

Specific Outcomes 30-1 Alberta curriculum and textbook correlations and review.

Students will:

- 1.1 know and be able to discuss the various perspectives regarding identity and ideology
 1. What are humans like, and why do they act as they do?
 2. What is the nature of society?
 3. What is the role of the individual in society?
- 1.2 know and be able to discuss the various perspectives regarding the relationship between individualism and the common good

What Is the Nature of Society?

The definition of a free society is a society where it is safe to be unpopular.

—Adlai E. Stevenson, United States Ambassador to the United Nations

Our modern society is engaged in polishing and decorating the cage in which man is kept imprisoned.

—Swami Nirmalananda, Hindu Swami

Know and Understand through examples, historical, theoretical and contemporary

- 1.3 explore factors that may influence **individual** : beliefs and values
 - 1) culture,
 - 2) language,
 - 3) media,
 - 4) relationship to land,
 - 5) environment,
 - 6) gender,
 - 7) religion,
 - 8) spirituality,
 - 9) ideology
- 1.3 explore **factors** that may influence **collective** beliefs and values
 - 10) culture,
 - 11) language,
 - 12) media,
 - 13) relationship to land,

- 14) environment,
- 15) gender,
- 16) religion,
- 17) spirituality,
- 18) ideology

1.4 examine **historic and contemporary** expressions of individualism and collectivism

Early Understandings of Individualism and Collectivism

- 1) Indigenous peoples such as the Aboriginal peoples in Canada describe their traditional cultures as having a strong sense of the collective.
- 2) The Middle Ages: During the Middle Ages, most people in Europe fit into distinct social categories—peasants, traders, craftsmen, clergy (priests, monks, and other people who performed duties in the Roman Catholic Church), and nobles. What mattered was how you fit into your group—not your individual identity. Therefore developments in art, science, commerce, and progress in general were not emphasized, and the individual life here on earth mattered very little.

The Renaissance and Enlightenment: In contrast to the Middle Ages, the Renaissance in Europe brought a greater interest in the individual.

- 1) Influential people in Europe began to commission painters who had studied nature and the world around them, to paint for them. There was a demand and appreciation for the use of perspective in their works, creating a more three-dimensional depiction of the real world and humans in that world. Sculptures such as Michelangelo's Pietà celebrated the individual human form. Also, individual artists became known: for other works of art portraying real individuals—patrons such as wealthy nobles, merchants, and craftsmen—instead of stylized and archetypical religious subjects. Many works also showed the growing importance of books, education, and the study of nature and natural forces.
- 2) Humanists, from the Enlightenment, believed in the supremacy of reason over faith. They developed an interpretation of history and beliefs about human nature, the structure of society, and the purpose of life, all based on reason rather than religion. Humanists felt that human beings alone were responsible for giving meaning and purpose to their lives.
- 3) The Protestant Reformation, partially a product of the growing influence of the Renaissance focus on the potential of the individual in this world, also contributed to the growth of individualism by challenging the authority of the Roman Catholic Church. Unlike the Catholic Church interpreting religion for people through both Church tradition and the Bible, the Protestant churches used the Bible alone. When the printing press was developed and the Bible was translated into common languages and distributed to many people, those who could read were free to explore, consider, and interpret their faith individually, rather than through the community. Individuals were now entrusted with the responsibility of making their own choices about life here on earth and life after death. The gradual shift from the prevalence of

collectivism in European societies to the establishment of individualism was a process that took several centuries. And while individualism eventually came to predominate in many societies, it has never supplanted collectivism entirely. The two tendencies have existed side by side in a sometimes uneasy relationship that has shaped societies in the past and continues to shape societies today.

4) Current examples of individualism and collectivism in the news

1.5 examine the **characteristics of ideology** and how in theory and practice ideology:

- 1) interpretations of history,
- 2) beliefs about human nature,
- 3) beliefs about the structure of society,
- 4) visions for the future

1.6 explore **themes of ideologies**:

- 1) nation,
- 2) class,
- 3) relationship to land,
- 4) environment,
- 5) religion,
- 6) progressivism

1.7 analyze **individualism as a foundation of ideology**

- 1) principles of liberalism:
 - a) individual rights and freedoms,
 - b) self-interest,
 - c) competition,
 - d) rule of law,
 - e) private property
 - f) economic freedom,
 - business freedom
 - trade freedom
 - fiscal (tax) freedom
 - degree of government regulation
 - monetary freedom •investment freedom
 - financial freedom

- property rights
- freedom from corruption
- labour freedom

1.8 analyze collectivism as a **foundation of ideology principles of collectivism:**
Principles of Collectivism

Economic equality

cooperation

public property

collective interest

collective responsibility

adherence to collective norms

1.9 analyze the dynamic between individualism and common good in contemporary societies North American capitalist/individualist attitudes

Entrepreneurialism

Social programs and public service

Health care

Education

Income disparity

Crown corporations

privatization

1.10 think about and make judgments about the extent to which **personal identity** should be shaped by ideologies (establish your own position on the issues in this unit)

Related Issue 2: To what extent is resistance to liberalism justified? Lost of notes here make sure you review them!

Students will:

2.1 know and be able to appreciate Aboriginal contributions to the development of ideologies

- 1) As First Nations, Métis, and Inuit perspectives in Canada gain recognition, Canadians will need to find a way of integrating more completely the concept of collective rights into the framework of modern liberalism. For these reasons, a wide range of sources of alternative thought should be accessed to ensure an inclusive discussion regarding the beliefs and values of our society.

2.2 know and be able to appreciate how citizens and citizenship are impacted by the promotion of ideological principles

2.3 know and be able to appreciate that individuals and groups may adhere to various ideologies

Know and Understand through examples, historical, theoretical and contemporary

2.4 explore Aboriginal contributions to the development of liberalism

- i) In Canada, some aspects of Aboriginal ideologies present an interesting challenge to liberalism, a challenge that has an impact beyond the realities of First Nations, Métis, and Inuit peoples. Several key Aboriginal principles challenge modern liberal ideology.
- ii) One of these principles is the importance of the collective. Whereas liberalism is founded on the idea that the individual is the basis of law and society, in many Aboriginal societies greater importance is placed on the collective rather than the individual. Thus, while Aboriginal communities are not necessarily collectivist, the collective may have a greater influence on the choices individuals make with respect to, for example, natural resource development or economic development.
- iii) In many Aboriginal societies, group needs are more important than individual needs, and egalitarianism is also emphasized. Egalitarianism is a political principle that holds that all people should be treated as equals and allowed equal civil, social, political, and economic rights under the law.
- iv) Another example of a challenge that Aboriginal ideology presents to the principles of modern liberalism is in the area of justice, through the use of sentencing circles. Sentencing circles are used to determine the sentence for an offender who has been found guilty of a crime by the justice system. The circle includes the judge from the criminal trial, the offender, the victim, and members of the community, including elders. The group arrives at a sentence by consensus. Sentencing circles were introduced in part because of a perceived bias in the Canadian justice system against Aboriginal people.

2.5 examine the relationship between the principles of liberalism and the origins of classical liberal thought .

Classical liberalism is typically considered to encourage the following principles:

- 1) •the primacy of individual rights and freedoms, to be exercised in the individual's self-interest
 - 2) •the belief that humans are reasonable and can make rational decisions that will benefit both themselves and society as a whole
 - 3) •economic freedom involving the ownership of private property and free markets (markets with limited government intervention)
 - 4) •the protection of civil liberties
 - 5) •constitutional limitations on the government
 - 6) physiocrats' ideas exemplify a notion of progress: human activity in society continually improves the conditions for people. Their notion of laissez-faire reflects their beliefs that
- individuals need to be given freedom to make their own decisions
 - individuals' selfishness and competitiveness will inadvertently improve their own societies

Thinkers/Philosophers/theorist

English philosopher Thomas Hobbes : One of the most important tenets of the ideology of classical liberalism is the belief in the individual—that is, that the group's well-being is important, not just the group's. As you read in the introduction, English philosopher Thomas Hobbes was concerned with the problem of social and political order: how human beings could live together in peace and avoid the danger and fear of civil conflict. Although Hobbes's solution to the state of nature where life is "nasty, brutish, and short" seems to suggest that the individual citizen has no worth, and that only the central authority, or Leviathan, matters, a closer reading of his work suggests otherwise. Because of Hobbes's experience with the horrors of civil war, he saw humans as inherently selfish. This selfishness, if left unchecked, would result in chaos and harm to everyone. By having all people give up their selfishness and by handing power over to a protecting ruler, the Leviathan, everyone was secure. Hobbes's goal, then, was the security of all individuals, which could be achieved only at the expense of their individual sovereignty.

John Locke (1632–1704) was a contemporary of Hobbes. As you read in the introduction, Locke deeply opposed the authoritarianism of the church and the state, and believed that individuals had the right to use their reason and logic to make their own decisions. He said, "Reason must be our last judge and guide in everything."

Locke, along with other thinkers such as Hobbes, believed in a social contract, whereby people give up some of their natural rights to a government in order to receive social order and security for themselves and their property. Unlike Hobbes, Locke believed that the government should be accountable to the people. He also placed great emphasis on the concept of private property, or the right of individuals to protect and keep what they owned:

The reason why men enter into society, is the preservation of their property; and the end why they choose and authorize a legislative, is, that there may be laws made, and rules set, as guards and fences to the properties of all the members of the society: to limit the power, and moderate the dominion, of every part and member of the society.

—John Locke, *Two Treatises of Government*, Book 2, Chapter 19, Section 221, 1690.

