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Ideological Elements in the Discourse of English Protestant Churches Concerning the Socio-Political Evolution of Quebec from 1970 to 1980

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Abstract

Selecting three Canadian Protestant churches this study analyzes certain of their official statements relating to the social and political evolution of Quebec in the 1970s. A treatment of the nature of ideology is followed by an examination of the relationship of ideology to theology and ecclesiastical discourse. The method of ideological analysis to be used in the study is then set out, and illustrated. This methodology is then applied successively to documents of the Anglican, Presbyterian, and United Churches. A final chapter draws conclusions as to the ideological dimensions of the churches' official discourse, shows the relationship of this discourse to ideologies current in Canadian and Quebec society, and suggests hypotheses explaining the ideological positions adopted in the texts, as well as the selection of elements from the Judaeo-Christian tradition to be found in them.

Résumé

Prenant trois Eglises protestantes et canadiennes, cette étude fait l'analyse de certaines de leurs déclarations officielles qui portent sur l'évolution sociale et politique du Québec des années soixante et dix. L'exposé d'une théorie d'idéologie est suivi d'une discussion des rapports entre l'idéologie et la théologie ainsi que le discours de l'Eglise. La méthodologie est présentée, et l'on donne un example de son application. Cette méthode est ensuite appliquée à l'analyse idéologique des documents provenant des Eglises anglicane, presbytérienne et unie. Un dernier chapitre tire des conclusions concernant les éléments idéologiques dans le discours de l'Eglise; démontre les rapports entre ce discours et les idéologies courantes dans les sociétés canadienne et québécoise; et suggère certaines hypothèses servant à expliquer les prises de position idéologiques, ainsi que la sélection d'éléments de la tradition judéo-chrétienne qui se trouvent dans les textes.

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Chapter I

Introduction

The nine years and seven months which elapsed between the kidnapping of Richard Cross by the Front de libération du Québec, the death of Pierre Laporte, the invocation of the War Measures Act with the mass arrests which ensued, all in October 1970, and the referendum on the question of a sovereign Quebec state in economic association with Canada in May of 1980, were times of anguish for the English-speaking community of Quebec. It was a community which had hardly had time to adjust to certain realities: the establishment, in 1968, of Pierre Trudeau's "French Power" in Ottawa; the initiatives of a francophone technocratic and business elite which had been consolidating its political and economic power, while affirming its cultural autonomy, since 1960; the independence movements which contested the vision of the liberal society, from le Mouvement du taxi, to the Comités d'action politique, and FRAP; the radicalization on the labour scene of the Centrale de l'enseignement du Québec and the Confédération des syndicats nationaux; and the acts of terrorism perpretrated by the FLQ throughout the sixties. Utopian visions of a bilingual, bicultural Canada (and of a Quebec safe for English Canadians) dissolved in such events as the Saint Jean Baptiste Day riot, and the Montreal police strike, both in 1969.

It was a time of fear as prospects for anglophones in Quebec,

and of their children, appeared to dim. The economic climate worsened as the seventies progressed, and the exodus of head offices, as well as plant closures speeded up. Opportunities in business seemed to be disappearing. With the massive reforms of health and social services undertaken by the provincial government, English control of English institutions seemed in jeopardy. The first provincial language law was passed in 1974, by the Liberal party which had been home to the English-speaking minority, and anglophones felt betrayed. Yet the real trauma was the unexpected election of the Parti Québécois in November 1976. For most anglophones their worst fears were now confirmed, and the language law of 1977, Bill 101, was the demonstration that it was so.

Throughout this period change was taking place in the leadership of the English-speaking community. The business elite, sensing its growing powerlessness, continued to fustigate the francophone political leaders, and limited its action to pessimistic speeches and tactics such as "le coup de la Brinks" -- the highly publicized convoy of armoured cars ostensibly carrying securities and money out of the province on the eve of the 1970 election. There was also the accelerated removal of head offices from Montreal, which, though part of a continuing shift, continental in scope, of centres of economic power westward, could also be blamed on the provincial government, as in the case of the notorious decision of Sun Life to relocate in Toronto -- a move hotly contested within Quebec's English community. Gradually it became clear that the leaders of business and industry no longer spoke for the anglophone community. New leaders appeared, in the Positive Action

Committee and in Participation Quebec, for the most part younger, bilingual professionals, equipped to meet the challenges and committed to staying and living in the province.

The mass media, at best reflected, rather than led, opinion in the English community, and, at worst, contributed to its most lamentable moments of panic and hysteria.[1]

It was in this context that members of the English-speaking, non-Roman Catholic, churches lived the Christian ethic throughout the decade. In the simplest of terms, the purpose of this study is to look at the leadership they received from their churches in this regard during the same period. These churches, in their local and regional expressions, as well as in their national judicatories, were confronted by a challenge to their capacity to provide leadership for their members, to participate responsibly in debate on public issues, and to make appropriate use of their denominational traditions, as well as of the Christian heritage in general, in addressing the church on the one hand, and the society on the other.

This study is an analysis of the official discourse of English-speaking Protestant churches in relations to the social and political evolution of Quebec from 1970 to 1980. Very little attention has been paid to their public and pastoral statements, resolutions,

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[1] Cf. Dominique Clift and Sheila McLeod Arnopoulos. Le Fait anglais au Québec, (Montreal, Libre Expression, 1979), pp. 162-172.

and briefs to government, produced as these churches reacted to the changes in Quebec society and participated in the debate on the future of Quebec and Canada. These initiatives ought not to be forgotten and ignored but, instead, appreciated in an attempt to discover how the churches responded to the situation, how they were influenced by the dynamics within it, and how they utilized and represented the judaeo-christian heritage, in so far as can be ascertained from their statements and declarations.

The questions to be answered in this study are

> What ideological patterns can be identified in church documents presenting church positions on a number of social and political questions in Quebec in the period 1970 to 1980?
>
> and
>
> What selections have been made in them from the church tradition and the biblical heritage?

It is evident, then, that this study must begin by making clear the author's understanding of ideology and its relation to ecclesiastical discourse, and this will be the subject of the following two chapters. There will follow a chapter on the method utilized for the analysis of the documents and its application. Further chapters will examine official declarations, resolutions and reports as well as briefs to government of each of the Anglican, Presbyterian, and United Churches. A final chapter will draw the conclusions of the study.

Chapter 2

Theory of Ideology

Though it is the relationship between ideology and ecclesiastical discourse that is of principal interest for the analysis we intend to undertake, it is necessary, at the beginning, to define ideology. In so doing we will first of all review certain formulations of the matter which have affected our thinking on this subject, before stating the definition of ideology which will be operative in this study.

2.1 Survey of the Concept

Though they are by no means the first to utilize the concept, it was Karl Marx and Frederick Engels who provided a determinant definition, though by no means a systematic one. One of its main elements concerns the effects of material relationships and activity upon human thought:

> The production of ideas, of conceptions, of consciousness, is at first directly interwoven with the material activity and the material intercourse of men -- the language of real life. Conceiving, thinking, the mental intercourse of men at this stage still appears as the direct efflux of their material behaviour. The same applies to mental production as expressed in the language of politics, laws, morality, religion, metaphysics, etc., of a people. [1]

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[1] The German Ideology, third revised edition (Moscow: Progress Publishers, 1976), p. 42

Another is the control of this production by a dominant group in the society:

> The ideas of the ruling class are in every epoch the ruling ideas: i.e. the class which is the ruling material force of society is at the same time the ruling intellectual force. The class which has the means of material production at its disposal, consequently also controls the means of mental production, so that the ideas of those who lack the means of mental production are on the whole subject to it. The ruling ideas are nothing more than the ideal expression of the dominant material relations, the dominant material relations grasped as ideas.[2]

A third element is the acceptance by ruling and non-ruling classes of these ideas, concepts, symbols, or this way of thinking as expressive of the reality experienced by all members of society, and as being universally valid. Thus in a society where the bourgeoisie becomes dominant, freedom and equality are considered to be the lot of all its people. Ideology is therefore, also, illusion, in that it masks the relationships of dominance which in reality exist in society.[3] The status quo is considered to serve the interests of all classes in the society, and the dominant group or class becomes somehow blind to its real situation. Competing versions of social reality are suppressed.

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[2] The German Ideology, p. 67.

[3] Ibid., pp. 68-69.

This distortion is what Karl Mannheim has defined as false consciousness. The function of ideology understood in this way is to conceal the actual meaning of conduct rather than to reveal it.[4] Mannheim distinguishes between particular and total ideologies in this regard. A particular ideology denotes the ideas of an individual, or that part of his assertions which disguise the true nature of a situation, or which conceal his real interests. The total conception on the other hand refers to the characteristics and composition of the ideas and consciousness of a historico-social group, which are based upon its social situation.[5] Here it is the total outlook or Weltanschauung of a group or class which is distorted in a way which obscures from itself and others its true interests.

This illusory character, however, should not be attributed to the mode of existence of ideology. In his study of ideologies in Quebec, Denis Monière underlines the important qualifications Marx brought, in The 18th Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte, to his conception of ideology, which, even if it presents a deformed, illusory, even fictitious, version of reality, is nevertheless real, and active in society:

> Les idéologies constituent la médiation entre la praxis et la conscience, c'est-à-dire qu'elles

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[4] Ideology and Utopia, trans. Louis Wirth and Edward Shils (New York: Harcourt, Brace, Jovanovich, Harvest Book, n.d., first published 1936), p. 95.

[5] Ibid., pp. 55-57.

> interviennent dans la réalité et servent de guide à la pratique des hommes ... L'idéologie n'est plus, dès lors, confinée, enfermée dans la superstructure; elle n'est pas qu'une instance parmi d'autres, elle est à tous les niveaux, elle les cimente et leur donne une cohérence. Dans cette perspective, l'idéologie ne prend pas uniquement la forme du discours, elle est aussi matérielle, c'est-à-dire qu'elle se retrouve dans l'organisation du travail, dans les appareils de production, dans les institutions sociales et politiques, dans les appareils juridiques, lois, cours de justice, dans les appareils d'Etat, police, université, etc. [6]

In the same order of idea, concerning ideology and social praxis, Fernand Dumont refers to "les pratiques idéologiques" which are

> la résultante d'exégèse, d'une interprétation de l'infini domaine des activités et des pensées des hommes ... un herméneutique, devenue pratique collective, du texte social [7]

and in which power enjoys the role of exegete.

A more global definition of ideology which includes its material existence and its identification with collective social praxis, is that of Louis Althusser:

> Une idéologie est un système (possédant sa logique et sa rigueur propres) de représentations (images, mythes, idées, ou concepts selon le cas) doué d'une existence et d'un rôle historique au sein d'une société donnée ... L'idéologie comme système de représentations se distingue de la

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[6] Le Développement des idéologies au Québec, (Montreal: Editions Québec/Amérique, 1977), pp. 19-20.

[7] Les Idéologies, (Paris: PUF, 1974), p. 152.

> science en ce que la fonction pratico-sociale l'emporte en elle sur la fonction théorique (ou fonction de connaissance). [8]

Marxist theory points to the interplay of three realities in any society, namely economic activity, political organization, and ideological structures. Althusser identifies the latter, which assure the hold of a given ideology upon individuals, as "appareils idéologiques d'Etat" such as churches, school systems, cultural organizations, the family. [9]

As a result of this permeation of all aspects of society by the ideology, whereby men and women meet it not necessarily in "consciousness", but in the structures they encounter in evaryday life and work, the dominated class or classes live in "estrangement" or alienation. [10] As Patricia Marchak writes in her study of Canadian ideologies, this class

> exists in an ideological framework of classlessness. This is the essence of its alienation: that it lives with a false class consciousness, and that its material conditions, its relationships to the means of production, prevent it from recognizing its social condition. [11]

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[8] Pour Marx, (Paris: Maspero, 1965), p. 238.

[9] Cited by Marcel Rafie, in "Des Sciences dites humaines" diss. l'Université de Montréal, 1973, p. 182.

[10] The German Ideology, p. 54.

[11] M. Patricia Marchak, Ideological Perspectives on Canada, (Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson, 1981), p. 100.

For Marx and Engels the existence of such a class, conscious of itself as such, is the precondition for the existence of revolutionary ideas in a society. [12] These revolutionary ideas constitute what could be called a counter-ideology, or, in Mannheim's terms, a utopia.

It is Mannheim's insight that there can be more than one "ideology" in a given society, and he names those that "when they pass over into conduct, tend to shatter, either partially or wholly, the order of things prevailing at the time", utopias. [13] However, Mannheim has moved beyond the original Marxist identification of ideology with the capitalist mode of production, in claiming that the Marxist analysis can be used with respect to any dominant ideology, including that corresponding to socialist modes of production. [14] Here we encounter the basis of Mannheim's sociology of knowledge, for which no knowledge can henceforth be free of criticism in terms of the social position of its authors and the modes of production and economic and other relationships upon which it is based. [15] At the same time we get a foretaste of the danger of relativism (a charge from which Mannheim feels obliged to defend himself with his concept of "relationism") to which this approach is subject, for if one particular version or representation of what is true can be branded as ideological,

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[12] The German Ideology, p. 68.

[13] Mannheim, p. 192.

[14] Ibid., p. 75.

[15] Ibid., p. 78.

it is clear that, in Mannheim's terms, all can play this game.

Having completed this cursory survey of the concept of ideology and related notions we are now in a position to put forward our own definition and theory of ideology.

2.2 Definition of Ideology

An ideology is an ensemble of ideas, concepts, values, beliefs, symbols, etc., which posses a certain structure as well as a certain formal coherence. Even though certain elements of this ensemble may be received, or inherited, from the past, there is always a necessary activity of construction whereby the ideology is elaborated anew, and by which new elements are bound and integrated in to the whole. One thinks of economic liberalism which has been able to integrate successively, according to its needs, both Keynesian theory, and, more recently, the monetarist theory of Milton Freedman, into a whole that continues to serve as the ideological basis of capitalist economics.

Certain social actors, located in the apparatus of production of ideas and images, such as for example, politicians, lawyers, judges, scientists, doctors, business leaders, writers, teachers, clergy, broadcasters, etc., are actively engaged in this process of construction, which is not simply a mental or academic exercise, but which is part and parcel of their social practice, or behaviour, within

the context of a social interaction the key to which is power -- power to hold on to privileges, prerogatives, status, and wealth.

An ideology is, therefore, in part, a particular reading or analysis of a situation, a reading which is bound up with the interests of the social actors who are, by their pronouncements, declarations, and writings, as well as by the rest of their social practice, the producers, or the reproducers, of this ideology.

The social relationships which are brought into being by this social practice (relationships of dominance and dependence, of exploitation, etc.) contribute to the production of the ideology and are reproduced by it. Every ideology which is dominant within a particular society or culture has as one of its aims the continuation and the reproduction of these social relationships.

There exist also competing "ideologies" which contest that ideology which is dominant. These counter-ideologies develop in the same way, rest upon alternate readings of the situation (in which, for example, the dominance of one class or group and the oppression of others is exposed); justify the alternate social practice (armed struggle, for example) of social actors who contest the dominant ideology, reproduce, and are reproduced by, this practice. Dominant ideologies are defined, in part, in relation to counter-ideologies, by their tendency to discredit the latter.

> Les idéologies officielles ne se bornent pas à faire oublier des expressions concurrentes; elles les disqualifient au nom du progrès. [16]

Other versions of the social reality or alternate readings of the situation are actively suppressed. What is not said is as significant as what is said.

An ideology is related to the behaviour or social practice of social actors, individual or collective who, in varying degrees, benefit from the social situation of which the ideology is the expression, or believe that they do. This relation may be of two kinds:

1) Dominant social actors justify their dominance as beneficent both for themselves and for those who are not dominant. They may not even be conscious of their dominance and the effective exploitation of others from which they benefit.

2) Non-dominant social actors accept the role they play, or place they occupy, in the society or culture as that role or place is justified according to the ideology in question.

There is a third relation as well which obtains when

3) Non- dominant social actors actively contest established

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[16] Fernand Dumont, p. 130.

social relationships, unmask them as relationships of exploitation and domination, and try to destroy or change them. In so doing they contribute to the construction of a counter-ideology.

There exist, as well, ideologies particular to certain sectors of the culture or society. Medicine and education are examples of such sectors. In so far as these ideologies are dominant in their sector they tend to be fundamentally consonant with the social relationships of dominance-domination in the rest of the society. It may even be the case that while the dominant ideology of a sector, organized labour, for example, entertains a certain conflict between dominated workers and dominant proprietors or managers, nevertheless it continues to justify other social relationships within its sector which are the mirror-image of those in the society at large (the place of women in the union movement is an example).

In neo-Marxist theory what are described here as sectors are considered to be structures which express and impose the dominant ideology (the "appareils idéologiques" of Althusser). This notion of a dominant ideology imposing itself by means of structures or "appareils idéologiques" is simply another way of stating what we have said about sectorial ideologies, which are consonant with the overall ideology to the extent that those who are dominant in the society at large control these sectors.

The relationship between science and ideology, however, needs to

be clearly stated. Science is not simply a sector of the society or culture, though it may inhabit certain sectors such as the university. Science is an intellectual and practical activity supposedly devoted to the liberation of thought from ideology. From a purely scientific point of view the adjective "ideological" is pejorative.

Theories and concepts have become "ideological", once again from a scientific point of view, when they enjoy authority such that they can combat by their authority alone the challenge of new theories without having to submit to the critique that the new theories make of them. Science appears in the rupture with theory that has become "ideological". The same science, however, in order to become legitimated, and effective, must find itself a base in the society. This base, located in one of the sectors, will compromise the new science and it will, in its turn, become "ideological".

Even if it is possible to see, particularly in the sciences of nature, the progressive liberation of a growing body of scientific knowledge, as soon as we claim that this progression in the refinement of theories and concepts constitutes progress in social and historic terms, and even in strictly scientific terms, for example, we display one more aspect of our ideological captivity in accepting at face-value the ideological belief that there exists scientific progress which is never a regression.

The question of science and ideology, and in particular the

previous paragraph, raise the question. "Where can one stand in order to make the statement that some theory or concept is ideological, or to oppose an ideology?" There are the following three options:

1) A point of view which takes the ideological, or ideology, as its object. This is the perspective of the sociology of knowledge which claims to gain a kind of transcendence from its admission that all knowledge, including one's own, is ideologically tainted.

2) A position which does not have consciousness as its object, but rather ideology as a material structure (the "appareils idéologiques").

3) A third option which claims that ideology and what is ideological can only be identified from the point of view of an historical subject engaged in a struggle against its own oppressors.[17]

At bottom there are only two possibilities, each subject to its own peculiar temptation and danger. One may opt for the relative objectivity of a science which, one way or another, makes ideology its object. The temptation here is to fool oneself into believing

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[17] The second option is criticized as aiming also, ultimately, at a kind of transcendence by Jacques Rancière, "Sur la théorie de l'idéologie" in Homme et Société, No. 27, Editions Anthropos. (janvier-février-mars 1973). The third option is that promoted by Rancière.

that one's own position is ultimately non-ideological and not conditioned by history. On one may choose the commitment of an individual or collective actor to a struggle against oppressive social conditions of which the ideology being contested is the expression as well as the justification. Such a perspective might be termed "prophetic". Its particular temptation is to either an individualistic subjectivism or a collective dogmatism.

These two perspectives are equally necessary. One might say that they "correct" each other in a dialectic of which there is never resolution or synthesis, but is of permanent ambiguity, constituting one of the conditions of historical existence.

The final point in this theory of ideology which underlies the analysis we are yet to undertake is that there exist non-ideological "moments", or "moments" of transcendence, either on the scientific or the "prophetic" side. The error is to take these momentary illuminations, these non-ideological fragments, for some absolute and eternally valid truth which is condemned to become ideological in its turn.

Chapter 3

Ideology and Ecclesiastical Discourse

We now turn our attention to the relationship between ideology and the church's discourse, which, of course includes theology, though, in a sense, all church pronouncements are theological by reason of the church's presuppositions regarding its nature and its calling. At the same time we begin our search for an adequate method of analyzing the ideological in that discourse. In so doing we will review the perceptions of various theologians, and the solutions of some of them with respect to this question.

3.1 Theology and Ideology

We start with a theologian who had a healthy suspicion of all ideology. Reinhold Niebuhr writes of the "ideological taint" in all human knowing. His argument is as follows: Men and women must find some base or other from which to interpret the events of their own lives, or any part of the rest of human history. A "scheme of meaning" is necessary, and the more the whole of history is taken into consideration, the more the choice of such a scheme of meaning resembles an act of faith, without which we are caught in the toils of historical relativism. At times Niebuhr appears to identify this "scheme of meaning" with an "ideological taint" from which there is no escape

-- and he identifies the pretension that such is not the case with the original sin infecting all of human culture.[1] At others, and particularly in his discussion of Marxism, it is clear that he considers ideology to be much more (and worse) than a necessary evil. "Ideology is a compound of ignorance and dishonesty". The dishonesty inherent in it is the tendency of men "to justify self-interest by making it appear identical with the common good".[2] According to Niebuhr the Marxists, despite their positive contribution to the understanding of ideology and its relation to historical situations of injustice, have misapplied the discovery of this taint in all human knowledge and virtue in the sense that they have adopted the standpoint of scientific historical materialism from which to bell the cat, attributing the ideological taint to every group except the proletariat.[3] Though he appears to have singled out the Marxists for special treatment, the ideological taint is so basic a tenet of Niebuhr that one may imagine he would not have been surprised to have the concept turned upon his own preference for liberal culture.

In our theory of ideology, outlined in the preceding chapter, we have located the church, in accordance with Marxist theory, in the ideological superstructure as one of the sectors where the reigning

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[1] Faith and History, (New York: Scribner's, 1949), p. 118.

[2] Ibid., p. 161.

[3] Ibid., p. 160.

ideology is given expression, as one of the "appareils idéologiques d'Etat". Not only are its pronouncements inevitably affected by an "ideological taint", but its business, its production, is ideology, according to this view. Religion, and religious institutions, we equate with, or consider part of, the ideological in society. This being the case the task of theology becomes, in part, that of a watch dog, a critic of religious discourse which, by its very nature as a human enterprise, is subject to the ideological and tends to serve the dominant ideology. Here we follow Georges Casalis, for whom theology always reflects "les lieux de sa production", and who writes of the dominant theology,

> La Théologie dominante, qu'elle qu'en soit la couleur s'est ainsi imposée, parce qu'elle est, en fait, la théologie de la domination, celle qui est produite par des structures de pouvoir religieux au service des classes dominantes des sociétés développées... [elle] est la partie ou l'aspect religieux des idées dominantes. [4]

This position is not far removed from the prophetic attitude to religion and religious institutions of the kind we discover in the Hebrew prophets such as Amos (the "proletarian" herdsman and dresser of sycamore trees) in his reproach to the nation of Israel and its religious and political authorities:

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[4] Les idées justes ne tombent pas du ciel, (Paris: Cerf, 1977), p. 26.

I hate, I despise your feasts,
  and I take no delight in your
      solemn assemblies.
Even though you offer me your
  burnt offerings and cereal offerings,
I will not accept them

Take away from me the noise of your songs;
  to the melody of your harps I will not listen.
But let justice roll down like waters,
  and righteousness like an everflowing stream.

