Chapter

9

Imposing Liberalism

Canada's high ranking on the United Nations' human development scale would dramatically drop if the country were judged solely on the economic and social well-being of its First Nations people. According to a new UN report, Canada would be placed 48th out of 174 countries if judged on those criteria.

The low position is a significant drop from Canada's usual top 10 ranking on the UN's human development scale. Canada came in seventh in the last report but if the conditions of native people were the only qualifiers, the country's ranking would plummet…

—"Canada ranked low in UN native report." CBC News, April 11, 2005.
http://www.cbc.ca/canada/story/2005/04/11/UNNatives-050411.html

Ever since early colonial settlement, Canada's indigenous peoples were progressively dispossessed of their lands, resources and culture, a process that led them into destitution, deprivation and dependency, which in turn generated an assertive and, occasionally, militant social movement in defence of their rights, restitution of their lands and resources and struggle for equal opportunity and self-determination.

—Rodolfo Stavenhagen, "Report of the Special Rapporteur on the situation of human rights and fundamental freedoms of indigenous people" (United Nations Commission on Human Rights, December 2004), p. 6.

We are looking for the basic necessities of life that come with being Canadian—clean drinking water, decent housing, education and health care. We are looking for equality of opportunity so we can get good jobs and support ourselves and our families. We are looking to control our own destinies. Improving our lives will not only be good for us. It will be good for Canada.

—Phil Fontaine, quoted in Jonathan Hayward, "Protests Block 401, Rail Lines." Canadian Press, thestar.com, June 29, 2007.
http://www.thestar.com/printArticle/230885

KEY SKILLS

Analyzing multiple historical perspectives of an event

KEY CONCEPTS

Analyzing perspectives on the imposition of the principles of liberalism on people

Key Terms

Assimilation
Humanitarianism
Indian Act

Chapter Issue

In previous chapters you examined situations where various peoples did not benefit under liberalism; you also discussed how the scope of liberalism expanded to include some of the concepts demanded by those people, such as members of labour unions. By the mid-20th century, some thinkers were re-examining another aspect of classical liberalism: its exclusivity. These shortcomings of liberalism raised the question of to what extent resistance to liberalism is justified. Part 2 aimed at providing information to answer this question.

Just as women, unpropertied men, and enslaved people fell outside of the range of classical liberalism's concerns, so too did Aboriginal peoples. The ideal situation, as it was envisioned by many liberal thinkers, would be for Aboriginal peoples to give up their own ideologies and adopt liberalism. This is often referred to as a policy of assimilation. This kind of thinking informed government policy in British North America, and later Canada, in the early days of contact with First Nations and Inuit peoples and continued to do so for many years. This raises the question: "To what extent are the principles of liberalism viable for people in the contemporary world?"

Today, some people believe a similar kind of thinking lies behind the foreign policy of some Western liberal democracies. Sometimes governments of countries such as the United States, Great Britain, and Canada see foreign policy's major goal as the spread of liberal democracy to countries that currently embrace other ideologies.

In this chapter you will examine First Nations, Métis, and Inuit experiences of the imposition of liberalism, as well as examples of the ways in which liberalism is imposed on peoples in other countries today. Through this examination you will be able to consider the Chapter Issue: ***To what extent, and for whom, has the imposition of liberalism been successful?***

Figure 9-1

Phil Fontaine, National Chief of the Assembly of First Nations, speaking in Ottawa on the National Day of Action, June 29, 2007: a day of national protests held to draw attention to government inaction on Aboriginal issues.

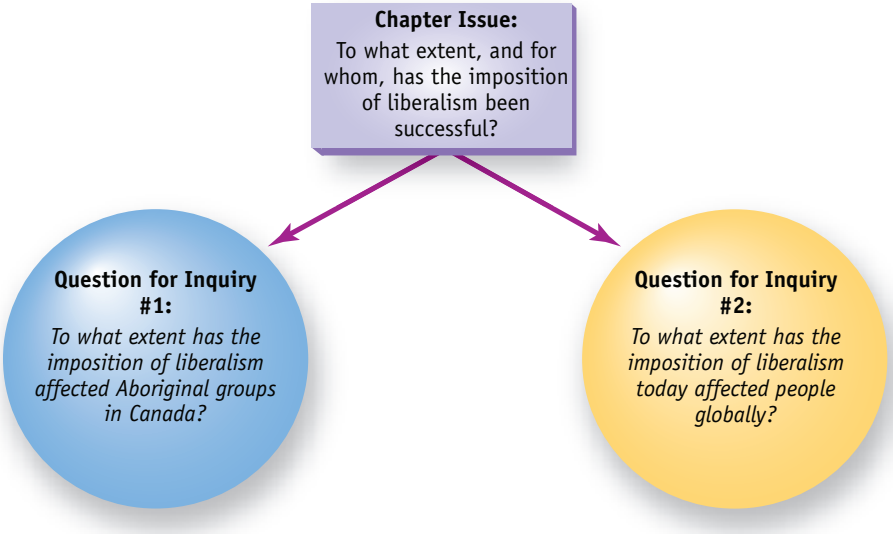


Figure 9-2

Aboriginal Experiences of Liberalism in Canada

Question for Inquiry

- **To what extent has the imposition of liberalism affected Aboriginal groups in Canada?**