Charles de Secondat, baron de Montesquieu (1689–1755) was an Enlightenment thinker in France who satirized the times in which he lived. Under the theory of the divine right of kings, monarchs had come to believe they were no longer bound by any earthly authority, since their status was sanctioned by God. The Church and the monarchy were the two great authoritarian powers, and society was divided into three classes or estates: clergy, aristocracy, and commoners. Pressures for change began to mount against the French regime, which was attempting to hold on to its feudalistic and absolutist structures. Montesquieu's satiric writings so angered the Catholic Church that it banned his works.

Montesquieu believed in the worth of the individual, the equality of individuals, and the accountability of government. He also believed strongly in the separation of powers—that is, that the government should be divided into three branches: executive, legislative, and judicial. Under this system, the three branches should be both separate from and dependent on one another so that the influence of any one power would not be able to exceed that of the other two.

In order for this system to work, the people needed to be involved in the government—that is, it needed to be a democracy. Montesquieu believed that each citizen had to participate in and be aware of the laws and government.

The tyranny of a prince in an oligarchy is not so dangerous to the public welfare as the apathy of a citizen in a democracy.

—Attributed to Montesquieu

*It is clear that in a monarchy, where he who commands the execution of the laws generally thinks himself above them, there is less need of virtue than in a popular government, where the person entrusted with the execution of the laws is sensible of his being subject to their direction.—Montesquieu, *The Spirit of Laws*, Book 3, Part 3, 1748, Trans. Thomas Nugent. <http://www.constitution.org/cm/sol.htm>*

Montesquieu's separation of powers idea is largely taken for granted in many modern-day democracies. For example, the separation of powers is incorporated into the checks and balances built into the US Constitution, which was written only a few decades after Montesquieu was writing. Like other aspects of classical liberal ideology, however, Montesquieu's idea was radical at the time. It called for the elimination of the three-estate structure of French society (clergy, aristocracy, and commoners) and advocated an unprecedented level of individual involvement in government.

John Stuart Mill (1806–1873). He was interested in the protection of individual freedom and the promotion of individual decision making as the core of societal institutions. His book *On Liberty* (1859) explores the limits of power that can legitimately be exercised over the individual. He believed that the only limitations that should be placed on an individual were those that would protect the liberty of others—that is, an individual should be able to act as he or she wants, so long as his or her actions would not harm others. Mill also

strongly advocated free speech, which he believed was a necessary condition for intellectual and social progress.

If all mankind minus one, were of one opinion, and only one person were of the contrary opinion, mankind would be no more justified in silencing that one person, than he, if he had the power, would be justified in silencing mankind.—John Stuart Mill, *On Liberty*, Chapter 2, 1859.

Adam Smith (1723–1790) was a Scottish political economist. Smith spent time in France with the physiocrats, and they influenced his thinking. He disagreed with the existing mercantilist economic system, and it is important to realize how radical Smith's ideas were at the time. The mercantilist system increased the wealth of the state but not the wealth of the majority of people within that state, and very few people enjoyed the benefits of the labour that fed the state's wealth. Smith's ideas were in stark contrast to this. He believed that if everyone worked first and foremost for themselves, everyone—including the state—would be better off. In 1776 he published *The Wealth of Nations*, in which he described a system where individuals work for their own self-interest in a free-market system. As you read in Chapter 2, Smith insisted that individual self-interest in a free market would lead to a stronger economy and would therefore benefit most people in society.

Every individual necessarily labours to render the annual revenue of the society as great as he can. He generally, indeed, neither intends to promote the publick [sic] interest, nor knows how much he is promoting it...He intends only his own gain, and he is in this, as in many other cases, led by an invisible hand to promote an end which was no part of his intention.

—Adam Smith, *An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations*, Book IV, Chapter II, 1776.2.6 analyze the impacts of classical liberal thought on 19th century society (*laissez-faire capitalism, industrialization, class system, limited government*)

2.7 analyze ideologies that developed in response to classical liberalism

Classic Conservatives: reactionaries of the times: The development of classical conservatism was also a reaction to classical liberalism.

Edmund Burke (1729–1797) viewed the events of the French Revolution from Britain and is identified with the development of the ideology of classical conservatism. Burke was a contemporary of the influential classical liberal Adam Smith **but** Burke came to different conclusions when faced with the same political, economic, and social realities. He did not accept the beliefs and values of classical liberalism, preferring those of the pre-industrial past. He believed that government represented not only the will of the people presently living, but also the legacy of people who had gone before, and the inheritance of those yet to come. Change, therefore, could not be dictated by the whims of the present generation. Change, if it came at all, had to honour the citizens of the past and the future.

Burke's was one voice among many. Burke and other classical conservatives shared a set of beliefs:

- Society is an organic whole that should be structured in a hierarchical fashion with those best suited to leadership at the top, because people are not equal.
- Government should be chosen by a limited electorate with special rights, responsibilities, and privileges.

- Leaders should be humanitarian—their role includes the responsibility to care for the welfare of others.

- The stability of society is the paramount concern, to be achieved through law and order and the maintenance of the customs and traditions that bind society together.

We owe an implicit reverence to all the institutions of our ancestors.

—Edmund Burke, *A Vindication of Natural Society*, 1756. *In a democracy, the majority of the citizens is capable of exercising the most*

cruel oppressions upon the minority.

—Edmund Burke, *Reflections on the Revolution in France*, 1790.

Welfare Capitalism: In America, the term welfare capitalism referred to these kinds of initiatives by industrialists. **In the rest of the industrialized world, however, welfare capitalism referred to a classical liberal economic system combined with a government that used legislation to give workers a safety net with features such as limited working hours, a minimum wage, pensions, and medical insurance.**

Most of the early legislation based on the principles of welfare capitalism was oriented toward the workplace. Aside from a few exceptions, the legislation did not include non-workplace issues such as child poverty, disability, housing standards, education, or other circumstances where individuals might need some sort of government assistance. In addition, with the onset of the First World War, reforming zeal died down. Governments became preoccupied with the war effort and needed the support of industrialists to ensure sufficient war supplies.

Marxism is a radical form of socialism, often called scientific socialism or communism to distinguish it from other socialist ideologies. Marx developed a theory that history is the story of evolving class warfare. According to Marx, the only way to overthrow capitalism was by means of a class struggle between the proletariat (workers) and the bourgeoisie (owners). He argued that this workers' revolution was necessary before any significant changes could be made in society.

Politically, socialism struggled to make inroads against classical liberalism. While moderate socialism resulted in some very successful political parties, Marxist parties had much less success in classical liberal societies.

Marx collaborated with Friedrich Engels to write *The Communist Manifesto* in 1848. Marx believed that economics was the foundation of society and the means of production needed to be in workers' hands. Marx and Engels elaborated many of the principles of scientific socialism, albeit briefly, in this document, outlining how the proletariat would gain the means of production.

1. Abolition of property in land and application of all rents of land to public purposes.
2. A heavy progressive or graduated income tax.
3. Abolition of all right of inheritance.
4. Confiscation of the property of all emigrants and rebels.

5. Centralization of credit in the hands of the state by means of a national bank with state capital and an exclusive monopoly.

6. Centralization of the means of communication and transport in the hands of the state.

7. Extension of factories and instruments of production owned by the state; the bringing into cultivation of wastelands, and the improvement of the soil generally in accordance with a common plan.

8. Equal obligation of all to work. Establishment of industrial armies, especially for agriculture.

9. Combination of agriculture with manufacturing industries; gradual abolition of the distinction between town and country by a more equable distribution of the population over the country.

10. Free education for all children in public schools, abolition of child factory labour in its present form. Combination of education with industrial production.

Socialism: The term socialism, when used generally, refers to any ideology that believes that resources should be controlled by the public for the benefit of everyone in society and not by private interests for the benefit of private owners and investors. Socialist supporters value economic equality among citizens. This equality is achieved by providing income security for all through guaranteed employment and guaranteed living standards. Co-operation is favoured over competition. The implementation of these beliefs is dependent on a high degree of state involvement in the control and direction of the economy. The starting point for socialist ideologies was the reform of the political, social, and economic structures of 19th-century liberal society. Socialists rejected the lack of equality and humanitarianism in classical liberalism and deplored the social injustices that resulted. They were concerned with the same ill effects that the Luddites and Chartists were, but unlike those movements, various forms of socialism became effective ideologies.

The Utopians were essentially humanitarians who advocated an end to the appalling conditions of the average worker in the industrial capitalist countries of the time. Idealistic rather than pragmatic, Utopian socialists did not intend to overturn the basic political, economic, and social systems. Individuals such as Robert Owen in Great Britain, Charles Fourier and Claude Saint-Simon in France, and Horace Greeley in the United States believed that education and improved working conditions could peacefully eradicate the worst aspects of capitalism and lead to an ideal socialist society where everyone would live happily. Saint-Simon is credited with advocating the idea of a “science of society,” in which the natural laws of society, just like the natural laws of the sciences, would be used to guide progress.

Robert Owen (1771–1858), believed that the harshness of life under laissez-faire capitalism corrupted human nature. Apprenticed at the age of 10 to a draper, Owen exemplified the classical liberal belief that individuals could realize their potential if they were free to pursue their own inclinations. By the age of 19, Owen had opened his own business. In 1800, Owen became mill manager of the Chorton Twist Company in New Lanark, Scotland; the largest cotton-spinning business in Britain. He subsequently bought the business with several partners. Owen used this opportunity to put his beliefs into practice. New Lanark became a model community to demonstrate his utopian principles.