(Amos 5.21)

It is also akin to Tillich's "protestant principle" (Luther's paradox that man the sinner, as a sinner, is justified) which, in his article on "The Protestant Principle and the Proletarian Situation", [5] he considers as being continuous with one of the basic elements of the prophetic and biblical message. Tillich made a positive evaluation of Marx, who, he writes, "called every theory which is not based on the will to transform reality an 'ideology', that is, an attempt to preserve existing evils by a theoretical construction which justifies them". [6] Theology, in Tillich's view, must not be content, however, merely to reveal the tendency of mankind to create ideologies. It must unveil concrete ideologies. [7]

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[5] The Protestant Era, trans. James Luther Adams, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1948).

[6] Systematic Theology, Vol. I, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1951), p. 76.

[7] The Protestant Era, p. 170.

> The Reformation struggled against two ideologies, that is, two ways of concealing the true human situation, namely, the Catholic and the humanistic ideology.[8]

However, the Reform, in its turn, became ideologized, and therefore Protestantism, if it is to be true to its own principle, must struggle against its own ideologies and show

> how the man-made God of Catholicism was in the interest of the feudal order ... how the ideology of Lutheranism was in the interest of the patriarchal order ... how the idealistic religion of humanistic Protestantism is in the interest of a victorious bourgeoisie.[9]

Tillich sees what he calls "the proletarian situation", the alienation and the exploitation of the working class, as "an outstanding instance of an ideology-unveiling situation"[10] which forces Protestantism back to the critical element of its own first principle. There is a dialectical relation, then, between the historical context and theological insight.

For Karl Barth theology has a similar "watch dog" role. In the following statement, Barth reveals his understanding of the task of theology and, in particular, of dogmatics:

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[8] The Protestant Era, p. 169.

[9] Ibid., p. 169.

[10] Ibid., p. 170.

> In Theology the community gives a critical account both to itself and to the world which listens to it, of the appropriateness of its praise of God, its preaching, its instruction, its evangelistic and missionary work, but also of the activity which cannot be separated from these things ... [11]

> As a theological discipline dogmatics is the scientific self-examination of the Christian Church with respect to its distinctive utterance concerning God. [12]

In this sense theology could be said to be a kind of epistemology, which, in addition to its meaning as a philosophical theory of knowledge, is also, in relation to science, or knowledge in general, a scientific examination of scientific work. What is more, in our view, its task is to trace

> une ligne de démarcation (ou rupture) entre l'idéologique des idéologies d'une part et le scientifique des sciences d'autre part. [13]

In this regard, though Barth's epistemology is a complicated matter, the analysis of which would take us far beyond the limits of this study, it is nevertheless of interest to look further into his statements on

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[11] Karl Barth, Church Dogmatics, Vol. IV, Part 3, (Edinburgh: T.&T. Clark, 1956), p. 879.

[12] Church Dogmatics, Vol. I, Part I, p. 1.

[13] Louis Althusser, in Cours de Philosophie pour Scientifiques, cited by Marcel Rafie in "Des Sciences dites humaines", diss. l'Université de Montréal, 1973, p. 9.

this and related matters. He writes in his Dogmatics that the name of Jesus Christ, which the Christian community proclaims, if it were a principle and not a name, would have to be called the epistemological principle of the Christian message. [14]

The primacy given by Barth to the knowledge of Himself given by God in Jesus Christ as the "starting place" of theology is the result of his refusal to give such a role to philosophy and of his "war on natural theology". [15] And it is significant that major shifts in Barth's thinking were contemporaneous with his rupture with the dominant ideology of particular periods, for example, when he discovered the names of almost all his theological teachers among those of the ninety-three German intellectuals who publicly endorsed the military policy of Kaiser Wilhelm II in August, 1914.

> If they could be so mistaken in ethos, I noted that it was quite impossible for me to adhere any longer to their ethics and dogmatics, to their exposition of the bible or presentation of history. So far as I was concerned there was no more future for the theology of the 19th century. [16]

This kind of rupture is also present in Barth's early and vigorous attack on Hitler and on the German Christians in Theologische

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[14] Church Dogmatics, Vol. IV, Part I, p. 17.

[15] Arnold Come, An Introduction to Barth's Dogmatics for Preachers, (Philadelphia, Westminster Press, 1963), p. 49.

[16] From Evangelische Theologie in 19. Jahrhundert, cited by Helmut Gollwitzer in Karl Barth, Church Dogmatics: A Selection, (New York: Harper Row, 1961), p. 14.

Existenz Heute and in the Declaration of Barmen. It is evident that in these instances he was trying to counter the subjection of the Church and the message it had to proclaim to the demands of the ideology in power, and this attempt is of a piece with his rejection of natural theology and of philosophy as the starting place of theology -- in order to block up the point of access whereby ideology enters in.

That ideology is, nevertheless, necessarily present in the discourse of the church, is an assumption we take for granted, and we will now consider the work of theologians who, in accepting this premise, see one of, or the major, tasks of theology to be the critique of this ideology.

3.2 Ideology and Theological Method

The first of these is Dorothee Sölle who develops what she calls "political theology" or "the political interpretation of the Gospel." She writes,

> the method followed here attempts to use ideological criticism as a means of freeing the substance of the gospel from its disguises. It becomes an element of self-criticism for theology; and with its help the absolute basis that transcends the social order, namely the gospel (in Bultmann's language, the kerygma), can become free once again from its illusory, destructive, systematic fixations.[17]

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[17] Dorothee Sölle, Political Theology, trans. John Shelley, (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1974), p. 63

It is a method which moves on from Bultmannian demythologizing to ideological criticism in which "not only the mythical residue but also the far more dangerous ideological structures of Christianity ... are subjected to historical criticism". [18] Ideology is conceived as a system of propositional truths "independent of the situation, a superstructure no longer relevant to praxis, to the situation, to the real questions of life". [19] Her method has its basis in the insight that "the Christ who rules in the church ... is the Christ of the rulers," [20] having supplanted the biblical Christ whose language is at once religious and political in his announcement of salvation for the poor (Luke 6.20) and his bias against the rich (Matt. 19.24).

Truth, in Sölle's political theology, is bound up with praxis, and, in company with Jurgen Moltmann, she takes Habermas' interpretation of Marxist understanding of truth as its touchstone.

> The unity of theory and praxis signifies the truth that is to be established and, conjointly, the supreme standard of reason, since within the situation of alienation all efforts that move toward the establishment of truth are already seen as rational. Reason is the entry into future truth. [21]

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[18] Dorothee Sölle, p. 17.

[19] Ibid., pp. 23-24.

[20] Ibid., p. 36.

[21] J. Habermas, in Theorie und Praxis, cited by Sölle, p. 75. Cf. Jurgen Moltmann, Religion, Revolution, and the Future, (New York: Scribner's, 1969), p. 98.

It is the same point Tillich makes in his Systematic Theology when he writes, "We transform reality according to the way we see it, and we see reality according to the way we transform it." In the cognitive realm this has been clearly expressed in the Fourth Gospel, which speaks of knowing the truth by doing the truth (John 3.21). [22]

It is, however, just this aspect which does not become clear in the application of Sölle's method, as she provides a "political" interpretation of the doctrines of sin and forgiveness. Sin is seen as collaboration and apathy in the face of specific injustice and alienation, [23] while forgiveness is given a political and collective dimension and can be experienced only in the context of a new life in liberation from oppressive structures. [24] This reinterpretation of doctrine is tied to social practice in that praxis is a dimension which must be taken into account. However, the role of the social practice of the interpreter is not made clear at the level of method. That is, social praxis is shown to be an essential dimension of theological truth, but it is not made clear how it becomes integrated into her theological method.

A more adequate formulation is that of Georges Casalis who writes of the possibility of "une théologie laïque" or "populaire", of which

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[22] Systematic Theology, Vol. I, p. 76.

[23] Political Theology, p. 89.

[24] Ibid., pp. 104-107.

revolutionary praxis would be the first condition, [25] and raises the possibility that those who find themselves saddled with membership in the 'classe dominante' might, by allying themselves with the revolutionary classes and participating in their struggle, succeed to a class position which would authenticate their social practice as appropriate to the creation of such a theology. [26] Praxis is here explicitly linked with class position as a precondition of a class theology, and thus becomes an integral part of method.

Casalis also provides a schema having three elements for what he calls inductive theology: (1) the biblical texts to be interpreted ("écrit") (2) have been produced by a particular person or group ("témoin") (3) living in a concrete "situation". Depending upon the class position of the "témoin" and his or her reading of the situation, the resulting theology expressed in the text will either be at one with the dominant ideology, or will be counter-ideological. [27] The same schema holds true for those who interpret the texts in any later historical moment. As they read and re-read the text they do so from the point of view of their concrete existence and class position within a concrete historical situation, which must be taken into account if we are to take seriously the ideological in religious discourse. Theology, for Casalis, is determined by its "lieu de production", [28]

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[25] Les idées justes ne tombent pas du ciel, p. 36.

[26] Casalis, p. 37.

[27] Ibid., pp. 56-58.

[28] Ibid., p. 20 ff.

such that we have not theology but theologies.

An even clearer exposition of method, in which political commitment is the first step to which theology is the second, is that provided by Juan Luis Segundo in his Liberation of Theology, an illuminating approach to method written with Latin American theology of liberation in mind. What Segundo means by political commitment he makes unambiguously clear by citing the following passage from Gustavo Gutierrez:

> this is made real and meaningful only by living and announcing the Gospel from within a commitment to liberation, only in concrete, effective solidarity with people and exploited social classes. Only by participating in their struggles can we understand the implications of the Gospel message and make it have an impact on history.[29]

Theology is the second step,[30] but commitment is an integral part, related to the first "factor" of Segundo's method. This method is an application of the concept of the hermeneutic circle, circular in the sense that each new historical reality and change effected in that reality forces a reinterpretation of the biblical message. Segundo writes

> there must be ... four decisive factors in our circle. Firstly there is our way of experiencing

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[29] Gutierrez, A Theology of Liberation, cited by Segundo in The Liberation of Theology, trans. John Drury, (New York: Orbis Books, 1976), p. 83.

[30] See Segundo, pp. 75-81.

> reality, which leads us to ideological suspicion. Secondly there is the application of our ideological suspicion to the whole ideological superstructure in general and to theology in particular. Thirdly there comes a new way of experiencing theological reality that leads us to exegetical suspicion, that is, to the suspicion that the prevailing interpretation of the Bible has not taken important pieces of data into account. Fourthly we have our new hermeneutic, that is, our new way of interpreting the fountain head of our faith (i.e., Scripture) with the elements at our disposal.[31]

The purpose of this method is not to free theology of ideology as such. For Segundo ideology is a provisional but necessary system that bridges the "empty space between the conception of God that we receive from our faith and the problems that come to us from an ever-changing history. The biblical record is a succession of religious ideologies".[32]

The ideas for method of Casalis and Segundo point to a way of approaching all the discourse of the church, its formal theology, as well as the texts of the official declarations and pronouncements of particular churches. This approach which would have three main concurrent thrusts: first, a healthy suspicion of the ideological in church discourse; second, a focus upon particular interpretations of, and selections from, biblical and church tradition; and third, a search for signs of counter-ideology and of rupture with prevailing ideologies. It will be the subject of the next chapter.

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[31] Segundo, p. 9.

[32] Ibid., p. 116.

Chapter 4

The Method and its Application

This chapter will present the method adopted, give an example of its application, and consider its appropriateness for ideological analysis.

It is evident, from the theory adopted above (chapter 2) that ideology is found not only in texts but that it is present in the structures of a given society, that it is not only symbolic, but also material. It is also clear that social practice is of a piece with ideology. The text may therefore seem to be a very limited focus for ideological analysis. However, though what is proposed here is not an analysis of social practice as such, nor of ideology in its material existence in institutions, the ideological analysis of texts, though there is no guarantee that what they express conforms with the social practice of their authors, nevertheless may give an indication of what the social practice, or class position of the authors actually is.

What is meant here is "a practice ... in the use of ideas which is ideological" -- this is not to reduce the text to its ideological use -- "many types of literary as well as religious work have an ideological dimension and lend themselves to ideological uses. Works of many kinds may serve to order, legitimate and organize social

relations..."[1]

The textual analysis, as such, will remain at the symbolic level. Only in so far as the texts constitute evidence of the social practice of the churches concerned during the period in question will conclusions be drawn as to this praxis.

4.1 The Method

Starting, then, with the theory of ideology outlined in chapter 2, we can enumerate the following implications of that theory, or criteria for identifying the ideological expressed in a text:

- the presence of certain words which denote, or evoque, concepts, beliefs, values, etc., associated with, or belonging to, particular ideological traditions
- a positive or negative orientation toward one or more dominant ideologies, or counter-ideologies, present in the society
- a systematic avoidance, or discrediting, of words and phrases associated with, or which evoke, a competing ideological tradition or traditions

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[1] Dorothy E. Smith, "Ideological structures and how women are excluded", in The Canadian Review of Sociology and Anthropology, (November 1975), Part I, p. 356.

- absence of self-criticism on the part of the authors which sheds no light on their own ideological position
- an image of objectivity which nevertheless consecrates the position, or the struggle, of some social agent or other.
- promotion of the class interests of the authors, usually more implicit than explicit, to be deduced from what is said as well as from what is not said -- the "obvious" omissions.

Other indicators of the ideological may be the form given to the text in relation to its context, the argument, including references to other texts, and references to social, economic, and political structures, as well as to the structure by which the text has been produced and/ or diffused.

The proposed method of analysis includes the following components:

- the reading of the text
- observation as to its objective
- observation as to the form in which the text has been diffused in relation to its context.
- reiteration and analysis of the argument of the text
- analysis of its vocabulary, or vocabularies, with identification of key words and phrases

- observations as to what is not said: obvious omissions
- observations as to references to or selections from other texts (or traditions)
- observations as to references to social, economic, and political structures
- identification of the ideologies promoted by the text
- identification of counter-ideological or "prophetic" elements
- hypotheses as to the social practice or class interests of the authors or the institutions they represent.

4.2 Application of the Method

To indicate how the analysis is intended to proceed we include the following example of its application to two texts which constitute the contribution of the Assembly of (Catholic) Bishops of Quebec to the pre-referendum debate, Le Peuple québécois et son avenir politique,[2] and Construire ensemble une société meilleure,[3] two pastoral messages

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[2] Le Peuple québécois et son avenir politique, message pastoral des évêques du Québec sur l'évolution politique de la société québécoise (Charlesbourg-est: Les Edtions du renouveau, 1979).

[3] Construire ensemble une société meilleure, deuxième message pastoral des évêques du Québec sur l'évolution politique de la société québécoise (Charlesbourg-est: Les Editions du Renouveau, n.d.)

on the political evolution of Quebec society.

4.2.1 Objectives of the Texts

The avowed objective of Le Peuple québécois is to show Quebec Christians how the political choices to be made in the referendum are illuminated by the gospel (par. 1), and to be of service to all the people of Quebec in the period prior to the referendum (par. 2). In Construire ensemble the bishops address themselves to "our compatriots" [4] (par.41) and look beyond the issue to be settled by the referendum to the chances of a more just and fraternal society in the future.

Yet one must also be aware of the unavowed objectives which are operative in these texts, such as

- to intervene, without taking sides, in the pre-referendum debate on the Quebec "national question", over which the Catholic community of Quebec is divided
- to bring to the attention of the public the social doctrine of the Roman Catholic Church
- to play a role of moral leadership in Quebec society, and to promote the values, political, economic and social, of the authors.

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[4] All translations from the French version are the author's.

4.2.2 Form and its Relation to Context

The two messages are written in a style far removed from that associated with traditional pastoral messages -- short, uncomplicated sentences are organized in brief numbered paragraphs. The language employed has little of an ecclesiastical character. There has been a clear effort to avoid giving the impression of speaking from on high -- for example, "ces lignes ne prétendent pas tout dire et revêtent aucun caractère absolu" (Le Peuple québécois, par. 1). In Construire ensemble it is a question of "réflexions" and not at all of "impératifs" (pars. 1-3).

With their evident concern to communicate with ordinary people these pastoral messages find their place in the plethora of documents produced by Quebec institutions in the pre-referendum period, the government's "livre blanc", the "livre beige" of the Parti libéral du Québec, texts of the Confédération des syndicats nationaux and of the Centrale d'enseignement du Québec, and others. The disadvantage which is the lot of pastoral messages in a society where negative attitudes to the church are very widespread is less serious in this context than it would have been had the messages appeared in isolated fashion. The second of the texts, incidentally, is much less hesitant as to the legitimacy of an intervention of Catholic bishops in the debate.

Yet the problem of the bishops is different from that of a political party, or a union organization, because the bishops must

avoid adopting a position while at the same time demonstrating that they have something of value to bring to the society at this time. The appeal of the bishops is therefore to values beyond the immediate interests of their clientèle, and of the Quebec people in general.

4.2.3 The Argument, References to other Texts and Traditions

Le Peuple québécois

The bishops demonstrate the existence of a "peuple québécois" and warn against a definition of this people that would exclude cultural minorities (pars.6-10). In so doing they refer to the Lettre collective des évêques catholiques du Canada à l'occasion du centenaire de la Confédération (par. 7).

They then show that this "peuple québécois" possesses the right to self-determination (pars.11-14), referring to the Déclaration sur la vie politique au Québec des évêques catholiques du Canada, 1972 par. 11). The Quebec people are seen as having the right to choose the present constitutional framework, or to proclaim themselves sovereign. A life informed by the gospel would be possible in either case.

Next, the concept of unity, based on Galatians 3:28, is promoted. One of the major trends of the twentieth century is seen to be the birth of new countries, but there is also the fact of the "regroupement" of countries in large organizations such that there is a partial

renunciation of sovereignty in the search for the common good. Two dangers of the referendum debate are identified namely, that the proposals of the "souverainistes" will be considered contrary to the unity willed by Christ, and that there will be, conversely, an attitude which refuses to see anything good in the Canadian experience. The bishops therefore promote an attitude of dialogue, and introduce, in its eschatological sense, the notion of peace (pars.15-27).

Construire ensemble

1) Popular participation in the referendum debate is declared of great value, but obstacles to its realization are seen. There are needed sufficient information, clarity in the referendum questions, and in the arguments for and against them: in sum, a pedagogical effort to encourage such participation (pars.5-11). -- reference: Le Rédempteur de l'homme, John Paul II.

2) Human rights must be respected, and duties and obligations recognized -- reference: Pacem in terris -- while the notion of the common good is commended (pars.12-17).

3) There follows an appeal for the just distribution of wealth and of responsibilities, an equitable sharing in the quest for social equilibrium. The right to private property is underlined, as are the responsibilities it entails -- reference: Thomas Aquinas, John Paul II -- while the delays and obstacles inherent in the actual political and economic system, which adversely affect any "rattrapage" in the sense of the just distribution so necessary to social peace, are recognized (pars.18-27).

4) This section is concerned with cultural and spiritual matters. The cultural sphere is, in practical terms, reduced almost exclusively to the family. A résumé is then given of the past and potential spiritual contribution of the Catholic Church in Quebec -- reference: Message aux responsables de l'éducation, 1978.

5) Finally, the bishops turn their attention to the international dimension, the relations of the Quebec people with the rest of the world. Openness towards the third and fourth worlds is encouraged, and a new international order is called for -- reference: Changer le monde, une tâche pour l'église, Vincent Cosmao.

4.2.4 Vocabulary

Four major (over 80 key words) vocabularies are found in these texts, which can be identified with

- the judaeo-christian tradition generally
- the social doctrine of the Catholic Church
- the liberal democratic tradition
- the Canadian constitutional, or the Canada-Quebec, debate.

In addition we find vocabularies relating to international development, the "révolution tranquille" in Quebec, humanist values, and dialogue. It is to be noted that the general Judaeo-Christian and biblical vocabulary is very evident in Le Peuple québécois while that of Catholic social doctrine is preeminent in Construire ensemble. If one were to

put together the words evocative of the liberal democratic tradition, of international development, and of the "révolution tranquille", the vocabulary of Catholic social doctrine (the largest) would become of secondary importance in quantitative terms. In that drawn from the constitutional debate there is a preponderance of words concerning Quebec, its people, sovereignty, and self-determination.

4.2.5 What is not said: obvious omissions

Le Peuple québécois

The authors list all the characteristics of French-Canadians which make of them a people except the occupation of a discrete territory and the possession of political institutions -- two conditions of capital importance in international debate on the question of self-determination[5] (par. 7). The word "independant" is suppressed and "souverain" favoured, while "interdépendance" is given a positive turn of meaning (par. 13).

Further, in their rejection of two possible negative attitudes which might characterize the debate, one is qualified as "souverainisme étroit" while the corresponding federalist attitude is given no pejorative adjective (pars. 22, 21). While two quotations are selected from the bible which support the values of unity and peace (pars. 15, 24), there are other biblical options which might also apply, such as Luke 21.51

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[5] See Jacques Brossard, L'Accession à la souveraineté et le cas du Québec (Montreal: Les Presses de l'Université de Montréal, 1976), pp. 83-86.

(which speaks not of peace but of division brought by Jesus). We look also in vain for the second component of the trio "liberté, égalité, fraternité" (par. 13). Is this unconscious (or conscious) avoidance of appearing to suggest an egalitarian solution to the social question, or of slogan such as "égalité ou indépendance" or "égal à égal"?

Construire ensemble

The authors speak of "une société meilleure". One might have expected representatives of the Judaeo-Christian biblical tradition to have chosen instead "une société nouvelle", as being more faithful to the evangelical theme of the new creation. There is instead suppression, or "forgetting", of the word "nouvelle" in favour of a vision of progress for a society capable of becoming "better" (par. 4).

Referring to obstacles in the way of realizing a social project in which citizens would have real responsibility and influence, the authors declare that such an objective should not be abandoned. Yet they do not reject the means utilized to date which have not attained the desired objective. They therefore question neither the end, nor the means, and thereby exclude the possibility of more radical approaches (pars. 5-7). Cf. Le Peuple québécois, par. 27 which limits itself to speaking of the "évolution" of societies).

The word "syndicat" is avoided when referring to the diverse economic agents and social organizations, as well as when writing of the work-place (pars. 24, 25). "Syndicats" are mentioned along with

cooperatives as "écoles de formation à la vie économique, des lieux de prise de responsabilité" (par. 26). There is suppression of the idea that (certain) unions, as organizations of the working class, are engaged in struggles aimed at changing the relationship to the means of production, and in the promotion of counter-ideology. The authors also avoid naming capitalism, or problems within the capitalist system, preferring to write of "certains déséquilibres des économies occidentales" (par. 36).

4.2.6 References to Social, Economic and Political Structures

Social Structures

The social structure which is held up above all others as the "lieu privilégié de la socialisation et de l'accession à la culture" is the family (pars. 30, 31). When one thinks of the debates and struggles carried on by the Quebec women's movement for the right of women to work, and the necessity of day-care, for example, one sees that the authors are not very open in their attitudes toward other possible "lieux de socialisation". Even the school is not mentioned directly, and with their references to the falling birth rate and the incidence of divorce (par. 30) the authors leave little space for forms of the family which depart from their norms.