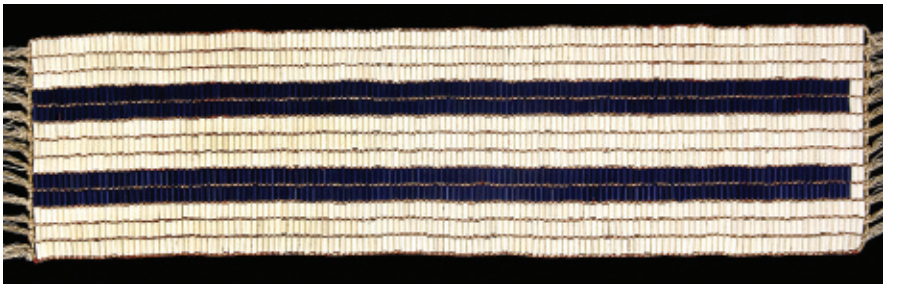


Figure 9-3 ▶

The two-row wampum belt was meant to symbolize the relationship between the Haudenosaunee Confederacy of First Nations and the European settlers as separate yet equal cultures. Do you think the relationship between the two cultures as it is represented in the wampum belt has been maintained since that time? Why or why not?

Differences between First Nations and European cultures were likely evident from the first interactions between European explorers and First Nations peoples. Over time, the Haudenosaunee Confederacy of First Nations in eastern North America (see map in Figure 9-4) proposed and understood that the relationship between themselves and the Europeans was one of sovereign nations that were separate, distinct, and equal. This relationship was portrayed symbolically in a two-row wampum belt marking the Treaty of Fort Albany between the British and the Confederacy in 1664. For the Mohawk Nation, the meaning of the belt is as follows:

> *From the beginning we realized that the newcomers were very different from any other people who lived on Turtle Island. Consequently, our people proposed a special agreement to be made between the two parties. It is an initial guide for developing relations between ourselves and any other nations. It is the timeless mechanism. Each succeeding generation is taught the importance of the Kaswentha, or Two Row Wampum, for generations to follow.*
>
> *As you can see, the background of white wampum represents a river. The two parallel rows of purple wampum represent two vessels travelling upon the river. The river is large enough for the two vessels to travel together. In one vessel can be found the Kanien'kehaka [gun-yung-gay-HAH-gah], and in the other vessel the European nations. Each vessel carries the laws, traditions, customs, language and spiritual beliefs of the respective nation.*
>
> *It shall be the responsibility of the people in each vessel to steer a straight course. Neither the Europeans nor the Kanien'kehaka shall intersect or interfere with the lives of the other. Neither side shall attempt*

Figure 9-4

The Haudenosaunee Confederacy occupied much of the land in what is now southern Ontario, Québec, and upstate New York. The confederacy was a union of six nations (Mohawk, Oneida, Onondaga, Cayuga, Seneca, and Tuscarora) into a central government under the leadership of the Great Council of Sachems—leaders who were elected from each nation and who were equal in rank and authority. Each nation remained independent in all matters pertaining to local self-government, but the Confederacy transacted business that concerned the common welfare of all six nations.

to impose their laws, traditions, customs, language or spirituality on the people in the other vessel. Such shall be the agreement of mutual respect accorded in the Two Row Wampum.

—Edward J. Cross (chairman, Kanien'kehaka Raotitiohkwa Cultural Centre, Kahnawake, Québec), quoted in *Report of the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples*, Vol. 4, "Perspectives and Realities", Chapter 3, "Elders' Perspectives", 1996, p. 120
http://www.ainc-inac.gc.ca/ap/pubs/sg/cg/cj3-eng.pdf

Conflicting Ideologies

As the Haudenosaunee had observed, there were many seemingly irreconcilable differences between the respective ideologies of the First Nations peoples and North America's colonial European governments. In the 19th century, the ideology of classical liberalism, and the concept of progress associated with it, became a dominant force in the thinking of many European and North American colonial leaders. This faith in progress became associated with the concept of modernism. Faith in progress had become an ideology, which is still common today.