2.8 analyze the evolution of modern liberalism as a response to classical liberalism

Welfare State The movement from welfare capitalism to the welfare state was spurred by the Great Depression. Widespread business failures and impoverishment called laissez-faire capitalism into question in a way never before experienced. It seemed to provide concrete evidence that the existing political, social, and economic order had failed. The Great Depression became a catalyst for change, and what began to emerge was modern liberalism as we know it today.

labour standards and unions: During the 19th century, labourers who wanted to improve their standard of living began to attempt to form unions. What this involved was a recognition of a new right—the right to organize and bargain collectively. If all the workers in one particular trade were united, they could bargain collectively for better hours and wages and threaten to go on strike if their demands were not met. This contradicted the established notion that workers occupied a subordinate place in society. Even if employers took seriously the idea of individual worth, the idea of each individual worker bargaining with a powerful employer was obviously unrealistic and unfair. Unions could give workers the power to collectively negotiate equitable wages and decent working conditions—all of which threatened to undermine the capitalist's control of the workplace.

protection of human right: Nevertheless, unions gradually prevailed, and an increasing number of workers gained the right to form unions. The International Labour Organization was formed in 1919, as part of the League of Nations. In 1948, the United Nations incorporated two articles on labour in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Political leaders in the democracies were baffled by the Depression and were concerned that their citizens would turn increasingly to socialism or, more worryingly, toward communism as the economy sank ever deeper into trouble and more and more workers became embittered. Events seemed to prove these fears well founded when Crowsnest Pass coal workers went on strike in 1932.

Initially part of the United Mine Workers of America, the Crowsnest Pass miners left this union and regrouped as the Mine Workers Union of Canada (MWUC). The American union could not seem to get action on their grievances, and the miners had grievances indeed. In an attempt to cope with the Depression, the mine management lowered both hours and the already low wages even more. The Great Depression was only the worst of a series of wild fluctuations in the economy throughout modern history, and Keynes felt he had a relatively easy solution to this problem.

The market system is driven by the simple laws of supply and demand. When goods are plentiful, prices come down, and when they are scarce, prices go up. This holds for labour and all other components of the market, including interest rates. For defenders of classical liberalism, who dislike government interference in the economy, this variable characteristic of the market economy is like a natural law. If everyone knows that good times are followed by bad times, then it is everyone's responsibility to save for the bad times. Classical liberals see no reason for governments to get involved in the economy, believing individuals should be responsible for their own financial situations. Keynes felt that few individuals could successfully predict the vagaries of the market, and thus most ordinary people would inevitably suffer. He felt he had a better solution.

Keynes argued that the economic cycle of inflation followed by recession was caused by one factor: consumer demand. All that was required to moderate market fluctuations was for

someone, or something, to regulate consumer demand. During inflationary times, such as the 1920s, governments through their central banks, should raise interest rates, raise taxes, and reduce government spending on such things as road building. These simple acts would drain surplus money from the economy and “cool down” inflationary demand. As the economy cooled and approached a recession, the government, through its central bank, would lower interest rates, decrease taxes, and increase government spending, even if this resulted in a temporary deficit. Deficit spending was an essential and radical part of his new theory. These actions would have the effect of pumping money back into the economy and this would cause the economy to grow again. Any deficit that the government incurred during this time would be eliminated during the next phase of the inflationary cycle. The government, according to Keynes, would regulate demand by manipulating the supply of money available to producers and consumers.

This application of monetary and fiscal policy would lessen the effects of both inflation and recession and would still leave the free-market system largely intact. (“Monetary policy” refers to actions taken by the central bank of a country to control the supply of money. The most common tools used in monetary policy are raising or lowering interest rates, and printing or destroying money. “Fiscal policy” refers to the direct taxing and spending functions of governments. Governments can raise or lower taxes, and raise or lower their spending on projects and programs. Governments are usually the biggest single spender in a modern economy, so these decisions have a direct effect on the economy of the country.) Keynes’s theory became known as demand-side economics. Keynes argued that even in a liberal democratic society, government can and should play an important role in safeguarding all citizens.

Keynes suggested that in order to lessen the severity of a recession, governments should spend more money (for example, on infrastructure projects or social programs) and reduce taxes, thereby leaving more money in people’s pockets that they could spend or invest in the economy.

Keynes suggested that during inflationary (“boom”) times, governments should spend less money (for example, on infrastructure projects or social programs) and increase taxes, thereby leaving less money in people’s pockets. People spending less would have the result of softening the “boom”.

Keynes’ Theories in Practice: The Advent of the Welfare State

Franklin D. Roosevelt, president of the United States from 1933 to 1945 (and distant cousin of Theodore Roosevelt), was the first convert to Keynes’s theories. He implemented massive public works programs to put people to work. Called the “New Deal”, an echo of Theodore Roosevelt’s “square deal,” it consisted of a series of programs from 1933 to 1938. As well as providing employment through massive projects such as the Tennessee Valley Authority, which built dams to generate electricity, New Deal programs provided emergency relief, reformed the banking system, and tried to invigorate agriculture and the economy. Other programs attempted to redistribute power and resources.

This new attitude toward the government’s role in the economy represented the beginning of the shift to the welfare state. These early beginnings were solidified following the Second World War by the passage of legislation that made sure that the state looked after all citizens. By the late 1950s and 1960s, the welfare state was a reality in most democratic countries including Canada, and modern liberalism was in place. In Chapter 6, you will read more about Roosevelt’s response to the Great Depression, as well as the development of the welfare state in Canada.

Universal Suffrage: Classical liberalism proclaimed the equality of men, meaning the male

gender, but in reality only certain men were equal. This becomes obvious when one examines the right to vote. In the 18th century, in countries where voting took place at all, the right to vote was reserved for propertied men with some wealth. In Britain, for example, Parliament was composed of the aristocracy, who held seats in the House of Lords, and landed gentry, who elected one another to seats in the House of Commons. In Canada, which lacked an aristocracy, wealth replaced birth as the qualification for voting. Men had to either own a certain amount of property or pay a certain amount of money in rent or taxes. Women, First Nations peoples, and certain religious and ethnic groups were not allowed to vote.

From 1867 to 1919, the classical liberal idea that voting was a privilege for the few gradually gave way to the modern liberal concept that the franchise was a right, and the various qualifications were eliminated, at first for men only. In Canada, the Dominion Elections Act (1920) extended the federal vote to all citizens of European extraction, both men and women. Non-Europeans had to wait longer for the right to vote. First Nations had to wait the longest—Canada did not extend the franchise to First Nations in a manner that provided them full opportunity to vote without jeopardizing their First Nations status until 1960. The Inuit gained the right to vote in 1950.

Suffrage, and in particular women's suffrage, is not universal in the world today. Consider the following situations:

Lebanon—Partial suffrage. Proof of education required for women, not required for men. Saudi Arabia—No suffrage for women. The first local elections ever held in the country occurred in 2005. Women were not given the right to vote or to stand for election.

United Arab Emirates—No suffrage for men or women. The Parliament is officially appointed, and there are no elections. Neither men nor women have the right to vote or to stand for election although this is expected to change in 2010.

—Source: "The World Factbook: Suffrage"

feminism

2.9 evaluate ideological systems that rejected principles of liberalism (use your notes here too much to summarize **EXTREMELY IMPORTANT TOPIC**)

1) Communism in the Soviet Union,

2) Fascism in Nazi Germany

2.10 analyze how ideological conflict shaped international relations after the Second World War: (use your notes here too much to summarize **EXTREMELY IMPORTANT TOPIC**)

1) expansionism,

2) containment,

3) deterrence,

4) brinkmanship,

5) détente,

6) nonalignment,

7) liberation movements

2.11 analyze perspectives on the imposition of the principles of liberalism (Aboriginal experiences, contemporary events) residential school, Harper apology 2008, land claims cultural revitalization, Aboriginal collective thought

2.12 analyze the extent to which modern liberalism is challenged by alternative thought

Environmentalism has roots at least as far back as the 1800s, but as a political and cultural ideology it gained widespread support primarily in the 1960s. Biologist Rachel Carson's book *Silent Spring* (1962) explained how pesticides enter the food chain and can negatively affect animals and human beings. Carson's book is seen as the initial impetus toward a greater understanding of the impact human activities have on the ecosystem.

During the 1970s, organizations such as Greenpeace and Friends of the Earth arose and began pressuring governments to enact laws to protect the environment. Greenpeace has a long list of legal victories: from the 1970s, when France and the United States banned certain types of nuclear weapon tests, through the 1980s and 1990s when the United Nations banned driftnet fishing and countries banned the practice of dumping toxic waste in the oceans. More recently, several major computer manufacturers have agreed to stop using certain toxic chemicals in their products.

The influence of environmentalism has led some political bodies to enshrine the right to a healthy environment alongside the principles of modern liberalism. For example, Article 12 of the United Nations International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, recognizes "the right of everyone to the enjoyment of the highest attainable standard of physical and mental health." In order for individuals to enjoy this right, the International Covenant deems necessary, among other steps, the "improvement of all aspects of environmental and industrial hygiene." Section 46.1 of the Québec Charter recognizes that everyone "has a right to live in a healthful environment in which biodiversity is preserved, to the extent and according to the standards provided by law."

Today, environmentalists often speak about the negative impact of many human economic activities. However, free-market economists and skeptics of global warming claim that environmental reform of the economy will do more harm than good.