Other "structures" mentioned in Le Peuple Québécois are the Quebec people, the "collectivité francophone", the anglophone community, the "collectivités autochtones", and other "ethno-cultural" groups. The

authors make a distinction between two perspectives in which these groupings may be considered -- that of the Canadian mosaic, and that of "la communauté québécoise" (par. 9). They seem to opt for the Quebec perspective, even though they do not affirm it unambiguously, concluding that one cannot speak of a Quebec people without including all its components (par. 10).

Political Structures

In Le Peuple Québécois the authors make reference to the British North America Act, to the federal system, and to Quebec as part of the Canadian confederation. They do not deal with the sharing of powers in this federal system. The word "état" is not used, and the words "government" and "power" are confined to one paragraph dealing in general terms with the union of peoples. The primary word used in speaking of Quebec is "peuple". There is mention of the relations of Quebec with the rest of Canada, but there is no sign of another "people" which might enter into, or is already in, partnership with the Quebec people. The thesis of two founding nations is nowhere in evidence in the political and constitutional analysis of the bishops.

In Construire ensemble one finds more references to governments and to the state, which, although general, nevertheless give an idea of the vision of "l'état" promoted by the bishops. The responsibilities of this state are "la gestion des biens" and "la poursuite de la justice sociale" (par. 24). Thus the authors have a positive attitude toward state intervention in economic life, and in other sectors where there

has been unequal access, such as in education or health services, and this attitude fits in well with the philosophy of "rattrapage" characteristic of the "révolution tranquille". They even have a much more social-democratic vision of the state in regard to its role "de régulation, de planification, de surveillance et de suppléance" and to its duty to control the economy for social ends (par. 24).

Economic Structures

This intervention of the state is made necessary by the failures of the capitalist system. Despite the fact that there is no mention of capitalism in these texts, the argument of Construire ensemble depends in large measure on a critique of capitalism to be found in a message of the Canadian Catholic bishops in Une Société à refaire, 1977.

> Les stratégies du monde industriel sont précisément conçues en vue de produire le maximum de succès et de profit. Pour cette raison, on favorise de manière constante une consommation effrénée des biens. En conséquence, les êtres humains et les ressources naturelles se trouvent soumis à un processus d'exploitation et de destruction (line 160).

It is to be noted that the nefarious aspects of capitalism are located at the level of consumption, rather than at the level of production, as well as in the promotion of materialistic values.

In Construire ensemble the intervention of the state in the economy is limited by the roles of other economic agents. Enterprises, private citizens, corporations, unions and cooperatives, each taking upon itself

its respective responsibility, will produce an atmosphere of "liberté créatrice à travers le pluralisme" (par. 29). Social progress will come about through economic progress (par. 27). But another goal of everyone taking up his or her responsibility is social equilibrium, and here we have one of the key words in the social, economic and political analysis of the authors.

In paragraphs 34-39 of the same document, where a new international order is mentioned, the authors decline to call it a new economic order, and refrain from commenting upon negative impacts of foreign aid upon developing countries.

4.2.8 Identification of Ideologies

From the foregoing analysis the following major ideologies can be discerned in these two texts:

- the ideology of economic and social liberalism (free enterprise, the doctrine of progress, social equilibrium, social evolution)
- the ideology which is represented by the social doctrine of the Catholic Church (private property, the sharing of material wealth, social responsibility, corporatism, the reform of capitalism)
- a social democratic ideology (intervention of the state to counter the negative effects and failures of private capitalism)

- an ideology specific to the "révolution tranquille" (participation, "rattrapage").

Also present are ideological elements of a humanist and "dialogical" nature and those relating to development. There is also an ideologically governed selection from the biblical tradition (peace and unity).

The coherence of this discourse is provided by the junction effected between the liberal, capitalist, ideology and Catholic social doctrine. All the other ideologies and ideological elements are subservient to the values of freedom and progress and those of private property and responsibility.

4.2.9 Counter-ideological and Prophetic Elements

In Le Peuple québécois, with reference to the referendum debate, the bishop's state their belief "that no political or constitutional option ought to be taken as an absolute" and that one and the same faith may inspire people to choose different political options. This appeal for transcendence of political interest is made in the name of the distinction between Caesar and God, between this world and the Kingdom, a doctrine of two realms. They claim that their purpose is to help people see the evangelical implications of the options being proposed in the referendum (par. 4).

The bishops thus communicate the importance of going beyond ideology (as they did explicitly in paragraph 9 of their Déclaration sur la

coopération et le développement of May 1978). Yet there is no open criticism of the two political ideologies confronting one another in the referendum debate (apart from the above-noted tendency (p. 44) to suppress the word "independance" and to associate negative attitudes with "souverainisme"), and no rupture at all with the basic ideology underlying them both, that of liberalism.

The selections from the biblical tradition (pars. 15, 24, Le Peuple québécois) supporting values of peace and unity tend to be more compatible with the federalist position, the independence movement being as it is a source of conflict and disunity in Canadian and Quebec society. As we have seen above (p. 44), biblical material which might have offered support to the autonomist option is not utilized. What have been called "prophetic moments", in the discussion of ideology (p. 19) are not to be found, and there is no counter-ideological position expressed.

4.2.10 Social Practice and Class Interest of the Authors

The texts express a hierarchical vision of the church through many references such as those to the clergy, the bishops of Canada, the Canadian Catholic Conference, the Synod of Rome, the Quebec Assembly of Bishops and the Pope. The image provided of the ecclesiastical structure is that of its dominant minority.

As to possible conclusions which might be drawn concerning the interests of the bishops and their social practice, the documents provide only indications of ideologies promoted implicitly and explicitly.

However, the analysis of the evolution of the class interest of the higher clergy of Quebec made by Gilbert Renaud and Yves Vaillancourt is helpful in this regard. According to these authors, the Quebec episcopate belonged historically to the "petite bourgeoisie traditionnelle", a class which experienced the révolution tranquille in a negative way. [6] (The church's opposition to educational reform would be a notable example). The bishops, nevertheless, had digested its implications by the late sixties. [7] Their vision of the church was also much influenced by positions adopted at the Second Vatican Council. As the clergy became more and more the salaried employees of the institutional church (or of the state), they became part of the "nouvelle petite bourgeoisie technocratique" which had a large stake in the quiet revolution, and tended to see the positive side of the changes and reforms. There also developed a certain "virage" particularly in the dioceses of Hull, St-Jérôme and Saint-Jean, toward the social democratic values being expressed elsewhere in Quebec society. [8]

This trend was adopted (or co-opted) by the leaders of the church, as the decade of the seventies progressed, in the face of socialist and Marxist ideologies which became far more prominent during the early seventies in the discourse of the union movement in Quebec, in the many

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[6] Gilbert Renaud and Yves Vaillancourt, La Social - démocratie et les militants chrétiens (Montreal: Réseau des Politisés Chrétiens, 1978), pp. 54-55.

[7] Renaud and Vaillancourt, pp. 66-67.

[8] Ibid., p. 69.

varieties of Marxist political groups and parties, and, to a certain extent, in Catholic milieux where there existed a positive Christian evaluation of socialism and support for theologies of liberation. [9]

Historically, however, the "petite bourgeoisie" of Quebec had entertained relations now of opposition to (as in, and leading up to, the rebellion of 1837-38), now of collaboration with (as in the century from 1850 to 1950), the British, English-Canadian, American, or French-Canadian capitalist class -- the "grande bourgeoisie". Though the ideology promoted by the Catholic Church of Quebec during the latter period was a conservative and defensive nationalism [10] in which many of the values of the liberal ideology espoused by this economically dominant class were rejected, the interest of the church was to collaborate and thereby retain its ideological dominance within the province. [11] Even though, as during the Great Depression of the thirties this church questioned capitalism, and proposed the "third way" of corporatism, it never opposed in any fundamental way the power of the economic elite, or the economic system it controlled.

In the same way these documents, though they give expression to a social democratic ideology, raise no fundamental question about the ability of the capitalist system to meet the goals of the liberal society,

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[9] Renaud and Vaillancourt, pp. 114-115.

[10] Monière, p. 364.

[11] See Monière, pp. 157-158.

nor about its compatibility with Christianity. Neither is there any sign of awareness expressed that the statements may give expression to ideologies serving the interests of the "grande bourgeoisie".

4.3 The Analytical Model and the Anglican, Presbyterian and United Church Texts

Our conclusion from the foregoing example is that the proposed method of analysis has been adequate and useful for the critical reading of the texts of the Quebec Catholic bishops. It is this model which will be applied in analyzing the texts of the Protestant churches.

In reviewing the texts of the Anglican, Presbyterian, and United Churches available for analysis it becomes clear that there are few, if any, texts similar in character to those of the Quebec bishops (which stand in a long tradition of pastoral letters and messages of substance). What we have instead, in the case of the protestant churches, are reports of committees which are adopted by decision-making bodies; resolutions, and the record in official proceedings of the process of their construction; declarations intended for church members and/or the general public; episcopal addresses to synods; and briefs to government. In the reading of this material the steps of this analytical model have been followed (not necessarily in order). However, given the mass of material, it would be fastidious to rehearse them in detail in every case. There are many instances where there is nothing to be found in a text corresponding to one or more elements of the method. Nevertheless, the

method of analysis presented and applied above will be that which is operative in the following chapters.

Chapter 5

The Anglican Church of Canada

In the present chapter we will examine texts documenting discourse of the Anglican Church of Canada in the period under review. In chapters 6 and 7 respectively we will consider texts emanating from the Presbyterian and United Churches. Certain of the documents predate the October crisis, and such is the case with the first text to be examined, a brief originating with the Anglican Diocese of Montreal concerning legislation intended to transform the school system on the Island of Montreal.

5.1 Bill 62: Unifying School Boards

Tabled in October 1969, the legislation in question would have implemented certain recommendations of the Parent Commission.[1] The final volume of the Parent Report, published in 1966, had recommended an administrative structure for the school system with three levels: a school committee with representation of parents, to be the watch-dog of educational quality and with special responsibility for religious and moral instruction; a unified neutral school commission providing

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[1] La Commission royale d'enquête sur l'enseignement dans la province du Québec, presided by Alphonse M. Parent, created by the Lesage government in 1961.

services required by the population of a given territory, in French or in English, for Catholic, Protestant, or other clientèles; and a "conseil de développement scolaire", covering the several school commissions of an administrative region with the mandate to rationalize development, standardize taxation, control finances, assure equality of opportunity, and negotiate collective agreements.[2]

The autumn of 1969 was full of difficulties for the Bertrand government, among them the situation in St-Léonard, a municipality with a francophone majority, and a large Italian minority which tended to enroll its children in English Catholic schools. The school commission had in 1968 decided that the language of instruction in all grade one classes would be French, resulting in demonstrations, riots, and the creation of private, English, grade one classes. To deal with this continuing problem the government presented in 1969, its famous "Loi pour promouvoir la langue française au Québec", or Bill 63, which guaranteed freedom of choice as to language of instruction, and Bill 62. Bill 63 in particular was seen as a sell-out of French interests and greeted by demonstrations of protest. Such was the atmosphere in which the Anglican brief on Bill 62 was prepared.

5.1.1 The Argument of the Brief

The brief's broad stated purpose is to "participate in the building

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[2] La Population québécoise face à la restructuration scolaire, Guy Pelletier and Claude Lessard, (Montreal: Guérin, 1982), pp. 8-9.

of the Ouebec of tomorrow", [3] but it also has an implicit, unavowed, objective as the intervention of an interested party, schooling being organized on a confessional basis in Ouebec. The brief accepts the bill's goal of reducing the number of school boards, but instead of the eleven boards proposed, each having its own English and French pedagogical structures, the authors argue for thirteen school commissions divided on a linguistic basis (nine French and four English), each offering the confessional options of Roman Catholic, Protestant, and "other", thus adopting one of the major recommandations of the Pagé Report.[4] These proposed separate structures are to be of an interim nature, as the authors favour gradual unification. They argue that just as the French majority must protect its language and culture amid the pressures of Canadian and North American society, through educational institutions guaranteed by law, so the English-speaking minority must have similarly guaranteed structures during the process of unification. The legislation does not, in the authors' view, provide the means to deliver what Bill 63 had guaranteed, namely, freedom of choice for all parents as to the language of instruction of their children.

Recognizing the legitimate role of the state in education the brief defends the local autonomy of school boards and calls for greater

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[3] A Brief Concerning Bill 62, submitted to the Standing Parliamentary Committee on Education, The National Assembly of Quebec, by the Diocese of Montreal of the Anglican Church of Canada, January 30, 1970, p. 1.

[4] The Conseil de restructuration scolaire de l'Ile de Montréal under the presidency of Joseph L. Pagé recommended such a solution to the Union nationale government in 1968, French boards to administer Catholic and pluralist schools, English boards, Protestant, English Catholic, and pluralist schools. Rapport au Ministre de l'Education, 1968, p. 120.

elective representation of these boards on the Island School Council, the coordinating mechanism which, the authors agree, should see to the equalization of opportunity, oversee quality, own the real estate, and levy taxes. The proposed role of school committees, if elected by parents and other adult members of the community served by the school, as suggested by the Parent Commission, is approved.

Other notable points are the approval of provisions giving Jews an other non-Christians the right to participate in school elections and hold office; the plea that immigrants shoud have the same choices as the native born, including that of language of instruction; and the acceptance of provisions for "other" schools, including presumably those confessionally neutral.

5.1.2 Vocabulary

The brief makes pointed use of the possessive pronoun -- Ouebec is "our" home, and "our" forebears played their part in its development. Words which suggest a gradualist approach abound: "progressive unification" and "step-by-step process". Society is seen as "pluralistic" and "pluralism" is considered to be one of the hallmarks of "urban" civilization. The age is one of "mobility and inter-dependence"; North America is a "rapidly evolving interdependent technological society" where education should allow students to "move freely" within the Canadian and North American context. The authors believe in "bilingualism", viewing as one aim of the Quebec system the formation of "functionally bilingual citizens".

5.1.3 What is Not Said

There is no direct reference to the Judaeo-Christian tradition and only fleeting references to the role of the churches, to the affinity of Anglicans with the Catholic tradition,[5] and to the importance of religious and moral instruction.[6] Further, there is no mention of the interest of the Anglican Church in confessional education, nor any reference to constitutional guarantees of the latter in the British North America Act.

5.1.4 Social, Economic and Political Structures

While focussing on the province of Quebec, the brief does so in the context of Canadian and North American urban technological society. It identifies the English-French dualism in Quebec, but within a pluralistic society, with pointed references to immigrants.

Though it is partisan of local autonomy it recognizes the limits set to this autonomy by the state, whose role is seen as that of assuring overall social and educational justice.

Reference is made to the world of work in the endorsement of French as the working language of the province, and to the Gendron

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[5] Brief Concerning Bill 62, p. 2.

[6] Ibid., p. 8.

Commission[7] whose mandate was to inquire into this matter. Labour relations, contract negotiations and the "Provincial Collective Agreement" are mentioned with respect to the powers of school boards. In commenting on the Island Council the authors give their views on elections, the power of taxation, and so on. In short it is a brief that displays a marked awareness of what is going on in the society, but which expresses little or no suspicion of educational institutions as agencies of social control reproducing the established social order.

5.1.5 The Ideological Dimension

Two elements which stand out in this brief are bilingualism and pluralism. With respect to neither is there evidence of sensitivity to the contentious issue of freedom of choice for immigrants, which meant in most cases an automatic opting for English schooling, a question which was plaguing vocal segments of the French community. To preach uncritically pluralism and bilingualism in such a context, without reference to this reality, must be considered expression of an ideology openly contested in the society, and left the church open to the charge that immigrants were being used as a screen for English self-interest, in that losing the immigrant clientèle would mean fewer jobs for English teachers and administrators. Nor did the fact that the brief's position is, in general terms, very close to those of

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[7] La Commission d'enquête sur la situation du français et sur les droits linguistiques au Québec, presided by Jean-Denis Gendron, created by the Bertrand government in 1968.

other major voices of anglophone self-interest, among them the Protestant School Board of Greater Montreal, serve to attenuate this impression. [8]

The gradualist approach promoted is, as well as a means of easing the pain of social change, a way of allowing the status quo to continue, and is therefore also one of the ideological elements in the text.

One instance of what could be considered non-ideological discourse is the acceptance of blame for the existence of "two solitudes", for lack of initiative in the use of French, and for "our slowness to promote equality of economic opportunity", [9] a clear reference to the social responsibility of the Anglican Church with respect to the economic power which had been, and was still, in the hands of Anglican members of the business elite, and a hint of awareness of underlying historic economic and social injustice.

5.2 Social Change

The social awareness characterizing this text is picked up in Bishop R.K. Maguire's episcopal address to the Montreal diocesan synod of 1970, which directed the church's attention to challenges awaiting it in the seventies. The following comments concern living

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[8] See L'Opinion des organismes montréalais face aux projets de loi 62 et 28: Analyse de leur discours idéologique, Pierre Beaulieu, (Conseil Scolaire de l'Ile de Montréal, 1975).

[9] Brief concerning Bill 62, p. 2.

as a minority:

> There is no doubt that in the midst of these changes some English-speaking Quebecers feel threatened and wonder about their future here... What often fails to be appreciated with sufficient sensitivity is the very real threat which our French-speaking brothers see to their language and culture in this vast North American continent ... In an interview ... I found myself saying ... the questions were questions which would lead one to speak defensively or aggressively from an "English stand point" rather than as a Quebecer ... Much as we treasure our own culture, nevertheless if it so happened that the influence of French culture in our society declined sharply I believe we would be the first to recognize that our Quebec style of life had been sadly impoverished. [10]

It is clear from statements such as the above that the question of Quebec is conceived in terms of a threat to the language and culture of French Canadians. There is no expressed awareness of any historic injustice, or any economic dimension of such injustice, much less of any English responsibility for it which leads one to suspect that the text is functioning "ideologically" so as to make invisible the economic dimension. Nevertheless the perspective adopted is one which sees Quebec as a distinct society, and Anglicans as part of its English minority.

Though rapid social change is a theme of the above address, no one could have foreseen the form its next major acceleration would take -- the kidnappings of Robert Cross and Pierre Laporte.

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[10] Proceedings, 111th Annual Synod of the Diocese of Montreal, 1970, pp. 21-22.

5.3 The Aftermath of Crisis

At the height of the October crisis of 1970 the churches spoke collectively through the Canadian Council of Churches [11] and the Anglican Church, as a member of the Council subscribed to that declaration of concern. At the level of its own discourse, however, at the General Synod held in January 1971, the event is avoided, or at any rate not mentioned, and the only reference remotely connected with Quebec and its evolution is to a resolution of the 1969 General Synod expressing appreciation of "the contributions made by Canadians of French origin to the cultural and spiritual heritage of our country". [12]

Closer to the action the Anglican Church in Quebec was reflecting more profoundly on the matter. The following is a vision put forward at the Montreal synod of 1971:

> Our aim is to be authentically the Body of Christ in society: in the rural and urban situation; in all the complexity of today's world. We must aim at authenticity in our role in the new developing Quebec ... The "Church" cannot be identified with even the outward ways of life of its own people in any one culture or period of time. Whenever we have become wedded to some "fixed point of view" Church becomes obsolete and fails Christ ... In the society of our day we must be prepared to bless new forms of life, living experiences, social and economic ordering ... [13]

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[11] A Statement Issued by the Canadian Council of Churches, October 19th, 1970, in Man Fully Alive, Report of the Board of Evangelism (Toronto: United Church of Canada, 1971), pp. 229-230.

[12] Journal of Proceedings, 26th General Synod, the Anglican Church of Canada, January 1971, p. 179.

[13] Proceedings of the 112th Annual Synod of the Diocese of Montreal, 1971, pp. 23-24.

> "There is no stopping place in this life -- no, nor was there ever one for any man no matter how far along his way he had gone. This above all then, be ready at all times for the gifts of God, and always for new ones." [14]

Along with an emphasis on unity in diversity, including a reference to Saint Paul who wrote "about there being neither Jew nor Greek, neither bond nor free, but we are all one in Christ",[15] we have here the encouragement of a positive outlook on life in Quebec, and an openness to what is new, even in the economic order. Again there is no acknowledgement of any historic injustice. Nevertheless, the message is one of acceptance of the present situation which is marked by a continuing transfer of power to the French majority.

5.4 Bill 65: Reform of Social and Health Services

In the Bourassa government which came to power in April 1970 the first person to occupy the position of minister of Social Affairs was Claude Castonguay, co-author of the Castonguay-Nepveu Commission Report on health and social services in Quebec. After the many changes of the "révolution tranquille" introduced by the Liberal government of Jean Lesage, notably the reform of education of the mid-sixties, it was now the turn of the new Liberal government to continue the process. One of its major initiatives was the sweeping reform proposed in Bill 65.

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[14] Meister Eckhart cited in episcopal charge, Proceedings, 1971. p.24.

[15] Ibid., p. 23.

5.4.1 The Argument of the Anglican Brief on Bill 65

The authors of the brief,[16] who display great familiarity with the existing health and social service delivery system, are in agreement with the goal of making health and social services accessible to the total population of Quebec, with the redistribution of resources and decentralization of services it would entail, but reject the centralization of control as proposed in the bill. They recommend more autonomy for local community service centres, hospitals, social service centres, reception centres (such as residences for the elderly), and the regional Social Affairs bureaux (which became the presently existing Regional Councils of Health and Social Services) defined in the legislation. In their fear of uniformity as a result of too centralized a process of decision-making, and their concern for meaningful grass-roots participation, they suggest the election of citizens' and clients' representatives to the boards of all these categories of institutions. A plea is made for the preservation of private and voluntary initiative to respond to needs as they arise, and the encouragement of such initiative by permitting the continued existence of publicly subsidized private services.

With regard to individual rights the brief is critical of the bill, claiming that the access it gives to the Minister or Regional Bureaux to personal files without consent endangers "the tradition

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[16] Brief and Recommendations Concerning Bill No. 65, submitted to the Committee on Public Bills of the National Assembly of Quebec by the Church and Community Concerns Division, Board of Programming, the Synod of the Diocese of Montreal of the Anglican Church of Canada, October 12th, 1971.

of privileged communication essential to therapeutic care". [17] An affirmation of the right of the individual to consult the professional of his choice is also demanded, along with a mechanism of appeal for citizens believing themselves unfairly treated. [18]

5.4.2 Ideological Dimensions

The notable elements in the brief are that of participative democracy and citizen control of services, and that of human rights and freedoms. The concern of the brief is to humanize an overdue overhaul of Quebec's social and health service delivery system; it does not question the social control functions of this system.

There is a hint that the authors are well aware of the risks for privileged groups in a reform promising equitable distribution of resources throughout the province. They fear that the proposed categories of institutions will be unable to retain enough independence to offer not only different types of services, but also, of "distinctive quality". [19] It is a concern that is understandable on the part of members of an English community that had prided itself on the presumed (and often actual) superiority of its services to those that had been

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[17] Brief and Recommandations Concerning Bill No. 65, p. 4.

[18] Ibid., pp. 4, 6.

[19] Ibid., p. 4.

available in the French community.[20]

The many criticisms and recommendations are made without challenging the dominant ideology in so far as it condones the social control function of the state. Yet how to reconcile the growing self-understanding of one's group as a minority within Quebec, and the new acceptance of the rights of the majority, with legitimate protest against the world wide phenomenon of the all-powerful and omnipresent state at the service of ... whom?

