accepted in French-Canadian historiography.
Refer to: Fernand Ouellet, "The Historical Background of Separatism in Quebec," French-Canadian Nationalism, ed. Ramsay Cook (Toronto: MacMillan of Canada, 1969) p. 49-63.
Jacques Monet, "French-Canadian Nationalism and the Challenge of Ultramontanism," Canadian Historical Association Annual Report, (1966) p. 41-55.
Michel Brunet, "L'Eglise Catholique du Bas-Canada Partage Du Pouvoir à l'heure d'une nouvelle donne 1837-1854," Historical Papers, (1969) p. 37.

8. Archevêché de Québec, "Lettre Pastorale Collective Sur La Colonisation," 1946, Mandements, Lettres Pastorales et Circulaires des Evêques de Québec, XVII, (Québec: Chancellerie de L'Archevêché, 1955) p. 276.

9. Victor Barbeau, Pour nous grandir (Montréal: Editions Le Devoir, 1937) p. 55.

10. Ibid., 53.

11. Esdras Minville, "La Bourgeoisie et l'Economique," L'Avenir de notre bourgeoisie, (Montréal: Bernard Valiquette, 1939) p. 13.

12. Canadian Annual Review of Public Affairs, (Toronto: 1932) p. 400.

13. Ibid., 404.

14. Barbeau, 103.

15. Minville, 20.

16. Barbeau, 78.

17. Edouard Montpetit, La Conquête Economique, (Montréal: Editions Bernard Valiquette, 1940), II, 266.

18. Barbeau, 151.

19. Ibid., 132.

20. François-Albert Angers, "Colonisation Agricole," Actualité Economique, I (avril, 1939) p. 74.

21. Albert Rioux et al., Le Programme de restauration sociale, (Montréal: Ecole Sociale Populaire, 1934) p. 10.

22. Ibid., 9.

23. Montpetit, III, 147.

24. Ibid., 137.

25. Pierre-Elliott Trudeau, "La Province de Québec au moment de la Grève," La Grève de l'Amiante, ed. Pierre-E. Trudeau (Montréal: Editions Cité Libre, 1956) p. 34.

26. Rioux et al., 32.

27. Trudeau, 22.

28. Minville, 47.

29. Ibid., 49-50.

30. Montpetit, II, 138-140.

31. Barbeau, 231.

32. Minville, 31.

33. F. A. Angers, "Avons-nous compris nos ouvriers?," Action nationale, XXII (octobre, 1943) p. 96.

34. Trudeau, 29.

35. Lemelin, 61.

36. Ibid., 58.

37. Angers, "Colonisation," 78.

## CHAPTER II

## THE SPRING OF SOCIAL CATHOLICISM

With the outbreak of the second World War, Quebec, already buffetted by the winds of social transformation, was swept into the powerful whirlpool of a concentrated and more intensive industrial expansion. Canada's holy crusade against German barbarism triggered the economic upheaval. However, the exigencies of war conspired with an already existent phenomenon, the intense exploitation of Quebec's bountiful natural resources, a process which was accelerating with the depletion of raw materials elsewhere on the continent. This marriage de convenance produced between 1939 and 1950 an industrial growth which dwarfed tenfold the province's accomplishments in the preceeding century. Indeed, even the rate of industrial expansion for Canada as a whole during that decade could not surpass Quebec's gigantic strides.[1] Investment poured into the province, while unemployment steadily decreased until it attained a negligible level by the end of this period.[2]

As industrialization's conquests multiplied, so urbanization continued to extend its sceptre over the Quebec soil. Agriculture had suffered further reversals. Her ranks had been depleted severely by massive defections. The City's clarion call for a better life proved itself an enchanting and ineluctable force. The farm scarcely survived industrialization's vicious onslaught. Meanwhile

the urban armies continued to swell so that by 1951, two-thirds of the population of Quebec inhabited the cities.[3] Large increases continued in manufacturing, construction, the service and labouring industries.

However, all was not well in the urban camp. The conditions of proletarianization had been accentuated as the war channelled great numbers of men and women to the factories and mines which provided its sustenance. Nor could the syndicats catholiques alleviate the plight befalling Quebec labour. Ever since its humiliating rout in the textile strike of 1937, Catholic union leadership had displayed a greater docility in negotiating with management and was scrupulously reticent about resorting to such 'extreme' measures as the strike in order to press for an amelioration in working conditions. The international unions, therefore, waged a vigourous proselytizing campaign in 1941-42 that sought to incorporate the members of the Confédération des Travailleurs Catholiques du Canada, considered by many as a company union, into their own folds. The efforts of the American affiliate, however, met with little success. The Confédération finally streamlined its structures when Gérard Picard and Jean Marchand assumed its leadership in 1945 and 1948 respectively. Quebec's largest union, then, incorporated a more militant philosophy and formulated a more aggressive strategy for asserting its demands.

During the forties, the evolution of socio-economic thought and the dialectical exchange of ideas continued to

be encased in a Catholic frame of reference. Therefore, our primary concern in attempting to establish whether shifts of emphasis or new orientations in the elaboration of a social philosophy did blossom forth must rest with the Church.

How then did the ecclesiastical hierarchy greet the advent of this renewed industrial expansion? Had it altered since the previous decade its attitudes and assumptions in conformity with the phenomenal metamorphosis of the era? What words of solace, what concrete programme of social reconstruction rained down on those materially and spiritually parched segments of society? The Quebec episcopacy's rather metaphysical and eclectic pastoral letter of 1941, Pour un ordre social chrétien, which commemorated the publication of the two papal encyclicals relating to the labour issue, captures the essence of the dialectical tension that later would threaten to rend the provincial Church's seamless garment. The letter's significance lies in the fact that it was the hierarchy's very first attempt to discuss the problems plaguing industrialized society. However, its scope was restricted severely by the predominating influence of the traditionalist rural bishops. Appearing four years after the distribution of a pastoral letter on the problème rural, it symbolized rather accurately the struggle between the urbanites, whose growing self-consciousness sought articulation, and the agrarians, who insisted that the Church consecrate their

vision of Quebec as a rural ivory tower. This dichotomy pervades the very fibre of the episcopal letter.

Although the hierarchy echoed the teachings of the universal Church in its assault on the abuses of capitalism, it affirmed with greater conviction that "le problème rural . . . demeure le problème social fondamental dans notre pays."[4] The episcopacy condemned economic liberalism's excessive materialism, which had become the system's very raison d'être and had displaced man's real immutable goals. It was revolted by the economic structure's aberrant egoism and its uncontrollable profits. But, capitalism apparently was reproached only to exalt the bishops' often proclaimed arcadian vision. They made no secret of their heartfelt attachment to the soil.

> Peuple agricole, nous ne survivons que par la terre . . . . L'Episcopat de cette province a toujours favorisé une colonisation intensive, il a prêché la conquête des terres nouvelles et n'a rien épargné pour y entrainer notre population . . . . Une famille catholique et canadienne-française installée aujourd'hui sur une bonne terre, c'est toute une paroisse, ce sont deux cents familles qui vivront pour l'Eglise et le pays dans cent ans.5

The letter did contain some rather startling and very direct observations on socio-economic conditions in industrialized Canada. "De récentes enquêtes sur l'industrie et le commerce ont mis à jour des conditions de travail absolument révoltantes. Le capitalisme dans notre pays exploite l'ouvrier que protège insuffisamment notre

législation."[6] Especially sharp were the barbs directed at the big financial interests, who were considered to wield an inordinate and immoral influence on government. However, the strength of the winds of criticism moderated when they reached the Catholic province of Quebec. It was observed that the law on the syndicats professionnels of 1924 and the collective bargaining legislation of 1934 with its provision for a parity committee, which hopefully constituted the first step in the pilgrimage toward corporatism, lessened the burden of social injustice. The bishops appeared to suggest that the most flagrant abuses of economic liberalism, which was thought to be essentially a Protestant notion, occured in English Canada. On the other hand, Quebec's labour legislation, inspired fundamentally by Catholic social principles, was preserved from the most outrageous corruptions of the North American capitalist system. Nevertheless, in the episcopacy's estimation, Quebec had not yet achieved l'ordre social chrétien.

The pastoral letter's conception of the cité chrétienne did incorporate the idea of social justice. Employers were urged to desist in their quest for self-gratification and for ever greater material acquisition. However, the bishops prescribed an individualistic treatment for the ills of capitalism. It was considered that a juster equilibrium in society would be struck by diffusing the Church's teachings on social issues, by giving them a practical application to the Canadian context, and by a firm rededication to the

principles of the Gospel. Both l'Action catholique and the union chaplains through their closed retreats could propagandize and instill in the minds of employers and employees this vision of society. The concept of social justice, however, was superseded by the notion of industrial order, which was to be entrenched by mechanisms outlined in the pastoral letter. Trade unionism, which was an ". . . aberration fatale qui . . . affaiblit la classe entière et nuit à ses progrès "[7] was condemned; le syndicalisme catholique, because it was wedded to social peace and order, received episcopal sanction. Class struggle would be banished forever; the era of cooperation between classes would be ushered in. With the institution of corporatism, all occupations would be orchestrated into guilds, thus intensifying popular loyalty to Christian tenets.

> Alors les riches et les dirigeants trop longtemps indifférents au sort de leurs frères moins fortunés, leur donneront des preuves d'une charité effective, accueilleront avec une bienveillance sympathique leurs justes revendications, excuseront et pardonneront à l'occasion leurs erreurs et leurs fautes. De leur côté, les travailleurs déposeront sincèrement les sentiments de haine et d'envie . . ..Ils accepteront sans rancoeur la place que la divine Providence leur a assignée; . . .[8]

This well-ordered and paternalistic notion of society first expressed in Quadragesimo Anno accorded well with the Quebec episcopacy's idea of l'ordre social chrétien.

Thus, the pastoral letter of 1941 represents the first feeble cries of an increasingly self-conscious urban

episcopacy. Attention was directed to the city, to the social ills plaguing industrial society, and to the attainment of social justice. Nevertheless, agrarian interests were so predominant that the pastoral letter merely alluded to the concepts related to urbanization.

The cleavage within the hierarchy began to develop when urban bishops displayed their dissatisfaction with the Church's aloofness from the masses and as a divergence of interest among members of the hierarchy. Men like Archbishop Charbonneau of Montreal, whose relationship with his more agrarian-minded colleagues proved to be less than angelic, and Bishop Desranleau of Sherbrooke, with the support of some union chaplains, perceived the profound distress of their own proletarianized parishioners. The apostasy of the working class, that scandal bitterly denounced by Pope Pius XI, bore down more heavily on them. But worse still, they were haunted on the one hand by the spectre of the soulless masses, succumbing to atheistic or secularistic philosophies and donning the armour of militant anti-clericalism, and on the other, by the possible adoption of an uncompromising state of seige by the over-whelming majority within the Quebec Church, protecting itself against the onslaught with the resilient shield of immutable Truth. In their view, the Church would not help in resolving the crisis of the industrial urban world by an Armaggedon-like clash with godless proletarian battalions. Should not the immense gulf rather be bridged, they anxiously

queried? In the spirit of reconciliation, they urged that the Church integrate itself more fully into the masses by infiltrating and proselytizing these secular milieus. The Journées sacerdotales of 1942, commemorating the tenth anniversary of the Jeunesse Ouvrière Catholique, captured the mood that prevailed until the termination of the war among men like Charbonneau and Desranleau. Their primary interest was funnelled to the proletariat's spiritual alienation, the remedy for which would be administered by such associations as the Jeunesse Ouvrière Catholique and Ligue Ouvrière Catholique. Thus, while the malaise of the modern world was discerned clearly by these clerics, they still shared the same conceptualization as the intellectual élite of the thirties in diagnosing it as an essentially spiritual phenomenon, the former interpreting it as a loss of religion, the latter, as a dearth of culture. The Church continued to couch its definition of salvation in narrowly individualistic and extraterrestial terms. The social gospel, which attempted to inject notions of material well-being and to express salvation in a more collective context, awaited its proclamation.

Within the minute span of four years following the war, the Quebec Church was itself convulsed by a revolution, which showed itself to be no less significant than its socio-economic counterpart. This transfiguration was dramatically revealed in 1949 with the episcopate's unprecedented intervention on behalf of the distressed

Asbestos workers. It can be argued that this volte-face was not as explosive as might at first appear, for Msgr. Courchesne of Rimouski and Msgr. Charbonneau certainly were not impelled by the same motives. Nevertheless, the fact that the hierarchy authorized that collections be held in all the churches of the province on behalf of the strikers is significant in itself. Furthermore, members of the episcopacy fearlessly plunged into the turbulent waters of labour relations without equivocation. In a homily at Notre Dame church on May 1, 1949, the Archbishop of Montreal dared to say:

> La classe ouvrière est victime d'une conspiration qui veut son écrasement et quand il y a conspiration pour écraser la classe ouvrière, c'est le devoir de l'Eglise d'intervenir. Nous voulons la paix sociale, mais nous ne voulons pas l'écrasement de la classe ouvrière. Nous nous attachons plus à l'homme qu'au capital. Voici pourquoi le clergé a décidé d'intervenir. [9]

Underlying the apparently sudden reversal of the official Church's abhorence for this total immersion into "le problème ouvrier" was the generally unqualified support accorded to a reinvigorated and militant Confédération des Travailleurs Catholiques du Canada by the chaplains of the syndicats. Reverend Camirand, spiritual advisor to the Asbestos union, openly endorsed his mine workers' demands, affirming that they were the new defenders of papal doctrine, and exhorting them to follow their union leaders till the very end.[10]

The Church's integration in the market place was achieved more definitely with the publication of the collective pastoral letter in 1950. Le Problème ouvrier en regard de la doctrine sociale de l'Eglise officially recognized the socio-economic transformations initiated in 1911. "La ville et le travail industriel ne sont pas en dehors du plan de Dieu et ne conduisent pas fatalement au matérialisme et à la déchristianisation des âmes. Le milieu ouvrier et industriel peut être sanctificateur."[11] Shrouded in vagueness and ambiguity, undoubtedly reflecting the deepening cleavage in the hierarchy, the document assumes an importance because of its general orientation, because of its mood which colours the indefinite ecclesiastical verbiage. The letter differs fundamentally from its antecedent of 1941 by openly embracing politico-economic democracy. In it, the bishops criticized wage labour, which produced such poisonous fruit as class warfare, professional incompetence, a gnawing sense of boredom, unconscionable profiteering. For the first time, a pastoral letter proclaimed the basic dignity of industrial labour. The Quebec episcopacy supported the proletariat's demands for just wages, industrial hygiene, social security, adequate housing, and leisure. In addition, the bishops sought to achieve the fuller integration of the working class into society by echoing Pius XI's Quadragesimo Anno. They advocated an unspecified form of worker participation in the management and profits of industry.

The most shattering innovation in ecclesiastical thought came with the role which the letter assigned to the State for the protection of the rights of labour.

> Au dessus de tous les groupes qu'il intègre et ordonne, l'Etat exerce son autorité sociale, supérieure et modératrice. Et comme, dans le monde économique, c'est la faiblesse des travailleurs qui empêche le maintien de l'équilibre, c'est à eux plutôt que l'Etat accorde ses sympathies.[12]

Thus, the State was empowered to insure adequate conditions of hygiene in places of work and to protect constantly the fundamental right of labour to be unionized. "La législation sur le droit d'association . . . doit s'améliorer sans cesse pour prévenir les abus de ceux qui . . . ne comprennent pas la nécessité du syndicalisme sain et le rôle d'ordre et de paix qu'il est appelé à remplir."[13] The government was cautioned to intervene in industrial disputes only when the greatest urgency for public order warranted it. Furthermore, it was contended that if the State should halt a strike in a vital sector of society, there remained a very strict moral obligation to meet the reasonable demands of the workers.

However, the sense of continuity with the forties was not wholly shattered. An industrial, rather than political, form of corporatism continued to be endorsed. The bishops perceived this idea as the quintessence of a communatarian society, in which every profession forsook the pursuit of its petty interests and followed the common good. Confessionality was still affirmed to be the basis of syndical organization. The formula for union security condoned by

the hierarchy favoured management. "Il appartient aux employeurs et aux employés de déterminer selon les circonstances particulières, par entente collective, la formule qui, dans chaque cas, assurera le mieux cette sécurité syndicale."[14] Thus, the letter achieved on paper that unstable synthesis which produced in action a violent explosion within the Church during the following decade. But, how did this transfiguration occur? How could such a bitter debate be unleashed within the ecclesiastical bosom after a monolithic interpretation of her social teachings had comfortably ensconced itself during the thirties? From where the spark, that generator of the dialectic?

Georges-Henri Lévesque o.p. charted a new trajectory in social philosophy for Quebec with the launching of the Ecole des Sciences Sociales, Politiques et Economiques at the Université Laval in 1938. The intellectual environment in which his ideas found their fruition did not resemble in the least the more traditional ambiance pervading such domestic institutions as the Hautes Etudes Commerciales and the Ecole des Sciences Sociales in Montreal. Having obtained his degree in social science from the Facultés Catholiques of the Université de Lille, this human dynamo imprinted his distinctive and indelible character on the school over which he was summoned to preside.

Chairman Lévesque was molded in France during a particularly intellectually stimulating period. At this time,

Catholicism wore many different faces as its adherents boldly probed for new horizons to conquer. Emmanuel Mounier and his Esprit were electrifying French Catholics by a radical democratic social ideology deeply rooted in Christian principles, while Jacques Maritain was endorsing the Spanish Republican government against the vicious onslaught unloosed by Franco and his Catholic Falange. Totalitarian regimes of both fascist and communist hues, although exerting a magnetic influence over a great mass of people, were rejected utterly for their untiring assaults on democracy.

In this pluralistic and investigative climate, a heterogeneous Catholicism, which incorporated love as well as faith, service as well as authority, the brotherhood of man as well as the fatherhood of God, was fostered, whereas in Quebec, conditions favoured the growth of a more monolithic traditional outlook. As Lévesque imbibed deeply from the wellspring of social Catholicism, his vision of salvation, while still preserving its spiritual dimension, acquired a temporal and social significance. Not only did he therefore conceive of it as the eternal beatitudes of the after-life, but also as the self-realization in this world of each human being, for which every man was in some concrete way responsible.[15] Therefore, the Dominican became convinced that the concept of individual redemption received its optimal expression in a lifelong commitment to perfecting the human condition. In this way, he resolved

Christianity's inherent contradiction between the contemplative and the active life, between immediacy and eternity, between transcendance and incarnation.

These theological perambulations were quite easily translated into a secular schema. Primacy pertained to man, the son of God, who should never submit to the dominion of ideology or technology. However, this man was not an individualist but a person who could only fulfill himself by and through his commitment to Other. As brothers of Christ, human beings, although endowed with various potentialities which should be allowed to flow freely and abundantly, all possessed equality. However, man had to be liberated from material necessity, which impeded the cultivation of his abilities. Finally, the story of man became a peregrination to perfection.[16] "Le christianisme donne vraiment à l'homme toute sa hauteur et plus que la hauteur d'homme. Il l'appelle à être un dieu et il l'appelle dans la liberté. C'est là la dernière et suprême signification pour le chrétien de l'histoire progressive."[17] These idées-forces, which underwent very few and minor modifications transported Lévesque through the tempestuous debate unleashed in the declining years of the forties and which on several occasions threatened to submerge him.

Shattering the consensus which ruled over the interpretation of the Church's social teachings during the thirties, this priest-scholar gathered round him a community of

professors, most of whom were strangers to the Quebec scene, with the purpose of enunciating and elaborating upon social Catholicism. "(La doctrine sociale chrétienne) est au dessus (de l'individualisme et du communisme) pour sauvegarder la personne et la société, mais une personne vouée au bien de la société et une société respectueuse des droits sacrés de la personne humaine."[18] His school and its staff mirrored the immanence that Lévesque considered an indispensable ingredient without which man's very relevance would be dissipated and the adaptability and resilience of his institutions, founder. For, metaphysical speculation which flouted concrete historical situations could not survive the inevitable confrontation with reality. Thus, the ivory tower variety of scholarship was stifled because "Ils ont perdu le sens de l'homme . . . tous les savants qui ne voient pas plus loin que l'horizon borné de leur spécialité, dont la science ne s'épanouit pas dans l'amour et que leur tour d'ivoire empêche d'entendre l'appel que depuis toujours leur lance l'humanité à la recherche de son mieux-être et de son bonheur temporels."[19] But beyond any attempt to make the courses as consonant as possible with the ever mutable economic conditions of the province, the department erected a fairly complex communications network in order to disseminate its research. At first, extension, non-credit, and evening courses, films, popular pamphlets, ambulant libraries spilled out of the bubbling university cauldron. Finally, with the creation

of a department of social work which constituted an active antidote against mental and physical hardship in industrialized society, an equilibrium was struck between the theoretical and practical sciences. Indeed, Lévesque never tired of inculcating into his listeners the necessity of coupling thought and activity, thought being the mold by which activity was made meaningful, and activity, the crucible which tested thought's validity. "Eduquer un homme," the Dominican stressed, "c'est . . . le faire passer de la puissance à l'acte, e-ducere; le 'conduire' d'un état inférieur à un autre plus élevé, lui faire acquérir toutes les perfections qu'il peut et doit atteindre."[20]

By the time the curtains of war lifted over the European stage, the gestation period for the new faculty of social sciences had ended. For, Lévesque and his colleagues, professors, students, and alumni, now constituted a veritable school of thought. Laval radiated a homogeneous philosophy throughout Quebec. Such promising graduates as Gérard Dion, Maurice Lamontagne, and Jean Marchand already had been catapulted onto a Quebec which was shedding its cumbersome traditional trappings. After the lean years of depression idleness had ceded to a swelling prosperity and full employment, even the intellectual mood of such orthodox organs as l'Actualité économique and l'Action nationale was being modified. The mighty deluge of literature on the reversion to agrarianism which had inundated Quebec during the thirties was humbled to a mere trickle. François-Albert Angers,

responding to a question posed about the possibility of extending the colonization programme after the war, still upheld in 1943 the classical stance.

> . . . si l'activité économique peut absorber ces gens d'une façon permanente, tant mieux: il y aura toujours des fils de cultivateurs pour occuper les espaces libres et, en attendant, l'agriculture s'en portera d'autant mieux.--Moins de concurrence et meilleurs revenus agricoles. Seulement, disposons-nous des marchés nécessaires pour occuper tant de bras dans l'industrie d'une façon permanente, j'y insiste? Mieux vaut . . . des terriens capables de se faire vivre que des milliers de chômeurs vivant au crochet de l'Etat comme après la prospérité factice de 1922-1929.[21]

However, his intervention on behalf of agrarianism was feeble indeed in contrast to the bulk of previous affirmations. Thus, as a solution to Quebec's social problems, agriculturalism was waning rapidly.