Despite certain events of the twentieth century most people in the Western cultural tradition still believe in the Victorian ideal of progress, a belief succinctly defined by the historian Sidney Pollard in 1968 as "the assumption that a pattern of change exists in the history of mankind… that it consists of irreversible changes in one direction only, and that this direction is towards improvement."…Pollard notes that the idea of progress

is a very recent one—"significant only in the past three hundred years or so"—coinciding closely with the rise of science and industry and the corresponding decline of traditional beliefs…

Our practical faith in progress has ramified and hardened into an ideology—a secular religion which, like the religions that progress has challenged, is blind to certain flaws in its credentials.

—Ronald Wright, *A Short History of Progress* (Toronto: House of Anansi, 2004), p. 3.

The idea of continual progress and the principles of liberalism stood in contrast to many of the ideas of traditional Aboriginal cultures. Although individual First Nations, Métis, and Inuit peoples have their own traditions and conceptions, there are general laws of relationships that are considered common to most Aboriginal cultures. These are the Laws of Sacred Life (including respect for oneself), Laws of Nature, and Laws of Mutual Support. These laws are grounded in the belief that there is a sacred power greater than us, and in the following related principles:

- All parts of creation are interconnected and manifest in the spirit of the Creator.
- Humankind must live in respectful relationship with all that has been created.
- Spiritual forces are gifts intended to aid survival rather than threaten it.

Laws of Sacred Life **Each person is born sacred and complete.**	**Laws of Nature** **The natural world provides the gifts of life and place.**	**Laws of Mutual Support** **People in groups of mutual support are strong. Alone, a person will not survive.**
• Each person is given the gift of body with the choice to care for it and use it with respect.	• A people's sense of place and identity is tied to the land/sea which has given the people life.	• Identity comes from belonging in respectful relationships with others.
• Each person is given the capacity and the choice to learn to live in respectful relationships.	• The natural world provides people with the necessities of life.	• Agreement on rules enables cooperation and group strength.
• Each person is given strengths or talents to be discovered, nurtured and shared for the benefit of all.	• People must live in harmony with the laws of nature in order to be sustained by it.	

—Source: Western Canadian Protocol for Collaboration in Basic Education, "The Common Curriculum Framework for Aboriginal Introduction Language and Culture Programs: Kindergarten to Grade 12," June 2000, p. 19.

The various conceptual differences between the traditional ideology of the Aboriginal peoples and the emerging liberalism of the immigrant society would eventually lead to misunderstandings in areas such as land ownership, education, work, and governance.

Conflicting Land-Holding Ideologies

One of the elders from Hobema [sic] says, "When [the Europeans] first came, the people who spoke on [the elders'] behalf told them, 'You see that mountain over there—that's not ours to give you—the land we cannot give you because it's not ours to give, it belongs to the Creator. Those trees and the animals we cannot give you, they're not ours to give. But this is what we'll do. That mountain, that rock, represents our faith and we will treat you in good faith. The animals represent our sharing and our kindness and we will treat you with kindness."

—Source: Rosalee Tizya, "Contact and Resistance: The History of Canada from an Aboriginal Perspective" (Center for World Indigenous Studies, 1999).
http://www.ascwa.com/documents/historyperspective.pdf

This land, over which you now wish to make yourself the absolute master, this land belongs to me, just as surely as I have grown out of it like the grass, this is the place of my birth and my home, this is my native soil; yes, I believe that it was God that gave it to me to be my country forever.

—Mi'kmaq chief in a declaration to the English, who assumed they owned mainland Nova Scotia under the Treaty of Utrecht, 1749, quoted in Report of the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples, Vol. 1, "Looking Forward, Looking Back", Chapter 5, "Stage Two: Contact and Co-operation", 1996, p. 126.
http://www.ainc-inac.gc.ca/ap/pubs/sg/cg/cg5-eng.pdf

One of the ways cultural and ideological differences were most obvious was in the concept of land holding. As you have read earlier in this text, Aboriginal peoples have a unique relationship with the land. While people can control and exercise stewardship over a territory, ultimately the land belongs to the Creator—who gives the land to the people to care for in perpetuity—and the right to inhabit and live from that land is thus inalienable.

As more immigrants arrived from Europe, more land was needed to accommodate them. By 1812, European settlers outnumbered Aboriginal peoples by a ratio of 10 to 1 in eastern Canada. Treaties were negotiated that allowed newcomers to claim the land First Nations inhabited in exchange for promises of compensation in the form of annual payments, social and economic benefits, and the continued use of some land and resources. Many First Nations leaders wanted peace and harmony with the European settlers who were pressing in upon them, but, above all, they wanted to protect and preserve their way of life.