5.5 Bill 28: Back to the School Boards

Bill 62 of the Bertrand government, concerning which an Anglican brief was analyzed above (p. 59 ff), had died on the order paper when the election that brought the Liberals back to power in 1970 was called. Reducing the number of school boards on the Island of Montreal and thereby eliminating, or at least limiting, the power of some of them, notably la Commission des Ecoles Catholiques de Montréal, and the Protestant School Board of Greater Montreal, remained, however, an important goal of the relatively new (1965) Ministry of Education. Inevitably the Bourassa government produced its own version of this

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[20] An attitude exemplified by the president of the Montreal Board of Trade who declared to the National Assembly's committee studying Bill 62: "Vous ne viendrez pas chercher nos écoles, plus belles que les vôtres, que nous nous sommes payés en gagnant des salaires plus élevés parce que nous avons étudié davantage que vous." Cited in Pelletier and Lessard, p. 18.

legislation which differed so little from the original that the Anglican Diocese of Montreal was content, for the most part to remind the government of what had been said about Bill 62.

Among the recommendations is the study of a possible reduction of the number of boards foreseen in the new bill (11) to reduce the number of minority situations and the better to coordinate services. Once again a gradualist approach is proposed -- the Island Council to be created first, followed by unification of boards (possibly by way of linguistic divisions) and parallel linguistic pedagogical systems to be set up under each board were unification to take place immediately. [21]

The brief is marked by an acceptance of the inevitable. Existing disproportionate allocation of resources, favouring the largest school commissions, among them the English (or Protestant) boards, is clearly indefensible in the view of the authors. There is therefore acceptance of government intervention in an area where, for such a long time, local school commissions had enjoyed virtual autonomy. At the level of educational philosophy as well there is acceptance of the legislation as conforming to the progressive vision of education in the liberal society of the sixties, and its parallel in the churches in religious education. We find the key phrases: "new ways of learning and living together"; "participate together in decision-making and the sharing of

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[21] Ultimately in 1972 a law instituting six Catholic school commissions and two Protestant was adopted.

common tasks"; allowing the school independence encouraging "flexibility and experimentation in seeking to meet the needs of all its pupils".

There is agreement that improving the educational system is a necessary and worthy goal, and a notable lack of critique of the function of schools in sorting out pupils to afterward insert them into their "appropriate" socio-economic levels. In avoiding such criticism,[22] or in suppressing any awareness of it, the brief takes on an ideological dimension -- the present educational goals of society need no fundamental revision. All that is necessary is to tinker with the existing machinery so that all students have access to the existing educational apparatus -- which is given the approval of the church.

5.6 A Shift of Scene to the National Level

The first major question regarding Quebec to find its way on to the agenda[23] of the governing body of the Anglican Church of Canada was that of the James Bay Hydro-Electric Development Project, which had been announced with great fanfare by Premier Robert Bourassa in April 1971. He promised Quebecers 100 000 jobs as a result of this project and a massive boost to the Quebec economy.

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[22] Such as that to be found in Ecole et luttes de classes au Québec (Ste-Foy: Centrale de l'enseignement du Québec, 1974), pp. 17-55. See also L'Ecole au service de la classe dominante, (Ste-Foy: CEQ, 1972).

[23] Committee of Concern, James Bay: Report of Liaison Officer to the 26th General Synod of the Anglican Church of Canada, 1973, Journal of Proceedings, pp. 46-47.

A huge tract of northern Quebec was to be affected - over 133 000 square miles or one-fifth of the province in area. This land was to be controlled by the James Bay Development Corporation set up in 1971 for the purpose. Hydro-electric development was in the hands of the James Bay Energy Corporation. The original plans were gargantuan, involving seven major rivers. The development of the La Grande River, which alone went ahead to completion involved four power houses, four dams (LG 1, 2, 3, and 4), three reservoirs, and numerous other structures.

The land drained by these rivers, being the traditional lands of the Cree and Inuit, the native peoples of the region were quick to react. A federal grant made possible the ecological studies of the James Bay Task Force which, after its investigations in the summer of 1972, concluded that without modification ecosystems of the region would suffer irreparable damage, and that the native population dependent on hunting and trapping for food and income would be adversely affected.

Negotiations were begun with the government and when they broke down the native peoples went to court to seek an interlocutory injunction stopping the work. The long hearing which ensued resulted in the landmark decision of Justice Malouf to grant the injunction.

As in other causes of the same type where resource development has threatened the traditional way of life of native peoples, and when those people have had the occasion to speak out, be heard, and fight back, fundamental differences in attitudes to the land and its ownership and use held by aboriginal peoples and "Europeans", French or English, soon

became evident. There was a sense of shock when the Malouf decision upheld the native people's arguments. The technological progress of the new Quebec, trying to keep its "quiet revolution" going (and afloat economically) had met an obstacle -- ironically, a people defending its collective rights.

The resolutions adopted on this question direct the church's national executive to do three things:

> 1) to urge the people of Canada to recognize and respect the inalienable rights of the native peoples of Canada to continue in their chosen way of life, and to maintain and preserve; to strengthen and hold their culture traditions and language.
>
> 2) to express its grave concern to the Government of the Province of Quebec in respect to the position of the people indigenous to the James Bay area affected by the hydro development and request that the Provincial Government pay heed to the desires and claims of these people.
>
> 3) to remind the Government of Canada of their moral obligation to recognize and respect aboriginal rights of the peoples indigenous to this country.[24]

It is the traditional language of approach to government. Correct and polite, the church urges, expresses concern, reminds, and requests. Yet it is not empty rhetoric, a measure of the church's concern being the appointment of the liaison officer and the creation of the Committee of

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[24] Journal of Proceedings, pp. M-51, M-52.

Concern made up of diocesans who are either directly affected or who are otherwise involved in the life of Quebec. Here we have an acceptance of the notion of collective rights. Whether the Anglican Church remained consistent in its discourse with regard to collective rights will be seen as the decade proceeds and the situation in Quebec unfolds.

5.7 Legislating Language: Bill 22

The Liberal Bourassa government was re-elected in 1973 with a vast majority. The total opposition in the National Assembly was reduced to six members representing the Parti Ouébécois while the Union Nationale had been eliminated as a political force in the province. This situation, recognized as unhealthy by various segments of the population brought about the development of an "extra-parliamentary" opposition led by the major Quebec union organizations, with which bitter battles had already been fought, none more so than during the Common Front strike of 1972, in the course of which the presidents of the Confédération des syndicats nationaux, the Centrale de l'enseignement du Québec and the Fédération des travailleurs du Québec were sentenced to long prison terms. However, in the Official Language Act, put forward as Bill 22 in the spring of 1974, the government was playing to its strength -- a wide consensus in the francophone community that intervention was needed to protect the language. The bill straight-forwardly made French the official language of the province.

The brief to be examined [25] was submitted by the Bishop of Montreal with the support of all Anglican bishops exercising any part of their jurisdiction within Quebec (a collective action which had its beginnings in the church's James Bay project).

5.7.1 The Argument

While recognizing the need to protect the French language, and the appropriateness of declaring it the primary language in the life of Quebec, the brief suggests certain changes to the law. Amendments are suggested to give the English version of official documents equal validity with the French, to eliminate any kind of discrimination against non-francophones by and within the public service. In the world of work there is approval of provisions for the use of English in collective bargaining and in consumer contracts, as well as for subsidies to firms meeting francisization requirements (with a caveat concerning a provision to give them preference in the awarding of government contracts). In the domain of education, where the bill limits access to English schooling to children with an adequate knowledge of the language, the authors demand explicit recognition of the right of parents, including immigrants, to choose the language of instruction for their children. The brief also expresses concern that, while anglophones are assured that the government will require competence in

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[25] A Brief on Bill 22 submitted to the Parliamentary Committee on Education, Cultural Affairs and Communications On Behalf of the Anglican Church of Canada in the Province of Quebec. By the Rt. Rev. Kenneth Maguire, Bishop of Montreal, June 10th, 1974.

French of those who receive their schooling in English, French parents may be deprived of rights in that the bill demands no corresponding competence in English of children educated in French. After raising such concerns as the need for greater democracy at the level of the Régie de la langue française, the authors focus on an article touching regulations for the application of the law (to be published later), claiming that because Bill 22 affects basic human rights and acquired language rights, these should be safeguarded in the law itself, and their fate not left to the regulations and those who apply them.

5.7.2 Analysis

The word "rights" is present throughout. For the most part we have here the vocabulary of individual human rights, though collective rights are recognized in references to the right to collective bargaining and to the "hard won rights" of the francophone community in the field of language. "Bilingualism" is a key word to be found in the preamble. The brief avoids mentioning the words "official language" even when naming the law in question. It recognizes, instead, French as the "primary language" of government, professional bodies, labour, business, and education.

References to social, economic, and political structures are many in that the brief comments on provisions affecting public administration, labour relations, professions, consumers, business and government contracts, but there is no questioning of any of these structures as

such. The dualism, French majority/English minority, is recognized but always in the context of a wider more comprehensive society. Citizens of Quebec are seen as Canadians: "Our hope is that Canadians of French and English and other ethnic backgrounds may share increasingly in the rich cultural and linguistic heritage of this province." [26]

An ideological element is the uncritical promotion of bilingualism, without reference to the opposing ideological position which sees it as a threat to French language and culture and as the road to assimilation· "the development of the French language will not be brought about by measures which restrict and discourage the use and teaching of English. Quebec, we believe, will be enriched only by a genuine bilingualism".[27] The discourse on human rights is difficult to evaluate in this instance, but as we will see it is a constant theme in the texts of the churches. There is here no confrontation of a possible incompatibility of individual rights with certain collective rights and vice versa. There is also an implicit reference to reconciliation, another common theme in these documents: "We make our brief in a deep concern for our Province and a desire to see its people reconciled to rather than alienated from one another." [28]

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[26] A Brief on Bill 22, p. 4.

[27] Ibid., p. 1

[28] Ibid., p. 4

5.8 The Anglican Church of Canada Comes to Quebec

In 1975 the Anglican General Synod was held in the city of Quebec. In the course of this meeting an opportunity for delegates to get a taste of the Quebec reality was provided. The sole reference concerning Quebec in the Proceedings, outside of an update on James Bay, is to this weekend experience:

> An integral part of the program was an ecumenical weekend, an event organized by the host diocese and the Roman Catholic Archdiocese of Quebec. All Synod delegates had been invited to spend the weekend as guests of French-Canadian Roman Catholic families and religious communities in the Quebec City area, as an occasion to show together the cultural, bilingual and spiritual diversities that form so important a part of the Canadian mosaic.

The French-Canadian hosts, who were present at this point in the Synod, were welcomed by the Primate who thanked them for the warm hospitality, emphasizing that the event had been "a significant milestone in Canadian Church life". [29]

A resolution was adopted later in the Synod which said in part

> We have been profoundly inspired by this expression of fraternal love in the Spirit of Christ and we pray that by the same Spirit we may be drawn "Together in Christ".[30]

Here again we have expression of major themes in the church's discourse:

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[29] Journal of Proceedings, The Anglican Church of Canada, 27th Session, General Synod, Quebec, 1975, p. M-21.

[30] Ibid., p. M-47.

pluralism from a Canadian perspective (the Canadian mosaic); bilingualism; and reconciliation (fraternal love, drawn together in Christ).

5.9 The Anglican Church Meets the Parti Québécois

When the Parti Québécois came to power (unexpectedly for many people) in November 1976, the euphoric emotion, widespread in the francophone community, which infected even opponents of the "P.Q.", was accompanied by a corresponding state of shock in anglophone circles. Preoccupation was renewed in the church with what was known in Quebec as the national question. With the publication of the new government's Charter of the French Language, or Bill 1, in the spring of 1977, the church had to react:

> We cannot afford to be a silent minority. We must speak out together. We must speak with reason and avoid emotional angry response ... The use of education to attain political ends is deplorable. The attempt to restrict immigration (for if there is a denial of access to English schooling that will be the result) can only impoverish our province... Our aim is to raise the questions of human rights and freedoms that must be asked if we are to have a good society here in Quebec.[31]

Honest and open as to Anglican self-interest, this text makes human rights, the rights of the minority, the issue. It is not clear whether these rights are individual or collective. What is clear is that the

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[31] Proceedings, 118th Synod of the Diocese of Montreal, 1977, p. 19.

majority is considered to have no right to limit access to English schooling. Gone is advice to the faithful to be "ready for the gifts of God and always for new ones". Bill 1 is evidently not from God.

There follows a declaration of "our" place in the province:

> Quebec is not just a French province. How can it be a French province when there are more Anglophones than in six of the other provinces that make up this country? I am not speaking of just the English language, but of an Anglo culture that has contributed to this province. We as a church have been part of that ever since September 14th, 1760, when the first Anglican service was held in Montreal. The English minority is not a colony of newcomers, nor are we of insignificant numbers. We belong in Quebec, we still have a contribution to make to Quebec. [32]

Absent is any recognition that the Anglican Church arrived with, and under the protection of, the British Armies of the Conquest, nor any apparent awareness of colonial policies of immigration, from which that church benefited, designed to make French-Canadians a minority.

5.10 Bill 1: La Charte de la langue française

La Charte de la langue française was introduced by Camille Laurin, minister of Cultural Affairs in the first Levesque cabinet, who represented the more frankly nationalist wing of the Parti Québécois, and who considered the "reconquest" of control over their language and culture as a necessary part in the affirmation of Québécois identity. He was to become a most unpopular, if not hated, figure in the

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[32] Proceedings, 1977, p. 19.

anglophone community, the symbol of all that anglophones considered to be wrong with Quebec nationalism in general and the Parti Québécois in particular. In response to this legislative initiative, the Anglican Diocese of Montreal, once again in consultation with Anglican bishops having jurisdiction in Quebec, presented a brief. [33]

5.10.1 The Argument

After presenting the credentials of the Anglican Church in Quebec (its 200 year history), its positive attitude toward the social and cultural revolution, and its fear that the Bill will have the effect of mongrelizing the French milieu, the brief stresses the Christian doctrine of the uniqueness and worth of every person, in contrast to the legislation which puts principle above people and infringes upon human rights. It is quick to point out that the preamble, in which French is declared to have been "depuis toujours la langue du peuple québécois" should read "language of the majority of the Quebec people", and excludes anglophones and native peoples (the latter having a prior claim to the land).

Yet what is remarkable about the brief, in contrast to that on Bill 22, is the acceptance of most of the provisions. The only protest concerning the provision making French the language of legislation and

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[33] A Brief on Bill 1 submitted to Parliamentary Committee on Bill 1, on behalf of the Anglican Church of Canada in the Province of Quebec by all the Bishops who exercise jurisdiction within the Province of Quebec, June 1, 1977.

the courts is that there is no provision for an interpreter in court, and that church registers ought to be considered official if kept in English or a native language. In the section on public administration there is only a demand for internationally recognized road signs. As to health and social services there is concern for clients faced with unilingual signs and verbal directions. Only one minor reservation is expressed with respect to French as the language of the workplace, as is the case with the language of business. This is not surprising, first, in so far as it reflects a gradual de facto acceptance since 1974 of French as the official language, but also because the heart of the argument has to do with the language of education.

The Bill restricts access to English schooling to the children of a parent who received his or her primary education in Quebec, and to children who have a brother or sister in English school in Quebec on the date of its proclamation, or a father or mother, resident in Quebec when the law comes into effect, who received a primary education in English outside Quebec. Language tests are thereby done away with. However, the authors of the brief, in addition to desiring clarification of these complicated restrictions, promote the principle that "the children of all Canadian citizens one of whose parents received their elementary education in English will be permitted to go to English schools",[34] the so-called Canada clause.

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[34] A Brief on Bill 1, p. 4.

Clarification of the section giving the right to English schooling to personnel temporarily resident in Quebec is requested, and, while approving provisions giving native peoples the right to receive instruction in their own languages, demands for them the choice of either French or English as a second language. The brief also focuses attention on a section which would make the bill predominant over the provincial Charter of Human Rights and Freedoms. A theological concluding comment is followed by the same summary which ended the brief on Bill 22.

5.10.2 Analysis

The purpose of the brief is to express the church's concern about certain sections of the proposed law. Strikingly, it contains none of the vocabulary of protest. Its language rather gives the impression of calm acceptance of the purpose and intent of the bill, while reacting with suggestions for its amelioration. Beyond the comment that the first article (making French the official language) gives the impression that Quebec is already separate from Canada -- a comment not made about the Liberal Bill 22 which contained the identical article -- the brief gives no sign of opposition to the péquiste government.

What the brief does not say is, however, illuminating in this regard. There is, for example, no mention of the section on fundamental rights which assures Quebecers that the public administration, health and social services, enterprises of public utility, professionals, unions, and various companies operating in Quebec will communicate with

him or her in French. That the fundamental right of a French person to be addressed in French in a province 85% francophone in 1977 has to be assured by legislation would surely have been worthy of comment had the focus of the brief not been adjusted exclusively to English rights. There is likewise no comment on the paragraph of the preamble which puts the legislation within "le mouvement universel de revalorisation des cultures nationales qui confère à chaque peuple l'obligation morale d'apporter une contribution particulière à la communauté internationale". [35]

Apart from a reminder of the socio-economic diversity of the Anglican Church -- "Many of our members are from the working class"[36] -- there are few references to social and economic realities. It is clear, however, that the "revolution" in Quebec is seen as social and cultural, and not political (much less economic).

At the ideological level the brief introduces a new argument. The authors express the concern that the Bill will disrupt francophone culture, making it a "pot pourri" with the introduction into the French milieu and school system of people from non-francophone cultures. [37] The same phenomenon (in this case the integration of non-anglophones) would have -- and has -- "disrupted" anglophone culture. It would

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[35] Projet de loi no. 1, Charte de la langue française, première lecture, (Editeur officiel du Québec, 27 avril 1977), p. 1.

[36] Brief on Bill 1, p. 2

[37] Ibid., p. 1.

implicitly then be acceptable for anglophone but not for francophone culture. Subtly, the immigrants are being used once again to justify the status quo.

Another ideological element is found in the comment that a section concerning the marketing of toys displays a need to legislate for all contingencies of life and that "our whole view of law is that it is gradual and evolutionary by nature rather than an instrument of instantaneous control", [38] which in itself involves a certain lapse of memory with regard to the instantaneous application of the comprehensive War Measures Act.

Another ideological dimension is more subtle (and ironic). It becomes evident only with the realization that the brief, globally speaking, accepts, and in so doing helps legitimize, the official character of the French language in Quebec.

In its concern for vulnerable members of society who could be hurt by francisization, and for the rights of Inuit and Amerindian, the brief is not using these groups as a screen for Anglican self-interest. It is openly pleading the self-interest of these Anglicans, and therefore the use of these arguments should not be considered ideological.

The selections from the Judaeo-Christian tradition are of interest

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[38] Brief on Bill 1, p. 4.

in that they mark a shift in Anglican discourse since 1970. A "Protestant educational philosophy" [39] is identified, for the first time, along with a reminder of the guarantees for confessional instruction found in Section 93 of the BNA Act, and the importance of confessional education -- gone are the references to "other" schools -- is emphasized. At the same time it constitutes an (unwitting?) defense of English schools, English and Protestant having been, in fact, synonymous in Quebec for generations.

The biblical paradigm of the confusion of tongues at Babel and its reversal at Pentecost, with each person hearing "his own language" [40] is taken as the basis of a principle upholding the unity of mankind while maintaining the linguistic uniqueness of each person. This principle is not explicitly applied to human rights, but individuality in regard to language is thereby given a very high rating.

5.11 National Church and National Unity

At the 1977 General Synod a memorial came forward from the Diocese of Toronto concerning "the crisis of national survival with the possibility of Quebec separation". [41] The preamble of this memorial recognized that the "aspirations" of French-speaking Canadians "have

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[39] Brief on Bill 1, p. 7.

[40] Ibid., p. 7.

[41] Journal of Proceedings, 28th General Synod, the Anglican Church of Canada, August 1977, pp. 176-177.

not always been recognized or understood", and maintained that the Christian ministry of reconciliation "welcomes the concept of unity, with diversity, as part of the plurality in creation". The text of the memorial proper read as follows:

> That the issue of national unity, particularly with respect to the Province of Quebec, be placed on the agenda of the 1977 General Synod with a view to determining the position of the Anglican Church of Canada, and
>
> That a task force be struck to promote actively the concept of one nation by all possible means.

It is fascinating to follow the evolution of this matter at the same Synod. In debate a new resolution was presented as follows:

> That the twenty-eight Synod of the Anglican Church of Canada
> a) reaffirm its commitment to a United Canada from sea to sea
> b) convey a message to the Prime Minister of Canada and the First Ministers of the Province and Territories declaring our concern that the just language rights of all citizens be recognized throughout the Country
> c) appoint a task force to continue consideration and clarification of ways by which the Anglican Church of Canada can contribute to national unity. [42]

The notion of language rights <u>throughout the country</u> is introduced, not surprisingly in view of the perceived threat to English rights in Quebec, but, the reference to Quebec is totally absent.

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[42] <u>Journal of Proceedings</u>, p. 47.

An initial amendment speaking of a "growing sense of national unity brought about through a greater development of social and economic justice for all" was defeated. A second amendment re-introduced the reference to Quebec

> That section (a) be amended to read:
> "That this Synod recognizes and celebrates the coming of age of a new Quebec reality with its consequence of a necessary new pattern in Canadian relationships, and therefore this Synod endorses all efforts being made to ensure that the maturing of this new reality take place in the context of a new Canadian confederation.[43]

When debate resumed later in the Synod this amendment had been withdrawn, a new amendment was adopted and the final version of the first paragraph of the original resolution read:

> Recognize the imperative to search for a true Canadian unity which recognizes both the needs of major cultural groupings to exist within our nation and the rights of minority groups within these cultures.[44]

What becomes clear in this process is the struggle between two definitions of the situation, one of which focuses attention on Quebec, while the other, adopting the vocabulary of Canadian unity, steadfastly refuses to name the major challenge to it. Both approaches stem from a commitment to Canadian unity and federalism. Why then this curious refusal to "name the evil"?

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[43] Journal of Proceedings, p. 48.

[44] Ibid., p. 51.

It appears that the synod wished to put the Quebec question, with its challenge to national unity, first of all in a resolutely pan-Canadian frame of reference. Were there not, after all, other noises about "separation" coming from sources such as Western Canada Concept? But more importantly, the less one refers directly to Quebec in such a context the further one moves away from giving any hint that there exists a fundamental duality in the Canadian confederation, from any hint of two founding nations or peoples. On this hypothesis the vocabulary becomes more abstract, and we return to a realm of unnamed "major cultural groupings" which are perceived to exist within the one nation of Canada, and correspondingly unnamed "minority groups within these cultures". The number and nature of such cultures and minorities is not specified, and there is no indication of any sense of their existence as political entities. Here is the Canadian ethnic mosaic. Whether it is a "vertical mosaic" (John Porter) or not is not at issue. What has become important here is to move as fast and as far as possible from any suggestion that there is any <u>specific</u> quality to the demands of Ouebec and French Canadians.