Since the traditionalists were recognizing at least tacitly and very begrudgingly the industrial urban fact, how great an innovation was the social Catholicism _à la faculté des sciences sociales_? Why the vitriolic debate? One point is definite at the outset. Institutions and general principles as such were preserved from the confrontation because the traditionalists also invoked _Rerum Novarum_, _Quadragesimo Anno_, and a host of other papal and episcopal documents. They too endorsed the _syndicats catholiques_ and the cooperatives. It was rather the modalities that provoked a schism in the interpretation of the Church's social teachings. The traditionalists and the modernists both envisioned a society which abhored

class warfare and which was planted in the rich soil of justice and cooperation between its adjuncts. But, would they concur on the nature of justice? They both protested that the economic aspect of man's existance only defined a segment of his being. But, what segment? They both assented to the twin ecclesiastical dictums that property rights and individual initiative should not be observed through the eyes of absolutism. But, how relative were these rights? Finally, they both sought to modify the capitalist structure in accordance with the enigmatic quotations of Holy Mother Church. But, to what extent should the socio-economic framework be altered?

A premonition that humanity was about to embark upon a course of radical change permeated the School of Social Sciences at Laval and severed it from the main trunk of autochtonous thought. Maurice Lamontagne crystallized this pervasive mood:

> Il est facile de concevoir dès maintenant que le monde d'après-guerre sera véritablement un monde nouveau qui ressemblera très peu à l'ancien . . . . Il sera impossible de contenir cette réalité nouvelle dans le cadre des institutions anciennes. D'ailleurs ceux qui exigent un retour à l'ancien système sont de plus en plus rare. On sent partout le besoin d'une réforme fondamentalle. Partout on a l'impression de vivre un tournant d'histoire.[22]

From where did the belief in the genesis of an exhilarating new world emanate? Although post-war contexts generally nurture such euphoric dreams, in this case, the socio-

political atmosphere in France specifically leavened these expectations. Indeed, the seeds of Laval's social Catholicism, which were planted in Europe, blossomed forth in North American soil because Europe continued to provide them with intellectual sustenance. This does not mean that the Faculty of Social Sciences undertook a wholesale importation of foreign formulas without at first determining their adaptability to local conditions. For, in their attempt to depose the idealism that enslaved the thirties, Lévesque and his students rigourously combatted the despot with sturdy pragmatism. They therefore would not have exchanged the tyranny of one ideology for another.

> Ne s'est on pas trop contenté jusqu'ici au Canada français de répéter abstraitement les directions générales des encycliques ou d'en importer certaines formules d'application des pays étrangers sans se préoccuper suffisamment de savoir quelle était exactement et concrètement la meilleure façon d'appliquer ces directives à nos problèmes particuliers.[23]

Thus, Europe initiated the growth and evolution of social Catholicism in Quebec, but neither determined nor overshadowed it.

What drama, then, was unfolding in France as the war slowly wended its way to a conclusion that provided such a great quantity of adrenalin to the frail organism of Quebec social Catholicism?[24] In 1944, the hostility which characterized the French Catholic Church's relationship with the Communist Party quickly achieved volcanic intensity as they locked in a violent struggle. The great unwashed

proletariat was invested with strategic importance because the acquisition of its allegiance would decide the outcome. Ecclesiastical shock troops therefore were deployed in the deep penetration of enemy ranks: the worker-priest movement firmly embedded itself in Paris' banlieu rouge. The antagonist retaliated with celerity. Jettisoning non-Communist allied resistance, the party attempted at a tactically propitious moment an independent seizure of power in Paris. Despite this abortive manoeuvre, the French body politic was veering shaply to the Left. The election for the National Assembly in October 1945 consecrated this course with a landslide victory for Left-wing representatives. Indeed, the nation delivered up 75% of its seats to the Communists, socialists, and Catholic leftists.

Confronted by this overwhelming ras de marée, the Church had no other recourse but to modify its course. The amazingly resilient French hierarchy acclimatized itself to the national temperament and in 1945 issued the following general declaration: "Nous demandons . . . la participation progressive des ouvriers à l'organisation du travail, de l'entreprise, de la profession et de la cité."[25] For the first time since the French Revolution, it appeared that Mohammed was constrained by sheer necessity to go to the Mountain. Thereafter, the spring of social Catholicism was ushered in. Western European Catholics proceeded to amplify on a previously unimaginable scale the Church's social teachings, which had not evolved beyond the very insubstantial papal encyclicals.

The bishop of Tournai, writing to the Association des patrons et ingénieurs of his diocese, articulated the anxieties that propelled these laymen and clerics.

> L'Eglise doit aujourd'hui mettre tout en oeuvre pour faire entendre sa voix aux masses ouvrières si profondément entamées par l'influence des mauvais bergers qui les égarent sur les voies du matérialisme marxiste; elle doit leur faire comprendre qu'elle sympathise avec leurs saines préoccupations et se réjouit de tout ce qui contribue à sauvegarder le domaine intangible des droits de la personne humaine.[26]

This fruition would develop naturally as long as the storm clouds of Stalinist revolution were thought to hang ominously over Europe.

But which demon was to be exorcised with the invocation of social Catholicism in post-war Quebec? Was the Laval school also obsessed by a neurotic preoccupation with a Moscow-commandeered putsch or was this phantasm a mere pretext, a wedge to introduce social reform in French Canada? The urgent intensity with which the Communist spectre was suscitated and the vehement assaults launched against a shallow verbal brand of anti-Communism, characteristic of the Duplessis administration, would tend to weaken any assumption of a ploy and to buttress the former hypothesis. Indeed, Lévesque warned that "L'enjeu est trop grand et les valeurs menacées par le marxisme trop élevées pour que nous consentions à ce que l'anti-communisme ne devienne chez nous un soporiphique ou un tremplin électoral."[27] The vision of an industrialized

Quebec about to traverse the Rubicon into a new era spiritually titillated Lévesque and his disciples, but the journey's unlimited possibilities also kindled uncertainty and uneasiness in their hearts. How quickly the flames of Stalinism had ravaged Eastern Europe! How skillfully the Communists penetrated indigenous labour unions for subversive purposes! How dangerously susceptible of straying from the shepherd's domain was the proletarianized flock! As in Europe, therefore, the apprehension of industrial unrest which would almost certainly lead to the yoke of leftist totalitarianism begot a passionate commitment for a more equitable restructuring of society.

> Le communisme, c'est le fruit amer de l'injustice sociale, et il n'y a qu'un moyen intelligent de le combattre, c'est de le prévenir en faisant disparaître ses raisons d'être qui sont la misère du peuple, l'injustice sociale, l'insécurité économique, l'exploitation de l'homme par l'homme, bref les mauvaises conditions de vie qui constituent le plus favorable bouillon de culture de microbe révolutionnaire.[28]

The Laval social scientists perceived the labour problem to be the hub of post-war social disquiet out of which would emerge all political crises, both national and international.[29] For, the workers had become the pariahs of society, condemned to bear the twin millstones of ". . . (la) dépendance et (l') insécurité matérielle, morale et spirituelle. Le prolétariat constitue cette classe de travailleurs sans propriété dont la subsistance dépend du travail de chaque jour, qui ne peuvent pas épargner pour se protéger contre les risques

sociaux et qui sont condamnés à rester dans cet état."[30] To perpetuate the proletariat's exclusion from the opulence locked within the economic structure was, in the minds of the social thinkers, a severe temptation for Fate to become reckless. Consequently, they resolved to build a pluralistic cité chrétienne founded on their unshakable belief in the dignity of man and in his progress through cooperation. This quintessence of social peace, mortared with love and service, would throw open its gates to the long disinherited proletariat while at the same time sheltering many disparate groups, none of which could exploit the others. Such an enterprise, however, necessitated a radical restructuring both of the theoretical superstructure and the actual base of the prevailing socio-economic edifice.

The Catholic intellectuals therefore proceeded to allocate their energies in endeavours differing fundamentally from those of their colleagues in the thirties. The hegemony preserved by the bourgeois nationalists over the evolution of native sociology and economics, which arbitrarily but characteristically translated their own self-interest into the aspirations of French-Canada had to be shattered. They believed that the working class already sensed that the traditionalist élite's nationalist jargon had betrayed it and left it disinherited. "Certaines entreprises ou certaines institutions qui ont été organisés avec une préoccupation nationale louable . . . se soucient peu souvent du sort des travailleurs qui y exercent leur activité et les tiennent

dans des conditions qui leur font parfois regretter de ne pas être à l'emploi de trusts ou de personnes de nationalité étrangère."[31] They felt that bourgeois nationalism, which had been the vehicle of intellectual activity in Quebec for about twenty years, remained impotent when presented with the needs of an advanced industrialized society. Too much had been written about agriculture, too many veiled condemnations of the urban masses had been made, too often had support for the syndicats catholiques been expressed in the vaguest generalities.

> Les discours des politiciens, des professionnels, des hommes d'affaires . . . qui vantent les avantages que les travailleurs ont de vivre dans la province de Québec les bienfaits de l'autonomie provinciale dans la législation du travail sans faire quoi que ce soit pour la rendre aussi efficace que celles des autres provinces sont si loin de la réalité et apparaissent tellement du verbiage que non seulement ils les laissent indifférents, mais ils contribuent à leur faire perdre entièrement confiance envers leurs auteurs et ceux dont ils disent s'inspirer.[32]

The Laval social scientists wanted to break the intelligentsia's silence regarding the complex problems facing the working class. Chronique sociale de France, one of a proliferation of European magazines committed to providing a more ample elaboration of social Catholicism, captured the essence of the Laval professors' anxiety. "Il importe . . . que personne ne monopolise au profit d'un parti, d'une organisation sociale ou économique le catholicisme social. On courrait le risque (de condamner) celui-ci à une structure sclérosée ou anachronique et de l'empêcher de s'adapter aux

besoins nouveaux."[33] Lévesque and his colleagues diverted their attention to the democratization of the economy and to the attainment of greater social justice. They considered that a rather stilted middle class philosopy had to be discarded because, like its Marxist counterpart, it bequeathed the progress of mankind only to a fragment of society and dispossessed countless masses.

How, then, would the working class be integrated into the community so as to savor its fruits fully? First, the Laval intellectuals considered it imperative to cultivate a proletarian consciousness. The onerous mantle of denigration with which society clothed the worker and his labour, this outgrowth of an economic philosophy apotheosizing capital, would have to be exchanged for an ideology endowing him and the products of his activity with dignity. As Lévesque so astutely observed ". . . si le communisme a tant de puissance dans le monde . . . c'est qu'il est continuellement vivifié et fortifié par une mystique du travail; . . . aucune mystique du travail, si ce n'est pas la chrétienne ne peut être opposée <u>efficacement</u> à celle du communisme."[34] The steady stream of speeches, pamphlets and articles surging forth from the Social Sciences faculty in the post-war era were saturated with the concept of the proletariat's nobility.[35] In addition, industrial capitalism's rather jaundiced notion of labour was treated with massive doses of the Christian humanist conception of it as an extension and yet a transcendance of self, indeed an essential condition for self-realization.[36]

At the Congress of Industrial Relations in 1948, Lévesque defined man's very essence as his activity and thus enshrined the inviolability of labour.

> Quand un homme travaille, mais c'est toute son âme, tout son moi, toute sa personnalité, qui se trouve engagé dans son activité, puisque c'est cette âme, ce moi, qui est en lui l'unique principe d'opération . . . . L'homme passe donc tout entier avec son esprit dans son travail, et c'est ce qui donne à ce dernier une valeur exceptionnelle, une dignité qui le met bien au-dessus du travail de la bête ou de la machine, une valeur inappréciable à prix d'argent parce qu'elle n'est pas d'ordre qualificatif, une valeur et une dignité qu'on retrouve aussi bien dans le simple balayage d'une rue que dans la décoration artistique d'un palais présidentiel.[37]

The proletariat could only derive a very minimal measure of comfort from billowing pink clouds of metaphysical assumptions regarding its dignity. The social thinkers, therefore, concretized this concept by dovetailing it to their unalloyed support for a revivified syndicalisme catholique. It was their conviction that this sturdy vehicle would convey the working class to a position of equality with its employers so that it could justly partake in the inheritance spilling forth superabundantly from the national economy.[38]

Indeed, the creation of the Department of Industrial Relations in 1945 attested to the primacy accorded to unionism for rectifying the stunted economic organism. Although this youngest member of the faculty of Social Sciences was destined to cater to the requirements of the entire industrial sector, it could not conceal its predisposition for the working class

to which it vowed to yield

> De vrais chefs qui seront non seulement les porte-paroles éclairés des justes revendications de la classe ouvrière, mais aussi les éducateurs sociaux qui donneront aux travailleurs le souci de leur grande dignité, tout en leur apprenant à maintenir leurs exigences dans les normes de la justice, à juger de leurs problèmes en fonction du bien commun et à maintenir sous le controle de la prudence, sans pour autant les paralyser, leur dynamisme spontané et leur naturelle tendance à la revendication.[39]

This fledgling of the social sciences prepared public opinion and greatly diminished a potentially explosive response, particularly among professionals and clerics, by buoying up the Confédération des Travailleurs Catholiques du Canada with an intellectual justification for streamlining its framework and striking a more militant stance. Professors in industrial relations dissipated the spectre of siege which haunted the syndicats catholiques since their inception. Labour unions no longer should be considered bulwarks against foreign and subversive ideologies. In this way, they could dedicate themselves exclusively to the acquisition of better working and living conditions for their members.

Indeed, when bourgeois eyebrows raised in astonishment because the Confédération des Travailleurs Catholiques du Canada not only cooperatedwith rival international unions to oppose the Labour Code Bill, but actually formed an alliance with them during the Asbestos strike, Abbé Gérard Dion, the Department of Industrial Relations' secretary,

asserted that these actions harmonized perfectly with the principle expressed in the encyclical Singulari Quaedam.[40] He affirmed that the issue of the Confédération's affiliation to the Catholic Church was not in question. Nevertheless, the cataclysmic debate which erupted in 1946 when Dean Lévesque advocated the deconfessionalization of the cooperatives aired all the arguments favouring such a step. The simplest mind could have applied them to the syndicats. Discriminating between religious neutrality and non-confessionality, the Dominican maintained that Catholic principles should suffuse every aspect of the cooperatives' activities, but that open ecclesiastical association with them was not always required. Furthermore, Gaudrault, the Dominican provincial who sheltered Lévesque from the hail of controversy which subsequently threatened to overwhelm him, added heresy to schism with the statement that confessionality could be positively detrimental. "D'abord en fatiguant un nombre beaucoup plus considérable qu'on le croit de bons catholiques, qui dans leur propre domaine, se sentent encerclés, en tutelle, conduits comme des mineurs. Ils manquent d'air. Et quand cela nous est dit par des hommes d'Action catholique, on réalize combien le malaise est grand."[41] Gérard Dion virtually demolished all obstructions to the Confédération des Travailleurs Catholiques du Canada dissociation with the Church. Ultimately, the traditionalist notion of open confessionality bore little relevance to his own conception of a Catholic union. "(Le

syndicat catholique) combat contre tout le système économique et politique, dans la perspective d'une 'Cité future' et selon une certaine conception de l'homme et de la société, une philosophie, voire une métaphysique."[42]

The Department of Industrial Relations demythologized another sacred preconception. For many years, the syndicats had been eyed suspiciously; they were grudgingly tolerated provided, of course, that society's placid tranquility was not disturbed. Laval, however, washed away this stigma and dignified labour organizations as democracy's offspring, guarantors of social equality, which merited to be fortified and protected. But, an idealist, absolutist, and atomistic mentality, fathered by Thomistic philosophy, which still maintained Quebec in its tutelage, and nurtured by a bourgeois ideology, which conferred on certain values an ahistorical and ultimate status, impeded such a realization. Indeed, because idealism departed from ethereal first principles and snubbed concrete mundane situations before reaching a conclusion; because absolutism only tolerated categorical imperatives, spurning subtle grey distinctions; because atomism appropriated exclusive rights to the individual, usually the most powerful, without reference to the community's welfare; none of these instruments could respond adequately to questions posed by a pluralistic and democratic society. At the outset of the post-war period, these rigid philosophies would only have drawn French-Canadian thinkers into an intellectual cul-de-sac, leaving them far outdistanced

by modes of thought more adaptable to modernization's whims. Well aware that the Quebec mind might succumb to sclerosis, the social scientists displaced traditional thinking by a more pragmatic and relativistic conceptualization. "Il ne s'agit pas de faire disparaître un droit pour en faire sauvegarder un autre, mais seulement de savoir si pour sauvegarder un droit, il est permis d'apporter certaines limitations à l'exercice d'un autre droit."[43] This formulation well-suited the social Catholic notion of community, which abhored narrow class prerogatives. Translated into concrete terms, this spiritual metamorphosis granted professors of industrial relations carte blanche simply to supersede the bourgeois individualistic interpretation of freedom of association and to opt for the closed shop brand of union security, an idea which was cast in the communitarian mold. In justifying this adept circumvention, Dion emphasized that too often in the course of Quebec's industrial history, employers had used the concept of liberty, supported by the appropriate ecclesiastical citation, to stifle union security. But,

> Ces clauses de sécurité syndicale (closed shop) manifestent une tendance du syndicat à se substituer à l'institution de la communauté des travailleurs dans un établissement. Devons-nous contraindre la réalité à entrer dans les cadres abstraits ou laisser l'évolution s'accomplir quitte à la consacrer par après?[44]

We are now better able to appreciate the full import of this pragmatic and relativistic revolt. An aura of strength and

sober militancy was imparted to the syndicalisme ouvrier, such that it no longer needed to cringe when the international unions flexed their muscles and threatened unrestricted warfare for the Quebec labour market.

But, unionism was not enough. In order to admit the ostracised working class into the social organism, Laval's social scientists determined to grasp the causes of its alienation. Their diagnosis pointed to the socio-economic structure itself. Although their concept of community forbade any blatant criticism of the bourgeoisie's exploitative position within society, they craftily sought to subvert the main pillar of the middle class' temple, economic liberalism. Indeed, the social Catholic critique of capitalism resembled in many features its early Marxist counterpart, especially as articulated in Karl Marx's Economic and Philosophical Manuscripts. Lévesque and Marx fundamentally agreed that economic liberalism only catered to an oligarchy, while the vast majority of people was compelled to sate the system's oppressive and unquenchable desires. Christian and Marxist humanists realized that capital's ever expansive maw gorged itself with outrageous profits and thrived on untrammelled competition. Both schools of social science concurred that, though man was destined to self-fulfillment, economic liberalism smothered all his initiative and creativity, perverting him into an instrument of production and his work into a factor of profit accumulation. Mammon not only prostituted man but also

seduced him into the dungeon of economic necessity from which he could never aspire to be liberated. ". . . sous l'inspiration du libéralisme économique, l'argent règne en maître . . . . Le capitaliste cherche des dividendes; le patron, le profit ou la puissance; la direction, l'avancement personnel. Et le travailleur manuel? Vu qu'il n'est considéré que comme 'un accessoire anomyme de la machine', il cherche à travailler le moins possible et à sortir le plus tôt possible de l'usine."[45] History united the dean of Laval's Social Science faculty and the nineteenth-century philosopher in the belief that capitalism engendered an alienated, bored, and unfulfilled proletariat, the untouchables of society.

Although Marx and Lévesque concurred on the diagnosis of the illness, they fundamentally diverged on a prescription for its treatment. The logical alternative to what the Laval intellectuals deemed the violence of class warfare and the arbitrariness of the dictatorship of the proletariat, was social Catholicism which would purify a society. The political economy would be harnessed to human rather than material values, primacy being accorded to the self-realization of man and to the welfare of the community.[46] All rights and privileges would be subordinated and made relative to these twin criteria. The generative principle of their utopia was to be found in the concept of social service.

Since they considered capitalist enterprises as

communities in microcosm, their theorizing transmuted these into associations of people, rather than of capital. In this organic and democratic perspective, each constituent element of an industrial concern contributed indispensably to its proper functioning. These notions of interrelation and interdependence supplanted the long prevalent concept of the division and isolation of labour. The workers were elevated to a status of parity with the managers and owners. Theoretically, therefore, they became full partners in capitalist undertakings. The vision conjured up by Lévesque and his disciples would certainly have been sanctioned by Leo XIII who had himself postulated: "Ainsi dans la société, les deux classes (patronale et ouvrière) sont destinées par nature à s'unir harmonieusement dans un parfait équilibre. Elles ont un impérieux besoin l'une de l'autre: il ne peut pas y avoir de capital sans travail, ni de travail sans capital."[47]

How drastically would the socio-economic structure be altered in order to accommodate these considerations? Armed with Leo XIII's injunction: le contrat de travail doit être tempérer par des éléments empruntés au contrat de société, the Catholic theoreticians attempted to undermine the possessing class' prerogatives. Captial's exclusive privileges over the management, the profits, and the ownership of enterprise succumbed to their incisive empirical analysis.

The drawbridge was lowered to admit the proletarian

hordes to the decision-making process. Indeed, such hallowed sanctuaries of capital as the organization of production and sales, the purchase of primary material, capitalization, credit, and the liquidation of debt were to be desecrated by the working class's presence.[48] "La participation des travailleurs à la gestion de l'entreprise conduira à un régime économique humanisé, favorisera l'éclosion d'entreprises coopératives et concourra à établir peu à peu une saine démocracie économique."[49] Furthermore, the social scientists argued that a labourer's faculty of communal responsibility would be sensitized greatly by involving him in the daily operation of his enterprise.