Neo-conservatives are not comfortable with the large amount of services provided by modern government and prefer alternative ways of delivering these services. This challenges aspects of modern liberalism and, to a small extent, classical liberalism. Generally speaking, modern liberals believe the government should provide most essential services, such as education and health care. While classical liberals aim to minimize government intervention, they do believe government should be responsible for such things as education.

Foreign policy is an area of common ground for most neo-conservatives and includes such ideas as the following:

- Patriotism is good and should be encouraged.
- World government is not a good idea, as it would lead to tyranny.

- A large country has interests that extend beyond its own borders, and thus it needs a strong military.

- Democratic capitalism is a preferable system to others and should be promoted internationally.

Neo-conservative ideology had a strong influence over the foreign policies of the United States and Britain during the 1980s, which fueled the Cold War. After a lull during the 1990s, neo-conservatism once again became a strong influence on American foreign policy in the early 2000s. It was one aspect of the decision to invade Iraq in 2003.

Neo-conservatives have traditional views about social issues. They are concerned about what they view as the demise of the traditional moral culture and tend to be suspicious of counter-culture movements. Influenced by the Christian Right, many neo-conservatives seek to curtail abortion rights, allow prayer in schools, and urge teaching about creationism in science classes. This is a challenge to both classical and modern liberal principles, as both tend to favour keeping religion a private, personal matter.

Religious freedom and freedom of expression are principles supported by most liberal democracies. Consequently, not only are people free to embrace religious values that may conflict with the principles of liberalism, but they are free to express their critique of liberal principles.

Christian Right members generally:	Modern liberals generally:
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • support the rights of the unborn 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • support a woman’s right to choose to have an abortion as protected by existing abortion laws
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • believe families with heterosexual, married parents create the best environment for children 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • favour equal rights for people of all sexual orientations, including their right to marry, and believe that all people equally have the right to parenthood
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • support legislation against the use of overt sexual or violent content in television, movies, the Internet, and music 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • support the freedom to create and distribute any material that does not infringe on the rights of others and the right for adults to choose the content to which they are exposed
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • believe that religion has a place in publicly funded institutions, for example, that prayer should be allowed in public schools 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • oppose the promotion of religion by publicly funded institutions
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • focus on the need for individuals to take responsibility for their own actions and fulfill their responsibilities as community members 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • focus on the need for unequal opportunities in society to be balanced through government intervention

Postmodernism is another ideological school of thought that challenges liberalism. You will recall that you were introduced to postmodernism at the beginning of this chapter.

Up till now the car and the house, and various “commodities” have somehow or other succeeded in soaking up the disposable physical and mental capacities of individuals. What would happen if all disposable wealth was redistributed amongst them? Quite simply, the bottom would drop out of their lives—they would lose the fabric and even tempo of a well-tempered economy, lose a sense of self-interest and of purpose...

We are in a universe where there is more and more information, and less and less meaning...

—Jean Baudrillard, *In the Shadow of the Silent Majorities* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1983).

Postmodernism is the period that follows modernism in the fields of art, literature, and philosophy, largely in Western societies. It is also a school of thinking that questions and rejects the principles of modernism and liberalism. Some of the central concepts of modernism, which began during the Enlightenment, include the following:

- Science provides universal and eternal truths.
- Knowledge will lead to progress.

- Freedom consists of obedience to laws that are based on reason.
- Reason and rational thinking are the ultimate means of establishing what is true.

Modernity, then, is about order, universal truths, reason, and rationality. In this view, by using science and rationality to establish truths, an organized society can emerge.

Postmodernism calls into question the central ideas of modernism. It argues that, rather than a process for discovering truth, modernism has constructed “governing narratives” that tell us stories about our modern society and provide us with ideas around which we can organize society. Postmodernism claims that most of us are under a “veil of deceit” that hides alternative ways of thinking from us. Postmodernism does not necessarily deny any of the claims of modernism, but it does see many of the “truths” of modernism—and liberal ideology—as mere constructions— as convenient “lies” we tell ourselves so we do not have to think too much.

Although many see postmodernism as a mixture of related ideas rather than any sort of organized ideology or belief system, there are recurrent themes in postmodernist thinking. Some of these are:

- a belief that there is no set of moral or political ideas that can dominate cultural, ethnic, and gender differences. For example, postmodernists criticize what they see as the dominance of modern liberal ideology over many aspects of life to the exclusion of other ways of thinking.
- skepticism about the modern liberal idea that society can be “improved,” that there is “progress” in civilization
- a critique of the nature of knowledge: knowledge claims are relative to linguistic, social, and historical contexts. A simple example of this is the idea that Columbus “discovered” the New World. Another example is that we are often unaware of our own prejudices or biases until we step outside of our normal lives, such as when we travel to another country.
- a concern for issues of gender, race, and other parts of culture previously marginalized by the “grand governing narrative” (that is, the mainstream line of thinking in society). Groups that have traditionally been left out of the dominant social structure have their own legitimate ways of making sense of the world, and these ways of making sense may make more sense than those prescribed by liberal tradition.

Extremism:

What is objectionable, what is dangerous about extremists is not that they are extreme, but that they are intolerant. The evil is not what they say about their cause, but what they say about their opponents.

—Robert F. Kennedy, quoted in Thomas A. Hopkins, ed.,

Rights for Americans: The Speeches of Robert F. Kennedy

(Indianapolis, IN: Bobbs-Merrill, 1964), p. 237.

Unlike other terms related to the subject of ideology, such as democrat, socialist, or anarchist, the term extremist is normally used to refer only to other people, usually in a

pejorative sense. Whereas someone might readily call himself or herself an environmentalist, those who are considered extremists by others generally do not see themselves as extremists.

In common parlance, extremism refers to a belief system that is outside the mainstream spectrum of beliefs, and it may advocate actions that are considered socially or morally unacceptable, such as the use of violence. Sometimes the mainstream absorbs extremist views, however, and views that were considered extreme in one era become conventional in another (for example, women's right to vote and desegregation).

- Can you think of other ideas related to individual or collective rights that are now part of liberal democracies but were once considered extreme?

It is important to note that extremists avoid referring to themselves as extremists not because they do not view their actions as intolerant or extreme but rather because they believe that they are acting out of principled beliefs. There can be extremist views on both the right and the left of the political spectrum, but in many cases, labelling a group or ideology as extremist is a political act to make a group's beliefs appear to challenge the status quo. An example of this might be labelling people as eco-terrorists if they threaten to spike trees (that is, embed metal spikes that will damage forestry equipment in large trees; an action that can also injure loggers) that are to be logged in an environmentally sensitive area. For some, this is an act of desperation in defence of a principle; for others it is an act of extremism.

Terrorism as practised by groups such as al Qaeda, however, is clearly extremist. Even the supporters of al Qaeda would agree that this organization uses extreme measures. They would claim, however, that in a world of injustice where military, political, and economic power is concentrated in the hands of a small group (Western powers) and used to keep others powerless, extreme measures are the only way to arrive at justice. It can be argued that systemic injustice leads inevitably to extremism. How should liberalism respond to this argument?

Economic Extremism

Extremism is also used by some people to characterize economic activities that strictly adhere to a set of principles despite their perceived adverse effects on a population. For example, during the Cold War, the economic practices of communist countries were seen as extremist by the United States government and some other free-market countries.

More recently, critics of free-market policies have claimed that some forms of capitalism have become extremist forms of economics. Canadian author Naomi Klein sees the ideas of economist Milton Friedman (whom you read about in chapters 6 and 8) of the Chicago School of Economics as central to this "economic extremism": "Friedman dreamed of depatterning societies, or returning them to a state of pure capitalism, cleansed of all interruptions—government regulations, trade barriers and entrenched interests." (Source: Naomi Klein, *The Shock Doctrine: The Rise of Disaster Capitalism*. [Toronto: Alfred Knopf, 2007], p. 50.)

According to Klein, the Chicago School of Economics, supported by the American government, educated many economists from less developed countries—the countries most likely to lean toward communism. When these economists returned to their native

countries, they would then introduce “extreme” free-market economic policies, such as mass privatizations of public companies, agencies, and educational institutions; government deregulation; unrestricted free-market access for foreign corporations; and large cuts in social spending.

Sometimes these policies had devastating effects on local economies, while benefiting entrepreneurs: “Friedman’s free-market rule book...[has] made some people extremely prosperous, winning for them something approximating complete freedom—to ignore borders, to avoid regulation and taxation and to amass new wealth.” (Source: Klein, p. 59.) Friedman encouraged such policies because he was convinced that they were the most effective way to increase economic prosperity and political freedom.

- Milton Friedman considered his thinking to be classical liberalism. What specific values of modern liberalism do Friedman’s ideas challenge?

2.13 evaluate for yourself, the extent to which resistance to the principles of liberalism is justified

Related Issue 3 To what extent are the principles of liberalism viable?

Students will assess the extent to which the principles of liberalism are viable in a contemporary world.

Students will:

3.1 know and be able to appreciate various perspectives regarding the viability of the principles of liberalism

3.2 appreciate various perspectives regarding the promotion of liberalism or the imposing of within political and economic systems

Classical liberalism can be seen as the original engine for economic growth while modern liberalism can be seen as an attempt to suggest solutions to the problems caused by laissez-faire principles and economic growth.

We looked at some of the unanticipated consequences of liberalism and the effects they have had on less developed countries as well as on industrialized liberal democracies. Gap b/w rich and poor, injustice, inequality, conflict

Then, we looked a few ideological solutions proposed by liberal governments to address several global issues,

including concerns with resource use and development; public or private or mixed

debt cut taxes, increase growth, cut services

poverty; cut taxes, increase growth, cut services or increase taxes, increase gov't spending on social safety nets, provide more public services

the environment; and pandemics.