Nor is it accidental that the Church begins to speak of language rights in this context. Though language rights of French Canadians have been denied or removed in the past without protest from this church, now its own members in Quebec -- including its influential white membership -- are affected. Yet it does not employ the vocabulary of collective rights even with respect to language (it speaks of the language rights of "citizens"). Because collective rights include

such things as the claim to self-determination.

It is notable that all reference to the Judaeo-Christian tradition, even that to the "ministry of reconciliation" in the Toronto memorial, has been dropped. No other doctrine, nor any more "costly" definition of the doctrine of reconciliation, involving an element of judgement calling for repentance (or the turning away from any injustice in relations between French and English) is brought into the church's official discourse.

A task Force on National Unity was later actually formed but was disbanded after a year's work producing a "study kit", in part because of "the change in the national situation since General Synod."[45]

5.12 French- English Relations

A significant coincidence was the decision of the Anglican National Executive Council to set up a Project on French-English Relations and the coming to power of the Parti Québécois in November 1976. A Project Officer was appointed, in January 1977, who began his work of "assisting the Anglican Church of Canada to understand and involve itself at all levels in the cultural and religious content of Quebec and French-Canada".[46] In line with this purpose his report to the same 1977 General Synod sets out to educate and sensitize the church in the area

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[45] Minutes, National Executive Council, Anglican Church of Canada, November 1-3, 1978.

[46] Journal of Proceedings, p. 143.

of French-English relations, with particular reference to Quebec. [47]

The style of this address is sermonic, and as in every proper sermon there is a text, a very sober text quoted from Bruce Hutchison's Canada - The Unknown Country, which speaks of "two bloods, French and English, slow to be reconciled in one body ... we have not learned our own proud story not tested our own strength. But ... now our time is come and if not grasped will be lost forever". [48]

In his introduction the author treats the subject of Canadian unity, defining it out of the perspective which lost out in the above discussion of national unity namely, that of the "Quebec-Canada debate". He begins by presenting to Synod the present-day Quebec, its regional distinctions, its far from monolithic French-speaking majority and English-speaking minority, its other ethnic groups and native peoples. The author is clearly speaking of a distinct society, albeit within Canada. On the recent provincial election:

> it would be a tragic mistake for Canadians to confuse the aims of the hard core of the Parti Québécois with the commitment of all French-Canadians to their own identity as a people. [49]

The author is at pains to show the variety and multiplicity of political

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[47] "The Church in Quebec", Report to General Synod on French-English Relations, R.M. Turpin, n.d., polycopied text.

[48] Ibid., p. 1.

[49] Ibid., p. 2.

tendencies in Quebec both inside and outside the governing party. He underlines the sense of many French Canadians that they are one of the "founding races" of Canada "never having voluntarily accepted the present federal arrangement" [50]

After comments on the French-speaking Roman Catholic Church, and on other churches and religious communities in Quebec, including an explanation of the churches' role in the development of the "Two Solitudes" he outlines the major challenges before the Anglican Church in the province. First are pastoral considerations, helping Anglicans and others to adapt to "a more distinctive French Quebec". Second are opportunities to bear witness to the Gospel and to spread the Anglican ethos in the wider community. Then, after outlining recommendations for making the church more functional in French, the author concludes that what is happening in Quebec has something to teach us about modern societies, "seeking identity, at grips with conflicting values, where the urge for economic development and political experiment meet head on with an equally compelling desire to look inwards for spiritual direction", and asks if "God is saying something new and creative to us" here. [51]

In focussing on Quebec, to the virtual exclusion of French-Canadian minorities elsewhere in Canada this text challenges the perspective dominating the resolution on national unity. It provides the concepts and the vocabulary for a totally different approach. To be noted

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[50] "The Church in Quebec," p. 2

[51] Ibid., p. 13.

particularly are (1) the argument that not Canadian unity but Canadian survival is bound up specifically with the Quebec situation, (2) the fact that an attitude that would prevent separation at all costs is not seen as helpful to the anglophone community of Quebec, and (3) the rhetorical question which asks if there exists a dynamism in English Canada to match that found in Quebec.

The perspective out of which the report has been written is federalist. Yet it is of such openness with respect to the future of Quebec that it constitutes a direct challenge to the dominant federalist ideology, a fact perhaps not unrelated to the debate on national unity analyzed above. Significant in this respect is the redefinition of the goals of the French-English Relations Project which took place in November 1978.

> (1) To help Church members in all parts of Canada become more aware of the moral and theological implications of all that is involved in the Quebec - Canada debate
>
> (2) To initiate and support programs which will foster dialogue and understanding among French and English people. [52]

5.13 On to the Referendum

In the succeeding years the Church in Quebec, particularly in Montreal, dealt with the effects, perceived and real, of the changed

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[52] Report of the National Executive Council, Journal of Proceedings, 29th General Synod, Anglican Church of Canada, August 1980, p. 97.

situation on its constituency:

> Many people are caught in the dilemma of wanting to stay in Montreal because this is their home and yet being pushed by hard economic realities to look elsewhere ... In the economic field and in education we now have very serious problems which could cause a further movement of the Anglophone population. [53]

Here is the view that the economic troubles of Quebec in general, and of Montreal in particular, including the exodus of head offices, now symbolized, to anglophone dismay, by the departure of that venerable Montreal institution, Sun Life, are a direct result of the Parti Québécois, its goal of independence, and its language policy.

As the church waited for the referendum its reflection began to turn to the coming event, pleading for an honest question and the right use of this procedure in discovering the will of the people of Quebec.

> It will be very sad if the vote brings to an end the possibility of two founding cultures living together in one nation. [54]

With a return to the theme of 1970 the referendum is put in a context of ongoing social change:

> the referendum is only one point in a process of change. The change has been going on for a number of years and will continue. The referendum

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[53] Proceedings, Synod of the Diocese of Montreal, 1978, p. 19.

[54] Proceedings, Synod of the Diocese of Montreal, 1979, p. 23

> will be determinative in the angle of the change. If the response of the people of Quebec is "No" it is "no" to an option, but not "no" to change. [55]

Though the church takes no explicit position it is envisaged that Christians, because of their concern about God's world, would become involved in the committees promoting the Yes, or the No, option. They are urged not to be swayed by prejudice, and to consider

> the mode by which our two founding nations (sic) may best express their identity and the economic realities. [56]

At the General Synod, meeting after the referendum result was known, a resolution was passed calling for an entrenched Bill of Rights in the Constitution of Canada [57] (already the declared purpose of Pierre Trudeau), and Anglicans were called upon

> to become more aware of all that is involved in French-English relationships, and to initiate, and give increasing support to, programs which foster dialogue and understanding among all Canadians. [57]

Significantly the theme of the 1980 General Synod was "We being many are one body in Christ", expressed in both official languages.

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[55] Proceedings, Synod of the Diocese of Montreal, 1980, p. 20.

[56] Ibid., p. 20.

[57] Journal of Proceedings, 30th General Synod, Anglican Church of Canada, August, 1980, p. 53.

Chapter 6

The Presbyterian Church in Canada

The analysis of the discourse of the Presbyterian Church will deal mainly with the record of that discourse as expressed in the proceedings of its General Assembly in the years from 1970 to 1980. As well, an ecumenically inspired document to which the Presbyterian Church subscribed, will be examined.

As is the case with the documents emanating from the other churches considered in this study, the texts show us what, at the level of public discourse, this Church stood for. They do not provide us with an indication of what a majority of church members believed, or held to be true, on a particular question. They do not give us a portrait of the attitudes of church members on national unity or on French-English relations. They tell us, instead, what the decision-making body, or bodies, of this church were prepared to stand for, and to be seen to stand for, before public opinion and that of their own members, and, by implication (occasionally by direct reference), what they were not.

6.1 Before and After the October Crisis

In the report of the Committee on French Work to the General Assembly which met in the summer of 1970, among recommendations intended

to strengthen the witness of the Presbyterian Church in a French-speaking milieu, is to be found the following reference to French-English relations:

> The Committee on French/English relations of the Board of Evangelism and Social Action should play a useful role in the evaluation of developping trends in the country and the stimulation of reconciling activities within the Presbyterian Church in Canada. [1]

Such was the expression of its consciousness of the situation of Quebec and French-Canadians, and of the question they posed as to the future of Canada.

As for all members of Canadian society, the events of that fateful autumn were such as to sharpen that awareness by imprinting indelibly within it the question of the place of Quebec in Canada.

After the imposition of the War Measures Act in the early hours of the morning of October 16th, 1970, and amid the wave of support, as well as of protest, that this federal action provoked in the country, the churches, whose spokesmen were intervening in many non-public ways, took the initiative of issuing a brief ecumenical statement, representing the views of the member churches of the Canadian Council of Churches (among them the Presbytarian, Anglican, and United).[2] The statement

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[1] Acts and Proceedings, 96th General Assembly, Presbyterian Church in Canada, 1970, p. 279 (author's italics).

[2] A Statement Issued by the Canadian Council of Churches, October 19th, 1970, in Man Fully Alive, pp. 229-230.

expresses support for the governments of Canada and Quebec and "appreciates the recognition of the need" for action in this emergency situation. It approves the federal government's pledge to replace the War Measures Act because of the dangers to civil liberties its authors see in the latter. It welcomes "official assurances" that detainees will receive just and humane treatment, suggesting as well that independent observers be given access to them. While deploring violence, the authors bring forward a concern for action to remedy economic and cultural deprivation. The statement ends with a prayer that this crisis will result in a resolve to "renew" society "so that every Canadian will have dignity and self-fulfillment".

The text, though brief, is carefully worded. It avoids declaring or implying direct support for the government's action, and makes no accusation of abuse of the sweeping power arrogated by it without reference to parliament. While arguing for action to combat deprivation, it takes no position in the long-standing debate on changes in the status of Quebec and in its relation to Canada. Society is to be renewed, not changed.

The language is that of crisis, evoking a situation of gravity, danger, violence, anguish, sorrow, and tragedy. Its vocabulary includes words such as humanity, civil liberties, dignity, self-fulfillment, as well as justice and freedom (evocative of other, more robust traditions). There is also a covert reminder to the Prime Minister who had invoked the War Measures Act of the rhetoric with which he advanced

on to the Canadian political stage in earlier, more optimistic times -- "the just society" -- his campaign slogan of 1968.

There is here no ideological parting of the ways with the political powers (in Quebec and in Canada). The action of the government is not called into question. It is simply reminded of values to which it presumably subscribes. The statement, therefore, remains within the ideological universe of discourse of the Liberal government which invoked the Act. No other discourse, no other tradition (there is no specific reference to the Judaeo-Christian tradition) is juxtaposed to the dominant ideology. The end result is that of sanctioning, while suggesting ways of ameliorating, the government's action.

For many Canadians, who would have subscribed to such a statement (there was overwhelming popular support for the federal government's action), the matter ended there. The fatal blow to the credibility of the FLQ with the death of Pierre Laporte, and the happy denouement with the release of James Cross and the exile of the kidnappers, must have appeared as some kind of resolution of the basic problem. As was the case with the Anglican Church, the October crisis did not really affect the Presbyterian Church at the level of its public discourse, though it did inspire the latter church to undertake certain actions.

At the 1971 General Assembly the Report of the Board of Evangelism and Social Action contains only a brief reference to English-French relations:

> A Committee of the Board endeavours to keep a watching

> brief on this matter. A short study paper was distributed to ministers last fall. [3]

There is also mention in the report of the Presbyterian College, Montreal, of a seminar for Presbyterian and other clergy, entitled "Understanding Quebec and its aspirations". [4] The college is commended for having organized this course "dealing with the history and the present cultural and political situation in French Canada "by the Church's Committee on French Work, whose report recommends that persons appointed to minister to congregations in French-speaking areas be willing to gain a knowledge of the "outlook and history of French-Canada" as well as of the French language. [5]

From this point on until the General Assembly of 1977 such references are rare indeed. We find only a 1972 overture concerning simultaneous translation of the proceedings of the centennial General Assembly to be held in Montreal which includes the words "WHEREAS, the actual situation makes it imperative to recognize the place of French Canada in the Nation of Canada ... ", [6] and the following indirect reference in the preamble to a resolution concerning a petition to have Canada sign the United Nations Conventions on Human Rights:

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[3] Acts and Proceedings, 97th General Assembly, Presbyterian Church in Canada, 1971, p. 287.

[4] Ibid., p. 384.

[5] Acts and Proceedings, 1971, p. 270.

[6] Acts and Proceedings, 98th General Assembly, Presbyterian Church in Canada, 1972, p. 458.

> WHEREAS Canada does not have a national Human Rights Code and that it is not realized that the Bill of Rights is not entrenched in the Constitution of Canada, and
>
> WHEREAS the protection of human rights varies from province to province ...[7]

It is quite clear from the former of these references that the authors are convinced as to French Canada's place, and in no doubt as to the number of nations making up the Canadian state.

6.2 November 15th 1976: "Separatism" in Power

In the wake of the election victory of the Parti Québécois the question of Quebec reappears in the church's discourse, and with an air of crisis. At the General Assembly of 1977, two overtures, or resolutions coming from other "courts", or instances, of the Presbyterian Church, find their way on to the agenda, one from the Presbytery of Westminster concerning the "Parti Québécois and Separation" (overture number 13), the other (number 17) from the Presbytery of Waterloo-Wellington concerning the "Threat to National Unity". These two overtures are presented below in order to give an idea of the crisis atmosphere they communicate:

> Overture No. 13:
>
> Whereas, the election of the Parti Québécois as the governing majority in Quebec's national assembly has confronted this nation with the genuine spectre of separation, and

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[7] Acts and Proceedings, 1972, p. 302.

Although the Church professes no allegiance to any political or social system per se

Nevertheless the Gospel's mandate has at its core the reconciliation of all men to each other and to God, in Jesus Christ, and,

Whereas, the fragmentation of our country would be another tearing apart of the fragile human mosaic of this nation,

Therefore, we, the Presbyterian of Westminster humbly overture the 103rd General Assembly to take this matter under immediate consideration so as to give guidance to our people in these perilous times of national disunity ...[8]

Overture No. 17

Whereas, our nation is faced with a threat to national unity, with the proposal of the government of the Province of Quebec to hold a referendum on the place of the province in Confederation, and,

Whereas, the Prime Minister and the leaders of all national parties have appealed to all Canadians (individually and in groups) to work at improving understanding of this situation, and to build bridges of friendship and understanding between French and English-speaking Canadians, and,

Whereas the Presbyterian Church in Canada has an historic ministry in the Province of Quebec, and faces a demanding and unsettling future

Therefore the Presbytery of Waterloo-Wellington humbly overtures the 103rd General Assembly

a) to set up a Task Force of knowledgeable Christians (including Presbyterians together with representatives of other denominations) to visit all Presbyteries during 1978, to help sensitize the courts of the Church, and

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[8] Acts and Proceedings, 103rd General Assembly, Presbyterian Church in Canada, 1977, p. 418, (author's italics).

b) to instruct the Task Force to recommend to the 104th General Assembly a strategy for Mission and Witness in the Province of Quebec in the light of the present national constitutional crisis.[9]

The key assumptions of these overtures are manifest:

- Canada is one, not two, nations, a pluralistic "mosaic", not a duality.
- the election of the Parti Québécois is a menace and threat, and in no way an opportunity.
- reconciliation between French and English, and the building of friendship and understanding constitute the solution.
- the church must act in response to this threat.

The committee which considered and reported on overtures no. 13 and no. 17 recommended that a Special Committee be struck to study "the implications of our doctrinal position for the present political developments in Canada and particularly in Quebec relative to national unity", to circulate its study throughout the church and to solicit response, as well as to develop strategies for the work of the church in Quebec and other francophone communities.[10] It also recommended that the Moderator write a letter to all congregations assuring them of the

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[9] Acts and Proceedings, 1977, pp. 423-424, (author's italics).

[10] Ibid., p. 61.

church's pastoral concern in the current troubling situation. [11]

The report of the committee making these recommendations is significant because it sets the question in a different frame. It notes that the questions raised by the overtures may be seen in two perspectives, namely, that of many anglophones who tend to give priority to the unity of the nation, and that of many francophones "who have as their first priority their identity and place in our country". [12] The singular word "nation" is not employed when describing the francophone perspective, but instead "country" is used, which allows a place to a French-Canadian sense of belonging to another, and distinct, nation. The report also gives a more sober and reflective tone to the debate with statements like the following:

> We believe there is a need for the Church to be made more aware of these two perspectives and not to confuse our Christian unity with the unity of our country. [13]

6.3 The Report of the Special Committee: A Theological Statement

This document [14] is the "pièce maîtresse" of the Presbyterian Church's

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[11] Acts and Proceedings, 1977, p. 60.

[12] Ibid.

[13] Ibid.

[14] Report of the Special Committee of the 103rd General Assembly re: overtures # 13 and # 17 (National Unity) to the Venerable the 104th General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in Canada, in Acts and Proceedings, 104th General Assembly, Presbyterian Church in Canada, June 1978, pp. 367-372.

discourse on the political and social evolution of Quebec in the 1970's, and on the impact on Canada. It constitutes a theological statement on these matters, the members having decided that, all the while carrying out the other aspects of its mandate, such a statement would be the most valuable contribution a committee of the Presbyterian Church could make. The major portion of their report is devoted to the statement, and it is the statement which will be analyzed here.

The text has a didactic form -- it is after all a "theologically-based" declaration of the church's teaching. As such it is divided into five sections, the headings of which include classical doctrines (Creation and Reconciliation) as well as Separatism, Self-Determination and Minority Rights.

6.3.1 The Argument

The argument of the text is as follows: (1) The doctrine that people were created in great variety to form one family directs us to the positive aspects of multicultural experience and French-English relations. It is sin that makes barriers of our differences, and in our sinfulness Canadians have failed to see what is good in the "dual nature of Canada" and have allowed our racial and linguistic allegiances to foster suspicion.

(2) Through Jesus Christ God reconciles members of the human family to himself, and therefore the church must seek to break down discrimination and antagonism based on race, colour, culture, and

language. Reconciliation in French-English relations means recognizing each others' rights to full cultural, linguistic and economic equality.

(3) The gospel is not to be confused with any political, economic, cultural, or nationalistic creed. No constitutional arrangement possesses divine approval -- such things are human inventions. Yet as "the conscience of the state" the church must speak out for "unity in difference" -- a principle implicit in the Christian understanding of human relationships and one which should be applied to Canada. The gospel of reconciliation means the same exercise of justice towards the rights of others as that we demand for ourselves. The Canadian confederation is a movement towards unity, reconciling diverse interests.

(4) This gospel calls upon us to avoid an atmosphere of confrontation and situations where force becomes necessary. As far as the principle of self-determination is concerned the church neither affirms or denies this right. It does affirm that the "division of a nation" is a political decision, to be taken through democratic process in a climate of fairness, justice and mutual respect. In the event that "one cohesive segment" opts for independence the Christian response would be to be present and to witness, shunning force, or any other means of coercion.

(5) Because mankind is sinful and prone to corruption, minority rights must be protected. Tradition and scripture place on majorities the responsibility of honouring linguistic, cultural, and religious rights of minorities. The state has a duty to safeguard the rights of every citizen.

6.3.2 Analysis

In analysing this statement we will begin by identifying two of its underlying assumptions:

- Sin in the situation of Canada and of Quebec is that we have allowed the dual nature of Canada to foster mutual suspicion. It is in no way related to any injustice that may have been perpetrated by one group on another

- Reconciliation means recognizing each others' rights -- not acknowledging and dealing with the consequences of injustice that has been allowed to persist. In other words there is nothing to repent, and no debt to be paid.

Here are two examples of Christian doctrine becoming ideological. Christian teaching about sin, reconciliation, and creation is coopted. Sin becomes not active disobedience but an inability to see the benefits of the Canadian duality, and a tendency toward suspicion and xenophobia, while all mention of concrete historical injustice is suppressed. Creation is reduced to the idea of the variety of the one human family, the guarantee of unity in diversity, and thus the legitimizer of Canadian multiculturalism and French-English (not Quebec-Canada) relations. Reconciliation is emptied of the cross and we are almost back to building bridges of friendship and understanding. The historical Canadian experience of reconciling diverse interests is considered an

example of it:

> The Canadian experiment of confederation, whatever its human defects or imperfections, remains fundamentally a movement towards community through its own attempt at reconciling diverse interests.[15]

Such a use of Christian doctrine gives support to Canadian federalism, a point which may be difficult to discern in a document which, after all, leaves open the possibility that "one cohesive segment decisively, conclusively and democratically decides on an independent existence", and which refuses, in accordance with the Presbyterian Declaration Concerning Faith and Nation [16] to bless any constitutional arrangement. Yet it serves the federalist ideology because it consecrates the pan-Canadian (and English-Canadian) perspective of that ideology. Injustice, and necessary political conflict to correct it, as seen from the perspective of Quebec and French Canada, are emptied of meaning. Worse, after refusing to adopt any position on constitutional arrangements the authors make the claim that the church "in its divinely appointed mission as the conscience of the state" has the duty "to speak out on behalf of the principle of unity in difference", [17] which, as we saw above is what Canada is considered to be all about.

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[15] Acts and Proceedings, 1978, p. 369.

[16] "The Church must not merge or confuse her Gospel with any political, economic, cultural, or nationalistic creed ..." Declaration of Faith Concerning Church and Nation, section 8, in An Historical Digest of the Work in Articles of Faith, Presbyterian Church in Canada p. 18.

[17] Acts and Proceedings, 1978, p. 369.

In the section on self-determination, Quebec is not named, and the existence of a right to self-determination is neither affirmed or denied. This is tantamount to declaring that no such right exists for, if it exists, it exists before God, in which case it could surely be affirmed by the church (if it is a "right", pertaining to righteousness). Subtly, without direct reference to it, the contesting ideology undergirding Quebec autonomy and sovereignty is undermined.

Other rights do exist, as we learn in the section on minority rights, where the authors point out that Scripture and tradition place the burden upon majorities of honouring the rights of minorities in their midst. There are two points to be made here. First, the rights referred to (linguistic, cultural, and religious) are both collective and individual, though this aspect is nowhere underlined. There is therefore no recognition of collective minority rights and no expressed recognition of French-Canadians as constituting a minority within Canada as a whole. Without such distinctions being made the text could be taken as referring solely to linguistic and cultural minorities such as French-Canadians in the (predominantly) English-speaking provinces and anglophones in Quebec, and, even then, only of the rights of individual citizens. Second, the rights referred to here have been diminished. In the section on reconciliation French and English Canadians are said to be "called by God to recognize each others' rights to full cultural, linguistic, and economic identity". [18] Here the

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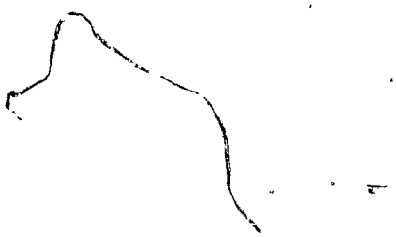
[18] Acts and Proceedings, 1978, p. 368.

economic dimension is lacking. The dominant liberal ideology is also abetted by such suppression because it is at root an ideology serving the interests of those who control the economy. Linguistic, cultural, and religious rights can be granted, but this ideology regularly fails to remind those who do not control the economy that they have economic rights.