By the time of Confederation in 1867, 123 treaties and land surrenders had already been negotiated in British North America. By 1975 and the James Bay Agreement, there were 500. Many

Pause and Reflect

What sort of practical problems do you think might arise, given the differences in thinking between Aboriginal peoples and the European immigrant society in Canada?

Pause and Reflect

- **How are the conceptions of land described in these quotes different from liberal ideas of property and ownership?**
- **Given the differences between these views and principles of liberalism, what potential conflicts might arise over land use?**

Pause and Reflect

- **What do you think was at the bottom or the root cause of this attitude that the Europeans brought to treaty negotiations?**
- **How does this difference in understandings of historical agreements between First Nations and the Canadian government help explain the large number of land claims currently being negotiated between various First Nations and the Canadian government?**

contemporary conflicts between individual First Nations and Canadian governments have resulted from some of these agreements. Some of the reasons for these conflicts include the following:

- The British, not trusting oral agreements and traditions, insisted on European-style written and signed treaties. But First Nations societies were often not governed by a hierarchical leadership that could command a population to follow a leader's decisions. Often a chief could sign for his immediate band, but only if its members had been consulted and were in agreement.
- Language was also a problem. Negotiations were conducted through interpreters who not only did not totally grasp both languages but were also sometimes dishonest. Translation was a problem because European concepts such as exclusive land ownership often had no equivalent in First Nations languages.
- European attitudes of cultural superiority called the legal status of the agreements into question, even though they were written documents. The colonizing powers came to believe that the First Nations were not sovereign nations, and thus ceased to consider the treaties valid international agreements.

So far as is known, none of these treaties were put through the procedure in the British Parliament that would have been necessary for such status, nor have Canadian courts made such an acknowledgement. Where "Indian title" was admitted, there was no agreement among colonizers as to what it included. What was agreed was that a "savage" could never validly exercise sovereignty, which was a power that was recognized only for peoples living within organized states. Some further specified that the states had to be Christian.

—Olive Patricia Dickason, *Canada's First Nations* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1992), p. 177.

Attempts at Assimilation

The great aim of our legislation has been to do away with the tribal system and assimilate the Indian people in all respects with the inhabitants of the Dominion…

—Sir John A. Macdonald, memorandum "Return to an Order of the House of Commons", 2 May 1887.

In their efforts to have Aboriginal peoples adopt liberal ideology and a European way of life (a process known as assimilation), successive Canadian governments used several different means. One of these was the **residential school system** (mandatory boarding schools for Aboriginal children that had the primary goal of assimilating them into Western cultures and traditions), which you likely examined in earlier grades. Others included **enfranchisement** (giving non-Aboriginal

rights to First Nations' men to entice them to give up their official Indian status and become part of the mainstream Euro-Canadian society) and various aspects of the Indian Act, both of which will be explored below.

Enfranchisement

The Gradual Civilization Act, passed in 1857, was another example of an attempt to assimilate the First Nations. Any First Nations man who gave up his official Indian status would be considered enfranchised and given 50 acres (0.2 square kilometres) of land on the reserve for his exclusive use. In addition, he would receive his share of any treaty settlements and other band money. When he died, ownership of the land would be given to his children, and land would thus be removed from the band's reserve.

Despite government efforts, only one person with Indian status was enfranchised between 1857 and the passing of the Indian Act in 1876. First Nations people protested against the Gradual Civilization Act and asked for its repeal. Furthermore,

> *…Indian bands individually refused to fund schools whose goals were assimilative, refused to participate in the annual band census conducted by colonial officials, and even refused to permit their reserves to be surveyed for purposes of the 50-acre allotment that was to be the incentive for enfranchisement.*
>
> **—Source: *Report of the Royal Commission of Aboriginal Peoples*, Vol. 1, "Looking Forward, Looking Back", Chapter 9, "The Indian Act", 1996, p. 272.**
> http://www.ainc-inac.gc.ca/ap/pubs/sg/cg/cg9-eng.pdf

Indian Act

To consolidate all the previous colonial laws governing First Nations, in 1876, the government of Canada passed the **Indian Act**. Until the 1982 amendments to the constitution, it was the single most important piece of government legislation affecting First Nations people. It not only defined what First Nations people could and could not do, it imposed a definition of who was a First Nation person. It separated First Nations people from the rest of the people of Canada and was used to control their behaviour and destroy their cultural traditions and customs.

The first Indian Act included an explicit goal of assimilation by which Aboriginal people were encouraged to abandon their Indian status, identity, and traditional cultures to become full-fledged members of Canadian society. Underlying this vision was the belief that Indian people needed to be regarded as children, or wards of the government, as indicated in the 1876 annual report of the Canadian Department of the Interior.

Figure 9-5 ▲

Sir John A. Macdonald (1815–1891) was the first prime minister of Canada. He helped shape Canada's policy on many issues, including Aboriginal relations.