Responsibility and material acquisition were to be the patrimony of social Catholicism to the proletariat. If the spirit of community and partnership should permeate the very fibre of capitalist organizations, then logically workers were entitled to partake in their wealth by sharing profits with the owners. "Un plus juste partage du fruit d'une commune collaboration guiderait et fortifierait davantage la convergence des volontés de tous les membres de l'entreprise, rendrait sensible aux travailleurs leur intégration dans l'entreprise, développerait leur conscience professionnelle et leur souci de compétence."[50] Profit sharing should not detract capital from its primary obligation to dispense an adequate living wage to its employees in addition to a proportional remuneration for the quality and quantity of labour performed, counselled the

Catholic intellectuals. Truly Christian enterprises should be goaded by the overwhelming desire to cultivate virtue and not the materialistic obsession with profit accumulation.[51]

Social Catholics, however, did not trespass on capital's exclusive ownership of the means of production. Only the Marxists had pricked that bourgeois bubble. Nevertheless, they contended that an atmosphere should be engendered which would favour proletarian co-ownership of enterprise through share-holding. More radically still, they sanctioned this prerogative in instances where capital might be tempted to divert the flow of funds into the increase of its own assets instead of funnelling them to its employees.[52] With profit sharing, the workers no longer would feel that they were dispossessed of the fruits of their labour, with their active participation in management, they would become masters of their own environment. Furthermore, the omnipresent spectre of material insecurity would be driven out with the co-ownership of the means of production. But, this communal and democratic enterprise, in which the employer assumed the role of first labourer of the factory, was charted as a long-range programme.

How would this Christian panacea be made concrete? The Catholic intellectuals reasoned that the very foundation of the <u>cité chrétienne</u> should be vested with the same communal characteristics as would shape its future development. Steering clear of both paternalism and collective dictatorship, they cautioned that only the joint effort of management

and labour could succeed in realizing their vision. Strikes, lockouts, and all such coercive action were anathematized. The social scientists, however, looked to the entrepreneurs for the initiation of this transformation.[53] The intellectuals resurrected the corporatist concept of organizing the employers into a professional syndicat. This union would not only diffuse the moral suasion necessary for capital to conform its business practices to Christian principles, but also to fashion its enterprises on the social Catholic model. Nor did the Laval professors intend to create a paper tiger out of the syndicat professionnel, which was to be endowed with the same power of compulsion as the labour unions enjoyed.

Georges-Henri Lévesque and his colleagues demonstrated that the traditionalists did not dispose of some divine right to elucidate social Catholic doctrine. Laval's faculty of Social Sciences contested their sense of doctrinal legitimacy by proving that the nebulous papal encyclicals could adapt themselves just as well to a humanistic and democratic interpretation. However, for such an interpretation to blossom forth, Quebec had to be graced with a gentle climate of toleration, where dialogue would dominate. The Cardinal-Archbishop of Paris undoubtedly captured this spirit of pluralism, imbuing the Catholic intellectuals at Laval, when he himself pleaded for the extirpation of dogmatism. "Dans la mesure . . . où ces engagements systématiques témoignent d'un amour passionné de l'Eglise, ils sont une

preuve de sa vitalité, le signe d'une crise de croissance."[54] But this fruition menaced elements comfortably enthroned in conventional Quebec society. Traditional intellectuals, who conveyed the aspirations of native capital as represented by l'Association Professionnelle Industrielle, and their ever faithful mistress, the conservative Church, whose conceptions were quite often reflected by l'Ecole sociale populaire, coalesced and determined to stifle this growth. Private skirmishes, which followed the publication of Lévesque's article in Ensemble, intensified into open warfare as the decade waned. Demands for Lévesque's removal as dean of the Faculty escalated into outraged accusations of heresy, flung at Fathers Bolté and Dion for their Réformes des Structures dans l'Entreprise. Secular traditionalists suggested that the social scientists easily succumbed to the seductions of iniquitous Marxism. They branded Laval as a destructive labour university.

F. A. Angers, who at the time wrote more prolificly than his traditionalist colleagues, typified the reaction of the thirties to this intellectual fermentation. "Les deux plus grandes révolutions de l'époque contemporaine, la Révolution française et la Révolution bolchévique russe, ont été ainsi préparées par des intellectuels bourgeois, qui ont fini par convaincre la masse qu'elle était encore plus malheureuse qu'elle ne s'imaginait l'être."[55] The nationalist architects had projected the creation of an indigenous bourgeois oligarchy. However, their plans were being scuttled skillfully by Laval's interpretation of social Catholicism. By radically altering

the capitalist edifice without reference to the nationalist schema and by emphasizing the primacy of the labour question, Lévesque and his disciples indefinitely postponed, if not entirely supplanted, their venture. But, Anger's bourgeois interests dictated that Pandora's box remain locked. "Il n'appartient pas à la société d'essayer de libérer l'homme du décret divin qui lui impose de gagner son pain à la sueur de son front",[56] he asserted categorically. This Augustinian notion of work was wed to a nineteenth-century capitalist belief in private initiative[57] and in unrestrained competition as the economy's sole lever of control.[58] Confronted by Laval's mighty assault on the economic liberal bastion, the traditionalists rallied to protect its integrity. Evidently, their desire for social justice and for the restructuring of capitalism was circumscribed by their own self-interest.

Nevertheless, it is obvious that this transformation of social thought in Quebec could only occur within a context of continuity. For, both the traditionalists and the modernists concurred with Pius XI's Divini Redemptoris: "(La doctrine sociale chrétienne est) la seule qui puisse apporter la vraie lumière dans les choses sociales comme dans tous les autres problèmes, la seule doctrine du salut."[59] Holy Mother Church was perceived to be the wellspring of inspiration and the font of all wisdom, which satisfied the

intellectual thirst of every faithful son. Both factions abominated materialism: the bourgeois traditionalists were repelled by proletarian materialism; the Laval intellectuals despised middle class materialism. Indeed, Lévesque and his colleagues displayed a naiveté about socio-economic reality, which was only transcended by their counterparts in the thirties. They deluded themselves into thinking that the possessing class cheerfully would burn its prerogatives in a sacrificial offering to the cité chrétienne; that the managers willingly would embrace Christian virtues and relegate profiteering to a very secondary consideration; that capital humbly would receive the proletariat into its bosom in a spirit of fraternity and equality. Unfortunately, they miscalculated the opposition's strength. Finally, the modernists perpetuated traditionalist distrust of state intervention, preferring instead the regulatory action of intermediary organizations, and of social welfare, estimating that social justice would be better achieved in the industrial sector.

## Footnotes

1 Albert Faucher and Maurice Lamontagne, "History of Industrial Development," Essais sur le Québec contemporain, ed. J. C. Falardeau, (Québec: Presses Universitaires Laval, 1953) p.23.

2 Ibid., 33.

3 Canada, Bureau Fédéral de la Statistique, Annuaire du Canada: 1952-1953, (Ottawa, 1953) p. 148. In 1951, the Dominion Bureau of Statistics changed its criterion for considering what constituted an urban centre. Prior to 1951, urban areas were those possessing municipal status conferred by the provinces. If we use this guideline for Quebec, the 1951 census shows 1,326,883 people living in a rural milieu and 2,728,798 urbanites. However, since the provinces did not have uniform legislation for municipal incorporation, the Dominion Bureau of Statistics considered that cities, towns, and villages with populations of over 1,000 would be deemed urban centres. Accordingly, Quebec possessed 1,358,363 rural inhabitants as opposed to 2,697,318 urban dwellers.

4 Archevêché de Québec, "Lettre Pastorale Collective sur la restauration de l'ordre social," (1941) Mandements, Lettres Pastorales et Circulaires des Evêques de Québec, 1940-1943, (Québec: Chancellerie de l'Archevêché, 1944)p. 173.

5 Ibid., 175.

6 Ibid., 175.

7 Ibid., 185.

8 Ibid., 180.

9 Cited in Gérard Dion, "L'Eglise et le Conflit de l'Amiante," La Grève de l'Amiante, ed. P. E. Trudeau, (Montréal: Editions Cité Libre, 1956)p.250.

10 Taken from the labor newspaper Front Ouvrier cited in Gérard Pelletier, "La Grève et la Presse," Grève, 305.

11 Archevêché de Québec, "Lettre Pastorale Collective sur le Problème Ouvrier," (1950) Mandements, Lettres Pastorales et Circulaires des Evêques de Québec, 1943-1954, (Québec: Chancellerie de l'Archevêché, 1955)p. 505.

12 Ibid., 562.

13 Ibid., 560.

14 Ibid., 535.

15 Georges-Henri Lévesque, "Catholique, es-tu social?," Cahiers de l'Ecole des Sciences Sociales, Politiques et Economiques de Laval, I, (Québec: Editions Cap Diamant, 1942)p.7. Although this article appeared in 1942, it was a compendium of speeches made by Lévesque at Joliette in 1935 and at Sherbrooke in 1938.

16 Georges-Henri Lévesque, according to an opinion emitted by his close colleague Gilles Bélanger o.p., discouraged the publication of his speeches because he was concerned that his grammar and his logic left something to be desired. There is, consequently, very little published material available. Nevertheless, many of his ideas, although not articulated explicitly, can be discerned in the articles cited in the bibliography.

17 Emmanuel Mounier, "Le christianisme et la notion du progrès," taken from G. H. Lévesque, "Humanisme et Sciences Sociales," Revue Dominicaine, LVIII' (juillet-août, 1952)p. 223.

18 Lévesque, "Catholique" Cahiers de l'Ecole des Sciences Sociales, Politiques et Economiques de Laval, 13.

19 Lévesque, "Humanisme" Revue Dominicaine,220.

20 Lévesque, "Catholique" Cahiers de l'Ecole des Sciences Sociales, Politiques et Economiques de Laval, 7.

21 Raymond Tanghe, Opinions: Tribune d'Information sur les Problèmes de l'Après-Guerre, (Montréal: Editions Fides, 1943) p. 18.

22 Maurice Lamontagne, "Le Chômage de l'Après-Guerre," Cahiers de la Faculté des Sciences Sociales, 1944. p.3.

23 Georges-Henri Lévesque, "L'enseignement de la doctrine sociale de l'Eglise à la Faculté des Sciences sociales de Laval," Ad usum sacerdotum, IV, (octobre, 1948)

24 Déclaration de l'Assemblée des cardinaux et archevêques 1945, cited in P. E. Bolté et al., Réformes des Structures dans l'Entreprise, (Québec: Université Laval, 1949)p. 102.

25 Refer to Aline Coutrot and François Dreyfus, Les Forces religieuses dans la société française, (Paris: Librairie Armand Colin, 1965) and Dorothy Pickles, France between the Republics, (London: Contact Publications, 1946)

26 Gérard Dion, ed., Ad usum sacerdotum, III, (septembre, 1947)

27 Georges-Henri Lévesque, "Le communisme et le chrétien," Congrès des Relations Industrielles, Québec, 1950, 179.

28 Ibid., 179.

29 Georges-Henri Lévesque, "Théologie du travail," Congrès des Relations Industrielles, Québec, 1948. 157.

30 Commission Sacerdotale d'Etudes Sociales, La Participation des Travailleurs à la Vie de l'Entreprise, (Montréal: Imprimerie Populaire Ltée, 1947) p.6. The commission can be considered an adjunct of the faculty of Social Sciences since it drew its intellectual leadership from that source. Lévesque and Dion were leading members, as were their close associates P.E. Bolté and Jacques Cousineau. It was composed of university social scientists and union chaplains and no doubt was employed by Laval to diffuse its teachings among the clergy.

31 Gérard Dion and Joseph Pelchat, "Repenser le nationalisme," Action nationale, XXXI, (juin, 1948) p. 410.

32 Ibid., 411.

33 "Chronique sociale de France," (janvier-février, 1948) cited in Ad usum sacerdotum, III, (avril, 1948). This article was quoted by Dion and indicates his own preoccupation that Catholicism not be monopolized by any interest group.

34 Lévesque, "Théologie" Congrès des Relations Industrielles, 157.

35 See especially G. H. Lévesque, "L'Université et les Relations Industrielles," 1946; G. Dion, "Sécurité syndicale," 1947; G.H. Lévesque, "Théologie du travail," 1948; J. Marchand, "Structure du mouvement ouvrier et organisation syndicale, " 1949. All are found in the annual reports of the Congrès des Relations Industrielles.

36 Compare this with the notion as expressed by Marx in his Critique of the Gotha Program that labour is "not only a means of life but life's prime want. . . " by which man develops totally.

37 Lévesque, "Théologie" Congrès des Relations Industrielles, 164.

38 Gérard Dion, "Sécurité syndicale: définitions--aspect moral," Congrès des Relations Industrielles, Québec, 1946. p.87.

39 G. H. Lévesque, "L'Université et les Relations Industrielles," Congrès des Relations Industrielles, Québec, 1946. p.8.

40 Dion, Ad usum, IV, (février, 1949)

41 P. M. Gaudrault, Neutralité, Non-confessionalité et l'Ecole sociale populaire, (Montréal; Editions du Levrier, 1946) p. 18.

42 Dion, Ad usum, V, (février, 1950)

43 Dion, "Sécurité" Congrès des Relations Industrielles, 96.

44 Ibid., 89.

45 P. E. Bolté, Réformes, 25.

46 Ibid., 12.

47 Cited in Bolté, 57. My italics emphasize the pope's organic conception of the union beween capital and labour.

48 Commission, Participation, 36.

49 Ibid., 37.

50 Ibid., 30.

51 P. E. Bolté and Gérard Dion, "La Morale et la Participation aux Bénifices," Actualité Economique, 25ième année, (janvier-mars, 1950) p. 708.

52 Commission, Participation, 45.

53 The Catholic intellectuals did not explain why capital should have the initiative in the socio-economic transformation. We could postulate that they did so because capital did de facto possess the rights over management, profits, and ownership of enterprise. But, would not such a position weaken their proposals for reform?

54 Cardinal Suhard, "Essor ou Déclin de l'Eglise," Ad usum, III, (décembre, 1947)

55 F. A. Angers, "Avons-nous compris nos ouvriers?," Action nationale, XXII, (octobre, 1943) p. 97.

56 F. A. Angers, "Travail et Gratuité," Action nationale, XXXIII, janvier, 1944) p. 30.

57 ". . . du droit de propriété privée et du droit de l'individu de choisir lui-même les satisfactions qu'il veut se donner et les moyens d'y arriver, ce n'est pas à l'Etat à produire des biens pour la société." F. A. Angers, "Le rôle de l'Etat dans la vie évonomique de la nation," Action nationale, XXII, (novembre, 1943) p. 198.

58 "Tant que la libre concurrence existe, qu'elle ne s'est pas détruite elle-même par la constitution des monopoles (. . .) l'économie d'entreprise évolue de façon que les services rendus tendent vers un maximum en qualité tout en ne laissant à chaque entrepreneur que le minimum de profit." Angers cited in Bolté and Dion, "Morale" Actualité Economique, 704.

59 Pius XI, Divini Redemptoris, (Paris: Editons Spes, 1937) p. 60.

## CHAPTER III
## A CRITIQUE IN GESTATION

Cité Libre initially appeared in Quebec at a time when forces produced by the process of industrialization had begun to challenge the traditional structures of society. The province's labour movement, recently fortified by a vigorous ideology and leadership, confronted a deeply entrenched laissez-faire government. Elements within the Church, priests as well as bishops, questioned the orientation of denominational institutions and of social Catholic philosophy as it had evolved in Quebec. Scattered individuals started to reject the intellectual foundations upon which French-Canadian life had been postulated. Cité Libre emerged from this crise de conscience, from this period of evaluation and uncertainty. It proposed a body of thought, based upon the observations and experiences of its cosmopolitan contributors, differing substantially from the ideas to which the Quebec mind has been accustomed. At this point, a brief discussion of the background against which Cité Libre was conceived, would be useful.

The eruption of the Asbestos strike in February 1949 was a dramatic manifestation of French-Canada's adhesion to an industrial urban culture. Despite the rather turbulent economic changes and social dislocations occuring in fifty years of industrialization, its society, superficially at least,

had maintained until then the basically parochial, static, and traditional perspective of a rural milieu. When goaded by 'national issues' like the conscription crisis of 1942, which directly and immediately implicated the most remote inhabitant, the Québecois did overcome the narrow preoccupations of daily life. But, never before had such an essentially industrial question galvanized the interest and opinions of the entire province.

The primary importance that Asbestos assumes in the province's social history cannot be attributed to any single cause. It is rather the convergence and blending of a series of factors which sets the strike in stark relief. The mine workers, discarding the erstwhile timidity with which the Québec proletariat approached management and government, found the determination and the strength to undertake a trying 120-day walkout and to press for such demands as higher wages, industrial hygiene, better working conditions and union security. Their persistence and militancy having attained a level equal to that of the average North American worker, they finally relinquished their long established image of a cheap commodity. The Confédération des Travailleurs Catholiques du Canada, by modernizing its structure and transcending its traditional confessionality, could ally itself with rival international unions, which temporarily abandoned the pursuit of their own limited interests. This newly-acquired harmony constituted a formidable obstacle to the asbestos industries which were attempting

by every means possible to maintain mine operations, and to a provincial government which exerted strong pressure to comply with the wishes of management. However, neither the asbestos miners nor the Confédération des Travailleurs Catholiques du Canada could have borne the brunt of the strike by themselves. Indeed, elements traditionally associated with the 'petite société' concept of French-Canadian culture, fundamentally opposed to large scale industrialization, joined ranks with the workers on social rather than national grounds and reinforced their determination.

The Church generally had exerted a stabilizing influence on industrial disputes by discouraging proletarian assertiveness toward management. At Asbestos, however, some of its more dynamic elements shattered the aura of supposed impartiality and aloofness which it had radiated and deeply concerned themselves with the fate of the strikers. The previous chapter alluded to the special collection taken up in the twelve dioceses to relieve the distressed workers, to Father Camirand's continued presence among them throughout the arduous five-month test of strength, and to the unambiguous statements issued by Mgrs. Charbonneau and Desranleau. In addition, the Jesuit magazine, Relations, which reflected very faithfully the traditionalist orientation of its founder, Rev. Papin Archambault, and of the Order as a whole, created a furore in June 1949 when Reverend Jacques Cousineau unreservedly endorsed the Asbestos workers' demands.

> Cinq mille mineurs maintiennent la grève à coups de sacrifices, parce qu'ils mettent leur sécurité sociale et syndicale, et donc leur désir de vivre en homme et en hommes libres, au-dessus de leurs intérêts matériels. Primauté du spirituel que les pantouflards et les matérialistes du siècle ne voient pas s'exprimer dans une grève de ce caractère. 1

His colleague, Gérard Dion, writing in Ad usum sacerdotum, lashed out at the Johns Manville Company of Asbestos for fomenting disquiet and radicalism by refusing to take preventative action against industrial diseases.[2] Finally, union chaplains from across the province shored up the Confédération des Travailleurs Catholiques du Canada at a critical moment with a general declaration of support which foiled the Union nationale government's attempt to discredit the union and crush the strike. Thus, the Church declined its traditional position of prominence in industrial disputes, assuming instead a subordinate role. Although one cannot minimize Mgr. Roy's important contribution as mediator in the strike, nevertheless members of the clergy did not direct its course nor did they outline its perimeters.

The nationalist elite, perennially committed to the edification of a bourgeois utopia undefiled by working class disturbances, did not exploit Asbestos to propagate its own ideology of antipathy to foreign industry. Instead, it participated in the pervasive mood of sympathy toward the striking miners. Le Devoir's interest in labour problems already had been aroused in the post-war period. Before the outbreak of the strike, the newspaper published Burton Ladoux' shocking study of asbestosis at East Broughton, followed by a continuous flow of editorials severely censuring the government and the asbestos industries.

Other nationalist publications, including l'Action nationale and Notre Temps, joined the chorus of outrage. Undoubtedly the most dramatic intervention to emanate from nationalist circles on behalf of the strikers was Canon Groulx's declaration to the news media:

> (Ces grévistes) se battent proprement pour la défense de leur vie et de celle de leurs filles et garçons ouvriers dans une industrie meurtrière. Ils se battent contre des compagnies qui jamais, autant que l'on sache, ne se sont engagées nettement, loyalement, à la correction du mal abominable qu'elles propagent depuis longtemps. Le mal est trop grave . . . . . Toute la province a le devoir de faire cesser cette misère imméritée . . . 3

Thus, for the first time, the Québecois as a whole focussed their attention on the industrial proletariat which had constituted a preponderant segment of the province's society for thirty years. Certainly, the general concert in favour of the Asbestos strike was not founded on a uniformity of reasons, for the dispute rallied divergent if not antipathetic elements of public opinion. The centrality that this industrial problem assumed in the society, however, indicated that Quebec had gone beyond a rural conception of itself.

The cessation of the world war had heralded a brief period of economic euphoria, which abruptly ended in 1949 and provoked the disaffection and agitation of the working class. There resulted serious divisions in Quebec society. The conservative government's interests, which were intimately related to the generation of a climate propitious to foreign investment and to the intensive exploitation of Quebec's natural resources, dictated that this newly-acquired assertiveness on the part of some labour organizations not hinder economic development. One month before the Asbestos strike, Bill 5 was introduced in the legislature.

The government suggested that there was a need to rationalize all items of legislation concerning industrial relations. However, the Bill appeared to be motivated by Duplessis' desire to preserve unionism in the same docile state which characterized it in the pre-war period.[4] A prohibition of the closed shop sought to remove the foundations of union security, strikes in the public sector were to be outlawed, and the Labour Relations Board was to be empowered to decertify unions containing any person suspected of Communist affiliation. This last provision sought to prune the more progressive and unintimidated members, from labour organizations. The Liberal Party, led by an English-Montreal financier, disdained to criticize the Bill. Opposition therefore had to emanate from extra-parliamentary sources and assumed the shape of a coalition of the three Quebec unions, the affiliates of the Canadian Congress of Labour and the Trades and Labour Congress as well as the Confédération des Travailleurs Catholiques du Canada. Although this stratagem of force succeeded in killing the projected labour code, Duplessis resurrected it by reviving its principal components, Bills 60 (1949) and 19 and 20,(1954).