Within the framework of the dominant ideology, however, the statement does bring a note of calm and unruffled openness to the discussion of issues that had often given rise to panicky reactions bordering on hysteria, and to the worst of anglophone chauvinism. At the same Assembly one effect of the presentation of this reasoned document was to bring about the rejection of any endorsement by the Presbyterian Church of the "People to People Petition for Canadian Unity", a well-intended initiative which unfortunately combined English Canada's condescension with its incomprehension of Quebec. [19]



Chapter 7

The United Church of Canada

Of the three churches considered in this study, the United Church of Canada was the most affected, throughout the decade, at the level of its official discourse and decision-making. French-English relations, Quebec-Canada, and national unity remain constant themes from the beginning of 1971 until the summer of 1980.

The 24th General Council of the United Church had met in Niagara Falls (concurrently with the Anglican General Synod) from January 25th to February 2nd 1971, at a time when the October crisis was still fresh in delegates' memories. So much so that a resolution on human rights in the Report of the Committee on Church and International Affairs was amended in order that the following words could be added:

> We note also the dangers inherent in our current Canadian situation where the appeal to violence on the one hand and the restraint of violence by special powers on the other, threaten our civil liberties. We ask all Canadians to be vigilant constantly in regard to these threats at home and to remember all other instances of continuing tyranny even where remedial action is not in sight.[1]

At the same General Council a resolution was adopted creating a

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[1] Record of Proceedings, 24th General Council, The United Church of Canada, January 25th - February 2nd 1971, p. 71.

special commission on French-English relations with a membership to be made up of "competent persons from both cultures whose objectivity cannot be questioned", to issue interim reports on the problem and to recommend to the Executive what attitude the United Church should adopt towards French Canada, and ways in which the United Church might fulfill "its leadership role" in French-English relations. The assumption that there is a leadership role to be played stems from two presuppositions stated in the preamble to this resolution: first, that the United Church is "a national Church" and as such must "recognize" French Canada; second, that "as a Christian Church we have a leadership to fulfill in the ministry of reconciliation, within our members, and vis-à-vis the whole Canadian population". [2]

This resolution contains recurrent elements marking the United Church's discourse on the subject. Already within its preamble we find, not two nations, but "two major languages and cultures". As well, the question is to be studied by persons from both cultures who will "dialogue" in objectivity. Finally, there is seen to be scope for the kind of ministry of reconciliation that the United Church has a particular vocation to undertake. [3]

7.1 The United Church and the Constitution

In the summer of 1971 a brief was submitted to a committee of the

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[2] Record of Proceedings, p. 59.

[3] Ibid.

federal parliament studying possible constitutional change.[4] This submission of the Board of Evangelism and Social Service rests on a long tradition of public interventions on social and economic issues, including many representations to government.

7.1.1 The Argument

This brief begins with an apology for the intervention of the church in constitutional matters, to the effect that the United Church, being a "national church" and "truly Canadian" views divisive factors in Canada as undesirable.[5] It then declares the concern of the church for persons as being more important than constitutions, and its conviction that a constitution ought to be "an essentially human document".[6] The federal government's role in representing all the Canadian people and promoting Canadian nationhood is underlined, while Canada's need, as a highly industrialized nation, for strong centralized direction, is given great importance.[7]

There then takes place a gradual shift to a concern for social welfare, as the brief argues for the involvement of people in the decision-making process, and the need "to plan deliberately for a condition of

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[4] Submission to the Special Joint Committee of the Senate and House of Commons on the Constitution of Canada presented on behalf of the Executive of the Board of Evangelism and Social Service, the United Church of Canada, Thursday, June 3rd, 1971,

[5] Ibid., p. 1.

[6] Ibid., p. 2.

[7] Ibid., p. 3.

partnership between government and people". [8] Yet despite this argument for the sharing of responsibility (on an intergovernmental level as well), the concern is to ensure that the federal government's role will be predominant in order to eliminate inequalities and discrepancies in the social welfare system which vary from province to province. Provinces are seen as serving at the point of need, but the visibility given to the federal government by direct social welfare payments to Canadians is to be maintained. The link between these arguments and the constitution becomes clear as the authors argue that Ottawa would lose its capacity to entertain long term objectives by being party to a constitutional change prohibiting it from making such payments directly to individuals. [9]

Turning its attention to the educational system the brief suggests that because education plays a critical part "in ensuring the necessary stuff of nation-building", the federal government should take initiative in bringing about a "great debate" on the subject, in the face of widespread lack of consensus on educational values and goals, for the sake of "the integrity of Canadian nationhood". [10]

The final section of the brief deals with the English-French relationship in Canada, and here surprisingly, a different set of premises and conclusions comes into play. We hear, for the first time, of English

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[8] Submission, p. 3.

[9] Ibid., p. 5.

[10] Ibid., p. 8.

Canada and its French partner, and of "law reaching more than the individual" but including also "the community".[11] The reformed Protestant heritage is claimed as the source for the conviction that a Charter of Human Rights enshrined in a new constitution should include the right to self-determination. The contradiction between this position and the promotion of a strong federal role in the one nation of Canada, argued to this point, is not recognized, but is well summarized by two quotations, one from Georges Etienne Cartier who spoke of a Canadian "political nationality independent of national origin", the other from John A. Macdonald, referring to the French in Canada, "Treat them as a nation and they will act as a free people generally do ..."[12]

7.1.2 Analysis

There can be recognized in the document, first, a "humanistic" vocabulary -- "the well-being of people as persons", persons as more important than constitutions, "basic human considerations", the constitution "an essentially human document". We find as well the language of Canadian nationalism: the United Church as a national church is concerned for Canadian nationhood. If too many, or disproportionate, concessions are made to the provinces "we must face the real possibility of losing all semblance of Canada as a nation whole within itself".[13] Education should serve the interests of this nation.

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[11] Submission, p. 10.

[12] Ibid., p. 11.

[13] Ibid., p. 6.

Many other texts are presupposed or directly referred to The Marsh Report on Social Security for Canada (1943), the Report of the Joint Committee on Old Age Security (1950), the Report of the Hall Commission on Health Services (1964), are cited to support the argument for a strong federal role. [14] Need for federal initiatives on educational matters is supported by a reference to an inquiry, published by the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism in 1969, on history texts used in Canadian schools, and by quotations from university principals. [15] Concerning the Judaeo-Christian tradition there is a vague reference to prophets confronting kings and Jesus turning the tables on Pontius Pilate in defense of the "persons come first" line of reasoning, and to the contribution of this tradition to the Canadian way of life. As well, the heritage of reformed Christianity, the Decree on Religious Liberty of the Second Vatican Council, and certain pronouncements of the World Council of Churches are, without further explanation, cited as the bases for the belief that an eventual Charter of Human Rights should include the right of collectivities to self-determination. [16]

With regard to social, political, and economic realities the brief displays a vast amount of knowledge of the development of Canada's social welfare system, great familiarity with various studies of it, and awareness of various significant facts such as the three-fold increase

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[14] Submission, p. 4.

[15] Ibid., pp. 7-8.

[16] Ibid., pp. 11-12.

in the federal share in Canadian expenditure on higher education since 1960. It is a brief that exudes a consciousness of the world. Yet it makes no fundamental critique of Canadian economic or political structures.

In writing of the October crisis the authors refer to federalist anglophones who opposed the War Measures Act, francophones who favour independence, "Quebec militant separatists", the "conservative orthodoxy" of the St-Jean Baptiste Society,[17] but apart from making much of the anomalous alliances the event produced, their analysis is confusing, and, in the total context of support for the federal state, one is surprised by the mention of the right to self-determination.

One ideological element is the adoption and consequent legitimization of Canadian nationalism with a concurrent emphasis on a strong federal system. It would be venturing too far to describe the humanist discourse (persons before constitutions) as prophetic, despite its appeal to the prophetic tradition, because the plea for equality of all Canadians which it includes involves no rupture with the status quo. It is simply assumed that such equality is compatible with, and to be best served by, a unified Canadian nation with a strong central power.

Neither of these elements is compatible, however, with the discourse of the auto-determination of peoples because, first, self-determination, implying the sovereignty of a people in deciding its own future, bears within it a critical challenge to the centralist structure the brief

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[17] Submission, p. 8.

envisages for Canada, and second, the exercise of collective rights such as that of self-determination could very well come into conflict with the exercise of an individual right to equality.

While not qualifying this third element as counter-ideological or prophetic, because it is not the intention of the brief to contest the ideology of Canadian nationalism and federalism, it is nevertheless the case that the Christian tradition recognized by the authors (see pages 117 and 118 above) has apparently led them to articulate a position that is at the opposite pole from it.

7.2 French-English Relations 1972

The special commission authorized by the General Council in 1971 brought its report to the 1972 meeting of that body.[18]

After harking back to its terms of reference, presenting its membership, and summarizing its work, the commission reports first on the attitude the United Church should adopt towards French Canada, avowing that this question is complicated by the variety of possible attitudes towards nationalism, self-determination, individual rights (of parents), minority rights, and the rights of the (French) majority in Quebec. It then sets out its presuppositions as follows:

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[18] Report of the Special Commission on French/English Relations, Record of Proceedings, 25th General Council, the United Church of Canada, August, 1972, pp. 186-202.

- no political structure is to be regarded as sacred
- nationalism is to be approved or condemned in the measure that it promotes or denies human values
- the sense of separate identity of French Canadians as a people is to be recognized
- the rights of francophone and anglophone minorities should be protected throughout Canada
- future political structures should deliver French Canadians from "any sense of subjection". [19]

Concerning long term policy the report states three assumptions which should guide the United Church:

1) the church is to be an instrument of reconciliation;
2) peaceful change is essential to the just society; and
3) violence is to be disavowed as a means of affecting change. [20]

A significant recommendation is that the United Church should state its support of "the right ... for either of Canada's two major racial and linguistic units to dissociate from the other", which the church effectively did in adopting this resolution. Not before, however, it had defeated one amendment that would have made it also "a primary concern of the United Church of Canada to seek the continuing unity of Canada",

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[19] Record of Proceedings, 1972, p. 199.

[20] Ibid., p. 198.

and another which would have supported Quebec's right to self-determination. [21]

Another recommendation concerns two possible resolutions of the Quebec-Canada question. In the event of the long-term continuance of Canada the authors propose the exercise of a ministry of reconciliation, commending the concepts of two official languages, bilingual areas (the use of French and English over wide areas of the country), and unilingual areas where no appreciable official language minorities exist. In the event of the "ultimate independence" of Quebec they propose the facilitation of the work of congregations in the new state, and continued support for the minority rights of anglophones in Quebec and of francophones in Canada. [22]

As far as a leadership role for the church is concerned, in contrast to the resolution creating the commission in 1971, it is seen as more modest, and as internal to the church, allowing for better organization and support of French work, rationalizing and coordinating the institutions concerned with it, giving a bilingual capacity to the national headquarters, and creating a national task force on French-English relations. [23]

A minority report [24] was also submitted at the time of consideration of the commission's report which calls into question the latter's value.

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[21] Record of Proceedings, 1972, p. 199.

[22] Ibid., pp. 199-200.

[23] Ibid., pp. 200-201.

[24] Rapport de la minorité, R.K. Hall, Record of Proceedings, 1972, pp. 194-195.

At best the majority report is seen to be "un simple palliatif pour les évènements d'octobre 1970", lacking any of the sense of the urgency which had spurred the commission's creation. It claims that "l'idéologie cachée (esprit de supériorité)" is still determinant in the minds of most anglophones, and appeals for reflective silence instead of pretentious declarations. Yet the heart of its dissent resides in the fact that there is in the report no

> aveu réaliste du manque de propriété qui a caractérisé dans le passé nos relations avec les Canadiens français de l'est à l'ouest et qui continue de nous empêcher de voir qu'il est nécessaire de confronter "le fait français" d'une manière sans précédent dans les annales de l'Eglise unie du Canada.

Further analysis and discussion of the ideological dimensions of the special commission's report will be postponed until later in the present chapter when documents produced later in the seventies, which depend upon and cite this text, are considered.

7.3 A Representation to the Government of Quebec

Following the evolution of Quebec society in the seventies the attention of this study will shift now to the church in Quebec. Though not the first brief to government in which the United Church was involved in that decade (briefs were submitted on Bills 62 and 28), the ecumenical text which will be the subject of the present section well illustrates the capacity of the churches to adapt to a changed political situation and to social reform.

The major English-speaking churches of the Montreal area and notably the Montreal Presbytery of the United Church all had, in varying degrees, responsibility for church-related residences for elderly persons. The brief in question [25] is an intervention with respect to the Law Regarding Health Services and Social Services (the final version of Bill 65, chapter 5.4 above). This brief, having been prepared after the legislation had come into effect, is addressed directly to the minister responsible. It does not ask for changes in the legislation. Instead it requests clarification of the status of church-related private homes for the elderly and for a privileged relationship between the churches and the ministry.

After identifying the parties to the brief and their constituency (300 000 English-speaking Protestant Quebecers), and making reference to a prior meeting with representatives of the ministry, the authors commend the goals of the law while focussing their concern on "reception centres" for senior citizens. They plead for special consideration of institutions in this category to make it possible for any person to spend his or her final years in a milieu where life-style, language, and culture, are familiar. Their brief argues the need for the continued existence of private institutions in this domain, and for cooperation between private and public establishments.

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[25] Brief on Bill 65 submitted to the Hon. Claude Castonguay, Minister of Social Affairs, Province of Quebec, by the Anglican Church (Diocese of Montreal), the Presbyterian Church (Presbytery of Montreal), the Salvation Army (Quebec Divisional Head quarters), the United Church (Montreal Presbytery), December 1st, 1972.

The key question ostensibly at issue is whether or not the receipt of monies on behalf of indigent residents under the provincial Social Aid Act would, according to Bill 65, bar that establishment from maintaining its private status, and the brief makes suggestions for avoiding this difficulty. There then follows a demand for continuing liaison and dialogue between the churches and the ministry concerning the development of private resources, care of the elderly chronically ill, renovation and new construction and other matters such as subsidies to private institutions.

The brief signals a return to a more direct style of lobbying and the cultivation of privileged relationships. In form, however, it is an example of how well these regional churches were learning the mechanics of submitting briefs, attractively and brightly printed with a carefully edited, spare, text of which the French and English versions are arranged in parallel columns.

At the level of its discourse the brief is an overt expression of what was yet covert in the 1971 Anglican brief on the same legislation -- the special pleading of a privileged English minority for protection of the quality of its social and health care resources in a context where political power has radically shifted in favour of the less well served French majority. The rationale for this concern is that "as churches we are committed to support all that will help men and women be and become more human" a definition of the gospel associated with Paul Lehmann ("to make and to keep human life human"). This reference

to the Judaeo-Christian tradition is concretely linked to the need of senior citizens to feel at home, to have a link with their past, and not be exposed to the unknown. Strategically, it was obvious that protection of the rights of the anglophone elderly had to be equated with the continued existence of homes for the elderly controlled by the English community. Yet if the churches are, as they declare, in agreement with the purpose of the bill to "improve the state of the health of the population, the state of the social environment ... make accessible to every person continuously and throughout his lifetime the complete range of health services and social services" then, evidently, in the long run a redistribution of resources would have to take place, redistribution which could have an adverse impact on the quality of services enjoyed by more privileged groups. As in the case of the Anglican brief there is no fundamental critique of this invasion of the health and social service sector by state power which seeks to control, rationalize, bureaucratize, technocratize.

7.4 Language Rights

Anglophone privilege was soon to be challenged in another area, that of language, with the introduction of language legislation by the same government with which the churches were learning to live. Bill 22, like Bill 65, was another "loi cadre", a general law with implications for entire sectors of the society, to be supplemented by numerous "regulations" amplifying it and governing its application, to be issued later by order-in-council. It provoked angry protest in the Quebec anglophone community. Numerous organizations submitted briefs, among

them the Montreal Presbytery of the United Church of Canada. [26]

7.4.1 The Argument

The expressed intent of this brief in the form of a business letter is to declare the official view of the Montreal Presbytery on the legislation in question, and to make constructive comments on how to protect effectively "all persons of Quebec" with regard to language. After having mentioned the "legal and other deficiencies" which other groups might raise the authors focus attention on the preamble of the bill, where the intent of the government's language policy is summarized as "to promote the vigour and quality of the French language and to ensure its preeminence". [27] The brief argues that the provisions of this proposed law

> go so far in this direction that they will deprive French-speaking Quebecers of their means of communication with the rest of North America. [28]

It goes on to state that both English and French-speaking persons must be protected, and that legislation worthy of support must provide for official bilingualism in the National Assembly, in court proceedings, in statutes and official documents, in professional services, in

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[26] Letter addressed to la Commission Parlementaire de l'Education des Affaires Culturelles et des Communications, concerning the Official Language Act, Bill No. 22, First Reading, Second Session, Thirtieth Legislature, National Assembly of Quebec, from the Montreal Presbytery, United Church of Canada, June 7th, 1974.

[27] Ibid., p. 2.

[28] Ibid., p. 3.

advertising and in the schools. It then declares that the "fundamental principle" of the bill (expressed in the preamble) must be re-evaluated. There follows a section expressing concern over the power the bill gives to the executive branch of government over peoples' lives, and the argument concludes with a reference to efforts made by non-speakers of French to communicate in that language, and for funding to improve the quality of French language instruction, along with a final plea for bilingualism.

The unavowed intent of the brief, which can be discerned in paragraphs dealing with what "other interested groups" may say about the bill, [29] is transparently to suggest, without taking responsibility, that the legislation stands a good chance of being declared unconstitutional as contrary to various sections of the B.N.A. Act; that it is opposed to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, as well as to the recommendations of the Parent Commission on Education, the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism, and the Gendron Commission; and that it will cause "needless expense, administrative difficulties and economic hardship".

7.4.2 Analysis

The document's challenge to the Bourassa government's language law is at the level of principle. The words "first" or "fundamental"

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[29] Letter, p. 2.

principle occur frequently, until it is clear that the fundamental principle of the authors is not that of the bill. The authors' overt concern is for the linguistic and cultural rights of anglophones and francophones in Canada and Quebec. [30] They are convinced that these rights will be ensured by a policy of official bilingualism for Quebec, and this is their chief constructive comment. We have here the language of equal rights, equal access, equal protection: "Legislation should not place either of these groups in an inferior position." [31] French and English in Quebec are seen purely as linguistic groups with linguistic and cultural rights. [32] Yet no mention is made of any right the French majority might possess to protect its language from being dissolved in the anglophone sea of North America. And no mention is made of any other kind of rights, economic or political.

The word "constitutional" is used to great effect: "constitutional and other defects" ... "juridically declared unconstitutional" ... "constitutional validity" ... "basic constitutional right". [33] The use of this vocabulary has the effect of legitimizing the discourse of official bilingualism while at the same time suggesting that the bill is unconstitutional. That discourse in turn, of which the authors are completely uncritical, is the main ideological element of the brief.

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[30] Letter, p. 2.

[31] Ibid., p. 3.

[32] Ibid., p. 4.

[33] Ibid., p. 2.

7.5 The Right to Strike

The short text to be examined here [34] is in fact an intervention of the Church with regard to the legislative process, in that its intent is to protest, directly to the provincial government, a special law, Bill 23, passed in April 1976, obliging teachers participating in the Common Front strike of that year to return to work. This law is evidence of, and in fact compounded, the growing unpopularity of the Bourassa government with its employees of the public sector.

7.5.1 The Argument

This is a declaratory text enunciating the basic principle that negotiated, not legislated, settlements of labour disputes bring peace in the field of education. In virtue of this principle the presbytery formally protests the special law, known as Bill 23. The negative effects of this bill are seen to be that it will increase anger, and have an unspecified but implied impact on students, namely, that they will go to school in a climate of conflict. The presbytery urges repeal of the law and a negotiated settlement.

7.5.2 Analysis

The vocabulary utilized evokes an atmosphere charged with conflict. Words such as crisis, protest, polarize, dispute, anger, impasse, abound.

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[34] Bill 23, Resolution approved by the Montreal Presbytery, the United Church of Canada, April 13, 1976, polycopied text.

It also displays an awareness of, and a degree of comfort with, the prevalent ordering of labour relations in the society, emphasizing "negotiation" and "equitable contract settlement". Yet there is demonstrably less comfort with overt forms of the exercise of power by one side or the other. No mention is made of the right to strike, now abrogated by a law taking it away. Polarization is assumed to be bad or negative (as is a climate of anger). The impact of the law is seen as affecting the students not the teachers, and the law is rejected not because it ends a legal strike, but because of its effect on the situation. What pretends to be an argument about principle (negotiation not legislation) turns out to be an argument about tactics.

This example is included to demonstrate to what extent the church can be selective in its discourse on human rights. In that there is no protest about the right to strike which has been taken away, the resolution is totally compatible with a situation in which this right is either not recognized, or has been abrogated. It is in this sense that it ends up serving the dominant ideology.

7.6 The National Church and the Challenge of the Parti Québécois

Meanwhile at the national level of this self-consciously national church the sense of urgency prevailing in 1971 had apparently steadily diminished, because we find in the proceedings of the 1974 General Council a "private member's bill" requesting a report on the activities and deliberations of the French/English Relations Commission since the

1972 General Council.[35] The same mood of crisis and emergency made itself felt once more, however, with the coming to power of the party of René Lévesque on November 15th, 1976. In December of that year the Executive of the General Council of the United Church issued a "Statement Regarding Canadian Unity in the Light of Recent Political Developments in the Province of Quebec".[36] This document reappropriates textually, the ideas expresssed in the Report of the Special Commission on French/ English Relations in 1972 regarding the attitude to be adopted by the United Church vis-à-vis French Canada, and quotes its recommendation that force be rejected, while the right of "either of Canada's two major racial and linguistic units to dissociate from the other" should be clearly accepted.

Liturgical in its form, the statement, after having in this way rehearsed "the word" of the special commission, makes confession that the church has been unheedful in the matter of its attitude to French Canada, and has not fulfilled the intent of these resolutions. It then goes on to celebrate the new thing that has come about in the Canadian situation, in an optimistic declaration of possibilities for new development, opportunities for dialogue, the abandoning of confrontation tactics, and for working together in fraternity and charity. It celebrates the diversity of Canada, whose component parts may freely form "one body, one people".

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[35] Record of Proceedings, 26th General Council, United Church of Canada, August, 1974, p. 160.

[36] Polycopied text.

The statement makes its own without comment certain of the ideological dimensions of the earlier report. For example, both documents agree that French-Canadians should be delivered from "any sense of subjection". The question of whether or not the subjection is objectively real is not faced. In fact the possibility is suppressed by declaring it to be a sense and therefore implying it to be subjective only. There is, in the Executive's statement as in the special commission's text, a "one-nation" theory of Canada as a confederate state. Where the right to dissociate is mentioned both documents locate it in "the two major racial and linguistic units". When new material in the Executive's text speaks of "our Prime Minister", of "our nation" and of "all citizens of this country" it is clear that the reference is to Canada alone.