Pause and Reflect

- **Why do you think only one person agreed to be enfranchised?**
- **Why did the government think that this Gradual Civilization Act would have any appeal to First Nations people in the first place?**
- **How does this policy reflect the imposition of liberalism on Canada's First Nations?**

Pause and Reflect

Consider how different the tone and language of the Indian Act is from the tone and language of the Mohawk explanation of the two-row wampum belt. In what ways does this difference in tone reflect the imposition of liberalism?

Our Indian legislation generally rests on the principle that the aborigines are to be kept in a condition of tutelage and treated as wards or children of the State…the true interests of the aborigines and of the State alike require that every effort should be made to aid the Red man in lifting himself out of his condition of tutelage and dependence, and that is clearly our wisdom and our duty, through education and every other means, to prepare him for a higher civilization by encouraging him to assume the privileges and responsibilities of full citizenship.

—Source: Annual Report of the Canadian Department of the Interior, 1876, quoted in *Report of the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples*, Vol. 1, "Looking Forward and Looking Back", Chapter 9, "The Indian Act", 1996, p. 277.
http://www.ainc-inac.gc.ca/ap/pubs/sg/cg/cg9-eng.pdf

The Indian Act represented a marked change from the Royal Proclamation of 1763 in which Indian persons were recognized as distinct peoples and nations with the right to negotiate with the Crown as sovereign nations. Even though this relationship was not one of total equality, the Crown still could not simply appropriate First Nations land without negotiating and purchasing the land.

The Indian Act also continued the government's goal of enfranchisement. It retained the system of voluntary enfranchisement by which First Nations people could lose their Indian status and gain full citizenship, and also introduced the compulsory enfranchisement of any Aboriginal person who received a university degree or became a doctor, lawyer, or religious minister, whether they desired to be enfranchised or not. Later amendments also included compulsory enfranchisement for any Aboriginal woman who married a non-Aboriginal man, or any Aboriginal person who chose to vote in a federal election or join the Armed Forces.

Recent revisions to the Indian Act have removed many of these discriminatory amendments.

The White Paper

In the 1968 federal election, Pierre Trudeau campaigned on a platform of creating a just society for all Canadians. As a firm believer in federalism, Trudeau wanted a pluralist society that emphasized a sense of group cohesiveness and belonging in Canada. For him, this meant in part bringing Aboriginal peoples into the mainstream. In 1969, Trudeau's newly elected government issued the **White Paper** that proposed to abolish treaties, the Department of Indian Affairs, and everything else that had kept the First Nations and Inuit people distinct from the rest of the people of Canada. Trudeau believed that their unique status was preventing the First Nations and Inuit peoples from integrating into Canadian society. By ending the unique status,

First Nations and Inuit peoples would be able to "catch up" with the rest of society.

The Trudeau government, however, had failed to consult with First Nations and Inuit peoples in any significant way in formulating the White Paper. The paper had a hostile reception from First Nations leaders who saw it as just another attempt to assimilate them into mainstream Canadian culture.

> *We view this as a policy designed to divest us of our aboriginal, residual, and statutory rights. If we accept this policy, and in the process lose our rights and lands, we become willing partners in cultural genocide. This we cannot do.*
>
> **—Source: National Indian Brotherhood, quoted in Olive Patricia Dickason, *Canada's First Nations* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1992), p. 386.**

Taking a Stand against Assimilation: The Red Paper

In response to the government's White Paper, the National Indian Brotherhood published "Citizens Plus," which was also known as the **Red Paper**. In it, they outlined their objections to the government's proposed policy changes. Their observations included the following:

- *The legislative and constitutional basis of Indian status and rights should be maintained until First Nations and Inuit are prepared and willing to renegotiate them.*
- *First Nations and Inuit already have access to the same services as other Canadians, plus additional rights and privileges that were established by the British North America Act, various treaties and governmental legislation.*
- *Only First Nations and Inuit and their organizations should be given the resources and responsibility to determine their own priorities and future development lines.*
- *The government wrongly thinks that the Crown owns reserve lands. The Crown merely "holds" such lands, though they belong to First Nations and Inuit peoples. The government also thinks that First Nations and Inuit peoples can only own land in the Old World, European sense of land ownership. Therefore, First Nations and Inuit should be allowed to control land in a way that respects both their historical and legal rights.*
- *The Indian Act should only be reviewed when treaty rights issues are settled and if there is a consensus among First Nations and Inuit peoples on such changes regarding their historical and legal rights.*

—Source: "Citizens Plus, also known as the Red Paper, 1970." Early Canadiana Online, Library and Archives Canada, Canada in the Making.