Let's look at the reasons for which some countries attempt to impose an ideology, liberalism for example, on other countries. The two biggest reasons are

A. Self-interest—the imposition of liberalism to eliminate or reduce terrorist threats, or for reasons of economic self-interest

One of the most common arguments for establishing liberalism through intervention is economic self-interest. According to this argument, exporting liberal democracy has both economic and security benefits. In this view, if liberalism can be fostered in a country where it is not present, it will benefit the economy of that country, which will in turn encourage trade with other liberal democracies.

*That a process for removing leaders is built into the structure of democracy provides a systematic mechanism for succession that minimizes political crises... Thus, the disruptions of war are avoided and the energies that would be spent in conflict are preserved for economic development. The resulting political stability in democracies... contributes to greater investor confidence, facilitating economic continuity and incentives for long-term asset accumulation. —Morton H. Halperin, Joseph T. Siegle, and Michael M. Weinstein, *The Democracy Advantage: How Democracies Promote Prosperity and Peace* (New York: Routledge, 2004), p. 14.*

The world understands that whilst of course there are dangers in acting as we are, the dangers of inaction are far, far greater—the threat of further such outrages, the threats to our economies, the threat to the stability of the world.

—Tony Blair (British prime minister), speech to the British people, October 7, 2001.
http://www.pbs.org/newshour/terrorism/combating/diplomacy/blair_10-7.html

Furthermore, according to this self-interest argument, countries that embrace liberalism are less likely to threaten the security of other liberal democracies. Ever since the September 11, 2001, terrorist attacks on the United States, this argument has been at the forefront of most major military interventions. The “war on terror,” a military, political, and ideological conflict headed by the United States, was a direct result of these terrorist attacks. The United States and many other countries—including Britain and Canada—invaded Afghanistan in 2001 to remove from power the Taliban, who were known to be supporting al Qaeda, the terrorist group responsible for the attacks.

B. Humanitarianism—the imposition of liberalism for moral or ethical reasons, such as to improve living conditions or stop human rights violations

Imposing Liberalism for Humanitarian Reasons

...Americans should and do feel some obligation to improve the well-being of other human beings. The bonds of common humanity do not stop at the borders of the United States. To be sure, these bonds and obligations are limited by the competitive nature of the international system. In a world where the use of force remains possible, no government can afford to pursue a foreign policy based on altruism. The human race is not about to embrace a cosmopolitan moral vision in which borders and national identities become irrelevant. But there are many possibilities for action motivated by concern for individuals in other countries. In the United States, continued public concern over human rights in other countries, as well as governmental and nongovernmental efforts to relieve hunger, poverty, and suffering overseas, suggest that Americans accept some bonds of common humanity and feel some obligations to foreigners.

—Sean M. Lynn-Jones, “Why the United States Should Spread Democracy”

The **altruistic** argument is sometimes used in combination with an argument of self-interest to justify American foreign policy. The “war on terror,” for example, was partly based on human rights issues: under the Taliban, Afghani women had virtually no rights, and Saddam Hussein’s reign over Iraq was characterized by fear and torture tactics. However, as we will see further on in this section of the chapter, forceful intervention in a foreign country does not always result in improved living conditions for the citizens of that country, regardless of the good intentions of the countries who intervene.

The imposition of liberalism is not always successful. Democratic elections are often hailed by the political leaders of liberal Western countries as a necessary prerequisite to peace and good governance. However, when they are held in an unstable political climate, elections do not always improve the situation. Elections may even exacerbate existing tensions between conflicting political movements.

Living in a country with a long history of liberal democratic institutions, you may find it strange that some other countries cannot maintain similar institutions themselves once a freely elected government is in power. However, as you have seen in past chapters, liberalism was not adopted overnight by countries such as Canada or the United States.

As an ideology, it has evolved over a long period of time, and certain aspects of it have changed as historical circumstances have changed.

As the democratic election of Hitler in Germany demonstrates, liberal democracy has difficulty surviving conditions such as unemployment, inflation, and civil unrest in a country without an existing liberal democratic tradition. In his book *The Future of Freedom*, author Fareed Zakaria discusses a statistical study of the economic conditions necessary for the survival of a democratic political system.

Of course some poor countries have become democracies. But when countries become democratic at low levels of development, their democracy usually dies. (There are exceptions, such as India...) The most comprehensive statistical study of this problem, conducted by political scientists Adam Przeworski and Fernando Limongi, looked at every country in the world between the years 1950 and 1990. It calculated that in a democratic country that has a per capita income of under \$1500 (in today's dollars), the regime on average had a life expectancy of just eight years. With between \$1500 and \$3000 it survived on average for about eighteen years. Above \$6000 it became highly resilient. The chance that a democratic regime would die in a country with an income above \$6000 was 1 in 500. Once rich, democracies become immortal. Thirty-two democratic regimes have existed at incomes above roughly \$9000 for a combined total of 736 years. Not one has died. By contrast, of the 69 democratic regimes that were poorer, 39 failed—a death rate of 56 percent.

—Fareed Zakaria, *The Future of Freedom* (New York: W.W. Norton, 2004), pp. 69–70.

Referring to Canadian foreign policy, author Tom Keating argues that ultimately, the health of a country's political institutions is dependent on its citizens, regardless of foreign intervention.

In reviewing Canadian peace building efforts in Africa, Lucie Edwards stated that: "We may be able to offer some help, in the form of financial aid, or advice, or training, or even the temporary stationing of peacekeepers, but in the end, it will be up to Africans to find their own solutions to their conflicts."

—Tom Keating, "What Can Others Do? Foreign Governments and the Politics of Peacebuilding," *Dilemmas of Reconciliation: Cases and Concepts* eds. Carol A.L. Prager and Trudy Govier (Waterloo, ON: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 2003), p. 190.

This is not a new idea. Philosopher John Stuart Mill expressed the same sentiment 150 years ago.

...there can seldom be anything approaching to assurance that intervention, even if successful, would be for the good of the people themselves. The only test possessing any real value, of a people's having become fit for popular institutions, is that they, or a sufficient proportion of them to prevail in the contest, are willing to brave labour and danger for their liberation.

—John Stuart Mill, "A Few Words on Non-Intervention," 1859.

Mill seems to be suggesting that intervention in another country cannot be justified, because the support of the majority of the local population would be necessary for the success of the intervention.

Knowledge and Understanding Students will:

3.3 explore the extent to which governments should reflect the will of the people

Challenges to the Will of the People

We have seen that the systems of representative democracy are not perfect methods of reflecting the will of the people, although mechanisms which attempt to do so are in place, such as the concept of responsible government in Canada, the checks and balances in the US republican system, and proportional representation. In addition, in all three types of representative democracy, countries have electorates that select representatives, and in all three, a written constitution exists that serves the interests of the people, outlines and guarantees their rights, outlines the responsibilities of the government, and contains the mechanisms for the system to be changed. What other conditions are necessary to realize the liberal ideal that government should reflect and be shaped by the will of the people?

Some thinkers believe that citizen participation in a democracy requires a kind of civic-mindedness, or a democratic personality. They also believe that this quality can be developed in the citizenry through education.

Any democracy must pay explicit attention to the development of its young people's civic skills, habits, and attitudes. We human beings do not instinctively develop the skills necessary for democracy. We are not automatically capable of working together with others on common problems. We do not naturally understand alternative perspectives. Unless we are taught to care about other people, we are unlikely to show concern from anyone beyond our immediate circle of family and friends.

Citizens are made, not born. Civic education is the process by which we teach young people to be effective and responsible members of democratic communities. Increasingly, we know how to make civic education work in our schools. Nothing is more important to the future health of our democracies.

—Peter Levine, “A blog for civic renewal,” October 14, 2005.

<http://www.peterlevine.ws/mt/archives/000707.html>

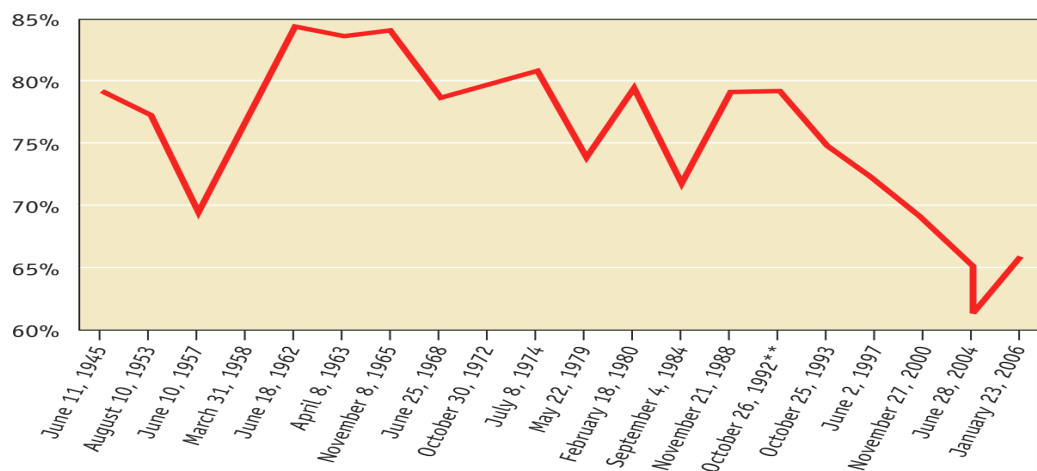
Citizen participation is a requisite of any democratic system. Voting—perhaps the most obvious evidence of democracy—is a minimal act. It alone does not define democracy. Democracy requires much more. And if citizens abandon their responsibility, then democracy is in danger of falling into the hands of people who will use the powers of government for their own purposes.