In both texts there is recognition of collective rights of official language minorities (francophones outside and anglophones inside of Quebec) which runs counter to the more common emphasis in the churches' texts on individual rights alone. There is also the acceptance of the collective and political right to dissociation, and the United Church is the only church to publicly subscribe to it. In so doing it had to free itself from the weight of the dominant ideology and consequently this element could be considered the expression of a prophetic dimension. Still the acceptance of such a right would imply that two viable peoples capable of independent national existence do indeed exist. That this is never stated suggests that the church has only limited freedom from the dominant ideology. And as we have seen, the possibility of openly formulating Quebec's right to self-determination (the accepted vocabulary of international law) was suppressed by the 25th General Council (see page 122)

Another common theme is the ministry of reconciliation, present in the Executive's text in references to "open dialogue between partners" and "working together for the good of all". However, in neither report does the church repent of any involvement in injustice (in the 1976 text it confesses only its failure to live up to its own intentions).

Ideologically, the statement of the Executive goes much further than the commission's report in supporting the dominant federalist vision. Even though it repeats the commission's (implicit) reference to the Judaeo-Christian tradition -- the prophetic and biblical insight that no political structure or movement for change ought ever to be regarded as sacred, it utilizes this tradition to confirm and consecrate the federalist, one-nation ideology when it echoes the biblical categories of the body and the people in the phrase

> the component parts of our nation ... which can unite to form one body and one people.[37]

Another text produced in the wake of the péquiste victory is that of the United Church's Task Force on English-French Relations.[38] This document was prepared in February 1977 for the Division of Mission in Canada and was affirmed by the 27th General Council in August of that

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[37] Statement Regarding Canadian Unity, p. 2

[38] A Statement on the Implications of Developments in Quebec for Canada and the Church, Record of Proceedings, 27th General Council, United Church of Canada, August, 1977, pp. 292-294.

year.[39] It is a statement of what the authors believe to be the challenge of a situation precipitated by the election of an "indépendantiste" party in Quebec. Recognizing that Christ is at work in this event, the text lists the "opportunities" to be discerned within it. These (multitudinous) opportunities, depending on one's viewpoint, are seen to be

- participation by all Canadians in the confederation debate, the reform of laws, constitution, and institutions
- rejoicing with those québécois who rejoice
- attempting to understand Canadian history from both a French and an English point of view
- growth in the comprehension of rights, collective as well as individual
- deciding their future through the referendum (for the people of Quebec)
- the French majority in Quebec taking the full measure of control a democratic victory allows it
- becoming a responsible minority (the English of Quebec)
- deciding the place of Quebec and francophones within Canada

[39] Record of Proceedings, 1977, pp. 304, 58.

- questionning "our own destiny" in North America
- providing examples of two peoples maturing and growing together.

There is included a reminder that even if the French-English question is prior, the rights of other groups cannot be ignored.

The vocabulary of the document emphasizes newness (new insights and understandings, new historical situation, new maturity, new society), difference (different points of view, different motives, different interpretations), human rights, and political dimensions (political structures, problems, process, structures, and action).

The ideological element that is uppermost in this text, which has something for everyone, is pluralism. That Canada is a bilingual, multicultural, federal state is assumed and promoted. Reality is seen in a pan-Canadian frame of reference, and it is Canada which is the arena of debate. Although there are a number of references to the Judaeo-Christian tradition (the living Christ working through history, the way of the Gospel as opposed to self-interest), when it comes to the role of the church the latter is reduced to that of the arbiter and guardian of pluralism. The church is to take seriously all those who take the issues seriously, ask God's blessing on all who enter the arena, offer both support and criticism, pray that charity and justice will prevail, and proclaim God's love for all mankind.[40] The only

[40] Record of Proceedings, p. 293.

prophetic moment, which is not developed further, is the juxtaposition of the gospel which testifies to the dying of self and being born for others, with the discussion of collective and individual rights and of possible contradictions between them. [41]

Significant differences from the special commission's report of 1972 are to be found in the lack of any reference to a leadership role of the church, or to the United Church as a national church. In fact there is an effort to play down this latter aspect in that the authors refer to it "not as a specifically Canadian Church, but as a Christian Church". [42]

7.7 The United Church in Quebec and the New Situation

In 1977 the Secretary of the Montreal Presbytary issued a series of four reports on "Our Church in Quebec" which deal, in part, with the effects on the church of the tensions and uncertainties created by the political climate of Quebec. The political situation alone is not blamed for the decrease in church membership. It is noted that in ten years this membership has shrunk by 36,3 per cent, [43] and while the political climate is mentioned as one of the factors in this decline, along with it the author refers to the westward shift of the Canadian economy and the effect of changing attitudes to the church. In discussing

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[41] Record of Proceedings, p. 293.

[42] Ibid., p. 292.

[43] "Our Church in French Canada", Report # 3, p. 1.

the Quebec economy the author cites a report prepared by economists at l'Université de Montréal which traces the east-west movement of the American economy and which concludes that this same shift, continental in scope, could make Montreal the Boston of Canada. The political situation is seen as speeding up this process, encouraging some English-speaking people to leave Quebec, discouraging others from moving there.[44]

In the same year the Lévesque government introduced new language legislation, and the brief which the Montreal Presbytery prepared in response to it reflected in its tone the reasonableness and realism of these reports, a far cry from the "there-must-have-been-some-mistake" attitudes expresssed in the 1974 brief on Bill 22.

7.7.1 The Argument of the Brief on Bill 1 [45]

This brief is developed in four tightly written sections. The first [46] aims at establishing the credentials of the United Church as a credible intervener, pointing out the size, roots, and cultural diversity of this church in Quebec. Also emphasized are church involvement in Quebec's social, political and religious development, and its participation in ecumenical affairs across cultural and linguistic barriers. It then questions the validity of the assumption made in the preamble of the

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[44] "Our Church in French Canada", Report # 3, p. 1.

[45] Bill 1, A Brief presented to the Parliamentary Commission, the National Assembly of Quebec by the Presbytery of Montreal, the United Church of Canada, June 1977.

[46] Ibid., p. 1.

bill "that the French language has always been the language of the Quebec people", or as the French version puts it, "que la langue française est, depuis toujours, la langue du peuple québécois".[47]

The second section affirms the support of the United Church for the preservation and development of the French language and culture in Quebec, and cites the 1972 declaration of the General Council calling for "understanding, the rejection of force and the recognition of people to self-determination" (sic), as well as the statement of the Executive of December 1976 calling for dialogue and the abandonment of confrontation.[48]

Various concerns about restrictive aspects of the legislation and the adverse effects they will have on all Quebecers are raised in the third section:[49] the amendment to the provincial Charter of Human Rights whereby certain provisions of the law are exempted from the Charter's application; restrictions on the use of languages other than French in daily life which are qualified as dehumanizing; and restrictions on the conduct of business in English which will cause a reduction of job-opportunities, increased emigration, and the loss of "positions of influence in decision-making". There is also mention of the negative effects on English schooling, a demand for access to English schooling for <u>all</u> parents domiciled in Quebec when the legislation takes effect, and a plea for increased access to second language

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[47] Projet de la loi no. 1, Charte de la langue française, p. 1.

[48] <u>Bill 1, A Brief</u>, p. 2.

[49] Ibid., pp. 3-4.

instruction in both English and French. Probable negative impacts on the handicapped, the unskilled and the elderly bring a call for a more reasonable timetable for the application of the bill's provisions.

The fourth section,[50] entitled "Our Hope" expresses a confidence in the future, based on faith in a God who acts in history, but also concern that parts of the bill will lead to an undesirable and unnecessary mutual animosity between the major language groups. A link is also made between the "fear and mistrust" that will prevail and the excesses of nationalism elsewhere in the world.

7.7.2 Analysis of the Brief

When compared to the brief of 1974 the differences are marked, not just in form (the 1977 document is attractively and colourfully printed with a reasoned argument written in a clear, sparse, style) but in content. There is in the present document a recognition of the plight of five million French-speaking Quebecers with respect to the overwhelming influence of a predominantly anglophone continent, and an acceptance of the right of a people to act in order to protect its language. The basic principle of this bill, that French be the official language, is not contested. There is no reference to the constitutional guarantees of the British North America Act, nor is there any plea for official bilingualism. The perspective seems to have changed in that the later brief has been written without reference to anyone's right "as

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[50] Bill 1, A Brief, p. 2.

a Canadian" but with an acceptance of the role of a responsible minority within Quebec.

The authors, however, go only so far and no further. Their seeming acceptance of French as the official language of the province does not include the fundamental political goal of the Parti Québécois, and they refuse in any way to name this option. In rejecting the claim of the bill's preamble that French has always been the language of the Quebec people the brief plays innocent of the knowledge that the phrase "peuple québécois" in the French and original text of the law refers, in the rhetoric of the independence movement, to French Quebecers whose destiny is bound up with the state of Quebec which they exclusively now control. The autonomist or souverainiste vision is not mentioned. Instead the authors attack it implicitly in the final section of the brief where they tar the bill with the brush of nationalism:

> We are especially concerned by the beginnings of fear and distrust in our Province when we realize how quickly in other parts of the world the excesses of nationalism have led to hostility and violence.[51]

Another example of the same tendency to avoid naming an opponent's ideology is the curious translation in the French version of the brief of "the recognition of people to self-determination" (itself a misquotation of the 1972 Report of the Special Commission) as "la reconnaissance du droit des peuples d'établir leur identité", instead of, as one would

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[51] Bill 1, A Brief, p. 5.

have expected, "le droit ... à l'autodétermination". [52]

Yet if the brief shies away from referring to the political realities, it is not so with the economic. The loss of job opportunities and the emigration that language restrictions are expected to cause touched closely the vital interests of the Montreal Presbytery as it watched certain of its congregations decimated by members leaving the province, and as its members worried over the futures of their children and of themselves. There is a hint of the class relationship of the authors in that they are concerned about the conduct of business, while the bill's provisions affect all areas of work, from the shop-floor up. A second comment, that the legislation will remove from Quebec "positions of influence in decision-making", is even more revealing in this regard. The underlying, implicit, concern is that the new "positions of influence" in Quebec will not be held by anglophones, while the places where they did hold and wield power, such as company head offices, would disappear.

The dominant theme of the text, is that of reconciliation and in the section "Our Hope" the framers of the brief state their belief that "Christianity proclaims ... people can live together in unity even in the midst of their diversity"; that this is possible when people "speak the truth in love"; and that Jesus Christ and his spirit of reconciling love can bring about "a climate of fraternity". [53]

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[52] Bill 1, A Brief, p. 1.

[53] Bill 1, A Brief, p. 5.

The selection of this theme from the Judaeo-Christian tradition is significant. Rarely in the discourse of the anglophone churches is the connection made between developments in Quebec and the theme of justice, even though there is here, as in the Anglican brief on the same law a concern for the full employment of all Quebecers, including the handicapped, the unskilled and the older members of the work force. The inclusion of justice in the United Church's discourse about the Quebec-Canada and French-English questions would await the General Council of 1980.

7.8 The Referendum and Beyond

A report on French-English relations was presented to the 1980 Council after the result of the referendum on sovereignty-association was known, but which had been written prior to that event.[54] This text is remarkable for two reasons. First, it has an explicitly theological preamble, and second, of all the documents considered to this point, it is the most prophetic, and the least determined by the dominant ideology.

7.8.1 The Argument

The preamble of the report merits close attention. It maintains that the church's involvement in French-English relations follows from

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[54] A Report on French/English Relations, Record of Proceedings, 28th General Council, United Church of Canada, August, 1980, pp. 149-152.

the incarnation:

> The God revealed in Jesus Christ is interested in the total reality of the world, flesh and spirit, word and action, service and power, persons and world. It is within these contexts that He comes to liberate from sickness, suffering, discrimination, and subjection to pseudo-powers.

The reality which is the focus of God's concern is seen as collective as well as individual. For this reason the authors quote Jeremiah's letter to the exiles, "Seek the welfare of the city wherein I have sent you ... and pray to the Lord on its behalf." In the far from ideal "city" which is Canada there is conflict and disagreement about its future. Though there is no "Christian" solution, nevertheless the following values are considered to apply:

1) "Love means justice ... do we have the social political, and economic conditions which favour the widest justice ... possible?"

2) "Reconciliation" -- for the first time in the church texts where it appears so frequently, reconciliation is linked to the cross. If we are to reconcile as Christ did, the authors argue, then we too must walk the way of conflict, seen to be an essential element in any political process. Before the resurrection, they continue, there is a cross, and care should be taken neither to avoid or to deny it.

3) "Hope" -- the resurrection teaches that even the stones of prejudice, misunderstanding, and political difference

can be turned aside.[55]

The remainder of the text is divided into two parts. The first recalls the actions of the previous General Council, including its request that programmes on English-French relations be instituted throughout the United Church, and reports that in the majority of presbyteries no attention has been paid either to Quebec-Canada issues, or to the rights of francophone minorities in the provinces. A number of conferences, a few presbyteries, and many congregations in Quebec and Ontario did, however, respond, and we discover that the president of the Francophone Association of Saskatchewan had addressed that conference, an event which led the court to pass a resolution calling for extended provincial government support to French shools (a far cry from the call of the Saskatchewan Association of Municipalities, noted in the 1972 minority report, for a unilingually English Canada). Yet the task force's main preoccupation had been the referendum, and the possibilities of offering guidance to those who would vote (which in turn is the key, more than any other factor, to the attenuated ideological dimension of the 1980 report).

In the second part the authors raise questions about the United Church's response to what had been "new and exhilarating" in the Canadian situation in 1976, about its openness to change. The concern here is that, particularly for church members who expect the church to promote Canadian unity, this unity is most frequently identified with the

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[55] Record of Proceedings, 1980, p.149.

status quo,[56] and the authors recall the 1972 statement that "no political structure or movement to change that structure" should be regarded as sacred. There is also refinement in the role seen for the church, obviously not that of endorsing one of the options, and not only to ensure that questions of unity and reconciliation have an opportunity to impact the debate, but questions of justice and equality as well.

The report then goes on to trace the decline of interest in the future of the country, from its high point in 1976 to the present "danger is over" climate of opinion, and maintains that the church must help Canadians in understanding that a fundamental political rearrangement is necessary in the relation of Quebec to Canada.

7.8.2 Analysis

The key word in this report is justice. To this point reconciliation has been the major theological concept employed. Justice is here linked with equality. The theme of reconciliation is still present, but accompanied by the clear conviction that reconciliation comes to pass through the cross, the way of conflict. There is also the note of hope, that all may be made new, in contrast to the shibboleth of Canadian unity

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[56] A resolution of the London Conference in 1979 had appealed to the United Church to declare publicly its preference for a united Canada, acknowledge the Canadian experience as a lesson to the world of people differing in language and culture living together in peace, and commend the work and report of the federal Task Force on Canadian Unity.

which has become a slogan for the status quo.

Even though the report does not escape the ideological perspective equating the "city", for whose welfare we are to pray, with Canada (and not Quebec, Canada, or something entirely new), this text is the least determined by ideological dimensions of all documents examined so far. Much more in evidence are what we have been calling prophetic elements. In the theological preamble justice is linked to concrete conditions of life, and the question of social, economic and political conditions favouring justice focuses attention on the way society is organized, making possible a critique of its organization and of the ideology which orders and determines it.

There are two concrete examples of a "prophetic" attitude. First, the authors approve the General Council Executive's decision not to endorse the People to People Petition for Canadian Unity, commending the Executive's reason, that the document "refused to acknowledge the very real historical and contemporary tensions existing between Quebec and the rest of Canada".[57] The second is the forthright statement that "a more appropriate and persuasive form of communication would be for provinces to take seriously the needs and rights of francophone minorities within their boundaries".[58] Here we find not appeals for more dialogue,

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[57] Record of Proceedings, 1980, p. 152.

[58] Ibid.

but for concrete action instead.

It would be impossible to determine how this report might have differed from its present text had the referendum result been known in advance. What is clear is that the referendum campaign and debate provided a very propitious atmosphere for its writing.

Chapter 8

Conclusion

This study set out to analyze the official discourse of three Protestant churches, all predominantly, not to say massively, English-speaking, with respect to the social and political evolution of Quebec in the seventies. The questions to be answered by the study concerned the ideological patterns discernible in declarations and statements of these churches, and the manner in which material has been selected from the churches' heritage of scripture and tradition.

The theory of ideology which has been adopted includes the notion that the church's discourse is ideological of necessity in so far as the church is part of the ideological superstructure, and that this discourse both reflects and informs the institutional church's effective social practice and commitment. Still, the church has within its membership people, and is cognizant of elements elsewhere in the population, whose experience of reality, and whose social condition, are incompatible with if not contradictory to, the dominant ideology. There are also themes in scripture, and threads of church tradition, which patently recognize, or express, the claims and struggles of these people.

The churches are free to alter their discourse in order to give

expression to such themes, and recognize a vocation to support these elements of the population. In fact, however, with rare exceptions, their statements remain within the universe of discourse of the dominant ideology, even when they integrate selections from the Judaeo-Christian tradition into their arguments.

8.1 Recapitulation of the Major Ideological Elements in the Churches' Discourse

. Pluralism

All three churches promote a vision of a pluralist society. At times this vision is spelled out in terms of a multiculturalism in which the French-English question is included and to which it is made secondary (see pp. 88-89, 103-104, 136). In the case of the Anglican debate on national unity, French-English relations are not even named in the context of this multicultural pluralism (pp. 86-90). This pluralist vision is ideological in that it serves to mask English economic and social dominance in the Canadian multicultural mix, and to suppress the challenge to such a view of the Canadian social reality posed by québécois nationalism. It is a pluralism from a pan-Canadian, never from a Quebec point of view. By remaining on the cultural level it screens out the economic dimension.

In addition, selections are made from the churches' heritage which serve to legitimize this pluralism -- the themes of "unity in diversity" (pp. 87, 107) and of "one in Christ" (p. 66). The church is given

the role of arbiter of pluralism (p. 136).

. Bilingualism

Acceptance and promotion of official bilingualism in the Canadian state is present in documents examined from the Anglican and United churches (pp. 60, 77, 127-128, 136). This element is ideological in that the churches display no critical spirit vis-à-vis the integration of it into their discourse. Rarely is attention paid, or awareness expressed, with respect to the Quebec nationalist critique of bilingualism as aiding and abetting the predominance of English in a massively francophone province, and its assimilative function. An exception is the recognition of the necessity of unilingual areas in the report of the United Church's Special Commission on French/English Relations of 1972 (p. 122). This element of bilingualism is also ideological in that it places on an equal footing the rights of the English of Quebec (surely a favoured minority with respect to language) and those of francophone minorities elsewhere in Canada whose rights had been abrogated, as in Manitoba in 1890, or with respect to education, in Ontario in 1936, and have only recently been restored.

There is a change, however, after 1977 in the discourse of the Anglican and United churches within Quebec, in that the preeminence of French in Quebec, if not its status as the sole official language, is accepted, and the emphasis on bilingualism disappears. However, the ideological dimension it represents is still present in the tendency to emphasize the linguistic rights of the English minority and of immigrants

(pp. 82-83, 139), while remaining silent on the linguistic rights of francophones.

. Individual Human Rights

The churches' recognition of the individual's right to his or her own language is given ample expression in the texts. In and of itself the expression of this human rights element in no way legitimizes the dominant ideology. Its use becomes ideological when, for example, the rights of immigrants to freedom of choice as to language of instruction are promoted along with a total silence with regard to the interest the English community has to integrate the children of immigrants into English schools in order to make them viable institutions, in order to save jobs, and so on, as in the Anglican briefs on Bill 62 (p. 60), Bill 22 (p. 75). It becomes ideological also when the rights of private citizens are implicitly given priority over the rights of collectivities as in the second paragraph of the Anglican resolution on national unity (p. 87), and when collective rights are accorded exclusively to minorities within the major cultural groupings, thus avoiding the question of the rights of the francophone majority in Quebec, as in the first paragraph of the same resolution (p. 88). The ideological dimension also appears where the eventuality of possible contraditions between collective rights, when recognized, and the rights of individuals, is not entertained, as in the United Church brief on the constitution (p. 120), the report of the United Church Special Commission (p. 120), the Anglican and United briefs on Bill 22 (pp. 77, 129), or where mention of linguistic rights of a collectivity opposed to the bilingual status quo (the right of the

French majority in Quebec to defend itself in the North American context), is suppressed , as in the Anglican brief on Bill 1 (p. 84).

One selection from the church's heritage is juxtaposed with the idea of the linguistic uniqueness of each person in such a way as to legitimize the human rights theme -- the biblical paradigm of the

Pentecost event undoing the confusion of tongues at Babel and everyone hearing "his own language" (p. 86).

. Canadian Unity: Canadian Nationalism

The documents of all three churches consistently express an understanding of Canada such that the country may be spoken of as a single, unified, nation, without reference to any competing tradition (Anglican resolution on national unity, p. 88; overture on simultaneous translation, General Assembly, Presbyterian Church, 1972, p. 101; overtures no. 13 and no. 17 to the Presbyterian General Assembly, pp. 102-104; United Church brief on the constitution, pp. 115, 117; statement of the Executive of the United Church's General Council, p. 133). This element of the churches' discourse is ideological in that it suppresses all reference to the Canadian nationalism of which it is the equivalent. Its ideological character is recognized in the United Church Report on English/French Relations of 1980 where its equivalence to the status quo for many Canadians is underlined. Canadian nationalism is nowhere mentioned in the texts examined. On the other hand, however, the francophone challenge to this vision of Canada is designated as nationalism. Indeed, the target is the Quebec independence movement

when the United Church brief on Bill 1 cautions against "the excesses of nationalism" (p. 141).

The "two founding nations" theory of confederation is avoided by references to major cultural groupings (in the Anglican resolution on national unity, p. 88) or to linguistic and cultural units (United Church Special Commission report, p. 121) or suppressed altogether, with the single exception of a reference in the episcopal address at the Montreal Anglican Synod of 1980 (p. 95).

With the exception of the warning of a Presbyterian committee recommending ways of dealing with overtures no. 13 and 17 against confusing Christian with Canadian unity, (p. 105), certain statements of the churches marshall the Christian heritage in support of the latter, as is the case of the Executive of General Council ("one body, one people" pp. 132, 134). The Anglican General Synod of 1980 also displayed considerable insensitivity to the possible association of its motto "We being many are one body in Christ" (p. 95) with the referendum result.

Yet the most consistent ideological use of the Christian heritage is the juxtaposition of the doctrine and/or ministry of reconciliation with statements supporting Canadian unity. The Presbyterian Special Committee Report virtually identifies the Canadian experience of federalism as an exercise in reconciliation (pp. 108-109); the Toronto memorial (p. 87) links the two ideas; so does the Presbyterian overture no. 13 (pp. 102-103). The United Church Report of the Special Commission

on French/English Relations 1972 (pp. 121-122), the 1976 statement of the United Church Executive (p. 134), the United Church brief on Bill 1 (p. 142), and the Report on French/English Relations to the 1980 General Council (p. 144) all bring in this doctrine.

. Federalism

The federal system is taken to be the basis of the unity that is promoted, and none of the documents opposes the Canadian federal system, or deals seriously and in depth with the positions of those who are opposed to it, even though in certain texts the need for renewal and reform is recognized. In the Presbyterian Special Committee Report the Canadian experiment of confederation is held up *as an* example (p. 109). In the Anglican General Synod debate on national unity, the two points of view confronting one another were both steadfastly federalist (p. 88). The United church brief on the constitution in particular supports a federal Canada with a strong central power, and assumes this system to be the best guarantee of equality. This element becomes ideological in that opposing views are suppressed or discredited.

