G. Horowitz, “Conservatism, Liberalism and Socialism in Canada: An Interpretation,” in H. Thorburn ed., *Party Politics in Canada* (Toronto)

**Overview**

Paper considers the application of the Hartzian approach to Canada – considers it flaws.

**Background**

* In US, organized socialism is dead – but not so in Canada where it remains a significant political force – why the difference?
* Tendency in Cdn political studies to explain Cdn phenomena not by contrasting them with American phenomena but rather identifying them as variations on basic North American theme – but this does not help us understand Cdn uniqueness
* Hartzian approach (Louis Hartz in *The Liberal Tradition in America* and *The Founding of New Societies*) is to study new socieities founded by Europeans as “fragment” thrown off from Europe – and the key to understanding the ideological development in a new society is its “point of departure” from Europe:
  + Ideologies borne by the founders of the new society are not representative of the historical ideological spectrum of the mother country – settlers rather represent only a fragment of that spectrum

* Simple matter to apply Hartzian approach to English Canada in a pan-North American way –
  + English Canada can be viewed as a fragment of the American liberal society, lacking a feudal or tory heritage, and therefore lacking the socialist ideology which grows out of it
  + But Hartz notes that liberal society of English Canada has a “tory touch” – that it is “etched with a tory streak coming out of the American revolution”
  + Horowitz: the danger of a pan-North American approach is that it tends to either ignore the relative strength of Cdn socialism or dismiss it as a freak – it explains away, rather than explains, the strength of Cdn socialism
    - Both McRae and Hartz attempt to do this – highlighting that the socialist movement was not major/strong
* The most important un-American characteristics of English Canada – all related to presence of toryism, are:
  + Presence of tory ideology in the founding of English Canada by Loyalists, and its continuing influence on English-Cdn political culture
  + Persistent power of whiggery or right-wing liberalism in Canada (the Family Compacts) as contrasted with the rapid and easy victory of liberal democracy in the US
  + The ambivalent centrist character of left-wing liberalism in Canada as contrasted with the unambiguously leftist position of left-wing liberalism in the US
  + The presence of an influential and legitimate socialist movement in English Canada as opposed to the illegitimacy and early death of American socialism
  + The failure of English Canadian liberalism to develop into the one true myth, the nationalist cult, and the parallel failure to exclude toryism and socialism as “un-Canadian”
* English-Cdn society has been powerfully shaped by tory values that are ‘alien’ to the American mind
* The difficulty in applying the Hartzian approach to English Canada is that although the point of departure is reasonably clear, it is difficult to put one’s finger on the point of congealment (Horowitz’s point of view is that it came later than the Loyalists”
  + This indeterminate location of the pt of congealment makes it difficult to account in any precise way for the presence of socialism in English-Cdn political culture mix, though the presence itself is indisputable
* Cdn socialism is un-American in two distinct ways:
  + It is a significant and legitimate political force in Canada, insignificant and alien in the US
  + It does not speak the same language as American socialism – in Canada, socialism is British, non-Marxist, and worldly; in the US it is German, Marxist, and other-worldly
* When socialism was brought to the US, it found itself in an ideological environment in which it could not survive because Lockean individualism had long since achieved the status of a national religion; the political culture had already congealed and socialism did not fit
* The British socialist immigrant to Canada had a very different experience – the British immigrant was not “alien” to British North America
* Cdn liberalism – the triumphant centre –
* Cdn Conservatives are not American Republicans; Cdn socialists are not American socialists; Cdn liberals are not American liberal Democrats
  + The three components of English-Cdn political culture have not developed in isolation from one-another – each has developed in interaction with the others. Our toryism and socialism have been moderated by liberalism
* American authors often plug Cdn liberals in with the left – Horowitz argues this is an inappropriate characterization as the party has neither acted consistently on the left (in policy) nor does it receive leftist support (big business support)