The highest measure of democracy is neither the “extent of freedom” nor the “extent of equality,” but rather the highest measure of participation.

—A.D. Benoist, French political philosopher

Voter Turnout: Evidence suggests that people are failing to execute even the minimal expectation of democracy by not exercising their right to vote. Voter turnout is generally

decreasing. In the 2006 federal election, for example, only 64.7 per cent of eligible voters voted, and in the 2008 election, only 59 per cent of eligible voters voted. This is a problem that plagues all democracies. Some voters are simply indifferent to the issues or to who makes the decisions. This problem creates a challenge to the fundamentals of democracy: If the power resides with the people, what do you do when the people choose not to exercise that power? How does low voter turnout undermine or endanger a democratic system?



Elite Theories of Democracy: Some people claim that the needs of a society are best served when one elite group of people, deemed to be better qualified than other citizens, is given the task of making decisions for all. Such a critique of mass participation in democracy is known as the “elite theory of democracy”. Voicing criticisms of democracy similar to those of Plato and Thomas Hobbes, economics theorist Anthony Downs has argued that, because a single vote has little weight in a very large group of decision makers, individuals have little or no sense of responsibility for their decision, and are thus less likely to make a rational and well-informed decision.

Lobbying by Interest Groups: Lobbying is an attempt to influence the direction of governmental policy by groups that represent a particular interest or perspective. These are often well-organized groups designed to raise money to inform and persuade (lobby) representatives or government bureaucrats to consider their perspectives. Frequently, they donate money to representatives’ election campaigns, although most democratic governments have limited the allowable amount of their contributions to prevent the actual “buying” of influence. Some lobby groups are self-interested, such as unions, business and development groups, or farmers groups who want specific economic policies that favour their interests. Others lobby in the interests of a particular segment of society, for example, people who are homeless, First Nations, cultural groups, or women. Still others may act to protect the environment, change abortion laws, or protect the right to bear arms.

Ethics and the Common Good: Governments may face the following question when considering whether to follow public opinion on a specific issue: Does the will of the people necessarily indicate the right course of action? Is majority public opinion always consistent with the values and principles of a liberal democracy? (The will of the people is generally taken to refer to the majority opinion.)

Do you agree that in these cases the government may be more objective and “wiser” than the people? John F. Kennedy had this to say about the will of the people in a democracy:

The true democracy, living and growing and inspiring, puts its faith in the people—faith that the people will not simply elect men who will represent their views ably and faithfully, but will also elect men who will exercise their conscientious judgment—faith that the people will not condemn those whose devotion to principle leads them to unpopular courses, but will reward courage, respect honor, and ultimately recognize right.

—John F. Kennedy, *Profiles in Courage* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1956), p. 264.

3.4 explore the extent to which governments should encourage economic equality **refer back to welfare state and notes on Keynes and Hayek and Freidman**

3.5 analyze the extent to which the practices of political and economic systems reflect:

- A. principles of liberalism
- B. consensus decision making,

Consensus Decision Making: In consensus decision making a group of individuals share ideas, solutions, and concerns to find a resolution to a problem that all members of the group can accept. There are many variations on the process, but most have a similar structure.

1. The question for consideration is presented to the group.
2. All members of the group contribute their opinions on the question.
3. A response to the question is proposed, and the members of the group come to some agreement on the response.
4. If all the members do not agree to the response, those who disagree present their concerns to the group.
5. The proposed response to the question is modified to address the concerns of those who disagree.
6. Another round of discussion is held on the newly modified response. The process repeats until a resolution is reached that all members can accept.

A. direct and representative democracies,

Principles of Liberalism in Direct Democracies

Some characteristics of direct democracy are found in the practices of many liberal democracies, however. For example, three important instruments of **direct democracy are initiatives, referendums or plebiscites, and recalls.**

Initiatives Citizens in the United States can use initiatives to create legislation. To create an initiative, a citizens' group draws up a petition. If the petition is signed by a certain number of citizens, it can force a public vote on an issue. Examples of this form of direct democracy in the 2008 election in California were the following:

Proposition 2: to treat food-producing animals (calves, chickens, pigs) more humanely

Proposition 6: to get tougher sentencing for gang-related violence

Proposition 8: ban on gay marriage (definition of marriage restricted to one man and one woman)

Proposition 9: to increase the rights of victims of crime

Proposition 10: to provide rebates to citizens who buy cars that use alternative fuel

“Initiatives crowding California’s November ballot run the gamut.”

referendums or plebiscites In referendums or plebiscites, all citizens may vote on whether to accept or reject a proposed piece of legislation. Referendums, in effect, refer the decision to the people. The word plebiscite literally means “the common people (plebians) speak.” There have been only three referendums held at the federal level in Canada’s history. In the most recent referendum, in 1992, citizens were asked whether they approved or disapproved of the changes to the Constitution proposed in the Charlottetown Accord. Even though the Constitution does not require the use of referendums to make amendments, politicians wished to gauge public reaction to these contentious amendments before implementing the accord. Defeated in the referendum, the Charlottetown Accord was not implemented. Some political observers believe that the defeat of the Charlottetown Accord set a precedent whereby citizens will expect to be consulted before any constitutional amendments are passed. Numerous municipal and provincial plebiscites have been held over the years.

Recall: In a recall election, a majority of voters may choose to remove an elected official or government from power. This is usually initiated through a petition. In Canada, British Columbia is currently the only province that allows recalls. If enough registered voters sign a petition to recall a Member of the Legislative Assembly (MLA), the Speaker announces the recall, and a by-election is held as soon as possible. Since representative recall was enacted in 1995, over 20 recall efforts have been launched, but no one has actually been recalled so far. In the United States, only 15 states allow recalls. California governor Arnold Schwarzenegger was elected in 2003 in the state’s first-ever recall election.

A direct democracy operates on the belief that every citizen’s voice is important and necessary for the orderly and efficient operation of society. Direct democracy seems practical only with small numbers of people, however, because it requires everyone to get together in one space to discuss issues, then make decisions based on the majority vote. Ancient Athens, the world’s first democracy, practised direct democracy with an assembly that may have numbered 5000 or 6000 people.

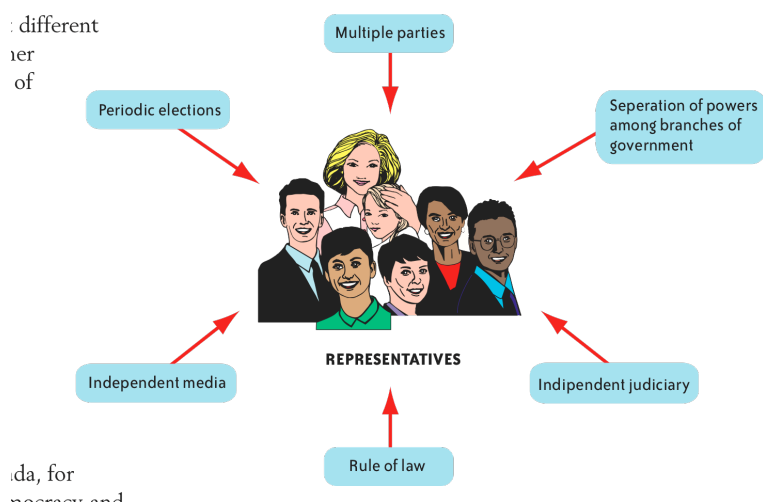
Pure democracies have ever been spectacles of turbulence and contention; have ever been found incompatible with personal security or the rights of property; and have in general been as short in their lives as they have been violent in their deaths.

—James Madison, *Federalist Papers*, No. 10, 1787.

Liberalism through Representative Democracy: Parliamentary system and Republic see extensive notes on democratic systems from class!!

Most modern liberal democracies, because of their size and complexity, use a form of representative democracy. In this system, citizens elect governing officials to make decisions on their behalf.

Canada's Parliamentary Democracy



There are many variations of representative democracies. Canada, for example, has a parliamentary democracy and follows a tradition known as responsible government. This means that the branch of government that proposes laws, the executive branch of government (the prime minister and the cabinet ministers), is dependent on the direct or indirect support of elected members of the legislative branch (a majority of MPs in the House of Commons).

The United States' Republican Democracy (see extensive notes given in class)

Unlike Canada, which has a monarch, the United States follows a republican system of government. A republic is a country where the people are sovereign and there is no king or queen. Like Canada, the United States has three branches of government: legislative, executive, and judicial. To ensure that the government adheres to liberal principles, the United States uses a system of checks and balances to make sure that no one branch of the government becomes too powerful. The legislative branch (Congress) has checks over the executive branch (the president and members of the Cabinet) and also over the judicial branch (judges and the court system), and the same is true for the other two branches.

Proportional Representation

In Sweden and many other countries, the government uses a different form of representation: proportional representation. In this system, citizens vote directly for a party, and then representatives are assigned based on the amount of popular support obtained. The system encourages and legitimizes participation by minority or marginal parties who would not obtain representation in the systems used in Canada or the United States.

Usually, countries using a proportional representation system have many more parties than countries using a single-member constituency system. This often results in coalitions where two or more parties must work together to form the government. On occasion, a minority government might be formed. In Sweden, four major parties have had the most political control and have formed coalition governments for years.

Many people argue that proportional representation is more representative and democratic than a single-member constituency system since the proportion of seats in the legislature

more accurately and directly reflects the popular vote (and therefore better reflects the will of the people).