Figure 9-6 ▲

Harold Cardinal, a member of the Sucker Creek Reserve in Alberta, meets with Prime Minister Trudeau and cabinet ministers in June 1970 to discuss the establishment of an impartial commission to settle treaty claims. In 1968, Cardinal became the youngest elected president of the Indian Association of Alberta. He is best known as the author of *The Unjust Society* (1969). He also helped draft the Red Paper entitled "Citizens Plus" (1970) and authored *The Rebirth of Canada's Indians* (1977).

Pause and Reflect

- **How does the Red Paper counter the government's attempt to impose liberalism through the policies of its White Paper?**
- **How does the Red Paper establish a new course of thinking and acting by First Nations and Inuit people?**

The federal government withdrew the White Paper and moved on to other concerns, putting First Nations and Inuit issues aside. Nonetheless, the leaders of First Nations and Inuit organizations continued to represent the interests of their members.

Commenting on the government's plan to repeal the Indian Act, Cardinal wrote the following:

> *We do not want the Indian Act retained because it is a good piece of legislation. It isn't. It is discriminatory from start to finish. But it is a lever in our hands and an embarrassment to the government, as it should be. No just society and no society with even pretensions to being just can long tolerate such a piece of legislation, but we would rather continue to live in bondage under the inequitable Indian Act than surrender our sacred rights. Any time the government wants to honour its obligations to us we are more than ready to help devise new Indian legislation.*
>
> **—Harold Cardinal, *The Unjust Society* (Edmonton: M.G. Hurtig Publishers, 1969), p. 140.**

Contemporary Solutions: Land Claims and the Constitution

> *Business cannot be separated from the environment. The environment cannot be separated from the government. Government cannot be separated from social and economic issues. People cannot be separated from all of the above. Perhaps it is time to recognize this and make efforts to reinstate a whole-life perspective in education.*
>
> **—Patrick Kelly (Stó:lo [STAH-loh] Nation), quoted in D. Jensen and C. Brooks, eds., *Celebration of Our Survival: The First Nations of British Columbia* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1991), p. 145.**

Land claims and the non-fulfillment of treaty rights were two other major areas of concern. The government had never signed treaties with many of Canada's First Nations, even though they were dispossessed of their lands. Nations without treaties had been pressuring the government to negotiate land claims for years.

The patriation of the constitution in 1982 was an opportunity to resolve some of the issues. In 1982, the Constitution Act recognized and affirmed existing Aboriginal and treaty rights. Aboriginal rights are those rights that exist simply because Aboriginal peoples have inhabited Canada "from time immemorial." Treaty rights are rights flowing from the various treaties that the government signed over the years with the different First Nations. For the first time, the collective rights and identity of the Aboriginal peoples of Canada entered the laws of the country.

Land claims are slowly being resolved. In 2007, there were 861 unsatisfied claims by 445 First Nations, with a historical pattern of

about 60 new claims being filed every year. (Source: Tom Flanagan, "Land Claims Shouldn't Be an Immortal Industry." *The Globe and Mail* June 4, 2007, p. A13.) One particularly troubled claim became a milestone in Canadian history when, on April 13, 2000, Parliament passed the Nisga'a [NIS-guh] Final Agreement Act, a negotiated agreement among the Nisga'a Nation, the government of British Columbia, and the government of Canada.

The **Nisga'a Final Agreement** is primarily a land claims settlement, meaning that the Nisga'a now have complete control over their land, including the forestry and fishery resources contained in it. This does not mean that non-Nisga'a people are forbidden from entering the territory or even living there. The Nisga'a government must make provisions for reasonable public access to the public lands under its control, including access to hunting and fishing on the land. The Nisga'a can, however, make laws that restrict public access in certain situations. In effect, the Nisga'a have complete sovereignty over their land, but there are some strings attached: laws that would severely restrict use of the land or resources by others must be approved by the provincial or federal government.

The most important aspect of the Nisga'a Final Agreement, however, is the measure of self-governance that the Nisga'a now have. Under the Final Agreement, the Nisga'a are required to make a constitution that will govern the Nisga'a people (a referendum must be held where at least 70 per cent of the Nisga'a people approve the constitution). They will have the ability to make laws, create public institutions (such as schools and hospitals), and have a separate police board. This does not mean, however, that they are exempt from provincial or federal laws. In particular, they are still subject to the Charter of Rights and Freedoms and the Criminal Code. And if Nisga'a laws conflict with provincial or federal laws, generally the provincial or federal law will prevail. In addition, the Nisga'a are required to consult with non-Nisga'a inhabitants on laws that will affect them.

The Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples and the Healing Fund

Canadians are fair-minded people. They know the situation as we've described in our communities is simply unacceptable.