Determined to cap labour's effervescence, the Union nationale considered that those promoting proletarian interests were rendering its task much more difficult. Members of the clergy and laity, strongly attracted to this new social committment, were extremely vulnerable to accusations of Communist sympathy by the government. Ecclesiastical traditionalists seconded Duplessis. They were deeply anguished by the Church's declining influence in temporal

and spiritual matters. The rise of indigenous Communist movements throughout the world and the Soviet Union's apparent aggressive expansionism served, of course, to give these recrimations a greater semblance of reality. The Custos Report, a dissonant note in the chorus of general approval of the strike, was symptomatic of the malaise disturbing society. Attributed to Emile Bouvier s.j., this 'secret document', which reached the hands of Vatican officials, implicated the Confédération des Travailleurs Catholiques du Canada, its chaplains and Le Devoir in a Kremlin-inspired plot to overthrow the ruling classes.[5] The previous year, Rev. D'Auteuil Richard, s.j., was removed as editor of Relations. He had prefaced Burton LeDoux's shattering report on silicosis in St. Remi d'Amherst with a vitriolic attack on the working conditions in Québec's extractive industries. The retraction, fiercely sought by the companies involved, was produced by his successor in a subsequent issue.[6] Another labour-oriented Jesuit, Jacques Cousineau, gradually was dislodged from the magazine's editorial board. His untiring efforts on behalf of the Asbestos strikers, his support of the Montreal Catholic teacher's strike, his vigorous assaults against the legislation prohibiting strikes in the public sector and the Labour Code Bill, and his demands for government-enforced measures to promote industrial hygiene certainly did not endear him to the Order's predominantly traditionalist leadership.[7] Rather interestingly Rev. Papin Archambault, after a few years of absence, returned to the editorial board in the very year of Cousineau's removal. Finally, most members of the Commission sacerdotale d'études

sociales were denounced to their superiors.[8]

These purges and denunciations, however, were not the sole prerogative of religious leaders. Charbonneau was relieved of his functions as Archbishop of Montreal. It has been argued that Duplessis played an important part in removing the ecclesiastic whose strong committment to the proletariat and outspoken oppostion angered the Premier and the government.[9] Conservative and capitalist Catholics, writing in publications which were receptive to their ideas, such as l'Action nationale, l'Actualité économique, and Notre Temps, were determined to silence these carriers of socialism and the modernist heresy, who were attempting to contaminate their preserve. Professors associated with the Laval Faculty of Social Sciences appeared to be the favorite targets. Georges-Henri Lévesque and Gérard Dion were stigmatized as Marxists.[10] Always prepared to engage in a Communist witch-hunt, the provincial government bludgeoned the Faculty in 1949 by withholding a $50,000 grant because of its moral and financial support of the Asbestos strikers.[11] Laval's rector was subjected to considerable pressure to remove Lévesque. The Union nationale's efforts culminated in success when a new university regulation retired the Dean in 1955.

It was in this dualistic setting, amid the feeling of exhilarating freedom and hope that Asbestos sparked in the minds of those anxiously anticipating social change, and the repression and smugness of orthodoxy seeking to maintain the status quo, that Cité Libre was born.

Full-fledged offspring of industrialization's concentrated

thrust into Québec, its young originators sifted from their varied backgrounds and experiences a similar philosophy. The depression had found them in Québec's collèges classiques, a spawning ground for clerico-nationalist leagues during this period, where they were being trained to become the 'natural' élite of French Canada. Their rejection of bourgeois nationalism and traditional Catholicism which seemingly were involved in a symbiotic relationship, and saturated the educational atmosphere, elaborated itself over a period of time. The Jeunesse Etudiante Catholique trained the vision of men like Guy Cormier, Gérard Pelletier and Pierre Juneau beyond nationalism.

> Elle a répondu . . . à toutes les exigences de notre jeunesse, à tous nos problèmes, à toutes nos angoisses. Nous réclamions un chef et elle... nous a proposé de rebâtir le monde. Nous voulions faire quelque chose et elle nous a proposé d'aider nos frères. Nous voulions une doctrine forte, violente, révolutionnaire et elle nous a présenté l'Evangile . . . 12

A solitary but nonetheless imperative signpost, it beckoned them to go beyond the rather introverted preoccupation with personal salvation which deeply colored their religion. In addition, because of its international complexion, the Jeunesse Etudiante Catholique afforded its Québec members easy access to the concepts which were fermeting rapidly in the French Catholic context. For others, it was a close and lasting encounter with particular professors who shunned proselytization and whose vital concerns were less immediate than the dogmas and ideologies of the milieu. Réginald Boisvert, for example, pursued his studies at Laval's Ecole des Sciences Sociale, where "nous apprenions à dire exactement ce que nous pensions et à le dire bien; nous

apprenions à laisser les autres s'exprimer, à respecter leurs opinions et à discuter sans nous étrangler; nous apprenions par l'exercise d'une sereine dialectique qu'il y avait plus d'une opinion valable sur une même question et que la vie sociale, pas plus que la vie humaine, ne se trace au cordeau ni se tranche impunément au bistouri."[13] For all, the displacement from their indigenous culture, necessitated by intellectual, artistic or other pursuits, was a crucible in which some outlooks simply evaporated, many beliefs were tested, and a life-style altered.

This shock of ideas, brought about by the various broadening and transcending educational experiences and foreign travels, stimulated a similar critique of their own culture, constituting the basic premises on which Cité Libre would later be founded. Scattered as they were, there grew within these intellectuals the same deep-rooted feeling of resentment both for the Quebec thinkers who had preceeded them, because they had insulated the province from main currents of Western thought and life, and for the ideas they generated, which reflected, instead of attempting to surpass, the parochialism and crudeness of their culture. Some years later, Trudeau would express the essence of their bitterness and impatience.

> . . . nos penseurs officiels . . . jusqu'à une époque toute récente ignorèrent tout de la pensée juridique universelle, de Duguit jusqu'à Pound; tout de la sociologie, de Durkheim jusqu'à Gurvitch; tout de l'économie; de Walras jusqu'à Keynes; tout de la science politique, de Bosanquet jusqu'à Laski; tout de la psychologie, de Freud jusqu'à Piaget, tout de la pédagogie, de Dewey jusqu'à Ferrière." 14

Having observed at close hand the intelligentsia in more technologically mature and in pluralistic cultures, the young thinkers considered that the role of such an elite was to provide impetus to a modern society by means of a dialectical exchange of ideas.

Their judgement of the Quebec intellectuals in no way diminished their personal or social expectations. Despite the implicit restrictions imposed by the Québec Church and government on the free movement of thought, a sublime confidence underpinned their beliefs that the war's end announced the outset of an era where oppresive systems and ideologies would be overturned. As natural heirs of this new world, they intended to work toward its edification with the specialized tools acquired from their bountiful experiences, unperturbed by the languishing defenders of the status quo. "Nous disions, voilà cinq ans: 'Le capitalisme est mort, système désuet.' Nous rêvions d'unité syndicale, nous bazardions la confessionalité. Nous n'en finissions plus de liquider certaine tradition nuisible de séparatisme spirituel et de ghétto chrétien."[15] Their optimistic idealism, supported in part by the general material improvement of the post-war period, and the upsurge of governments committed to Welfare Statism in Western Europe and the United States, slowly had to accommodate itself to the realities governing the province. Established authority showed no sign of foundering. Indeed, it possessed imposing instruments to quell the stirrings of unrest. With the re-election of the Union nationale in 1948, Québec appeared to be completely apathetic about the form of

liberating change which they had envisaged. Only labour organizations did not conform to this dismal picture. Appearing to possess the strength and motivation to challenge established authority, unionism was considered a lone but powerful vehicle of transformation. The interests and occupations of Cité Libre's founders illustrate the extent to which these men had internalized this conception. Pierre Trudeau and Jean-Paul Geoffroy, for example, both specialized in labour law, while Gérard Pelletier and Réginald Boisvert became journalists involved with labour problems.

Lacking any vehicle with which to articulate their ideas, these young political observers, however, were scattered, disorganized, unheard, and unheeded. In this perspective, the Asbestos strike must have appeared as a tiny flicker of light in the depth of the night. It was, for the Cité Libre team, a cohesive experience gathering most of them together and a rallying point for intellectual communion, with quasi-mystical characteristics. It buoyed up their attitudes and prejudices about Québec society and became a source of reference from which future inspiration and strength could be drawn. Asbestos seemed to confirm their myth about the proletariat which was cast as the vanguard of progress and freedom. Had not the miners, as the Confédération des Travailleurs Catholiques du Canada generally, broken the trance in which the clerical and nationalist elite had bound them and, indeed, the entire province?[16] Did they not rediscover their genuine self-expression, which had been long repressed? Were not the strikers beating a

path for the Québec population by challenging an authoritarian regime, by demanding not only freedom of association but freedom tout court? The intellectuals' active participation in the strike, as union lawyers, journalists or simply supporters, received its raison d'être. ". . . la scène même fut envahi par une foule turbulente de spectateurs qui voulaient prendre part à l'action où ils sentaient leur propre liberté en jeu."[17] The relentlessness with which both government and management resisted what the cosmopolitan thinkers considered to be the workers' most elemental demands, the intimidating tactics employed to compel the workers back to their jobs and ultimately to subvert and destroy unionism, the destructive whispering campaign unleashed against supporters of the strike, only served to emphasize the arduousness and slowness with which change would be introduced in Québec. These observations also highlighted the primary role played by authority in French Canadian culture. The fact that Lewis Brown, president of Canadian Johns Manville andMaurice Duplessis could so skillfully seduce elements of public opinion away from supporting miners by constantly referring to the illegality of the strike, that some Church authorities unsympathetic to Asbestos could silence members of the clergy for their diametrically opposed view of a problem, which was so patently temporal, amply bear out this observation.

The future initiators of Cité Libre realized at the time of the strike that an important key to the revival of French Canadian society lay in a reinterpretation of authority. At this juncture, the social Catholic philosophy evolved in France as expressed in the magazine Esprit, to which they had all been exposed, now answered their most fundamental needs.

The great influence that Esprit enjoyed amongst certain of the French-Canadian public was evaluated by H.I. Marrou, a Catholic historian and close collaborator of its founder, Emmanuel Mounier. "Lors de mon premier voyage au Québec en 1948, je fus surpris de découvrir qu'elle avait été la diffusion et la profondeur de l'influence exercée sur tout un secteur de l'élite canadienne, par Esprit et surtout par Emmanuel Mounier." [18]

Esprit had attempted to awaken in each citizen a direct and immediate sense of responsibility toward the freedom of his society. No one ought shun this essential duty. "On parle toujours de s'engager comme s'il dépendait de nous; mais nous sommes engagés, embarqués, préoccupés. C'est pourquoi l'abstention est illusoire. Le scepticisme est encore une philosophie. . . et qui ne fait pas de politique fait passivement le jeu du pouvoir établi."[19] Mounier remoulded the traditional concept of authority so as to bring it into harmony with the premises of humanist philosophy. The paternalism, repression, and immutability associated with the established Catholic interpretation were discarded. He asserted that authority should never become an end in itself. It should be solidly rooted in popular sovereignty, in an informed citizenry guarding against its arbitrariness through the complicated levels and various functions of government, and by direct means as strikes, demonstrations and, if necessary, riots.

Undoubtedly, Mounier struck a chord in Cité Libre's originators. His intellectual acumen and extraordinary capacity for synthesis made him primarily responsable for stimulating a version of Catholicism which was perfectly in tune with the French Left, which frequently used the vocabulary of modern

humanism and which spoke of scientific progress and human liberty without shame or qualification. In their eyes,he represented the transition from the Maurrasian mind, whose perimeters had never exceeded the Ancien Régime, who insisted on authoritarianism, formalism, and repression, who had rejected the heritage of the French Revolution, to a more pliant form of Catholicism, which responded more realistically to the exigencies of the modern world. Mounier's compelling phraseology could not but confirm their militancy. How could they resist such persuasive words as these: "Une société dont les gouvernements, la presse, les élites ne répandent que le scepticisme, la ruse et la soumission, est une société qui se meurt et ne moralise que pour cacher sa pourriture."[20]

> Mais cette révolution dans la culture dont notre génération) rêvait au sortir de la guerre tourne un peu court, en 1950, devant une réaction, toute-puissante. Les manuels de philosophie n'ont pas changé; nos artistes et nos écrivains peinent pour vivre et souvent se conforment; nos journaux sont remplis d'âneries; nous sommes toujours menaçés par un dogmatisme dur à vaincre, qui n'a rien de chrétien ni de vivant." 21

Cité Libre, therefore was founded in June 1950 under the joint editorship of Pierre Elliott Trudeau and Gérard Pelletier. Its début on the Québec scene was modest indeed. What with only 500 copies,[22] of the first issue circulated by those directly involved in its production amongst friends, sympathetic university professors, and some trade unionists, it appeared to be condemned to a brief existence. Its total staff numbered eight. In the first ten years of its establishment it never attained more than double this figure. The team of writers met to discuss the issues of the day as analyzed in a paper presented by one of their colleagues. When a consensus of opinion was reached, the author of the original article exposed the common perspective

in the magazine.

It would be incorrect to assume that the staff of Cité Libre comprised a homogeneous group. Gérard Pelletier was quick to dispell any illusion of conformity when he asserted that his colleagues came from various backgrounds and that their interests were as divergent as poetry was from labour unionism. Nevertheless, Cité Libre did strive to enunciate a specific philosophy. To which articles can we turn to ascertain the thought of the publication? Speaking on behalf of his colleagues, Charles Lussier provides us with a partial answer.

> Chez nous, comme tout quotidien ou périodique, le mot de collaboration répond à une idée de continuité, de régularité dans la présentation d'articles. Un article d'occasion, fourni par un auteur étranger à l'équipe, sur un sujet sujet spécial et qui relève de sa compétence, ne constituera jamais un article de collaboration auprès de tout lecteur évolué. 23

But what made the unity of l'équipe? It was a common perspective. Cité Libre's originators shared among themselves the same premises which would later constitute their critique of French-Canadian society. They all believed that Quebec had been dominated for too long by an authoritarian Church, by corporate capitalists, and, a conservative government, that for fifty years the nationalist elite had espoused a reactionary and dogmatic ideology which ultimately supported the status quo, and that labor unionism was a key to the province's liberation. Beyond this critical analysis, it was the editorship, more specifically Trudeau, who formulated the policy of the magazine. Although

Pierre Vadeboncoeur concurred with his colleagues on their diagnosis of Quebec society, his uncompromising anti-nationalism and his socialist ideology placed him on the fringes of the group. When, on one occasion, he ventured to articulate his beliefs about the future of the province, Pelletier stressed that Vadeboncoeur was speaking only on his behalf. The editor added,

> Si pourtant je tiens à marquer ici ma dissidence, ce n'est pas au nom de quelque 'orthodoxie mineure' dont Cité Libre n'aurait que faire. Chacun de nos collaborateurs est libre de sa démarche et de ses opinions en des matières aussi discutables. 24

Thus, in the following chapter, Vadeboncoeur's ideas will only be considered insofar as they agree with the basic philosophy of the publication.

The founders of Cité Libre were motivated by the belief that their magazine responded to a particular need among an important segment of the Quebec population. While it was conceeded that the already existing publications could accommodate some of the ideas upon which Cité Libre wished to elaborate, it was felt that the well-established ideologies of the journals would inhibit and stifle creative thoughts.[25] Thus, the specific weltanschauung which the young writers so urgently wished to communicate would be dissipated or fragmented by these channels. They needed an intellectual setting which would infuse their concepts with meaning and set them in bold relief.

The necessity of prolonging the Asbestos experience, of institutionalizing it, was made obvious to these young thinkers. Unless an attempt was made to subvert the structures and the myths sustained by the indigenous elite, the status quo, already forty years old, would prevail indefinitely. How, then, could

they keep alive their burning desire for change?" How could they communicate their theories about the nature of their environment amid the apparent satisfaction of the population? How could they reach their back-sliding colleagues and friends who had not exposed themselves to the more culturally and technologically sophisticated societies, the liberating experience of travel, and whose disatisfaction had atrophied through lack of nourishment. The alienation of Cité Libre's founders necessitated a mechanism which would bring them together often. "Cité Libre veut être, pour les artisans de la restructuration sociale, un lieu de communion et de réflection . . . Il faut désormais prendre le risque de la liberté, tracer quotidiennement au sein du progrès social, les avenues de la liberté."[26]

Footnotes

1 Jacques Cousineau, "La Grève de l'amiante," Relations, 9ième année, (juin, 1949) p. 147.

2 Gérard Dion, Ad usum sacerdotum, IV, (avril, 1949) "Une industrie qui joue avec la santé et même la vie de ses ouvriers se défend par le mensonge et la calomnie. Elle reçoit l'appui intégral du gouvernement , qui prend parti pour le capital étranger et contre la main-d'oeuvre du Québec; le même gouvernement dénonce le Syndicat catholique comme révolutionnaire et saboteur."

3 Le Devoir, 20 avril, 1949.

4 Herbert Quinn, The Union Nationale: A Study in Quebec Nationalism, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1963) pp.92-93.

5 Gérard Dion, "L'Eglise et le Conflit de l'Amiante," La Grève de l'Amiante, ed. P. E. Trudeau, (Montréal: Editions Cité Libre, 1956) ff. 259.

6 Jean d'Auteuil Richard, "Les Victimes de Saint-Rémi sont nos frères. . .," Relations, 8ième année, (mars, 1948) p. 65. Adélard Dugré, "La Silicose: Rectification," Relations, 8ième année, (juillet, 1948) p. 193.

7 Refer to Relations, 9ième année, (février, 1949- juin 1949)

8 Dion, Grève, 259.

9 Quinn, Union, ff.163.

10 Dion, Ad usum, V, (janvier, 1950)

11 Ensign, Ottawa, May 21, 1949 cited in "L'action du clergé et de la hiérarchie catholique dans la grève de l'amiante," Civiltà Cattolica, reprinted in Jacques Cousineau, Réflexions en marge de "La Grève de l'Amiante," (Montréal: Institut social populaire, 1958) p.74.

12 Guy Cormier, "JEC en fonction du milieu," Cahiers d'Action Catholique, (Montréal: 1943) p. 4.

13 J. C. Falardeau, "Lettre à mes étudiants," Cité Libre, (mai, 1959) Henceforth, Cité Libre will be referred to as C.L.

14 P. E. Trudeau, "La Province de Québec au moment de la grève," Grève, 19.

15 Gérard Pelletier, "Cité Libre confesse ses intentions," C.L. (février, 1951) p. 4.

16 Trudeau,"Epilogue" Grève, 392 and 401.

17 Ibid., 379.

18 H. I. Marrou, "Le Canada français, préface française,"Esprit, (août-septembre, 1952)p. 169.

19 Emmanuel Mounier, Le Personnalisme. (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1957) p. 112.

20 Ibid., 71.

21 Pelletier, C.L., (février, 1951)p.4.

22 Ibid., 7.

23 Charles Lussier, "Faites vos jeux," C.L., (mai, 1953) p. 45.

24 Gérard Pelletier, "Dissidence," (novembre,1953) p. 29.

25 Cité Libre, "Règles du Jeu," (juin, 1950) p.2.

26 Réginald Boisvert, "Domicile de la Peur sociale," C.L., (juin, 1950) p. 19.

## CHAPTER IV

## THE SECULAR CITE

This study of Cité Libre will restrict itself to the "première série", that is, the twenty-three issues spanning the years 1950 to 1959. It is felt that the problems discussed in the publication during this period differ substantially from those treated in the "nouvelle série" (1960 - 1966) because of the advent of the "Quiet Revolution" in 1960, which marked a turning point in Québec political life and in the analysis thereon. It will become evident as this inquiry progresses that the articles comprising the "première série" provide unity of thought, coherence and continuity.

Cité Libre's raison d'être suggested a rejection of compromise. Its originatorsrefused to integrate themselves into the old structures through which ideas were disseminated, Cité Libre declared the exhaustion and collapse of traditionalism as a means of approaching the problems afflicting a contemporary society. Its first editorial hinted at the inadequacy of previous methods. It reviled the deep-rooted propensity for composing manifestoes which marked the traditional intelligentsia. The apparent narrowness and parochialism of the old elite suffocated Cité Libre's originators. They wanted to reinvigorate and refresh their environment with a consideration of: "les grands problèmes universels (et) leur retentissement

précis dans notre milieu humain."[1] A clarion call was consequently issued to Cité Libre's audience, especially to the members of its editors' generation who had not had the opportunity to express themselves fully in the past, but whose experiences in a multiplicity of fields had transported them beyond the physical and intellectual horizons of Québec. A self-assurance and sophistication underlined the young thinkers' conviction that they had a valuable contribution to make to their province's evolution, a contribution perhaps even more tangible than their traditionalist predecessors. "Car les hommes et les femmes qui voisinent aujourd'hui la trentaine n'ont pas tous perdu leur temps depuis 1940...Ils ne sont pas abstenus de réfléchir."[2] Rather, "... les questions (que cette générations) pose et les réponses qu'elle tente d'y apporter ont quelque chose de nouveau, d'original et de distinct."[3]

## The Challenge to Clerical Privilege

One of Cité Libre's prime interests was traditional Catholicism. The group of writers believed that the advent of change within their province depended primarily on a transformation of the Catholic Church. Considered both as an organizational structure and a personal ethic, religion as expressed in Québec was thought to be the principle obstacle impeding the province's accession to the status of a modern state. Pelletier later postulated this idea in unambiguous terms.

> La crise que nous traversons est avant tout spirituelle et c'est à l'Eglise, c'est aux penseurs chrétiens - clercs et laics - qu'il faut demander le diagnostic ultime du mal qui atteint jusqu'à nos racines les plus profondes.[4]

The magazine dismissed as unrealistic the extreme anti-religious posture that a tiny minority of intellectuals assumed in the past as a reaction to the Church's virtual omnipresence. Such an abrupt and revolutionary intellectual change merely skirted the necessary confrontation with this powerful motive force. It was considered that the anti-ecclesiastical faction had denied itself a part in the liberation of society by situating itself deliberately outside the province's cultural tradition. Traditional Catholicism, therefore, could be displaced only by a detailed critique of the Church's overbearing presence in the temporal sphere of the ideology justifying this presence, and of the effects produced on the indigenous religion and culture.

Pelletier posed the problem in concrete terms. He suggested that the Church's administration and ownership of facilities in education, health, and welfare burdened it with such complex responsibilities that its spiritual mission within the community assumed a secondary position and sometimes was compromised severely.[5] According to the journalist, the Church's primary obligation of bearing witness to and promoting Christian love should never be inhibited by temporal concerns. Trudeau sought to dispel the confusion reigning in the Quebec mind by delineating

clearly the boundaries of the clergy's authority.

> S'il était bien clairement compris par tout le monde que, pour régler les problèmes purement temporels, une soutane n'est d'aucun secours particulier, qu'une tonsure n'est pas le signe d'immunité devant la loi et devant l'opinion publique et qu'un doctorat en théologie n'est pas un certificat de compétence universelle et infaillible; s'il était entendu qu'un prêtre qui choisit de servir des forces profanes n'a plus de science ou d'autorité que n'importe quel citoyen, alors clercs et laics pourraient collaborer à l'édification d'une Eglise et d'une cité vraiment chrétiennes.[6]

Thus, Cité Libre's strategy vis à vis the institutional Church was to divest clerics of the infallibility and preeminence which had followed them somehow into the purely temporal domain. It was hoped that by elucidating the nature of their awesome power, their influence would be given clearer perspective.