This is only a partial list of countries using proportional representation. This system is common in Europe, especially in the Scandinavian countries, and in South America.

Austria	Germany	Netherlands
Argentina	Greece	Peru
Belgium	Hungary	Portugal
Brazil	Iceland	Scotland
Croatia	Ireland	South Africa
Czech Republic	Israel	South Korea
Denmark	Italy	Sweden
Dominican Republic	Mexico	Turkey
Finland	New Zealand	Venezuela

B. Authoritarian political systems (see extensive notes given in class)

One-Party Systems	Military Dictatorships
China	Burma (Myanmar)
Cuba	Fiji
Laos	Libya
Syria	Mauritania
Vietnam	

Figure 10-18 ▲

Oligarchy is a form of government in which political power rests with a small elite segment of society. They are often controlled by politically powerful families who pass on their influence to their children.

A one-party state is a type of system where only one party forms the government and no other parties are permitted to run candidates for election.

A military dictatorship, sometimes known as a military junta, is a form of government in which political power resides with the military leadership. Countries in Latin America, Africa, and the Middle East have presented many examples of military dictatorships.

Characteristics/ techniques of Dictators (see extensive notes given in class)

Know at Least, how Hitler, Stalin 5- year plans, Mao Great Leap Forward (Mussolini if you have time), and a current dictator of your choice look to the news, used these techniques with examples.

- Authoritarian Rule
- Propaganda
- Indoctrination
- Use of Force and Terror
- Direction of Popular Discontent/ controlled dissent
- Controlled Participation

Strengths and Weaknesses of Authoritarianism

Even though many authoritarian governments have sometimes resorted to horrible acts of human rights violations to enforce their power, the fact remains that authoritarianism seems to accomplish many of its goals in many situations. The visions many dictators paint for their countries often address the needs of the people and often result in positive circumstances for many. Many Russians, for example, long for the days of the Soviet Union; under communism they were able to obtain food for their families and heat their homes. Many of the “liberating” market reforms that have come since the collapse of communism have hurt people who were unprepared for a competitive, individualistic lifestyle.

Another interesting example can be found in the Philippines. Ferdinand Marcos, a dictator who ruled the country from 1965 to 1986, was driven from power in a massive, but peaceful, street revolution. He is known to have been extremely corrupt, stealing billions of dollars and stashing the money away in Swiss banks. With recent political and economic instability, however, many in the Philippines are remembering his reign as “better times” because Marcos built roads and hospitals and struck deals with foreign governments to allow Filipinos to work abroad and send home foreign currency, which is now a major feature of the Filipino economy. In fact, the dictator is remembered so fondly now that a nationwide poll in 2005 rated Marcos as the best of the last five Philippine presidents. His rating even topped the rating of the man who organized the revolution that ended his dictatorship. Some say that his greatest achievement was that, even as a dictator, he did listen to the will of the people when it was most important to do so. For example, when the street protest happened, Marcos would not let his guards attack the protestors. Instead, he resigned from power.

Just like democracy, however, authoritarianism has its weaknesses. The willingness by many authoritarian governments to sacrifice individual citizens for the perceived needs of the country is clearly unacceptable on many levels. Most authoritarian governments also seem unable to change leadership in a peaceful manner. This often results in periods of violence and misery during the transition from one leader to another. At other times, authoritarian leaders may be popular leaders whose publics see them as guiding father figures. Later, because of economic circumstances, international pressures, or a general feeling that the leader has become unresponsive, popular support disappears and spontaneous opposition arises. Again, violence is often the result.

Many authoritarian governments have become democracies over the years, partly due to international influence, but also due to the will of the people. Any government, even a dictatorship, will not last if it ignores the people. Such regimes raise difficult questions about why authoritarian leaders are sometimes popularly supported while at other times their popular support disappears. Are there circumstances in which an authoritarian regime can be seen as an expression of the will of the people?

- A. **traditional economies, cottage industry, pre-industry**
- B. **free market economies, (see extensive notes given in class)**
- C. **command economies, see extensive notes given in class** (refer back to Russia study, Marxism, rejection of liberalism, five year plans, and China and Mao, Great Leap Forward)
- D. **mixed economies** and third way text and notes (public health care, public education, public infrastructure, roads, sewer, post office, courts shelters etc.

3.6 analyze the extent to which liberal democracies reflect illiberal thought and practice

Restricting Freedoms in Subtle Ways

Following the events of 9/11 (the terrorist attacks on the United States, September 11, 2001), governments, individuals, and groups have developed a different understanding of security, terrorism, and mobility. Your own experiences with travel, especially through airports and border crossings, are distinct from those of Canadians prior to 9/11. Yet many people raise concerns about the appropriateness as well as the effectiveness of increased security measures in Canada and around the world. Supporters of increased security often point out that the restrictions are minor and certainly not as serious as the potentially devastating consequences.

The USA PATRIOT Act

The United States government has responded to the need for increased security by introducing the **Uniting and Strengthening America by Providing Appropriate Tools Required to Intercept and Obstruct Terrorism Act** (USA PATRIOT Act, 2001). This act's preamble states that its purpose is to "deter and punish terrorist acts in the United States and around the world, to enhance law enforcement investigatory tools, and for other purposes." (Source: USA PATRIOT Act, October 24, 2001. Electronic Privacy Information Center, <http://www.epic.org/privacy/terrorism/hr3162.html>.)

Canada's No-Fly List

One of the increased security measures in Canada is a no-fly list called Transport Canada's "Specified Persons" list. This is a list of people the government has identified as potentially posing an immediate threat to aviation security. People on the list are barred from flying on domestic flights in Canada

Maher Arar, whom you read about in the chapter opener, is one Canadian who has been affected by the American no-fly list. Arar arrived in New York on a stopover during his return to Canada from Tunisia. American officials detained Arar, claiming he had links to al

Qaeda. Arar was questioned, held, and eventually deported to Syria, even though he was carrying a Canadian passport. He was tortured and held in Syria until October 2003.

The War Measures Act was first passed in 1914 in response to Canada's involvement in the First World War. It has been invoked only three times in Canada's history. The actions that were taken by the Canadian government when it invoked the Act were atypical of the day-to-day actions of governments in liberal democracies. In each case, the federal government stated reasons for its actions to suspend, restrict, and limit rights, freedoms, and the basic principles of liberalism. The following reasons have been given in the past to justify the Act's use:

- It was necessary for the overall good of society.
- It was justified because of the threat or severe nature of the situation.
- It was essential to protect, retain, or secure other principles of liberalism.

The War Measures Act gave the federal cabinet emergency powers for circumstances where it determined that the existence of war, invasion, or insurrection, real or apprehended, existed. The real distinction of this Act was that it allowed the cabinet to govern by decree rather than through discussion and debate in Parliament. The federal government had increased powers under this Act: powers that could be used immediately once the Act was invoked. The following sections outline the circumstances and repercussions of using the War Measures Act. Which instances of its use, if any, do you consider to be necessary, justified, and essential?

The First World War and Enemy Aliens

The first use of the War Measures Act in Canada came during the First World War. Canada and Newfoundland were part of the British Empire at the time, and Britain and the Allied Powers were at war against the Central Powers: Germany, Austria-Hungary (which included parts of Ukraine), and the Ottoman Empire. Under the War Measures Act (1914) immigrants from these countries already residing in Canada were considered enemy aliens.

As a result, all enemy aliens were required to register with the Canadian government and carry their government-issued ID cards at all times. In addition, they were not permitted to publish or read anything in a language other than English or French, to leave the country without exit permits, to possess firearms, or to join any group the government deemed inappropriate, dangerous, or seditious.

Several thousand enemy aliens were deported or sent to internment camps (Figure 11-15 shows one of these camps). Their property was confiscated and often went missing during their internment or was not returned afterwards.

The Second World War and Japanese Internment

During the Second World War, the Canadian government invoked the War Measures Act to intern individuals and place restrictions on the freedoms of Japanese-Canadians. Nearly 23 000 Japanese-Canadians—the vast majority of whom were naturalized or native-born Canadians from the Pacific Coast—were placed in internment camps in early 1942.

At the conclusion of the Second World War, the federal government decided that all Japanese-Canadians should be removed from British Columbia. Japanese-Canadians were given the choice between deportation to Japan or relocation east of the Rocky Mountains. Although 4000 Japanese-Canadians chose to leave the country, the majority opted to move to the prairies, Ontario, or Québec. Japanese-Canadians could return to British Columbia in 1949, as they had regained the right to live anywhere in Canada, but most had already chosen to live elsewhere.

In the 1980s some Japanese-Canadians and their families sought redress for the actions of the Canadian government. Although not all Japanese-Canadians supported this action, the action challenged the federal government to act on its commitment to a multicultural society and the new Charter of Rights and Freedoms. In 1988, Prime Minister Brian Mulroney publicly acknowledged the unjust actions and the Canadian government awarded compensation packages of \$21 000 for each individual directly wronged.

The War Measures Act is a heinous piece of legislation because it's easy to guarantee all kinds of rights and freedoms when times are good, but those guarantees only matter when times are difficult. That's what men and women fought and died to protect, but when put to a serious test by World War II, Canada failed miserably.

—David Suzuki (author, scientist, and advocate whose family was interned during the Second World War), “An Erratic Journey through Science and Society.” *AmeriQuests* 3, 2 (2006).
<http://ejournals.library.vanderbilt.edu/ameriquests/viewarticle.php?id=84>

October Crisis, 1970

The third and final time the War Measures Act was invoked was in October 1970. Canada and the world underwent significant political, social, and cultural changes during the 1960s.