—Phil Fontaine (Assembly of First Nations National Chief), speaking about the Aboriginal Day of Action (June 29, 2007), a day of national protests that were held to draw attention to government inaction on Aboriginal issues

The only voice that we have is when we start to target those things which disrupt people…, that inconvenience people. That's the only time we seem

Figure 9-7 ▲

A Canada-wide Aboriginal Day of Action was held on June 29, 2007, when some protesters in Ontario blocked sections of Highway 401 and the CN rail lines. They were protesting the federal government's lack of action on resolving important issues for many Aboriginal peoples in Canada.

to get the ear of government and the rest of the Canadian public to consider our grievances.

—Shawn Brant (a descendant of Joseph Brant) on the Aboriginal Day of Action, quoted in Sue Bailey, "Veteran native protester vows more militant disruption after day of action." Canadian Press Newswire, June 26, 2007.

As you may have learned in previous grades, the Canadian government formed the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples in 1991 to examine "government policy with respect to the original historical nations of this country" (Source: *Report of the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples*, Vol. 1, "Looking Forward, Looking Back," 1996, p. xxiii) After five years of inquiries and public hearings, the Royal Commission issued a report on its findings.

Among the Commission's recommendations were

- the creation of legislation recognizing the sovereignty of Aboriginal peoples
- the creation of institutions of Aboriginal self-government
- the creation of initiatives to address social, education, health, and housing needs

In the years since the publication of the Royal Commission's report in 1996, many people, including First Nations, Métis, and Inuit leaders, have been critical of what they perceive as a lack of government action to address the Royal Commission's recommendations.

One concrete result of the Royal Commission's recommendations was the creation of the **Aboriginal Healing Foundation** (AHF) in 1998. The AHF is an Aboriginal-managed, Ottawa-based, not-for-profit private corporation with the mission to "encourage and support Aboriginal people in building and reinforcing sustainable healing processes that address the legacy of Physical Abuse and Sexual Abuse in the Residential School system, including intergenerational impacts." (Source: "Mission, Vision, and Values." Aboriginal Healing Foundation website, http://www.ahf.ca/about-us/mission.) To accomplish these goals, the government of Canada awarded 1345 grants worth a total of $406 million to various programs in communities across Canada (including the establishment of healing centres in which counselling and traditional healing activities are available). The AHF was given an 11-year mandate to complete its goals and was disbanded on March 31, 2009. The Assembly of First Nations has called the AHF a "noteworthy success." (Source: Assembly of First Nations, "Royal Commission on Aboriginal People at 10 Years: A Report Card," 2006, p. 4.)

Pause and Reflect

Whose point of view do you believe is most informed in their assessment of to what extent people in Canada have clear understandings about important issues for many Aboriginal peoples? Why?

The Potlatch

A specific example of how the Indian Act was used to disrupt traditional First Nations society is the banning of the potlatch, a ceremonial gathering featuring sacred rites, dancing, singing, and gift-giving, which is a significant aspect of many West Coast First Nations cultures. In 1884, an amendment to the Indian Act made participating in a potlatch a criminal offence; appearing in traditional dress and dancing at festivals were also criminalized. The Canadian government considered such traditional practices an obstacle to "civilizing" the West Coast First Nations.

…Indian agents and Christian missionaries equated the custom [potlatch] with a range of vices. However, the objection was ultimately rooted in the Euro-Canadian notion of cultural progress, which opposed the uninhibited distribution of material wealth. [Canadian prime minister Sir John A.] Macdonald accepted the view that, "It is not possible that Indians can acquire property or can become industrious with any good result while under the influence of this mania."

—"By Executive Decree: Potlatch," Order-in-Council Database, Library and Archives Canada, September 20, 2005.
http://www.collectionscanada.gc.ca/decret-executif/023004-3062-e.html

Despite the ban, many West Coast First Nations continued to hold potlatches, which sometimes resulted in arrests. In response to one of these arrests, a Nuu-chah-nulth [noo-CHAH-noolth] chief wrote to the *Victoria Daily Colonist* defending the potlatch.

They say that sometimes we cover our hair with feathers and wear masks when we dance. Yes, but a white man told me one day that the white people have also sometimes masquerade balls and white women have feathers on their bonnets and the white chiefs give prizes for those who imitate best, birds or animals. And this is all good when white men do it but very bad when Indians do the same thing…

…I asked a white man to write this in order to ask all white men not to interfere with our customs as long as there is no sin or crime in them. The potlatch is not a pagan rite; the first Christians used to have their goods in common and as a consequence must have given "potlatches" and now I am astonished that Christians persecute us and put us in jail for doing just as the first Christians.