Education and the laity

When the Montreal Catholic teachers' dispute erupted in 1951, the team of writers capitalized on the opportunity afforded it to elaborate on its ideas. Cité Libre's editorial of December 1951 was not satisfied with affirming its support for the demands of the Alliance des Instituteurs, the teachers' union. It perceived the labour dispute as symptomatic of a greater ill: the clergy's virtual monopoly over the purely secular aspects of education. "Quand un instituteur se présente devant une commission scolaire, ce n'est pas un ouvrier de statut normal qui s'exprime; c'est un travailleur de seconde zone, qui occupe la plupart du temps un poste mineur sous l'autorité

temporelle d'un clerc ou d'un religieux."[7] In conformity with the magazine's general philosophy on Church-State relations, the article did not contest the Church's right to oversee the spiritual aspects of education. Rather, it was concerned with the apparent discrimination which allowed the clerical minority to occupy a majority of the positions all the way up the administrative echelons. Cité Libre was subverting the fundamental proposition that a clerical collar and pedagogical and administrative expertise were synonyms. Critically questioned was the tradition whereby all thirteen bishops automatically were given a voice in the formulation of educational policy for the entire province, whereby the Archibishop of Montreal through his delegates virtually controlled the Montreal Catholic School Commission, the largest administrative unit in Quebec, whereby local administrative positions very largely belonged to the clergy. The editorial concretely illustrated, with examples from the teacher's dispute, the confusion created by the extent of the Church's authority in temporal matters.

The conflict arose when the Montreal Catholic School Commission refused to comply with demands formulated by the Alliance des Instituteurs. The union was requesting the establishment of a grievance committee and the provision of a leave of absence for its president during his tenure of office. Despite opposition from its chaplain, the Alliance decided by an overwhelming vote of its membership

to have recourse to arbitration. At this point, the Archbishop of Montreal, Msgr. Léger, in a rather enigmatic gesture, removed the union chaplain. This abrupt gesture was interpreted in some circles as an implicit condemnation of the teachers' organization and its supposedly radical policies. A rival union, the Association des Enseignants Catholiques de Montréal, was established shortly after the Archbishop's action. It was composed of some members of religious orders and was given a chaplain. The presumption was that this association enjoyed the moral sanction of the clergy. When finally Msgr. Léger proposed, in an attempt at reconciliation, that the unions be reunited following the resignation of their respective executives, this suggestion was made to appear as a moral imperative to which both parties ought to submit. The Alliance, however, refused.

In the brief span of two years, the Association des Enseignants had become a powerful conservative faction. It took advantage of the Church's ambiguous position in the teachers' dispute to depict the Alliance as a politically subversive and anti-clerical organization. So successful was this smear campaign that the government, assured of public support, enacted Bill 20, which permitted the Labour Relations Board to decertify l'Alliance. At this point, Cité Libre considered that a new dimension to the Church's active involvement in the temporal sphere was revealed. The magazine condemned this manifestation of "integralism",

wherein ecclesiastical authority was appropriated to support the purely political ends of a lay faction. The publication found that, carried to its extreme, any form of dissent,of questioning could be suppressed by a sufficiently powerful group claiming direct inspiration from the Church. The complex situation was summarized in the following manner by the editors:

> . . . dans les circonstances présentes, cela prend l'aspect d'une lutte où des clercs assument une position partisane, ou des chrétiens authentiques se voient opposés contre leur gré à des représentants de l'Eglise et forcés à un impossible choix entre des convictions légitimes et l'approbation d'un parti qui prétend représenter l'Eglise . . . . Et le probleme dépasse ici de très loin la question de liberté syndicale; il compromet l'atmosphère religieuse de nos écoles, l'éducation de nos enfants; il menace d'aboutir aux pires malentendus sur le plan de la foi elle-même.[8]

As a solution the dispute, Cite Libré proposed that a referendum by secret ballot be conducted amongst the teachers in order to determine which union was to represent them in future negotiations. It was thought that through such a vote, the clearly expressed will of the majority would prevail independent of any possible clerical intimidation.

Cité Libre's probe into the clergy's influence in temporal matters transcended the purely administrative aspects of education to embrace the wider scope of pedagogy and curriculum. That this topic assumed, in the eyes of these intellectuals, a primary importance for Quebec's maturation as a society is borne out by the fact that

education was to be the first object of Cité Libre's scrutiny, following the introductory issue of June 1950. The editors were only deterred from their goal when fear of reprisals drove off any outside contributors, making a special issue on education impossible.[9] Nevertheless, the problem was raised with such frequency and constancy in the magazine's first ten years of life that we cannot doubt the urgency with which it was viewed. Cité Libre's members, each of whom had trodden the beaten path of the collège classique, wished to study and bring to light the effects of clerical domination on Quebec's educational system which, according to ecclesiastics and politicians was far superior to any other. The intellectuals' idea of education was expressed in terms of an inquisitiveness about life, a liberation of creative expression, a stimulation of critical capacities, and an awakening of a humanist outlook, an unquenchable desire to know man.[10] Marcel Rioux, a student of sociology, posited the theory that the curiosity, propelling a search for knowledge, withered at a very early stage in a child's development because of his exposure to the authoritarian atmosphere of Church and family. What curiosity remained virtually was exterminated by the educational system which elevated the protection of the French-Canadian culture and Catholicism to an absolute value.[11] The methodology imparted to a student from a very early age was one of apologetics, a defensive approach to his culture, rather than its critical evaluation.

Education became eviscerated;[12] it lacked the passion which would stir and spark the embers of thought.[13] Content surrendered to the outward style, spirit was engulfed by the letter, conformity displaced dissent. As Roger Rolland stated, "Je ne me souviens pas en effet d'avoir jamais eu un contact chaleureux et prolongé avec l'oeuvre d'un auteur. Toujours intervenait entre l'oeuvre elle même (qui est la chair de la pensée et de la vie) et la disponibilité vierge de l'élève un manuel de grammaire, de stylistique, d'histoire littéraire ou philosophique."[14] While the educational process claimed that its heritage descended from Renaissance humanism, Cité Libre contended that it was but a shell containing the preconceptions of a traditionalist Church. The strength of humanist thought was sapped by this intellectual duplicity. " . . . en réaction contre la science et la civilisation technique environnante, (l'éducateur) vantera la sagesse des auteurs gréco-latins, pour mieux les assassiner ensuite."[15]

This formalistic curriculum engendered the dehumanization of pedagogy. The system transformed students from human beings into empty reservoirs which were automatically filled with facts by their teachers, who were devoid of all inspiration. Brain-cramming superseded the inculcation of love for a particular subject or idea.[16]

The example most often cited in Cité Libre to support and concretize arguments about the inadequacies of the educational process was the teaching of philosophy.

Thought to be a discipline essentially related to man, his existence, and his interaction with the universe, [17] contributors attempted to illustrate the changes that such a subject underwent in the Quebec environment. They concurred that philosophy had ceased to be a living matter by virtue of its ossification in Thomism, identified by traditionalists as the quintessence of Catholic thought. Its terms of reference were those of medieval Europe. "L'immensité de notre quotidien , qui est notre immédiate et principale et normale expérience, ne lui doit à peu près rien, et que peuvent nos révérences les plus fervantes contre ce fait. . . " [18] Nothing remained of this discipline but a mechanical and formalistically logical system of thought. The teaching of philosophy numbed the brain and desensitized its students. Maurice Blain reflected his colleagues' view of the Thomist philosopher, when he commented on the latter's methodology: "Aussitôt que la discussion lui permet de saisir un de ces conceptes parfaitement abstraits qui lui tiennent lieu de réalité à penser, il commence de fonctionner avec une logique déconcertante. Il pratique avec virtuosité consommée l'art . . . de ne point douter, de poursuivre jusqu'à l'absurde un raisonnement cohérent ..." [19] The aspect most decried about traditionalist philosophy was the state of isolation in which the elite frequenting the collèges classiques found itself: isolation from reality, because the idealism inherent in the teaching of the discipline positively prevented a student from grappling with the real forces propelling his society: isolation from intellectuals

of other backgrounds because the dogmatism accompanying the teaching of Thomism placed an almost insurmountable barrier to genuine encounters with them.[20]

How could this "Catholic ghetto", this state of spiritual ostracism, be demolished? It was proposed that the narrow range of philosophy be widened to embrace an impartial study of all major currents of thought.[21] This suggestion, however, could not be entertained seriously without fundamentally calling into question the clerical supremacy in philosophy. Thus, the long-established tradition that any priest was competent to teach the subject was challenged. ". . . Qu'un clerc, du fait qu'il ait complété un cycle d'études orientées d'abord et avant tout dans un but pastoral, soit habilité ex opere operato à enseigner la philosophie, cela apparait difficilement justifiable."[22]

When the publication demanded an end to clerical monopoly in education, it was convinced that Québec, which possessed all the outward signs of a modern society, disposed of a reservoir of competent laymen to administer and teach within the system. In order to assert the laity's rights, the editors displayed prominently the deficiencies of education. They emphasized that clerical privilege in administration, policy formulation, and pedagogy guaranteed neither efficiency nor infallibility. Thus, Cité Libre's staff believed that the dogmatism, authoritarianism, and narrowness, which they associated with

the clergy's extended reign over the educational sphere would be engulfed by the accession of a competent modern laity.

Cité Libre's members were not pedagogues. Their interest in education centered around their belief that the Quebec mind had to be brought into that same modern reality which regulated its material and physical aspects. By experience, they knew that a powerful obstacle to the realization of this goal was the collèges classiques, which absorbed Québec's most promising intellects at the age of thirteen and released them at twenty-one. They were convinced that the Catholic ghetto mentality was formed at this stage. The terms of reference of the articles on education indicate that their exclusive concern was with the latter half of the secondary system. Concepts such as the development of critical capacities, the awakening of a humanist outlook, the challenge of intellectual opponents, the evisceration of philosophy and literature cannot but be seen in this perspective.

Freedom of Expression

Cité Libre also scrutinized the Church's participation in the development of thought. As intellectuals and artists, the staff of Cité Libre also chafed at any impediments arresting the free movement of ideas in matters secular imposed by those presuming to speak with the full weight of the Church's authority. The article entitled "Interview imaginaire avec le Père Joseph Paré, s.j." rather bitingly caricatured an actual event involving

clerical interference in the field of art. Challenged was that priestly paternalism which arrogated to itself the right to dissect artistic creations and remove subversive references relating especially to subjects of a sexual or anti-clerical nature. The integrity of artistic expression was invoked. It was contended that the very essence of aesthetics would be destroyed by ". . . (l'imposition des) limites étroites d'une morale scrupuleuse." [23] Once again, it was Trudeau who enunciated guidelines to elucidate the nature of clerical participation in the development of thought in Quebec. He welcomed the clergy's interest and involvement in the secular cité and any contribution it could make to the elaboration of a better society, but warned, "(le prêtre) doit se dévêtir du prestige et de l'autorité qui lui appartiennent en matières écclésiales. Dans la cité politique, tous les hommes pénètrent en égaux . . ." [24] This clarification was prompted by a personal attack launched against the young lawyer by two priests who had stigmatized as Communist an article which he had written for Le Devoir on the Soviet Union. An erudite political scientist could not tolerate such interference and especially such hasty accusations on the part of two clerical dilletanti. ". . . Qu'ils aient choisi les armes de la calomnie pour livrer contre moi une bataille à sens unique, abrités derrière le bouclier de Pie XI, sous l'imprimatur du Cardinal Léger, avec le nihil obstat des sulpicients, en

même temps que dans le journal officiel de l'archevêque de Québec, c'est ce que je ne saurais admettre." [25] This undue use of ecclesiastical authority created the illusion that certain works completely unrelated to the Church's sphere of influence merited moral and official approbation. Trudeau believed that such tactics really were aimed at intimidating or silencing some of society's more creative elements. He warned that by allowing itself to be associated with a particular stream of political thought or ideology, the Church ran the risk of perpetrating grave injustices to some citizens and of serving the purely mercenary and selfish motives of ". . . L'Union nationale, (le) capitalisme international et tous les intérêts qui s'inscrivent en marge de l'histoire." [26]

To demonstrate more poignantly the pitfalls of clerical omnipresence in Quebec's thought, Pelletier cited the case of the suicide of one of his creative acquaintances. Having rejected Christianity, this young man had found himself ostracized completely from the intellectual environment which had been cultivated in such a way as to stifle the flourishing of any a-religious expression. "C'était un homme qui tentait de vivre parmi nous sa vie de non-croyant. L'aventure l'a brisé." [27] The Church had oriented thought in one specific and unalterable direction. He who dared deviate from the charted couse simply died from the lack of intellectual nourishment, essential for the survival of the creative mind. The trade unionist

contended that, when the State permitted the criteria of a highly subjective ethic or morality to control the movement of thought within a society, not only aesthetic creation, but the creators themselves would be destroyed. Cité Libre, of course, opened its doors to these intellectual dissidents. François Hertel, who had abandoned in turn the priesthood, the nationalist movement, and his native Québec because he felt that he could not expatiate upon his humanist philosophy within those confines, became a sort of archetypical saint worthy of veneration. He had suffered persecution for the sake of freedom of expression.

Cité Libre considered that extended clerical surveillance of lay thought had produced more subtle effects than the blatant examples cited above. It detected amongst a potentially creative laity a psychology of immobilism, passivity and philosophical anti-materialism.[28] An acquiescent elite had come to accept the clergy's initiative in the development of thought, and perceived the realm of the spirit as an essentially ecclesiastical preserve. Who would dare question two thousand years of erudition and insight into the human mind and soul? A jarring void, therefore, marked lay French Canada's contribution to philosophy, theology, and psychology.[29]

It was argued that the environmental culture had imbred in the French-Canadian a deep-seated suspicion of the whole material world. The pervasive nationalist

ideology considered it fundamentally opposed to the national character; the Quebec Church, as an almost insurmountable impediment and an unpardonable substitution for salvation. "Nous avons beaucoup trop ri des rénovateurs qui offrent aux hommes le paradis terrestre . . . . Pour nous l'Eden est en arrière, il est perdu et bien perdu."[30] Maurice Blain expressed what Cité Libre thought to be the results of this lay resignation to an omniscient Church.

> Cette double terreur, et de l'humain et du divin...a produit comme effet dans l'ordre intellectuel comme effectif, non seulement le divorce implicite de la foi et de la pensée, non seulement un irréductible mépris de l'humain et une inconcevable ignorance du divin, mais surtout une invincible panique devant toute incertitude, toute variation, toute remise en question et toute crise des valeurs de notre vie religieuse.[31]

It was Robert Elie who grippingly expressed the anguish and despair of those intellectuals who chose to abandon the mental security provided by the Church and to independently discover their own reality. He stated that the Quebec mind required a titanic effort to liberate within itself the intellectual from the crushing grip of the believer.[32] On the basis of this observation, Cité Libre proceeded to orchestrate the arguments forming the basis of this liberation.

The magazine observed that Christians, be they laymen or religious, did not possess a monopoly on truth. "(Le chrétien) doit chercher son Dieu dans les ténèbres. Il a certes plus d'espoir, mais il doit suivre le même

chemin que les autres."[33] Only through the individual's search for truth could genuine beliefs and real concepts be formulated, faith acquired, and ultimately life itself asserted.[34] Cited for the articulation of this opinion was Emmanuel Mounier whose entire life-experience challenged that faith which was not affirmed and reaffirmed through doubt. French Catholicism was often held up as a paragon of intellectual freedom, constant active innovation, and lay participation and leadership.[35] Cité Libre enunciated the laity's right to dialogue with its clergy on an equal footing. "Il est temps qu'entre clercs et laics, au Canada, se généralisent d'autres relations que celles de professeurs à collégiens."[36]

Québec Catholicism was exposed as a peculiar cultural phenomenon, the fundamentally negative character of which had to be transformed in order to reorient the energies of the people. From a predominantly introspective religion in which the individual was scrupulously concerned with his most minute failings and in which sins of the flesh were most execrated;[37] from an extra-terrestial religion which preached resignation in the face of suffering and trained the faithful's eyes beyond the ephemerality of the world;[38] from a religion which kept the laity in a state of infantilism by distracting it with "pious orgies";[39] there had to emerge a faith which would conscript the boundless energies of the people in an attempt to solve the pressing problems afflicting humanity. "Si nous avions vraiment la force que nous propose notre foi, nous serions déjà à l'oeuvre pour

construire une cité meilleure, pour faciliter l'accouchement des cités nouvelles dont la gestion latente provoque la disparition des anciennes cités . . ."[40] According to Pierre Vadeboncoeur, the Quebec mind, while still preserving its belief in God, had to redirect itself to a more anthropocentric perspective. "Nul ne peut être moderne s'il ne comprend à fond l'expression mythique de l'Homme, insérée dans l'histoire par la Renaissance et par la Révolution francaise, et s'il ne l'adopte de quelque manière."[41] Thus, for Cité Libre, religion received its most meaningful expression by the laity's commitment to labour in the temporal domain.

This line of argument was intended to diversify thought which, for a variety of reasons, had restricted itself to a narrow range. Cité Libre, for example, defended the study of psychology at a time when certain clerics had declared open warfare on it as a result of the Vatican's disapproval of some particular schools of thought within the discipline.[42] The editors of the magazine were hoping to create an atmosphere propitious to intellectual discovery and inventiveness where thinkers could bring their concepts to full maturation.

## The Arbitrariness of the State and Democracy

Another dimension to Cité Libre's analysis of French Canadian society was the citizen and his relationship with the State. The publication maintained that the people had been culturally induced to regard government as a divinely

inspired institution, whose power emanated from God. Such a conception obviously could not accommodate criticism or dissent. Indeed, it made conformity an absolute necessity. Cité Libre proposed to revolutionize Quebec's monolithic political idéology. Casting aside the traditional authoritarianism, thought to be closely related to divine-right monarchy, and the newer theories apotheosizing the rule of the mob, the magazine propounded a "personalist" philosophy. This ideal informed its commentary on the Quebec government's behavior. In "Réhabilitation de l'Autorité", a lawyer, Charles Lussier, articulated its basic premise. "La société . . . est exclusivement vouée à l'homme pour lui permettre de tendre le plus complètement possible à la liberté".[43] It was argued that man long ago had stopped abdicating his right of decision to some omnipotent power. Authority emanated from each citizen. The individual was transformed by this intellectual volte-face from a passive observer of the legislative process to an active participant. This conception, of course, assumed an informed and interested citizenry who effectively would check governmental abuse of power. Cité Libre sought to remove the aura of absoluteness and untouchability which surrounded the Duplessis government and its predecessors.

The authoritarian State

Using this high ideal as a prime instrument of analysis, the editors commented upon the fundamental perversion of democracy in Quebec and the nefarious effects that this was continuing to have on the life of the people. Trudeau observed that the authoritarian mind conceived a government which associated itself

with particular pressure groups within its society. It did not aspire to represent the greater good of the State, that is, the interests of the majority.[44] On the whole, French-Canadians were unconscious of their real interests. They were preserved in a state of submission and retardation, on the one hand by the government's perennial assurance that Quebec expressed as perfectly as possible the Church's teachings on the ideal state, and on the other, by the insecurity which maintained popular fears of Communism and assimilation to the Anglo-Saxon at a constant and elevated pitch. Duplessis' policy of provincial autonomy which strove to protect Quebec against frequent federal incursions in its jurisdiction without itself legislating in these areas, was criticized bitterly. Guy Cormier labelled it pseudo-separatism because it isolated the province not only from Canada but from the world.[45] While Ottawa was beating new paths in such fields as social security and culture, Quebec remained placid and immobile, satisfied that it had resisted successfully another federal assault. Trudeau particularly was irked by this inertia. Political autonomy had degenerated into a slogan rather than being a meaningful concept in federal - provincial relations. He called for a "philosophie positive de l'action"[46], affirming in the same breath that ". . . c'est seulement le jour où la Province se sera acquittée avec efficacité et clairvoyance des tâches qui lui incombent, qu'elle sera en posture pour refuser au gouvernement central le droit de suppléer à ces manquements."[47] The young constitutionalist held that the theory of provincial

autonomy possessed great and yet unexplored potential for the stimulation of liberty and increased public awareness.

> Vue sous ce jour, l'autonomie de certains politiciens devient une détestable supercherie. Elle ne vise qu'à renforcer le pouvoir provincial - leur pouvoir - aux dépens du pouvoir central; c'est à dire qu'elle n'est nullement faite pour redonner aux citoyens le sens de la responsabilité. La preuve en est qu'elle s'obtient souvent aux dépens de l'autonomie scolaire, de l'autonomie municipale, etc." 48

The state of siege was a tactic closely related to autonomy and, like it, fostered conformity and stifled the public's expression of demands. Pelletier affirmed that, while the Anglo-Saxons displayed a total indifference to French-Canada's existence, Duplessis still clung to the theory that English Canada was engaged in an active conspiracy to subvert his province's cultural and moral character.[49] Dissent could not be tolerated. Authoritarianism ruled supreme.[50] The journalist was not satisfied, however, with criticizing the Union nationale. His barbs were also directed to the Québecois' placid acceptance of the government's unrestricted authority. He reflected, in this instance, an attitude basic to Cité Libre. "Si nous aimions positivement la vérité, reporterions-nous sans cesse au pouvoir des virtuoses du mensonge pratique?"[51] Authoritarianism, he suggested, could not exist without the tacit approval of the people. The magazine wished to avoid the errors considered to have been committed by the nationalist movement which was incapable of evolving an active philosophy of change because it had developed a psychological fixation on the Anglo-Saxon victimization of the French Canadian. Thus, Cité Libre emphasized the personal responsibility of each

citizen for the state of his government.