During the 1960s, the FLQ used a series of bombings and armed robberies to further its goals. On October 5, 1970, the FLQ abducted British trade commissioner James Cross, an act that shocked Canadians. Ransom demands were made, most of which were not met. On October 10, 1970, the kidnapping and subsequent murder of Pierre Laporte, a popular Québec cabinet minister, generated strong reactions from Canadians as well as citizens of other countries. Within days, the Canadian Armed Forces were sent to protect politicians in Ottawa. Québec premier Robert Bourassa requested that troops be sent to support local police. The military and police presence was either disquieting or reassuring to Canadians, depending on their points of view.

Prime Minister Trudeau invoked the War Measures Act on October 16, 1970, explaining that a state of “apprehended insurrection” existed in Québec. Civil liberties were suspended, and the FLQ was formally outlawed. Anyone attending an FLQ meeting or speaking favourably of the organization was presumed to be a member. Nearly 500 people were arrested without warrants for expressing their pro-FLQ views and could be held in prison for up to 90 days; many of the people arrested were artists, journalists, unionists, teachers, and other supporters of Québécois nationalism.

The actions of the federal government during the October Crisis raised a great deal of controversy. Although an overwhelming number of Canadians supported the government’s actions, many Québec nationalists and advocates of civil rights criticized the use of the War

Measures Act as excessive and too broad, especially for a case involving two kidnappings and a murder, issues that would normally be dealt with by the police and existing laws. One major criticism was that the government acted on limited information and treated all separatist supporters as potential terrorists.

There are a lot of bleeding hearts around who just don't like to see people with helmets and guns. All I can say is go and bleed...It is more important to keep law and order in society than to be worried about weak-kneed people...Society must take every means at its disposal to defend itself against the emergence of a parallel power which defies the elected power.

—Pierre Elliott Trudeau, *impromptu interview with Tim Ralfe of the CBC and Peter Reilly of CJON-TV, October 13, 1970.*

Emergencies and Security Legislation Today

Following the introduction of the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms in 1982, the Canadian government introduced a new law, the Emergencies Act, in 1988, in order to harmonize this law with the articles of the Charter.

The Emergencies Act includes more safeguards protecting the rights of Canadians. First, the Emergencies Act clearly defines an emergency situation:

A public welfare emergency is defined as one that is caused by real or imminent: • natural catastrophe

- disease in humans, animals or plants

- accident or pollution resulting in danger to life or property, social disruption or a breakdown in the flow of essential goods, services or resources so serious as to constitute a national emergency.

—Source: Government of Canada, Emergencies Act.

<http://dsp-psd.tpsgc.gc.ca/Collection-R/LoPBdP/BP/prb0114-e.htm#A>. Preamble(txt)

Second, the Emergencies Act limits the powers of the government during the time of the crisis. Any measures implemented under the Emergencies Act are subject to the approval of Parliament. Under the new Emergencies Act, the government is obliged to specify to which part or parts of Canada the emergency measures apply, if it is not a national issue.

Third, any temporary emergency measures taken under the Emergencies Act must take into account the rights of Canadians, as outlined in the Charter of Rights and Freedoms. The Emergencies Act even includes a section requiring the government to award compensation to anyone who has suffered injury or damages as a result of the Act's application.

In addition to the Emergencies Act, the Parliament of Canada passed the Anti-Terrorism Act in 2001 to deal with perceived security threats, and is "aimed at disabling and dismantling the activities of terrorists groups and those who support them." Similar to the Emergencies Act, the Anti-Terrorism Act (about which you read in the Investigations feature on p. [xx]) allows the government to impose limits to Canadians' freedoms in order to ensure security during times of crisis or perceived threat

Canada's Anti-Terrorism Act

Something to Think About: Canada is known for its Charter of Rights and Freedoms; specifically, civil liberties that every Canadian citizen is entitled to, such as the rights

• • •

not to be arbitrarily detained and imprisoned to be informed of the reasons of arrest or detention to be released if the detention is found not to be justified

3.7 analyze why the practices of governments may not reflect principles of liberalism: imposing affirmative action, forces integration, (for the common good)

Ethics and the common Good: Nineteenth-century thinkers Alexis de Tocqueville and John Stuart Mill used the phrase tyranny of the majority to describe one of the potential problems in a democracy: that the will of the majority may be imposed on minorities to the detriment of other liberal principles. In 2005, for example, when the government of Canada introduced legislation into Parliament to recognize same- sex marriages, some Canadians wanted a referendum to be held on the issue so they could express their opinions. Justice Minister Irwin Cotler, however, announced that there would not be a national referendum. Cotler stated that if a referendum had been held to decide whether women were entitled to vote in the early 20th century in Canada, women would likely never have been enfranchised. Was Cotler right in favouring the extension of rights over the will of the people?

3.8 evaluate the extent to which governments should promote individual and collective rights

- **American Bill of Rights;**
- **Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms;**
- **Québec Charter of Human Rights and Freedoms;**
- **First Nations, Métis and Inuit rights;**
- **language legislation;**
- **emergencies and security legislation see above**

3.9 evaluate the extent to which the principles of liberalism are viable in the context of contemporary issue:

- environment concerns,
- resource use and development,
- debt and poverty,
- racism,
- pandemics,
- terrorism,
- censorship,

- illiberalism
- smoking
- People incarcerated (in prison) being allowed to vote
- The Death penalty
- Ethical Treatment of animals
- Prostitution
- Medical Marijuana <http://www.cbc.ca/news/background/marijuana/>
- Euthanasia
- • Needle Handouts to Addicts
- Gay Marriage/Gay Rights
- Same Sex couple adoption
- Religious dogma – adopting strict religious codes like Sharia Law

Classical Liberalism →	Effects →	Modern Liberalism
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • involves no government interference (hands off) • proposes that the sole function of government is to protect individuals' natural rights to life, liberty, and property • emphasizes economic liberalism and promotes the freedom of the entrepreneur 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • contributed to the Great Depression • contributed to the wealth gap between the more developed world and the rest of the world, thus leading to such things as political instability and hyper-consumerism • contributed to the development of counter-ideologies, such as communism and fascism, and the expansion and revision of liberal ideas 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • involves significant government intervention (hands on) • proposes that all individuals be valued equally • proposes the development of programs to help disadvantaged individuals and eliminate the causes of poverty, crime, and abuse • promotes initiatives to share the benefits of development and to develop wisely

Related Issue 4 To what extent should my actions as a citizen be shaped by an ideology?

General Outcome Students will assess their rights, roles and responsibilities as citizens.

Students will:

- 4.1 know and be able to appreciate the relationship between citizenship and leadership
- 4.2 know and be able to exhibit a global consciousness with respect to the human condition and world issues
- 4.3 know and be able to accept responsibilities associated with individual and collective citizenship

Knowledge and Understanding Students will:

- 4.4 explore the relationship between personal and collective worldviews and ideology
- 4.5 explore how ideologies shape individual and collective citizenship review related issue 1 and chapter 1 and 2 notes on individualism and collectivism
- 4.6 analyze perspectives on the rights, roles and responsibilities of the individual in a democratic society (respect for law and order, dissent, civility, political participation, citizen advocacy) **Democratic systems Notes**
- 4.7 analyze perspectives on the rights, roles and responsibilities of the individual during times of conflict

humanitarian crises, Haiti, Darfur, DR. Congo, Sierra Leone, Zimbabwe, Uganda, Hurricane Katrina, Rwanda

civil rights movements, see notes and **timeline handout**

antiwar movements, The War against the Vietnam War, protests against Iraq and Afghanistan today

McCarthyism, **see cold war notes**

pro- democracy movements, Myanmar(Burma) Aung San Suu Ky, see notes
The Anti-Apartheid Movement in South Africa; International sanctions put pressure on SA to end Apartheid. As well civil unrest within SA. As apartheid declined, so did the government's resolve to keep Mandela imprisoned. On February 11, 1990, he was freed from prison. That same year the ANC was once again free to exist in South Africa. Mandela continued the struggle to abolish apartheid. In 1994, the first free interracial election occurred in South Africa. The ANC won the election, and Mandela became the first black president of South Africa. Apartheid was now a thing of the past.

India, Gandhi

Orange Revolution:

November 22, 2004, was the beginning of a spontaneous, massive protest, called the Orange Revolution, against the results of the Ukraine presidential election on November 21. The

declared winner, Viktor Yanukovych, had been hand-picked by the outgoing president, Leonid Kuchma, an anti-democratic and pro-Russian politician.

Yanukovych's opponent, Viktor Yushchenko, was pro-democratic, pro-Western, and the favoured candidate of the middle class.

The Yanukovych campaign was accused of election fraud that included voter intimidation, multiple voting in areas favouring Yanukovych, and the burning of ballot boxes in areas with strong Yushchenko support. There was even a report that the pens for ballot-marking had been filled with disappearing ink in some areas of strong Yushchenko support so that ballots would be blank when counted. During the campaign, Yushchenko was poisoned with dioxin and almost died. Evidence suggested that pro-Kuchma operatives had poisoned Yushchenko in an effort to remove him from the presidential race.

contemporary examples: wiki leaks, Raising Awareness and Selling Products, Local to Global Environmental Action, Celebrities Speak Out, NGO's

4.8 evaluate the extent to which ideology should shape responses to contemporary issues

4.9 develop strategies to address local, national, and global issues that demonstrate individual and collective leadership

4.10 explore opportunities to demonstrate active and responsible citizenship through individual and collective action