. Discrediting the Independence Movement

In 1972 the United Church Report on French/English Relations, in envisaging the possible separation of Quebec from Canada, uses the word "independence" (p. 122). From then on this word is absent from the documents. The tendency is to avoid acknowledging the reality of Quebec pressure for autonomy. The Presbyterian Church refuses to pronounce itself on the right to self-determination (p. 110). The United

Church backs away from a clear, if somewhat illogical, espousal of Quebec's right to self-determination in the 1971 brief on the constitution (p. 117), to speak of a right to "dissociation" for either "major cultural and linguistic units" in 1972 (p. 121) while at the same time making no reference to the political existence of the people who presumably held this right. There is no mention in the 1977 briefs concerning the autonomist, "souverainiste" position. The Anglican brief on Bill 1 is silent on the preamble to the Bill which includes a passage concerning "le mouvement universel de revalorisation de cultures nationales" (p. 84).

"Sovereignty - association" is not mentioned in church pronouncements concerning the referendum. The other nation of the rejected "two-nations theory of confederation (with the exception of a reference to the theory in a 1980 Anglican charge to synod, p. 95), is never named as such, and French-Canadians as a people are never portrayed as having national characteristics.

. Silence on Historic Political and Economic Injustice

What may be seen as objective injustice and domination from a French-Canadian point of view is reduced to a "sense of subjection" in the 1972 report of the United Church Special Commission on French/English Relations (p. 121) and the 1976 statement of the United Church Executive (p. 133). The closest one comes to finding a reference to historic injustice is the acceptance of a share of the blame for the existence of the two solitudes in the 1971 Anglican brief on Bill 62 (p. 63), and

the reference to the role of the churches in maintaining it in the 1977 Anglican report on French-English relations (p. 92). Yet these instances have no economic or political dimension. Sin in the Presbyterian Special Committee's theological statement is defined as allowing the differences between French and English to foster mutual suspicion (pp. 106, 108) and is connected in no way with injustice. The exception to the rule is the theological preamble of the 1980 United Church report on French-English relations, where love is equated with justice and the question of social, political and economic conditions favouring justice is posed (p. 144).

. Lack of an economic dimension

Examples of this missing dimension are the shortening of the list of rights by dropping the economic in the 1978 Presbyterian statement (pp. 110-111), the failure of the United Church brief on Bill 22 to mention economic equality in its concern for equal rights and equal access (p. 129), the silence of the briefs on "restructuration scolaire" of the relation between educational inequality and poverty (pp. 57-63, 71-73). In the United Church resolution on Bill 137 there is no mention of the right to strike (pp. 130-131). The exception is the United Church brief on Bill 1 which comments upon the bill's probable negative economic effects (p. 139). Yet in all the above instances, including the latter, the dominant ideologies receive implicit support through the lack of comment on economic realities.

. Naïveté with respect to the apparatus of social control

In the briefs on the reform of health and social services, as well

as in those concerning education, no mention is made of the role of social control played by institutions in these sectors (see pp. 62, 68, 126). In the United Church brief on the constitution the educational system is viewed uncritically as serving the interests of the nation (p. 116). A "Protestant educational philosophy" is mentioned in the Anglican brief on Bill 1 (p. 86) but the possibility of it playing a role in legitimizing this social control function is not acknowledged.

. Prophetic elements

There are, in the texts considered, what have been called prophetic elements, those which are contradictory to, or indicate a rupture with, the dominant ideology, or which manifest a critical consciousness vis-à-vis the ideological dimension. Examples of the latter are the point raised in the 1980 United Church Report on French/English Relations that Canadian unity for many people is the equivalent of the status quo (pp. 145-147), and the refusal to identify the church with the social practice of this people in any one epoch in the 1971 episcopal charge (p. 66).

The 1977 statement of the United Church Task Force on French/English Relations raises the possibility that the Christian response in conflicts over rights may involve a certain dying to self (p. 137), while the espousal of self-determination in the United Church brief on the constitution in the name of the reformed Protestant heritage (p. 117), inconsequent as it is with the argument that precedes it, demonstrates the transcendence with respect to ideologies of which the Judaeo-Christian

tradition is capable. In the 1980 United Church report on French-English relations elements of tradition such as liberation (from sickness, suffering, discrimination and subjection to pseudo-powers),[1] justice, social, economic and political conditions, reconciliation, and conflict, are brought together in a statement which goes far beyond previous ideological utilisation of the concept of reconciliation (p. 144).

There is no expression, however, of any counter-ideology, no sign of rupture with the dominant ideology, and no link made with the concrete historical struggle of any oppressed group in these "prophetic" moments.

8.2 The Relation of the Churches' Discourse to Ideologies Current in Canadian and Quebec Society

To this point in our study we have been content to identify ideological material, or prophetic moments, in the church texts. It is important, however, to show how the ideological dimension in the churches' discourse complements or contradicts ideologies at work in society at large.

8.2.1 Liberalism

The ideology of liberalism, that which rests upon, legitimizes, and informs the economic system of the western capitalist countries,

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[1] Record of Proceedings, 1980, p. 149.

has been the dominant ideology of liberal democracies such as Canada, fostering the belief that the existing economic system is the best one possible, that it gives equal opportunity to all, that it assures every individual of a right to self-fulfillment, and that almost everyone belongs to a vast "middle class". That marked economic inequalities exist in this system does not shake this belief. Where they are recognized they are explained on the basis of personal merit or lack of it, contribution to society or lack of it, educational attainments, and so on. It is an ideology designed to mask the fact that there exist in Canada and in Quebec the very rich and the very poor, that the poor (those who live below the "poverty line") are a major portion of the population, and that their poverty is often based upon such factors as ethnic and class origin, sex, and geographic location.

There is nothing inherent in liberalism promoting the correction of such injustice. As Patricia Marchak puts it

> The strength of the liberal ideology lies in its apparent accomodation of diversity. All people are equal, all choices are legitimate, all alternatives are worthy. Good and evil are relative terms, and the latitude for personal action is wide. Life is a market-place of competing claims for the attention of consumers. Having no apparent commitment to a hierarchy of values, the liberal must pose all questions as questions of strategy.[2]

The various correctives which have been introduced (medicare, unemployment insurance, job creation programs, etc.) to bring economic

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[2] Marchak, p. 69.

disparities to tolerable levels have been strategic to the continuing hold on power of the federal political party which introduced them. According to this ideology it is not the intrinsic responsibility of government to stamp out inequality, even if a certain degree of government regulation of the economy is viewed as being necessary.

Yet the most important reality which is screened out of sight and made invisible by the liberal ideology is the actual control of the economy by, and the ability to influence government policy of, those who hold the economic power.

> The liberal ideology, by its assumption that governments are merely representatives of the people and that governments actually regulate the economy, inhibits the examination of economic power. If there is no ruling class, there is no need to consider its prerogatives or responsibilities.[3]

In the texts considered in this study the overall compatibility of the churches' discourse with liberalism is assured by their lack of attention to economic inequality. Nowhere is there mention of the gap in average income as between anglophones and francophones in Canada, so much a part of public discussion at the time of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism and well into the seventies. In fact nowhere in this discourse is concrete economic injustice underlined. These facts are an indication of the way in which the churches contributed to the ideological enterprise of voiding the

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[3] Marchak, p. 71.

Quebec-Canada debate and discussion of French-English relations of an economic dimension, as well as an illustration of the function of the entire debate (pro-federalist and autonomist elements share the responsibility for this) in helping to screen out of public consciousness the serious failures of the Canadian and other capitalist economies evident throughout the seventies with the decline of economic activity and the growth of inflation and unemployment to record levels. It is true that the churches confronted these issues in other ways (studies on poverty and unemployment, for example), but its discourse on Canadian unity and nationhood, its approach to Quebec, to language, and to French-English relations masked economic inequality, and helped to prevent the "national question" from being recognized as, at the same time, a "social question", thus serving the liberal ideology. Ironically, such discourse also deflects attention from the major threat to Canadian (and Quebec) sovereignty and survival -- the economic power concentrated in the United States.

8.2.2 Socialism

Socialism, which has been present as a counter-ideology in Canada since the turn of the century, rests upon a very different reading of the same economic facts which underly liberalism.

From the Revolutionary Socialist Party active in British Columbia in the 1890s and 1900s, through the One Big Union and the Winnipeg General Strike of 1919, the birth of the Cooperative Commonwealth Federation in the 1930s, and the heyday of the Communist Party in the

same decade, to the new socialists and Marxist-Leninists of the 1960s and 1970s, the Canadian Left has brought to bear an analysis that makes class the major basis of social and economic inequality, with economic power seen to be in the hands of a capitalist class (the bourgeoisie), and has tried to bring the Canadian working class to self-consciousness. It has been an uphill fight in the face of widespread acceptance of the ideology of liberalism.

The problem has been the very complexity of Canadian society with its (vertical) ethnic mosaic, its multi-class system, its regional diversity, and its growing urbanization, all of which tended to dilute the keen class-consciousness which had marked workers in out-lying resource industries, who identified their class enemies with ease, and who provided the base of the early socialist parties.

> In a two-class system, the powerful few are easy to find. In a multi-class system, the spread of privileges obscures the existence of classlessness and government for the people may smother the cries of those under the heap, but for those in the intermediate and mobile class, it apparently makes more sense than the ideology of class conflict. [4]

Socialism in the Ouebec francophone community is a special case. The révolution tranquille which marked the breakdown of the conservative ideology and social consensus that had marked the previous century in the history of the province, from the defeat of "les patriotes" to the end of "duplessisme", marked also the articulation of socialist thought

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[4] Marchak, p. 114.

and the formation of socialist groups characterized by Marxist and anti-colonialist analysis.[5] This socialism is, however, so thoroughly bound up with the Quebec national question, that it will be considered with other Quebec nationalist tendencies, in the section on nationalism below.

To return to the discourse of the churches it is devoid of class analysis, giving no sign of recognizing the function of the educational system, for example, in reproducing the existing class system. In no sense does it support, nor does it contest, the counter-ideology of socialism.

8.2.3 The New Conservatism

Patricia Marchak in her study of Canadian ideologies maintains that neither liberalism nor socialism is suited to interpret and maintain multi-national, or trans-national, monopoly capitalism in which

> wage work is not available to many people,
> surplus is not created out of labour,
> communication technology becomes more central
> to political control, and corporations are
> the chief social as well as economic organizations.[6]

She argues that they will be replaced by a new conservative ideology emanating from a transformed society, and justifying control

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[5] Monière, pp. 343-344.

[6] Marchak, pp. 14-15.

by supra-national bodies and their managers. [7]

That there exists in the 1980s a new conservatism justifying everything from high unemployment rates to cut-backs in government services, and from soaring interest rates to the arms race, is evident. That it found support in the discourse of the three churches considered in this study is far from clear, though it can be seen that they did not oppose it. It is not without interest, however, that the briefs of the churches on Bill 65 make much of private and voluntary initiative in social and health services (pp. 67, 124), now a major element in the conservative discourse of governments trying desperately to cut costs in this sector, and that at least one element of the liberal, pluralist, ideology as applied to education disappears as the seventies progress. The earlier acceptance of neutral ("other") schools (p. 60) is replaced by a renewed emphasis on confessionalism in the Anglican brief on Bill 1, and a Protestant educational philosophy, not referred to previously, is discovered (p. 86).

8.2.4 Nationalism

Nationalism in Canada is a complex phenomenon. One can speak of an economic nationalism, of the kind associated with the thinking of Walter Gordon, that opposes the economic and political domination of Canada by the United States, with its consequent loss of Canadian sovereignty in many areas, and that promotes an independent Canada still

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[7] Marchak, p. 176.

safe for capitalism. There also exists a socialist nationalism for which Canada's independence is bound up with the transformation of the capitalist system, of the kind associated with the Waffle wing of the New Democratic Party in the sixties. There is, as well, French-Canadian nationalism, which adds the dimension of French-Canadian domination within Canada.

That the churches' discourse contains a healthy dose of Canadian nationalism has been underlined in the previous section. Since the nationalism found in the church texts includes no attack upon, or refection of capitalism, and no support for socialism, it would appear that it is compatible with the first variety described above. The church texts tend to reject, discredit, or ignore, French Canadian nationalism.

Before commenting further on attitudes to the latter expressed in these texts, it is necessary to outline the component, not always compatible, elements making up the ideology of nationalism, or better, the nationalist ideologies, in Quebec. To begin, as has been noted above (p. 53), the dominant ideology in Quebec had been, for the century between 1850 and 1950, a conservative and nationalist one. It was the ideology of the "petite bourgeoisie traditionnelle", represented by the power of the Catholic church, which, while rejecting many liberal values nevertheless collaborated with, and served the interests of, the "grande bourgeoisie", or capitalist class (English-Canadian, British, American, and French-Canadian). In the "révolution tranquille" an alliance of a new "petite bourgeoisie technocratique", and elements of the French-

Canadian capitalist class, began to use the state apparatus of Quebec to effect the beginning of a transfer of economic power to, and a consolidation of it in, the hands of French Quebecers.[8] Theirs was a nationalism based upon an alliance of two different classes. Yet as the sixties progressed elements of the nationalist francophone 'grande bourgeoisie' began to draw back, perceiving the growing tendency of the technocrats toward state intervention in, and planning of, the economy, as not being in the interests of capitalism.[9] The idea of a sovereign Quebec which would be controlled by these technocrats came more and more to the fore. We thus have an economic nationalism, out of which developed a nationalism promoting Quebec state sovereignty, finding expression in the Rassemblement pour l'indépendance nationale and later in the Parti Québécois.[10] It remained only for a third tendency to make the junction between national liberation and the liberation of the working class in order to articulate a socialist nationalism represented by the revue Parti Pris and such groups as the Parti socialiste du Québec and the Front de libération populaire.[11]

The documents of the churches, however, with the exception of the 1977 Anglican report on French-English relations, treat this dynamic and complex phenomenon, so rich in distinctions, as a monolithic entity. They show awareness of growing consensus around the language rights of

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[8] See Marchak, pp. 143-144.

[9] Monière, p. 366.

[10] See Monière, pp. 334-340.

[11] See Monière, p. 343 and ff.

the majority, and of the movement toward cultural sovereignty, and they deal exclusively in these terms. Consistent with their blindness to the economic dimension, they did not recognize the challenge to the capitalist system coming from within Quebec nationalism, and their discourse is totally silent concerning the Quebec nationalist criticism of the capitalist system.

8.2.4 Marxism in Quebec

The churches also seem to have been deaf to other trends in Quebec society such as the presence and growth of Trotskyite and Maoist groups and political parties, severely critical of the Parti Québécois, and suspicious of the debate on the national question,[12] as well as the adoption of Marxist analysis by the major labour organizations at the beginning of the seventies, when the pro-management Liberal party had a seemingly unshakeable hold on the state apparatus. This analysis was expressed in such manifestos as "Ne comptons que sur nos propres moyens" of the CSN, "L'état rouage de notre exploitation" of the FTQ, and "L'école au service de la classe dominante" of the CEQ. Here was the counter-ideology of progressive elements of the "nouvelle petite bourgeoisie technocratique",[13] from which a Parti Québécois not yet in power scrambled to distinguish its own platform.[14]

At the level of their official discourse, as we have seen, the

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[12] See Renaud and Vaillancourt, pp. 86-94.

[13] See Monière, pp. 356, 369, Cf. Renaud and Vaillancourt, p. 73.

[14] See Renaud and Vaillancourt, p. 77.

churches do not acknowledge the existence of socialism in Quebec, much less its various Marxist expressions. In this sense their discourse throughout the decade not only suppressed consciousness of the main counter-ideology to liberalism, but allowed the debate on the national question to function as a smokescreen for the fact that neither the federalist nor the "souverainiste" camp would have changed the capitalist system in any fundamental way.

8.3 The Failure of the Churches

The churches had a specific responsibility to their membership and to society at large as institutions representative of, and entrusted with, the Judaeo-Christian tradition. In the preceding chapters, and in the first two sections of the present chapter, we have seen how they selected and utilized material from this tradition. In this section we will present two major ways in which the churches failed to take up their responsibility, and attempt to show a relationship between this failure and their social position as institutions.

8.3.1 Inability To See Themselves as Part of a Dominant Minority in Quebec

Through the decade of the 1970s the English of Quebec developed a new self-understanding as a minority, a new reading of the social and the political situation. This evolution can be traced and exemplified in the difference which marks the United Church brief on Bill 22, with its emphasis on official bilingualism, from the same church's brief

on Bill 1, with its acceptance of French as the predominant language in Quebec. Direct reference to the status of minority are rare, however, in the church texts, if we except the Montreal episcopal charges of 1970, 1977,[15] and the Anglican report on French-English relations of 1977.[16]

There are threads of the Judaeo-Christian fabric of tradition which might well have aided and eased this sometimes painful growth in self-understanding. One thinks of paradigms such as that of the sojourners of the Exodus, few in number, living in a strange land (Ex. 2:22; 18:3; Deut. 4·27, 7:7; 26:5; I Ch. 16:19-20; Ps. 105:12-13), the exiles in Babylon (Jer. 29:5 ff.), the strangers and pilgrims on the earth (Heb. 11·13).

Such themes are not utilized, however, and the few references to living as a minority within Quebec society are more than counterbalanced by the predominant tendency, usually in documents issuing from national judicatories, to view the situation from a pan-Canadian perspective in which Quebec anglophones are put on an equal footing with francophones outside Quebec, but are still seen as part of the majority in Canadian society. With such a discourse the churches were able to provide little leadership, and in fact tended to follow, not lead, opinion. Globally considered, their discourse expresses a vision similar to that of other anglophone institutions, a vision given expression in the 1972 brief of

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[15] Proceedings, 1970, p. 21.

[16] Report, p. 3.

the Protestant School Board of Montreal on Bill 28:

> En vérité, ni les francophones ni les anglophones de notre province ne constituent en fait une véritable minorité.[17]

From this failure to include in their official statements and declarations elements from the Judaeo-Christian tradition which might have helped the Quebec anglophone community (and in particular members of the three churches in Quebec) to see its minority status as an opportunity for living in accord with that tradition, thus gaining a certain "transcendence" with regard to its historical situation, we make the following tentative suggestion as to why this inability existed.

The great majority of the membership of these three churches has belonged, and belongs, to the dominant ethnic group in Canadian society (those of Britannic origin, a minority in Canada, albeit a considerable one).[18] In addition, the three churches considered belong to, or include, denominations that have traditionally carried on a "chaplaincy" to people of British origin, the representatives of the far-flung British Empire and their descendants. These denominations still serve English-speaking elements of the capitalist economic elite in Quebec, Canada, the United States and elsewhere in the world, and they have been, and still are to some extent, dependent upon this economically dominant group.

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[17] Cited in Pierre Beaulieu, L'Opinion des organismes montréalais face aux projets de loi 62 et 28 (Conseil Scolaire de l'Ile de Montréal, 1975), p. 59.

[18] Comprising 44,6 per cent of the population in 1971. Annuaire du Canada 1980-81 (Ottawa: Statistique Canada, 1981), p. 151.

The question of the minority status of anglophones, or at least those of Britannic origin, is impossible to deal with without at the same time openning up the possibility of exposing the economic dominance of this class within Canada, an economic dominance masked by the liberal ideology. In the seventies the churches, through their Task Force on the Churches and Corporate Responsibility, were already in conflict with this element of their membership over the question of investments of Canadian corporations in, and loans of Canadian banks to, dehumanizing and totalitarian regimes in the third world. To have at the same time adopted positions opening the door to the exposure of this elite as a ruling class in Quebec and Canada would have been in the literal sense of the word "unthinkable".

The new self-understanding of the English of Quebec as that of a minority, if not oppressed, at least in difficulty, has been gained without help from the churches. The truth as to the continuing dominant status of the elite of this minority remains hidden, and the churches do nothing to reveal it.

8.3.2 Failure to See the National Question as a Question of Social Economic, and Political Justice

Up to this point in our study, we have often underlined the lack of an economic dimension in the churches' discourse, and the absence of any reference to historical injustice suffered by francophones in Canada.

With reference to the latter it is true that the United Church text of 1980 does use the word justice with respect to French-English relations, and that it is in a United Church text of 1971 that the right of Quebec to self-determination is recognized (the presence of a small number of articulate francophones within its councils is surely not unrelated). Between these two dates, however, the discourse of all three churches is of a piece on this question.

It is the case, for example, that throughout the decade, even if there was a narrowing of the gap, the average income of anglophones (an overwhelming majority in the three churches) tended to exceed that of francophones.[19] This fact is nowhere mentioned. The churches ignore the inequality from which their own anglophone members benefit. Such a recognition might have led them to a reexamination of their own relationship to economic power, and to the fundamental contradiction between this relationship of privilege and collaboration and the prophetic tradition, in particular the evangelical bias against the rich (Mark 10:25; Matt. 19:23-24; Luke 1:53; 6:24; 16:19-31; 18:25), and the parti-pris for the poor and oppressed (Matt. 11:4-5; Luke 1:51-53; 4:18-19; 6:20; 7:22; 14:15-24).

These elements of the Judaeo-Christian tradition, pertinent as they would have been to the self-understanding of anglophones in relation to evolution of Quebec society during this period are in no

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[19] See R. Lacroix and F. Vaillancourt, Les Revenus et la langue au Québec (1970-1978), (Editeur officiel du Québec, 1981, annexe B, particularly table B-17, p. 123.

way related to it. Instead they are treated as irrelevant, or, worse, they are avoided.

The note of repentance is also rare in these documents, while sin, on the one occasion it is mentioned, is evacuated of any objective meaning, any relationship to injustice. It is not a question of the churches accepting guilt for past injustice, but of acknowledging that injustice, as well as their involvement in social privilege which is derived from it. It would mean turning away from (repenting of) unjust social practice.

Had they been able to relate these themes of their tradition to the Quebec-Canada question they might have been able to see themselves in the role of oppressor, as the representatives of the rich, as parallel to the religious authorities of the New Testament which collaborated with Rome in the suppression of a people. At the level of their public statements at least they prove incapable of such a degree of lucidity and transcendence. The connections between the national question and such themes not having been made, we suggest that these threads of tradition are incompatible with the churches' own social status and practice as institutions. Had these elements been allowed to inform the churches' discourse it is conceivable that they might have been led into opposition, or, at least, questioning of liberalism, and the capitalist economic structure on which it is grounded. Yet so deeply do they appear to have interiorized this ideology it is unlikely that they would be capable of taking the first step in this direction.

8.4 Summary

It can be concluded that the official discourse of the churches 1) supported the liberal ideology dominant in Canada, 2) viewed the whole question of Quebec and Canada, with rare exceptions from a pan-Canadian perspective, 3) rejected any form of Quebec nationalism while preferring a non-socialist Canadian nationalism, 4) adopted the dominant vision of a federal system which had come into being as the field of action of Canadian capitalism (with its recent adjunct of official bilingualism), and 5) looked upon it as a society and an economic system in need of no fundamental change.

As far as the churches' heritage in scripture and tradition is concerned, only those elements (with rare exceptions) which did not call this ideology, or representation of reality into question, or, more often, which tended to legitimize it, were included.

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