The publication proceeded to demonstrate what happened when a government no longer served the public interest. It fell into the hands of the strongest groups within that society, in this instance, the Church and international capitalism. It lost its identity as an independent entity and slavishly served the oligarchy's interests. Political parties, therefore, shed their ideologies and no longer depended on original thought to preserve their viability.[52] Because the governmental process ceased to operate according to public issues or ideas, it followed naturally that money controlled politics, especially the outcome of general elections. The provincial election of 1952, which returned the Union nationale with a landslide, provided an excellent opportunity to illustrate vividly these observations. Pelletier indicated how monied interests whose supreme goal was the preservation of the status quo were the mainstay of political parties. They perpetuated reactionary governments, irrespective of partisan affiliation, with enormous contributions which sustained the parties through astronomically expensive campaigns.[53] Because of the wealth and power accumulated by governments over a period of years, ruling parties created dependencies of their own. Those businesses whose very existence was tied to public contracts and provincially-issued licences, were conscripted to donate a part of their resources. Opposition parties might well object to such tactics, but only as long as they were excluded from power.[54] Furthermore, the perverted electoral process

perpetually protected the old-line political parties, because, as Pierre Laporte, an unsuccessful independent candidate, showed, those deprived of substantial influence or enormous funds of money, were eliminated from the running.[55] Attempting to explain the origins of this corruption, Lussier posited the thesis that French Canada had distorted the spirit of the Reform Bill of 1832, which sought to remove candidates from the powerful orbit of a financial oligarchy. He warned that, as long as the Crown did not assume, as in Britain, the burden of the electoral expenses of political aspirants, campaigns would continue to be fought and won by those possessing the greatest amount of money. "Le vote universel ne peut aller seul dans la voie que l'Acte de Réforme a ouverte, il lui faut être accompagné de la candidature universellement possible."[56] A thoroughgoing reform of the electoral process, which encouraged corruption, authoritarianism, and a distortion of the democratic practice, was demanded. Such anomalies as partisan enumerators and poll scrutineers, as well as an anachronistic constituency distribution grossly overrepresenting the rural areas, were mentioned as areas for reform. Pierre Trudeau joined the fray and, with his accustomed vividness, poured contempt over the rampant corruption of the political system. ". . . Dans notre pays, le ciel devra-t-il encore longtemps déléguer son autorité par le truchement de boxeurs, de maîtres-chanteurs et de gangsters professionnels, et au moyen d'armes à feu et à blanc, de vols, de mensonges et d'intimidation?"[57]

However, the magazine showed that the absence of popular

surveillance of authority produced more damaging consequences than corruption. Governmental administration and legislation ignored the public interest, and, worse still, repressed its expression. Cité Libre looked to the field of education to exemplify this observation. There existed no mechanism to guarantee that the community's welfare would prevail, since the government had sanctioned education as a clerical fief and very largely abandoned its droit de regard in matters relating to public concern. Thus, a closed institution emerged. Impermeable to outside influences, the educational system served a very limited constituency, since 50% of those attending the collèges classiques were drawn from the top 10% of Quebec's social ladder.[58] The editors considered that the arbitrary assignment of an obviously public matter to an exclusive group produced serious repercussions. "Certes, les autorités écclésiastiques et civiles, par crainte de prendre leurs responsabilités, arrivent encore à se blouser en comptant les nouvelles briques posées d'année en année . . . . Mais tous les chiffres prouvent que, par rapport au monde en marche, l'ensemble de notre système d'éducation est en grave perte de vitesse."[59]

The methods Quebec used to finance its educational system was also the subject of intensive criticism. When discussions involved a predominantly anti-democratic clergy and an authoritarian government, these meetings could not be expected to take place in the public arena, but rather "derrière des portes closes."[60] Because the Legislative Assembly was excluded from these surreptitious negotiations, grants to educational institu-

tions gradually came to be regarded as munificent gifts from the Prime Minister. Duplessis did nothing to dispell this illusion. Indeed, Trudeau cited the example of McGill University's provincial grant, which was received by an Union nationale partisan rather than by the institution's administration, to emphasize the distortion of the executive function. Before this spectacle of governmental generosity, the rectors of Quebec's universities and collèges classiques felt obliged to display their deepest indebtedness and did their utmost to ensure the happiness of their benefactor.[61] The extent of this abjectness was captured in an article entitled "Les Amitiés Particulières", which quoted exerpts from a speech by Ferdinand Vandry, rector of the Université Laval.[62] "Ceux-ci (les clercs) ont . . . dû multiplier leurs pélerinages secrets chez les politiciens, en conséquence de quoi ses derniers purent désormais se permettre de tenir la dragée haute . . ."[63] This reflex of servility and fear was not limited only to administrators; it also afflicted the teaching staff. Trudeau decried the silence of university professors before the unresponsiveness of higher education to the demands of a modern society, bluntly affirming that labor unions had shown more initiative and interest in proposing concrete reforms for this area.[64]

Passivity could only engender the eventual corrosion of academic freedom. Maurice Lamontagne's dismissal from the Laval faculty, following the publication of his Le Fédéralisme which bitterly attacked the provincial government's immobilism,

strenghtened even more the correlation between servility and arbitrariness in Trudeau's mind. In this atmosphere, " . . . les professeurs n'ont-hélas-ni le droit ni les moyens de penser tout haut."[65]

Cité Libre hailed the strike called by the students at the Université de Montréal in 1958 to support demands for the massive expenditure of public monies in higher education.[66] Dramatically, it exploded the conception of education as a matter of private concern between the Church and the government and opened the public debate over a wide range of problems afflicting the entire area. Pelletier viewed the show of force as the best means to shake an oblivious public opinion and render it conscious of the critical financial situation which government had allowed to develop. He praised the students' involvement in a matter which vitally concerned them and the province and their tenacity for bringing their actions to full expression. The lethargy and diffidence of university administrators was questioned: ". . . ni le problème universitaire ni le problème global de l'éducation au Québec, ne sauraient se régler à moins que les autorités n'acceptent une bonne fois de faire la lutte. La phase des sourires polis est résolue. Les allusions voilées, les audaces prudentes et tout l'arsenal traditionnel de la combinazione québecoise peuvent encore servir d'alibi à ceux qui devrait agir, pour tranquiliser leur propre conscience, mais ils ne changeront rien à la situation de fait."[67]

Labour Unionism

Before this spectacle of corruption and arbitrariness, Cité Libre affirmed that labor unionism was the only force capable of challenging government.

Having rejected the old shibboleths about authority and the submissiveness of French-Canadian culture, unionism actively involved the workers, awakening in them a consciousness of and assertiveness for their rights and welfare.

> . . . la classe ouvrière prend graduellement conscience d'un bien commun débordant les frontières du Québec; . . . elle s'habitue par le syndicalisme au maniement des instruments démocratiques, . . . sa puissance numérique va toujours en grandissant, (ces faits porteront) inévitablement cette classe à exiger que le suffrage universel devienne une réalité plutôt qu'un simulacre." 68

An offspring of industrial inequality, le syndicalisme possessed, better than any other organization or league, a profound understanding of society's inequities. Cité Libre thought that the reforms proposed by unionism were, therefore, imbued with the sharpest realism.[69] In the Quebec context, its action educated public opinion. For, "toute crise qui secoue notre milieu est un enseignement sur nous-mêmes, enseignement qui doit être reçu, sans quoi nous n'arriverons jamais à dépasser nos malaises de croissance."[70] Because labour unionism stood as a pinnacle of participatory democracy, it was imperative for Quebec's "croissance" that its vitality neither be mitigated nor subverted by an authoritarian system.

Cité Libre determined to support this vibrant institution against such incursions. Assailing the airy utopianism of those social Catholics who preached quietism and submission in the name of social peace and order, the very first issue proclaimed its acceptance of the total reality of industrial unrest and, therefore, the necessity of labour unions. "Les classes ne sont pas soeurs. Elles ne l'ont jamais été. Elles sont nées ennemies. Pour faire disparaître l'inimitié, il faudrait les supprimer comme classes. Il faudrait qu'il n'y ait plus d'une part les capitalistes, d'autre part les prolétaires."[71]

As long as management perpetuated its reactionary position by maintaining an unjust and inhuman status quo in the industrial structure, the magazine refused to condemn the workers' assertiveness. This theme was reiterated in subsequent issues when voices periodically were raised against the illegality or brutality of labour's tactics.

Jean-Paul Geoffroy's article "Le Procès Rocque, une abstraction" informed its readers about an archaic judicial system which refused to recognize the complex realities of the industrial framework.[72] By ignoring the concept of collective justice and the union's right to act as a body, by condoning management's unrestricted prerogative to hire employees even at the risk of destroying the picket line, law was weighted against the labour movement. "Les lois. . . sont faites pour la protection de l'industrie. . . . (Le noyau du Droit) ignore (la class ouvrière). Il arrive à celle-ci de se sentir mal a l'aise dans cette camisole. Il n'est pas étonnant que les coutures éclatent parfois. Le procès et les prisons n'y peuvent rien changer.[73]

From the Louiseville strike of 1952, which witnessed the utter surrender of the town's weavers to their employers, Pelletier concluded that the labour movement not only had to combat the overwhelming biases inherent in the economic and judicial structure, but also, a widespread popular distrust.[74] The workers themselves were not immune from such prejudices. Their family life and education had ingrained in them a deep suspicion of mass movements. Pelletier believed that it was this cultural conditioning which allowed public opinion to turn a blind eye to police brutality, while at the same time vehemently condemning the Confédération de Travailleurs Catholiques du Canada for threatening a province-wide general strike. Even the open support of the Quebec hierarchy

for the syndicats catholiques did nothing to attenuate this atmosphere of apprehensiveness. The Bishops' prouncements were obfuscated by the intégralists, forever spouting pontifical axioms, and by a subtler and more veiled form of clerical interference than had heretofore been experienced. "Nous avions dépassé le temps où des membres du clergé pouvait se solidariser publiquement avec des employeurs anti-syndicaux mais nous entrions dans la période des rumeurs sombres colportées en milieu clérical, sur les 'condamnations imminentes' de la CTCC par les Evêques et les 'inquiétudes secrètes' des chefs spirituels touchant telle grève particulière."[75] The analysis of the labour unionist sought to spark a prise de conscience among French-Canadians about the prejudices which their cultural baggage had conferred upon them and, at the same time, to reassure public opinion of the moral and political rectitude of the union's strategy.

Cité Libre's often proclaimed allegiance to a resilient and aggressive unionism suffered an even more severe setback when the Legislative Assembly passed Bills 19 and 20 with the tacit consent of affiliates of the American Federation of Labour. It appeared as if governmental arbitrariness and the traditional reaction of servility had attained their apogee. The editorial[1] failed the Union nationale for investing discretionary powers upon an administrative organism, the Labour Relations Board. The article warned that when a government alienated from its citizens the right of free assembly, ". . . il se rend coupable d'injustice et nous devons l'attaquer sur le plan politique et moral."[76] In this manner, it was hoped that the Quebec mind would be prepared psychologically for a heightened phase of combattive opposition to the government by the labour unions. When the Association des Enseignants Catholiques de Montréal declined to condemn Labour

Miniter Barrette's legislation, Cité Libre unleashed the full force of its verbal vehemence. "C'est le lâchage, assaisonné de sottise, avec sauce d'amitiés politiques, qui protègent plus efficacement que l'opposition courageuse.[77] Just as with the university administrators, the publication reminded labour unionists that arbitrariness could not be defeated by collaboration, but by constant opposition and struggle. The defection of the American Federation of Labour to the ranks of the status quo struck a heavy blow to the combined strength of the labour movement. Boisvert denounced this perversion of the American union's fundamental raison d'être and accused a voracious clique of union leaders of deflecting a mass movement from its own legitimate interest to serve their petty aspirations. Warning his colleagues against the repetition of such an aberrant distortion in their province, he reminded them that "le mouvement ouvrier n'est rien s'il n'est un mouvement de travailleurs, dirigé par les travailleurs dans l'intérêt des travailleurs.[78]

Finally, the Murdochville strike of 1957, a violent upheaval achieving Asbestos proportions was met only by a terse editorial. Echoing the sentiments expressed five years earlier at Louiseville, the team of editors decried the poverty of public response when confronted with the imbred repression and mechanical reactionaryism of management. Cité Libre's editors ended with a reaffirmation of their convictions.

> . . . le mouvement ouvrier apparait de plus en plus comme le lieu d'élection de liberté dans notre province. Cette liberté, il la doit en très grande partie à ses structures démocratiques. Aussi longtemps que les autres groupes sociaux n'auront pas reconquis cette indépendance, ils continueront d'être ballotés, ils resteront à la mercie des moindres ressacs du conservatisme. 79

Democracy

Trudeau pursued this theme about the arbitrariness of the State and broadened the conslusion which his colleagues had reached. Far from depicting French-Canadians as the tragic victims of democracy's falsification, far from taking the traditionalist tack of denouncing the Anglo-Saxon imperialist, he implicated the entire nation in the pervasive political immorality. The cosmopolitan intellectual noted that Quebec, unlike any other political entity, had never been subjected to a democratic revolution, Indeed, it was the much-maligned British conqueror who had imposed democracy on French Canada.[80] Trudeau felt that, unfortunately, his compatriots had never internalized the liberating values of this political philosophy because of their undue preoccupation with la survivance. Fearing total submersion in the Anglo-Saxon sea surrounding them, they determined never to lose the reigns of power. By doing so, they rejected the fundamental principle of British Parliamentary democrary, the free interplay and alternation of political parties.[81] La survivance transcended a commitment to ideology. Trudeau reiterated Laurier: French Canada has no opinions, only sentiments. Concepts having banished from the electoral process, democracy could not but be seen through the cynic's eye, as a power-play in which pragmatism and not morality regulated conduct. Because French-Canadians not only passively accepted political corruption, but actively engaged in it by taking bribes and allowing themselves to be intimidated, they perpetuated the system. The strictures of the Church's private morality did not apply. The government permitted its citizens to give vent to their wildest inclinations. "Tel paysan, qui aurait honte d'entrer au lupanar, à chaque élection vend sa conscience pour une bouteille de whisky blanc. Tel avocat, qui demande la peine maximum contre des voleurs de troncs d'église, se fait fort d'avoir ajouté deux mille

noms fictifs aux listes des électeurs.[82]

Marcel Rioux's sociological observations of a rural community in the Gaspé during the political campaign tended to support the Trudeau thesis. He estimated that about 80% fo the townfolk had decided for which party to vote long before the election itself was to take place.[83] Partisan affiliation did not issue from a personal option for a question or ideology. Rather, it was conditioned by the behavior and status that the community associated with an individual.[84] Because the smallness and isolation of the town created a high degree of interdependence amongst its inhabitants, it was necessary to devitalize ideology, lest it cause irreparable cleavages in the community. Consequently, politics became an instrument of socialization.[85] Rioux terminated his analysis with the following commentary "Un observateur étranger qui n'aurait rien su de la politique provinciale en serait reparti aussi ignorant après les élections. Toute discussion semble délibérément bannie; quelques partisans d'un parti peuvent, à l'occasion parler entre eux d'assemblées, de batailles, de travaux de routes mais jamais ils ne parleront de la politique proprement dite. . .[86]

How then would democratic rule be inaugurated in Quebec. As far back as Asbestos, the Cité Libre group had been thoroughly disillusioned with the old line political parties whose philosophical orientation was thought to be a variation of the same theme. ". . . Le sort et le fonctionnement de la démocratie dans notre province sont confiés . . . à des partis qui croient si peu à la démocratie qu'ils n'ont jamais imaginé d'en appliquer les règles à leur propre structure."[87] Unmotivated by any vital ideology, they accumulated money and power, But, Trudeau believed that Quebec was reaching a critical juncture in its political

evolution. Observing the course of political movements outside the province, he perceived that Western democracies were swinging back to the Right after a brief flirtation with the Left and Welfare Statism in the immediate post-war period.[88] It was feared that this trend would consolidate the power of and embolden the authoritarian government, seriously endangering the few fragile democratic structures in the province.

The rule of the people obviously would have to be introduced through extra-parliamentary means, but through which vehicle? At first, it was hoped that the labour unions would usher in the liberal revolution. Later, it was realized that, although they constituted a formidable reservoir of support for democracy, the syndicats were reluctant to struggle outside the field of labour relations, despite Trudeau's warning that

> . . . la démocratie n'existe que quand le pouvoir suprême dans un pays est responsable au peuple. Et c'est parce qu'ils n'ont pas compris cela que ni syndiqués, ni coopérateurs, n'ont encore tiré les conséquences politiques de leur façon d'être aucun cadre démocratique n'est en sécurité, si l'Etat lui-même n'adhère pas sincèrement à cette forme de gouvernement.[89]

Thus, Trudeau rather startlingly appealed for the formation of a new coalition between the progressives and nationalists, who together with the syndicats and the cooperatives would comprise a powerful opposition to the projected Right-wing offensive.[90] The political scientist was absolutely convinced that the fate of democracy hung in the balance. Indeed, in 1958, he warned his socialist confreres that Quebec did not dispose of enough reformist strength to undergo both a liberal and a social revolution simultaneously. "... Je crois que les socialistes et les ouvrièristes de chez nous, qui se croient trop évolués pour

s'attarder à l'instauration de la démocratie libérale (je ne dis pas bourgeoise), se donnent peut-être bonne conscience en se plaçant à la fine-pointe de l'avant-guardisme, mais ils n'en servent pas moins en définitive les forces de la réaction.[91]

At this time, he drew up a detailed blue print for the formation of a new coalition between the progressive Liberals, social democrats, and members of Jean Drapeau's Parti civique, which would orchestrate the liberal revolution in Quebec. The primary responsibility of this grand alliance would be to insure that the principles of democracy be firmly implanted in the French-Canadian culture and also, to legislate an elementary reform programme agreeable to all the parties involved.[92]

The Nationalist Monolith and Federalism

Another focus of Cité Libre's attention was the clerico-nationalist elite, the culture which they sustained, and especially the ideology which they propounded. As mentioned earlier, the experiences and observations of the Cité Libre group during the middle and late thirties marked them profoundly. Literary circles, specialized magazines, the universities and collèges classiques, the youth movements, all had been instruments for the propagation of the nationalist ideology. In his own recollected manner, Pelletier explained why he and his colleagues had rebelled against its hegemony. ". . . Nous fumes gavés de systèmes . . . . Nous crevions de misère économique, d'incertitude. Nous avons grandi devant le spectacle d'une société en faillite. Nous avons été nourris de solutions toutes faites, mais pas une seule ne correspondait, fut-ce de loin à la réalité."[93] For him, thought and reality had to be involved in an intimate interaction without which change, and more important, human betterment would not occur. The young publicists severely castigated the ivory tower intellectuals who "...(posaient) les

bases d'une petite république pour intéllectuels seulement et (qui oubliaient) le peuple".[94]

Vadeboncoeur depicted another facet of the ideology's unresponsiveness to reality its fundamental inertia vis à vis power. It refused to engage in a dialectic with government to concretize the major trends of its programme through legislation.

> Le nationalisme chez nous, est une faible ébauche de mouvement vers le pouvoir, il existe comme un pouvoir abstrait et méditatif en marge du pouvoir réel et actif... Etat abstrait dans l'Etat réel, ce qu'il cherche ce n'est pas la réponse réelle aux problèmes, mais la réalisation...(d') un Etat préfabriqué, que le pouvoir réaliserait dans les faits, tel qu'il est, avec sa philosophie et ses formes de toujours, et il croit que bien de problèmes se règleraient par son accession au pouvoir.[95]

The trade unionist undoubtedly was referring to the abortive coalition between Paul Gouin's Action libérale nationale and Duplessis' Conservative Party, which resulted in the total subversion of the nationalist platform by the forces of laissez-faire capitalism. In addition, he probably bore in mind André Laurendeau's Bloc populaire which, upon foundering in 1947, delivered the bulk of its support to the Union nationale even though it had opposed this party for three years. Possessed of this indubitable evidence, Vadeboncoeur concluded, "(Le parti nationaliste) distribue sans doute généreusement la critique et la réprobation, mais n'empêche qu'il est chez lui dans une société conservatrice, parmi laquelle il évolue un peu comme s'exerce la conscience d'un paroissien moyen."[96]

Reactionary Idealism

Trudeau plumbed the depths of the ideology's insufficiencies. He stated that, while the Americans instituted the New Deal to revivify an economically exhausted society, while the British produced a brilliant specialist, Keynes, whose patently 'realistic' theories guided many Western governments out of the abyss of the depression

while Engilsh Canada witnessed the rise of the Cooperative Commonwealth Federation and Social Credit, Quebec fell back on its well-worn nationalist ideology, "A notre idée, nos malheurs ne venait pas du système économique en tant que tel, mais en tant que dominé par 'les Anglais'."[97] When faced with a crisis, French Canada did not marshall all her resources to study new solutions intensely, but rather, psychologically depended upon the traditional approach. By confining themselves to their anti-statist preconceptions, by continuing to see voluntary organizations, the corps intermédiares, as dynamic elements in society, the ideologists of the thirties simply could not accede to the stage reached by leading Western economists who advocated and intellectually justified government's vigorous intervention in the economy and, more generally, in the life of the nation. "Ils croient être contre le socialisme mais à une époque où un Etat fort et démocratique est le seul régulateur acceptable d'une société puissamment industrialisée, ils sont tout simplement contre les réformes et le progrès. Tout ça, au nom de foutaises. . . qui s'appellent leurs interprétations personnelles et fantaisistes de la doctrine sociale de l'Eglise."[98] Enclosed in this antiquarianism, the intellectuals of the thirties unconsciously prepared the way for federal intervention in areas of provincial jurisdiction.

Rioux, reiterating a theme developed at length by Trudeau in La Grève de l'Amiante, sought to emphasize that the bourgeois nationalists not only had been unrealistic by propounding such concepts as the return to the land, corporatism, the French-Canadian occupation of small industry, and crypto-seperatism, but, outright reactionary.

> Alors qu'il y a cinquante ans et plus, l'industrialisation du Québec commençait et posait déjà des problèmes de tous ordres, l'idéologie se félicitait que son petit peuple rural, catholique et français fut à l'abri de tout danger extérieur. Aujourd'hui, elle reconnait qu'il y a eu des pots cassés mais ce n'est pas sa faute puisqu'elle a prêché le retour à la terre, qu'elle a maudit les villes, qu'elle a tout fait pour faire détester les Anglais et les Américains."[99]

The Right wing intellectuals' perception of a crisis of conscience afflicting the industrialized masses, who were rejecting their ancestral heritage, was dismissed as a subtle fabrication of traditionalist historiography. Rioux contended that the real problem lay in the fact that the urbanized proletariat was deprived of an informed and critical intellectual leadership, which might have lightened the burdens of poverty and injustice. This observation, of course, prompted Cité Libre's reaffirmation of its conception of the working class as a vanguard. "L'attitude forcément existentielle, au sens plein du terme, que les prolétaires adoptent en face de la vie et du monde, coincide avec les courrants engagés de la science sociale et de la philosophie modernes. C'est de la conjoncture de ces points de vue qu'on peut espérer sortir du cul de sac où notre idéologie nationale nous a enfermés."[100]

Cité Libre not only concerned itself with the particular type of nationalism produced by the depression, but with the ideology as expressed throughout French Canada's history. The magazine rejected the concept which perceived the past as possessing its own rationale. As one of Cité Libre's contributors observed ". . . les utopistes réactionnaires. . . aiment ériger leur particularisme en absolu ils s'accrochent à un hier..., non par souci de maintenir la continuité,

mais en (lui) prêtant. . . un privilège miraculeux qui l'éleverait au niveau éternel . . . ils condamnent le mouvement actuel de la vie et de la raison."[101] It was this body of thought which had shackled the Quebec mind and impeded it form soaring up into the realm of the modern world.

Nationalism expressed itself historically through the concept of la survivance with its overtones of missionary zeal. In the face of the apparent threat of Anglo-Saxon engulfment, the necessity of preserving a pristine French culture and a religion reflecting the true image of immutable Catholicism ceaselessly was reasserted. Cité Libre's strategy vis a vis this frame of mind was to discredit its pretentions and to highlight its drawbacks. With respect to the Catholicism practiced in French Canada, Rioux asserted, "Comment expliquer le fait que certains religieux étrangers soient si scandalisés par le catholicisme québecois si ce n'est que la religion elle-meme en vient à prendre l'image même de la culture du groupe où elle est pratiquée."[102] The magazine's analysis of the ambient religion already had been considered. However, Jean LeMoyne's article, "L'atmosphère religieuse au Canada-français", originally written in 1951, but only published in 1955 because of its explosive content is worthy particular mention. A severe judgement is brought to bear on the Quebec Church. Its tacit alliance with authoritarian and reactionnary forces, its dehumanization of the laity, its obsessive preoccupation with the letter of the law, its utter depreciation of women, all were denounced with vehemence and incisiveness. The document doubtlessly stands out as the most electrifying and daring commentary on the contemporary Quebec Church formulated by a practicing member.

Rioux pursued his critique of the nationalist ideology. He argued

that the traditionalist boast which pretended that twentieth-century Quebec had preserved intact the culture of pre-revolutionary France simply could not withstand the test of sociology. He stated that aspects of a particular civilization could not be dissected or isolated; it was their unity which infused a culture with meaning. Furthermore, a way of living and thinking most certainly would be radically altered in environments as disparate as those of French Canada and France. "On aura beau employer toutes les subtilités métaphoriques, parler de branche, de tronc, de feuilles. . . la France et le Canada - français forment des entités distinctes parce que, dans chacun des tous que forment ces deux façons de vivre, les éléments contituants se sont structurés de façon différente."[103] Maurice Blain followed this line of argument further. He described as nothing more than an affectation the intellectual élite's fidelity to the French culture. Without any reference to its native context, the core of culture withered from over-exposure to idealization and intellectualization. "Notre culture n'est peut-être aujourd'hui que l'abstraction logique de la française. L'intégrisme a sans doute sauvé certaines institutions de la culture française: comme l'enseignement des humanités et le système juridique; mais il a perdu la sensibilité, l'imagination, le sens critique, le goût de la liberté individuelle- le style même et comme la respiration de la civilisation française."[104]

Isolationism and Specialization

Cité Libre argued that the nationalist desire to protect the purity and integrity of the French-Canadian heritage produced an intellectual insularity, which Pelletier described as ". . . une prévention collective contre l'étranger qui confinait à la xénophobie, une façon grossière de tenir pour erronée et dangereuse toute

pensée hors de notre idéologie collective."[105] The pages of Cité Libre testified to the heavy toll in terms of creative expression exacted by this isolation. An existential dimension, the primary characteristic which converted a product of the imagination into a work of art, simply was lacking in Quebec. The province's literature revealed an absence of vitality, passion, faith, and purpose. Jeanne Lapointe buttressed this contention with the following observation: "Il est frappant que tant de héros de nos romans soient des personnages de victimes: victimes de la conquête, victimes d'un pays dur, victimes du compatriote anglais, victimes de la pauvreté et de la guerre, victimes de la dépossession, victimes d'une bourgeoisie peu sensible. Nous avons peu de romans constructifs, dépourvus de jérémiades."[106] The superficiality of the culture contrived a situation wherein words served merely as blunt instruments of communication and amusement. Seldom did they express "l'âme" and "la sensibilité".[107] She decried the dearth of literary material preoccupied with a major spritual, ethical, or methphysical question or revealing its author's specific weltanschauung.

Like literature, French-Canadian history failed to reach vital and universal dimensions. To Fernand Dumont, it appeared to be mired on the one hand in the idealization of a New France undefiled by the British presence and on the other, in a constant jeremiad about French-Canada's future viability.[108] In Rioux's estimation, Québecois historians abjectly served the interests of the national doctrine. High priests of the cult of differentiation, they sought to understand the French-Canadian, not by studying his essence, but by comparing him to other national groups in order to laud his peculiar characteristics. Scientific methodology ceded to inborn prejudice.[109]

To break loose from this "marais stagnant", it was suggested that history explore newer horizons, the question of industrialization and the rise of the proletariat, problems which already were preoccupying historians in other cultures.[110] And so it was with other disciplines, some of which by their very nature were considered out of bounds to French-Canadians. "Vous préférez ne rien faire et vous embêter plutôt que de faire des choses auxquelles votre naissance, selon vous, ne vous donne pas droit."[111]

Cité Libre observed the consequences awaiting those intellectuals who risked transcending the insularity of the dominant ideology and found that they were met with the same ostracism from Quebec society as the critics of the religious thought. Trudeau typified this isolation by referring to the tidal wave of indignant and uniformed opposition, emanating from the intellectual élite, which overwhelmed Lamontagne's book in 1954.

> Naturellement, notre élite funambulesque fit vite comprendre à l'auteur qu'il manifestait une prétention insupportable à parler idées quand on discute race. Condamné avant d'être écrite par le plus lucide (malgré tout) de nos journalistes, désavouée avant d'être lu par le recteur (d'alors) de l'Université Laval, et réfutée sans être comprise par le professeur d'histoire de l'Université de Montréal, l'oeuvre a eu le destin qu'elle était en droit d'attendre de notre intelligentsia officielle."[112]

Such circumstances compelled intellectuals and artists to consider themselves "émigrés de l'intérieur" whose adhesion to their indigenous culture ". . . est conditionée au jour le jour et paraît perpétuellement remise en question."[113]

This cultural climate not only negatively affected the intelligentsia; it fostered a condition of stagnation, which attained the general populace. Vadeboncoeur characterized

French-Canadians as a people of half measures, whose milieu prevented their actions from reaching a logical conclusion. A mediocre and timorous nation, insecure and uncertain of its own identity, led by mediocre faceless politicians, passively and detachedly watched the course of human events. French Canada displayed its utter resignation before the future, which it perceived with great suspicion and apprehension.[114] The trade unionist selected the teachers' dispute to illustrate his contention about the Québecois' lack of drive. "Il est curieux que l'affaire des instituteurs ait abouti à une sorte de stagnation, à l'incertitude, à la paralysie, à une crise de conscience et à l'intimidation pratique de plusieurs qui dans un milieu moins timoré eussent avec fougue et sans relache continué de relevé le défi de l'Etat."[115] One eminent exception to this sombre tableau which Vadeboncoeur sketched of his compatriots was Henri Bourassa. By his physical and especially his intellectual activity, which transcended Quebec's petty provincialism, the nationalist leader towered above his people. He was not inhibited from seeking contacts outside his native environment, among cultures "plus remarquables de la nôtre, celle de France (par exemple) . . ."[116] This is what conferred on his thought a universal meaning. By his violent humanism, his drive, his insight, his pride, "il nous niait".[117]

The young cosmopolitan intellectuals felt the insufficiency of being French and Catholic in North America, traits which nationalism continually emphasized. They had come to know the asphyxiating constraints of a "petite communauté", whose ideology had "bouffé l'humain".[118] Cormier suggested that nationalism and religion could not fulfill completely man's complex and multi-dimensional nature.[119] These two creeds were not instant solutions for the good life

because, as Pelletier observed, ". . . la vérité n'est pas cette chose toute faite qu'on impose à son voisin, c'est une conquête quotidienne et ardue."[120] Trudeau expressed his impatience at French Canada's introversion in a starker manner: ". . . nous n'avons jusqu'à présent rien apporté à la société des hommes. . . . Il faudrait maintenant songer à donner après avoir tant reçu."[121] Cité Libre saw itself as a vibrant testimony against the isolation of the dominant nationalist culture. The magazine's very methodology strove to be the antithesis of the dogma which its members detested. Professing to abandon "la complaisance devant nos idées chères",[122] it attempted to treat the issues of the day with rationality and scientific precision. It cited foreign intellectuals, contemporaries like Mounier, Chesterton, Merleau-Ponty, Sartre, Bernanos, Maritain, and their predecessors like Plato and Acton, to scoff at the insularity of the nationalist intelligentsia. The publication also aimed at the dilletantism of the reigning elite by radiating the sophisticated specializations which its contributors acquired abroad. Trudeau on economics and constitutional law, Blain and Elie on literature, Pelletier and Geoffroy on industrial relations, LeMoyne on religion, and Rioux on sociology: their erudition was an implicit rebuke to those who were satisfied with limiting their knowledge to the borders prescribed by nationalism.

Monolithism and Federalism

An offshoot of the nationalist ideology's isolationism was its monolithism and its attendant intolerance, the spirit of which Rioux described in the following manner:

> L'idéologie de droite contrôle tellement bien toutes les institutions d'éducation et de pensée, toutes les organes d'expression, qu'elle s'est infiltrée dans tous les domaines et qu'elle a réussi à créé un immense vide, un marais où elle enlise ceux qui sont

> de son bord; elle a si bien découragée toute idée de liberté, de critique et de recherche, qu'aucun individu ne se sent de taille à percer ce mur moyenâgeux qu'elle a établi autour d'elle et du peuple qu'elle contrôle.[123]

Dumont[124] pointed out the ideological cul-de-sac with which the Quebec mind virtually was confronted at birth. Self-consciousness, a process of identification linked with adolescence, stimulated an interest among Quebec youth in their history, and their ethnic background. The sociologist indicated that this period of discovery was marred by the fact that the past was presented to the inquisitive mind in a systematized and dogmatic fashion. No other interpretation of the national background was permitted, save the pessimistic and backward-looking vision alluded to above. Dumont found that the most tragic aspect of this monolithism was that a revolt against its all-pervasiveness could be effected only at the cost of denying the French-Canadian culture, and, therefore, of becoming rootless and disoriented. It was only through the indigenous way of life and thought that most Québecois could ". . . reconnaître (leur) conscience, (leurs) angoisses, (leur) effort pour être homme avec et contre d'autres hommes."[125]

Rioux and Charbonneau both admitted to the necessity of the interplay between Right and Left for the State's health and efficiency. Indeed, the latter affirmed "La droite et la gauche correspondent à deux attitudes complémentaires de l'esprit humain. L'une ne peut vivre sans l'autre et elles sont toutes les deux également nécessaires."[126] Both men, therefore, advocated the diversification of intellectual life in Quebec and the termination of the Right's monopoly. A regeneration of the cultrue would have to display an openness to new influences and especially to criticism. A climate fostering the fruition of the human element would have to be

generated. "Il n'y a ... aucune solution positive en dehors du double principe de la confiance en soi et de la critique de soi; ce sont en réalité les deux faces d'une seule attitude qu'il importe de stimuler et faire valoir: le courage de penser."[127] Finally, the atmosphere of intolerance, associated with such phenomena as clericalism, paternalism, and integralism could be dissipated if the Church clarified its ambiguous relationship with the nationlist movement and admitted to the possibility of a Québecois being a Catholic without adhering to nationalism.[128]

Some considered that the best institutional means of protecting liberty against the insidious assaults of Right-wing totalitarianism, whose spectre ominously loomed on the horizon, was federalism.[129] By sharing the country with an Anglo-Protestant majority, a total regimentation of Quebec society was prevented. Ottawa appeared as the ultimate guardian of the minority's rights and a guarantor of toleration. However, Cité Libre's constitutional theoretician, Pierre-Elliott Trudeau, provided the federalist option with a comprehensiveness and a lucid sophisticated articulation, which far surpassed these elementary and rather negative considerations. His notion of federalism was grounded firmly in his democratic faith.[130] He believed that, in order to insure optimal conditions of individual liberty, the people had to possess effective control over their elected government. In a unitary state, where legislative and executive functions were concentrated all at one level, authority tended to devolve upon a powerful bureaucracy, which was not subject to popular restraint. Thus, the arbitrariness, and eventually perhaps a mendarin tyranny, was begotten. Under a federal structure, on the other hand, the diversification of decision-making to various levels of government afforded the citizen a better opportunity to watch for the falsification of democracy. In addition, federalism

nurtured an increase in civic awareness, for the citizen was more likely to involve himself with public issues by virtue of the greater proximity of a locus of power.

The contitutionalist's theories received more ample elaboration with the publication of Lamontagne's book. At this time, it became clear that his federal edifice was founded on a recognition of the exclusive sovereignty of the dominion and the provinces in their respective areas of jurisdiction. He rejected Lamontagne's suggestion that the federal government, which monopolized the field of direct taxation at that time, unilaterally establish the amount of provincial subsidies, because this smacked of paternalism. It denied his conception of parity between the two levels of government. "Je comprends parfaitement que M. Lamontagne soit excédé par l'ignorance crasse qui caractérise la politique économique du Québec et l'opinion politique qui la juge. . . . Mais enfin cela ne nous justifie pas encore de nous en remettre entièrement, pour l'avenir du fédéralisme canadien, au savoir-faire des économistes fédéraux."[131] Trudeau's counter-proposition involved inter-governmental cooperation, intended to promote the common welfare, on the basis of a mutual respect for and scrupulous adhesion to the constitutional division of authority. Three principles were enunciated to realize this vision. The first was the right of each government to possess taxable resources commensurate with its expenditures. The second was the obligation of the federation's members to guarantee financially that each province disposed of enough revenue to exercise its responsibilities through equalization payments administered by the Dominion. The third delegated the

twin tasks of maintaining conditions of economic stability and full employment to the central government, since it alone could exert an effective control over the national economy. Thus, while the provinces enjoyed the financial liberty to engage in the programmes willed by their respective communities, a national cohesion was insured by the federal government's interventionist role in assuring equal opportunity to individuals and regions. Finally, by delimiting clearly areas of constitutional responsibility and by elucidating the methods of public finance according to specific ground-rules, "chaque gouvernment aura à répondre devant son propre électorat de ses impôts et de l'usage qu'il en fait."[132]

In the light of these concepts, Trudeau's unyielding condemnation of the central government for providing subsidies to Canadian universities should not come as any surprise. Prime Minister Saint-Laurent's action was interpreted as a covert subversion of both democratic and federal principles. The ruling Liberal Party had not received a mandate from the people which would permit it to act in matters relating to education. It arrogated this right to itself without activating the proper constitutional or democratic instruments, by which such a transfer of powers could be effected justifiably.

> . . . ces forces dynamiques, il faudrait qu'elles fussent mises en branle au su et au vu du peuple souverain, ce que . . . le gouvernement fédéral aurait pu faire, soit en réclamant un amendement à la constitution, . . . soit en invoquant ses pouvoirs d'urgence nationale; soit peut-être même en recourant à l'article 92 (10, c) de la Constitution pour déclarer que les universités sont

> un "travail . . . à l'avantage général du Canada". 133

By unilaterally providing funds for areas outside its competence, the central government displayed that same paternalism, that same disrespect for provincial autonomy, which Trudeau discerned and condemned in Lamontagne's book. The provinces alone, duly authorized by their electorate, could decide whether Saint-Laurent's subsidy should serve educational or other purposes. [134] The Constitution empowered Ottawa only to disburse monies in its fields of jurisdiction. If, the federal authority was blessed with a surplus, it could distribute it to the provinces through equalization payments or channel it back into its own programmes. However, the constitutional expert stressed that Ottawa could not possess ex post facto resources destined for provincial purposes. "C'est insultant pour les provinces de se voir offrir des cadeaux avec ce que M. Saint-Laurent leur dit être l'argent de leurs propres contribuables." [135]

Finally, Trudeau, lashed out at his own compatriots who sought comfort and shelter from the oppressiveness and imcompetence of Duplessis' administration in the paternalism of Saint-Laurent.

> . . . Si l'enseignement est bafoué et l'esprit humilié dans notre brave province cela dépend très exactement de ceux qui y vivent. Dans ces conditions, aller crier famine auprès du fédéral, pour qu'il secoure à même l'argent de nos propres impôts est précisément ce qu'il ne faut pas faire. 136

He accused them of evading their responsibilities as citizens of their province by refusing to attempt to defeat a government flouting the public interest. In this perspective, the Confédération des Travailleurs Catholiques du Canada was held up as a paragon

of democratic virtue because it had declined seeking federal disallowance of Bills 19 and 20, opting instead for a more aggressive opposition to the Duplessis régime. ". . . Tout autre procédé ne (ferait) que déplacer le problème et retarder les échéances où le peuple prendrait en mains ses propres destinées." [137]

By his extensive expostulation upon federalism which skillfully was interwoven into the fabric of democracy, Trudeau infused into the theory a meaning, depth, and vitality never before Known in French Canada. That which had been largely ignored and suspected, or even condemned by a tiny minority suddenly acquired a new freshness and resilience. But quite apart from these considerations, the constitutional lawyer layed the intellectual foundations for the idea of the modern interventionist state in French Canadian thought. His federalism equipped government with the specialized tools required for the stabilization of the economy, for levelling off regional disparities, and for fostering a climate of full employment. In conjunction with a handful of professors from the Université Laval, Cité Libre had pierced through the anti-statist cocoon which very largely had enclosed the Quebec mind.

* * *

Pierre Vadeboncoeur, always hovering on the fringes of the Cité Libre team, formulated in 1958 a criticism of the magazine. He accused it of operating in an ideological vacuum and, more precisely of failing to enunciate a genuinely democratic and anti-capitalist philosophy. [138] Like Trudeau, the labour unionist considered that Quebec had reached the cross-roads of its political evolution, but unlike his colleague, he suggested that the province

take a different direction. What with the publication of the Dion-O'Neill letter which disclosed the utter putrefaction of political life; the spontaneous eruption of opposition movements to the Duplessis régime; the social agitation provoked by the rise of strikes; the province had not since the depression been as ripe for an "ébranlement démocratique" which would anounce the advent of a "participation populaire". [139] The defficiencies which Vadeboncoeur had perceived in the preceeding indigenous intelligentsias also appeared to stigmatize his generation. Despite the intensity and lucidity of Cité Libre's critique of the Duplessis administration, he stated that its concepts were not driven, were not directed, by the vehicle of ideology, which alone could overturn the oppressive government. "Là est peut-être la meilleure preuve de nos carences; car la haine du régime Duplessis manifeste, par son peu d'effets pratiques, le caractère évasif de nos intentions politiques et de la timidité de notre pensée." [140] In his estimation, genuine participatory democracy could not be advocated without a radical questioning of the capitalist system. Because Cité Libre refused to commit itself to this direction, it stagnated in the shallowness of its thought.

In a thesis presented to the Université Laval, Louis Savard implicitly accepted Vadeboncoeur's contention that Cité Libre operated in an ideological vacuum. [141] His conclusion stated that the publication was fulfilling a transitional role in the fifties by purging the Quebec mind of its encrusted nationalist prejudices and by taking the first steps toward the enunciation of a social philosophy. History, however, does not

function in a vacuum. If we accept the definition of ideoligy used by Marcel Rioux, as a body of ideas which seeks realization through its activity in order to acquire or preserve certain interests and which assumes the trappings of rationality by selecting facts buttressing its thesis while omitting those contradicting it; [142] if we apply this conception to the ideas propounded by Cité Libre, we must conclude that the publication evolved a coherent and comprehensive ideology.

Cité Libre opposed the unofficial alliance between the government, the nationalist movement, the Church, and international capitalism, which had maintained the province in a state of immobilism and stagnation for forty years or more and had isolated the Quebec mind in a pre-industrial, pre-urban obscurantism. As noted above, a reinvigorated and aggressive labour unionism appeared after the war as the only powerful instrument capable of breaking up the hegemony of this self-interested coalition. A new dynamism would thereby be infused into society. Cité Libre, therefore, determined to mythologize the labour movement and to defend its tactics of assertiveness in order to provide it with some measure of intellectual support and to cultivate elements of public opinion favorable to its liberating task. Thus, Trudeau's historiographical interpretation of the Asbestos strike depicted the proletariat in the vanguard of society, smashing the shackles of nationalism and clericalism. It was in his estimation "Un épisode-clé d'émancipation sociale qui a pu se dérouler, sous l'impulsion de forces purement issues du monde industriel, sans déviation confessionnelle ni nationaliste." [143]

With his customary exuberance, the constitutional expert considered that the workers' contestation of authority provided a meaningful message to anyone interested in a liberating change: a united labour movement did not have to cower before any established power. Indeed, it could not only effectively paralyze an important sector of industry, but also compel a repressive government to alter its intended course of action.

This interpretation tended to assign a primary and exclusive role to the workers in the "épisode-clé d'émancipation" and ignored the important, if not key, contribution made by the pressure of public opinion on the outcome of the strike. It underestimated the new attunement of Quebec society to industrial problems especially those with a high human interest content, which Asbestos possessed because of the prevalence of industrial disease among its many workers. Trudeau's analysis would seem to suggest that the monolithic national ideology, which reigned over the province for fifty years and reached its apex in the thirties, was challenged only with the Asbestos strike. The new social dimensions being probed at Laval's Ecole des Sciences Sociales in the forties was ignored. The role of the dynamic young clergy vis à vis the labour movement was dismissed. Le Devoir's new social orientation was underestimated. But, so crucial was the support of public opinion for labour that both the Louiseville and Murdochville strikes utterly failed without it, even though the latter saw the formation of a supposedly invincible coalition between the Canadian Labour Congress and the Confédération des Travailleurs Catholiques du Canada. The disputes seemed to

founder, in both cases, on the shoals of public opinion's apathy. Because the issue of union security lacked the element of human drama, it could not be exploited as successfully as the problem of Asbestosis.

Despite this idealization of labour, it would be incorrect to assume that Cité Libre was concerned exclusively or even primarily, with the interests of labour or with social problems. Its members expended very little ink on such considerations as the plight of the worker in a capitalist structure or the methods of redistributing wealth in a society of plentiful inequality. Questions such as unemployment, the adequacy of housing, health, education, and welfare for the economically deprived segments of the population, discrimination, adult education and retraining, found very few answers in the pages of Cité Libre. Indeed, the articles even vaguely related to these problems, both by their content and their specificity, struck a dissonant note in the general unity of thought within the publication. [144] To consider, therefore, that Cité Libre partook of the same personalist tradition as Mounier's Esprit [145] is not essentially accurate. Both publications shared similar perspectives on authority and political democracy. But, Emmanuel Mounier's greatest contribution to France's intellectual evolution was to effect a reconciliation between Catholicism and Marxism. As such, that portion of his thought dealing with the restructuring of society cannot be dissociated from personalism. The belief in the imminent self-destruction of capitalism propelled his political philosophy, which stressed that the new economic structure should set the whole man

above money, the machine, and bureaucracy. He advocated the abolition of the class system founded on the division of labour and of the technocratic dictatorship which ruled France.[146] His blueprint for the reshaping of the industrial sector resembled the social Catholic philosophy enunciated at Laval's Ecole des Sciences Sociales. His political democracy depended essentially on the advent of an economic democracy. Because Cité Libre claimed adhesion to pragmatism, in its revolt against the self-sufficiency and dogmatism of nationalist thought, it was not about to embrace a revolutionary politico-economic ideology. It considered that the elaboration of such a philosophy was neither practical nor realistic, considering the solid entrenchment of capitalism in North American life and its refusal in Quebec to recognize elementary rights. The magazine situated itself well within the existing economic structures.

To the editorial team, the terms 'worker' and 'unionism' were synonymous. Indeed Boisvert once wrote: "Le mouvement ouvrier est certainement, dans un pays fortement industrialisé comme le nôtre, la voix la plus largement autorisée de toutes, puisqu'elle reflète l'opinion de plus de moitié de la population."[147] However, even its relationship to unionism could not be characterized as more than a rearguard action. The publication did not assume the intellectual leadership of the labour movement. Otherwise, it might have explored new avenues for perfecting unionism's instruments of assertiveness or for strengthening its bargaining position. It might have conceived of bold new ideas to preserve labour's ideology in a constant state of renewal. Instead, Cité

Libre confined itself to declarations of support for workers' walkouts and with apologias for the stratagems that were deployed. It would appear, therefore, that the magazine was not committed to unionism per se, but only insofar as it was an instrument and promise of Quebec's future liberalization. Such a position is certainly consistent with the pragmatism and the functionalism which the periodical professed. It would explain Trudeau's disappointment that the syndicats had not demanded of the government that same democracy for the French-Canadian people, which governed their meetings, their structure, and which imbued their very fibre. [148] Furthermore, the laconic editorial written in 1957 in the wake of the Murdochville disaster would tend to support this interpretation. One would expect that this violent dispute would arouse a vehement anti-Dupessis reaction in the pages of Cité Libre, similar to the outpouring of opposition unleashed with the passage of Bills 19 and 20. However, in the interval seperating the termination of the teachers' dispute and Murdochville, there emerged on the Quebec political scene, Le Rassemblement. Purporting to unite Left-wing Liberals and nationalists, socialitsts, labour unionists, intellectuals and artists in a powerful coalition for change, this new grouping sought to displace the decadent Union nationale. Because its action promised to be more direct than that of the unions, Cité Libre modified considerably its perspective of the latter as the only vehicle for the transformation of Quebec and shifted its interests to other directions.

If Cité Libre's fundamental commitment did not lie with

unionism, to what concept was its raison d'être linked? The pages of the publication reflect an urgent conviction about Quebec's essentially industrial mission and demand the recognition by the Quebec mind of this imperative reality. Thus, the publicists reviled a secondary school system which churned out an élite of Thomistic robots whose constricted frames of reference impeded their accession to the modern world. In addition, the nationalist movement, supposedly the motor propelling the development of ideas, was portrayed as being mired in a reactionary ruralism and a classical laissez-faire capitalism. Its dogmatism and smugness suppressed the burgeoning of different branches of thought. Finally, the clergy's traditional reflexes and its gross ignorance of specialized subjects, on which it spoke ex cathedra and over which it exercised sweeping powers of censorship, were critized strongly. The young intellectuals required that the province display an openess to new ideas. This demand necessitated a reshaping of the intellectual framework in Quebec: the declericalization of education, its diversification, the shattering of the nationalist ideology's monolithism, a cessation of the special prerogatives enjoyed by the clergy. Cité Libre proposed the twin concepts of competence and specialization as two requisite criteria for the structures and ideologies of a modern society. With one sweep of the pen, the Church's inherited right to the top administrative positions dissolved. The government's appalling corruption, its utter ignorance in such areas as constitutional theory, economics, and industrial relations, its shocking mismanagement and wilful distortion of public financing, all were subjected to intensive criticism.

Cité Libre also resounded with a vigorous appeal for democracy. It observed that, while most Western countries were founded on the premise of popular government and were attempting to introduce this belief into various aspects of national life, the structure ideology of Quebec still was deeply permeated by a profound anti-democratic faith. The myth of French Canada's fundamentally undemocratic character answered the question posed by the arbitrariness, privilege, incompetence, and stagnation which appeared to be a way of life in Quebec for fifty years. It did not explain the frequency of the incidence of self-seeking governments perpetuating their power for long years by forming an alliance with big business and relying on conformity and repression to insure their popularity with the people. Indeed, these phenomena repeated themselves in every province in Canada and many States in the Union, especially those in the South. Many other contexts had sinned against democracy. Nonetheless, the myth of the undemocratic nation served as a good instrument for the propagation of the democratic faith. But, what kind of democracy was Cité Libre advocating? This ideal cannot be detached from a historical context. We have already discarded Mounier's concept of economic democracy, which sought to free man from the servility and alienation inherent in the capitalist structure. Rather, the theorists envisaged a system in which an enlightened public opinion would keep watch upon the government to insure that legislation and administration reflected the "common good". By failing to expound upon the mechanisms which the public interest would be determined, Cité Libre only

permitted the articulate and organized members of society to expatiate upon their ideals and interests. Thus, the labour unions would be delegated to speak on behalf of non-organized labour, the unemployed, the welfare recipients, even when the goals of these groups might be incompatible. The magazine did not consider that a sizeable portion of the population did not even possess the most rudimentary concepts about the formation of pressure groups nor even a consciousness of its own interests, trapped as it was in economic deprivation and distracted, as Pelletier so keely perceived, by a mass media disseminating superficiality. Despite Vadeboncoeur's critique, Cité Libre continued to adhere to an idealized and formalized concept of democracy because it felt comfortable in that particular atmosphere.

Thus, Cité Libre diffused the ideology of the new intelligentsia. The recognition of the unique dynamics of an industrialized society, the advocacy of specialization and competence dovetailed with the concept of a powerful interventionist and regulatory State, the belief in a formalized democracy: these were the ingredients of a technocratic revolution which loomed large on the horizon when Cité Libre: première série published its last edition in 1959 and which soon would sweep the last vestiges of a traditional society into oblivion.

Footnotes

1 Cité Libre, "Règles du Jeu," (juin, 1950) p.3.

2 Ibid., 1.

3 Ibid., 2.

4 Gérard Pelletier, "Réflexions sur l'Etat de siège," C. L., (février, 1957) p. 39. My italics.

5 Gérard Pelletier, "Crise d'autorité ou crise de liberté," C.L., (juin-juillet, 1952) p.7.

6 P.E. Trudeau, "Matériaux pour servir à une enquête sur le cléricalisme," C.L., (mai, 1953) p. 37.

7 Cité Libre, "Querelle des Instituteurs," (décembre, 1951) p.3. For a greater elaboration of the clergy's dominant role in education, refer to Charles Bilodeau, "Education in Quebec," University of Toronto Quarterly, XXVII, (April, 1958) pp. 401-404. It provides a rather stilted but adequate account of the manner in which the administration of education was dispensed.

8 Ibid, 14.

9 Cité Libre, "Liberté académique," (janvier, 1958) p. 1.

10 Refer to Maurice Blain, "Pour une dynamique de notre culture," C.L., (juin-juillet, 1952) and Marcel Rioux, "Remarques sur l'éducation secondaire et la culture canadienne-française," C.L., (novembre, 1953)

11 Rioux, C.L., (novembre, 1953) p. 35.

12 Ibid., 41.

13 Pierre Vadeboncoeur, "Pour une dynamique de culture," C.L., (juin, 1952) p.41.

14 Roger Rolland, "Matériaux pour servir à une enquête sur le cléricalisme, " C.L., (mai, 1953) p. 38. Taken originally from Le Devoir.

15 Rioux, C.L., (novembre, 1953) p.41.

16 Roger Rolland, "Projections libérantes, " C.L., (février, 1951) p. 33.

17 Refer to Anonymous, "Sur la condition du philosophe," C.L., (mai, 1953)
Jean-René Major, "Sagesse de la philosophie," C.L., (mars, 1954)

Maurice Blain, "Note sur un dialogue de sourd," C.L., (février, 1955)
Jean LeMoyne, Untitled document on education, C.L., (janvier, 1958)

18 LeMoyne, C.L., (janvier, 1958) p.14.

19 Blain, C.L., (février, 1955) p. 29.

20 Ibid., 30.

21 Jean-René Major, "Sagesse de la philosophie," C.L., (mars, 1954) p. 30.

22 Anonymous, C.L., (mai, 1953) p. 17.

23 Cité Libre, "Interview imaginaire avec le Père Joseph Paré," (décembre, 1951) p. 41.

24 P.E. Trudeau, C. L., (mai, 1953) p. 32.

25 Ibid., 34.

26 Ibid., 35.

27 Gérard Pelletier, "Dialogue sur un suicide," C.L., (février, 1955) p. 1.

28 Refer to:
Réginald Boisvert, "Foi chrétienne et mission temporelle," C.L., (novembre, 1955).
Maurice Blain, "L'Ecrivain devant la crise de conscience religieuse," C.L., (novembre, 1957)
Fernand Dumont, "De quelques obstacles à la prise de conscience chez les Canadiens-français," C.L., (janvier, 1958).

29 Blain, C.L., (juin-juillet, 1952) p. 24.

30 Boisvert, C.L., (novembre, 1955) p. 7.

31 Blain, C.L., (novembre, 1957) p. 20.

32 Robert Elie, "Réflexions sur le dialogue," C.L., (mai, 1951), pp. 34-35.

33 Ibid., 34.

34 Ibid., 31.

35 Pierre Vadeboncoeur, "Réflexions sur la foi," C.L., (mai, 1955)20.
Roger Rolland, C.L., (mai, 1953) p. 41.
Jean LeMoyne, "L'Atmosphère religieuse au Canada-français," C.L., (mai, 1955)p. 14.
Trudeau, C.L., (mai, 1953) p. 52.

36 Gérard Pelletier, "Le Diagnostic du R.P. D'Anjou,S.J.," C.L., (mai, 1951) p. 45.

37 Pelletier, C.L., (février, 1951) p. 4.

38 LeMoyne, C.L., (mai, 1955) p. 13.
Boisvert, C.L., (novembre, 1955) p. 3.

39 LeMoyne, C.L., (mai, 1955) 12.

40 Ibid., 7.

41 Vadeboncoeur, C.L., (mai 1955) p. 21.

42 Georges Dufresne, "Péché de Psychanalyse," C.L., (juin-juillet, 1952) pp. 61-63.

43 Charles Lussier, "Réhabilitation de l'autorité," C.L., (mai, 1951) p. 23.

44 P. E. Trudeau, "Un Manifeste démocratique,"C.L., (octobre, 1958) 3.

45 Guy Cormier, "Petite méditation sur l'existence canadienne-française," C.L., (juin, 1950) p.28.

46 P.E. Trudeau, "Politique Fonctionnelle I," C.L., (juin, 1950) 21.

47 Ibid., 23.

48 P.E. Trudeau, "Politique Fonctionnelle II," C.L., (février, 1951) p. 28.

49 Pelletier, C.L., (février, 1957) 36.

50 Ibid., 37.

51 Ibid., 38.

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56 Charles Lussier, "Loi électorale et conscience politique," C.L., (décembre, 1952) p. 27.

57 P.E. Trudeau, "Réflexions sur la politique au Canada-français," C.L., (Décembre, 1952) p. 63.

58 Gérard Pelletier, "Lettre ouverte à 3 étudiants qui attendent," C.L., (mai, 1958) p. 3.

59 Cité Libre, "La liberté académique," (juin, 1958) p.1.

60 P.E. Trudeau, "Les octrois fédéraux aux universités," C.L., (février, 1957) p. 25.

61 P.E. Trudeau, " De libro, tributo . . . et quibusdam aliis," C.L., (octobre, 1954) p.3.

62 Cité Libre, "Les Amitiés Particulières,"(juin, 1952) pp. 64-65.

63 Trudeau, C.L., (février, 1957) 25.

64 Ibid. 23.

65 Trudeau, C.L., (octobre, 1954) 3.

66 Refer to Pelletier, C.L., (mai, 1958).

67 Ibid., 6.

68 Trudeau, C.L., (décembre, 1952) 66.

69 Pierre Vadeboncoeur, "L'Irréalisme de notre culture," C.L., (décembre, 1951) p. 26.

70 Cité Libre, (décembre, 1951) 1.

71 Boisvert, C.L., (juin, 1950) 13.

72 Refer to J.P. Geoffroy, "Le Procès Rocque: une abstraction," C.L., (mai, 1951).

73 Ibid., 16.

74 Refer to Gérard Pelletier, "Refus de confiance au syndicalisme," C.L., (mai, 1953).

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81 Trudeau, C.L., (décembre, 1952) 56.

82 Ibid., 53.

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84 Ibid., 48.

85 Ibid., 49.

86 Ibid., 51.

87 Trudeau, C.L., (octobre, 1958) 19.

88 Trudeau, C.L., (novembre, 1953) pp. 2-3.

89 Trudeau, (octobre, 1958) 18.

90 Trudeau, C.L., (novembre, 1953) 10.

91 Trudeau, C.L., (octobre, 1958) 20.

92 Ibid., 36.

93 Gérard Pelletier, "Matines," C.L., (juillet, 1958) 3.

94 Cormier, C.L., (juin, 1950) 27.

95 Vadeboncoeur, C.L., (juin, 1952) ff. 15.

96 Pierre Vadeboncoeur, "Critique de notre psychologie de l'action," C.L., (novembre, 1953) 21.

97 Trudeau, C.L., (décembre, 1952) 57.

98 Trudeau, C.L., (février, 1957) 24.

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107 Ibid., ff. 30.

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110 Dumont, C.L., (janvier, 1958) 28.

111 Marcel Rioux, "Flèches de tout bois," C.L., (mars, 1954) 44.

112 Trudeau, C.L., (octobre, 1954) 2.

113 Guy Cormier, "Le Canada-français entre le passé et l'avenir," C.L., (mai, 1958) 27.

114 Vadeboncoeur, C.L., (novembre, 1953) pp. 11-18.

115 Pierre Vadeboncoeur, "M. Bouchard se signe," C.L., (mars, 1954) 22.

116 Pierre Vadeboncoeur, "Henri Bourassa," C.L., (décembre, 1952) 72.

117 Ibid., 71.

118 Rioux, C.L., (décembre, 1955) 15.

119 Cormier, C.L., (juin, 1950) 26.

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121 Trudeau, C.L., (juin, 1950) 24.

122 Ibid., 21.

123 C.L., (décembre, 1955) 28.

124 Dumont, C.L., (janvier, 1958) 24.

125 Ibid., 23.

126 Charbonneau, C.L., (novembre, 1957) 35.

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129 Cormier, C.L., (juin, 1950) 35.
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131 Trudeau, C.L., (octobre, 1954) 5.

132 Ibid., 13.

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134 Ibid., 17.

135 Ibid., 30.

136 Ibid., 21.

137 Ibid., 22.

~~137 Ibid., 22.~~

138 Pierre Vadeboncoeur, "Voilà l'ennemi!," C.L., (janvier, 1958)

139 Ibid., 29 .

140 Ibid., 31.

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142 Rioux, C.L., (décembre, 1955) 8. Taken from A. Kardiner, The Psychological Frontiers of Society.

143 Trudeau, Grève, 401.

144 Refer to
J.P. Lefebvre, "L'éducation populaire au Canada-français," C.L., (novembre, 1955)

Pierre Vadeboncoeur, "Le sort fait à la révolution," C.L., (mai, 1951)

145 Refer to André Carrier, "L'idéologie politique de la revue Cité Libre," Canadian Journal of Political Science. (December, 1968).

146 Mounier, Personnalisme, 121-125.

147 Réginald Boisvert, "Qui veut la fin prend les moyens," C.L., (août, 1956) p. 63.

148 Trudeau, C.L., (octobre, 1958) 18.

# CONCLUSION

The ideology of the thirties, as analyzed in Chapter I, sustained a monolithic conception of Quebec thought to be the true and faithful image of Catholicism and the French culture. If reflected an authoritarian mind which enunciated a static, rigid, and highly structured social philosophy. Society, it was proposed, would be led by entrepreneurs and professional men. The addition of corporatism to the political structure would guarantee peace and order among the members of the different classes. Le syndicalisme catholique would preserve the rights of property and the prerogatives of management by inciting its workers to cooperate with their employer rather than to antagonize him with 'excessive' demands. La vocation agricole would neutralize proletarian disaffection for the capitalist system by orienting unemployed workers back to the placid environment of the farm. An intimation of dogmatism is present in the idea produced by the intellectuals of the depression their contentions usually sought verification and legitimacy in indisputable ecclesiastical authority, that is in papal encyclicals or episcopal letters. Other interpretations of social Catholicism were suspect, since they invariably appeared to be infected with the germs of anarchic economic liberalism or dictatorial Marxism. The ideology of the thirties therefore, complemented the aspirations of a largely conservative Church which feared the effects of large scale industrialization and continued to nurture a sentimental attachment to the soil. The

numerous citations from ecclesiastical literature undoubtedly convinced many clerics of the intellectual elite's loyalty and attachment to the Church. In addition, the ideas produced at the Hautes Etudes Commerciales accorded themselves very well with a conservative government whose interests were directed toward the maintenance of a large reservoir of cheap labour to expedite the exploitation of Quebec's resources by foreign interests. Because the intelligentsia made very few demands on the State for the realization of its programme, because its appeal for change was oriented directly to the corps intermédiaires, the various classes of society, or the nation as a whole, the government could pursue its objectives without being deterred by the ideology of specific pressure groups. Unchallenged, the principal institution of French-Canadian society still mirrored a pre-industrial Quebec. The status quo was perpetuated.

The period of accelerated industrial expansion, inaugurated by the second great war, produced some modifications in the prevalent ideology. The intellectuals of the thirties gradually ceased to regard agriculture as a viable solution to the excesses of large scale industrialization. However, the process of modernization created diverse requirements and expectations among groups and social classes, which the ideology of the depression was incapable of fulfilling. Georges-Henri Lévesque, and his colleagues, therefore, began to demolish the monolith dominating French Canada. The Dominican priest played an important role in dissociating the official thought of the Quebec Church from the forces of conservative traditionalism. This perception of a pluralistic Catholicism had

come to him in France. From his observations in that country, Lévesque was better able to demonstrate that there could be more than one interpretation of social Catholicism, that it could express a passionate commitment to justice in an industrial society, that it could articulate notions about human perfectibility and social equality. France also acquainted him with a conception about the laboring classes, which contrasted markedly with the Quebec intelligentisia's traditional suspicion of the proletariat. He discarded the nationalist ideology as it had evolved in Quebec because of its antiquarianism and its exclusive bourgeois character. Through his magnetism as a teacher at the Université Laval, he provided the syndicats catholiques with badly needed articulate and resolute lay spokesmen. The school which he established at Laval greatly helped to effect the transition of the Confédération des Travailleurs Catholiques du Canada from a near "yellow union" to a modern labour organization, surpassing the militancy of the American affiliates. Lévesque and his followers, therefore, greatly contributed to the emergence of a strong labour movement, which would be capable of challenging the status quo. The anti-capitalist philosophy, enunciated at the Ecole des Sciences Sociales produced a minor intellectual revolution, both in form and content. Its pragmatic methodology relativized values generally assumed to be absolute and immutable. The traditional authoritarian perspective, always searching out strong leaders for French Canada, gave way to a democratic outlook which would have permitted workers to share equitably in the management of industry and the economy of the nation. Thus, by his pragmatic methodology,

by his advocacy of pluralism for the Church and the secular institutions of society, Lévesque anticipated Cité Libre. Because be enunciated a democratic concept implying a radical alteration of industrial structures, however, he went beyond it. The Dominican broadened the intellectual perimeters within which French-Canadian Catholics could express themselves and, consequently, made Cité Libre's birth easier.

Cité Libre expanded the task, initiated by Lévesque and his confreres, attempting to adapt Quebec's ideology and institutions to the modern world. Once again, French Catholic thought provided the Cité Libre staff a great deal of inspiration about the nature of authority, both within the Church and the secular society. The group of writers, therefore, questioned the prevalence of the clergy in the institutions of a largely lay community and sought to define clearly the boundaries of ecclesiastical power in the temporal sphere. Clerical prerogatives within the educational system and generally within the intellectual life of the province were slowly subverted. Cité Libre affirmed the right of a modern and competent laity to assume the command-posts of society. The arbitrariness and authoritarianism of government, which pervaded Quebec's very fibres, was bitterly denounced, because it maintained French-Canadians in a state of isolation, political immaturity and immobilism. The need for an informed and critical public opinion was invoked to check against public abuse of power and to assure the progress of the community. Finally, the thinkers flailed at the nationalist ideology for retarding the economic, social and political growth of Quebec and for

positively stifling intellectual ferment. The importance of a society's openness to new and modern concepts, techniques, and cultures was stressed. Cité Libre intellectualized the theories of democracy and federalism. It emphasized the need for the specialization of thought amidst a society still largely clinging to the concept of generalized knowledge. The publication revolutionized the idea of the State, which the Quebec mind had regarded as a necessary evil, by transforming it into a powerful instrument for the promotion of the public interest. Government's active intervention in the economic and social life of the nation was finally sanctioned.

Thus, in the span of thirty years, Quebec social Catholic thought underwent a formidable metamorphosis. Under the initial impulse of Georges-Henri Lévesque, it accepted without equivocation the full implications of the modern world. This philosophy acted as a vehicle to transport the Quebec mind from a pre-industrial frame of reference to an attunement with the currents of contemporary thought and technology. Nevertheless, it appears that the body of ideas propounded by Cité Libre was generally oriented to the interests and aspirations of its originators, just as the ideology of the thirties served the interests of its articulators.

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