—Maquinna (Chief of Nootka (Nuu-chah-nulth]), *Victoria Daily Colonist* April 1, 1896, p. 6, quoted in Penny Petrone, *First People, First Voices* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1984), p. 70.

Figure 9-8 ▲
Contemporary Namgis [NOM-gees] Nation potlatch

In 1921, Duncan Elliott, deputy superintendent of the Department of Indian Affairs from 1913 to 1932, issued revealing instructions to his agents:

It is observed with alarm that the holding of dances by the Indians on their reserves is on the increase, and that these practices tend to disorganize the efforts which the Department is putting forth to make them self-supporting. …You should suppress any dances which cause waste of time, interfere with the occupations of the Indians, unsettle them for serious work, injure their health, or encourage them in sloth and idleness.

—Duncan Elliott, quoted in Pamela Williamson and John Roberts, *First Nations Peoples* (Toronto: Emond Montgomery, 2004), p. 133.

Finally in 1951, the Indian Act ban on the potlatch was repealed. Since then, potlatch traditions have been revived in several First Nations.

Namgis Nation Chief Bill Cranmer says the potlatch is once again important in the lives of his people. In the past year alone there have been several potlatches and feasts, bringing hundreds of people into the community. The largest potlatch attracted more than 1500 people. New masks, headdresses and other regalia are being made in the community and worn at the potlatches.

"It's been a real positive for our community to have the cultural centre there," says Cranmer. "The families that weren't practising their culture 30 years ago, are now researching their family history, teaching their kids and their kids are proud of who they are. They are proud to be in the dance. The younger ones are proud to be able to sing the songs."

—"Namgis Nation," *Treaty Commission Annual Report 2006: Six perspectives on treaty making.* Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, December 21, 2001.
http://ainc-inac.gc.ca/bc/treapro/mreinf/pub/bctcr6/namgis_e.html

1. What is the hypocrisy that Chief Maquinna sees in the government's actions to stop the potlatch?
2. Why was the government so determined to end the potlatch?
3. How are these actions by the government ideologically driven? Could it be argued that this is an example of imposing liberalism on First Nations people?

Explore the Issues

Concept Review

1. a) Make a list of policies implemented by the Canadian government that can be considered examples of the imposition of liberalism on Aboriginal peoples. Explain each policy.
   b) Make a list of actions undertaken by First Nations, Métis, or Inuit peoples to resist the policies and practices of successive Canadian governments.

Concept Application

2. Based on what you have examined thus far, to what extent have the attempts of Aboriginal peoples to resist the imposition of liberalism in Canada been successful? According to the evidence you have examined in this chapter, how viable have the principles of liberalism been for some Aboriginal groups? To what extent have some First Nations, Métis, and Inuit peoples been able to affirm more traditional collective beliefs and values while also working within political and economic systems based on liberalism?
3. Consider the principles of liberalism. Are there any significant differences between some Aboriginal worldviews and the principles of classical liberalism? In what ways has the meeting of these perspectives and ideologies affected Aboriginal groups in Canada?

Whose Perspective on History Is It?

History is the version of past events that people have decided to agree upon.

—Napoléon Bonaparte

The past is everything that has happened and can never be recounted in its totality. History is the telling of what happened and is by nature selective in that telling. In creating that narrative, by identifying what we include and exclude, and by making judgments about the merits of various actions, we make sense of the past and signal what is important to us now. The history we create depends on our present situation and purposes. Thus history, unlike the past, is never static—it changes with emerging values, ideas and audiences. Historical thinking is the act of interpreting and assessing both the evidence from the past that has been left behind and the narratives that historians and others have constructed from this evidence.

—Mike Denos and Roland Case, *Teaching about Historical Thinking*, eds. Peter Seixas and Penny Clark (Vancouver: University of British Columbia, 2006), p. 2.

Appreciating Historical Perspectives on Liberalism

As you consider situations where liberalism has been imposed on a society, it is important to maintain historical perspective. Historical perspective is the ability to consider the past and its observers on their own terms, through the eyes and experiences of those who were there. Historical perspective takes into account the historical context in which the event unfolded—the values, outlook, and circumstances of a society in a particular time and place, and of the observers whose version of events we are considering.

Historical perspective requires us to avoid present-mindedness, or judging the past solely in terms of present-day norms and values. People of the past did not think like we do because their cultures, education, values, and ways of life were different. Perhaps most importantly, historical perspective also requires us to avoid accepting one particular version of events as the only reliable version of events.

Thus, as you look at specific historical events that demonstrate the imposition of liberalism on a people, your understanding of why such an imposition occurred will be aided by keeping in mind questions that reveal historical perspective. For example, consider the following: From whose perspective was the imposition of liberalism beneficial? From whose perspective was it detrimental? Do any accounts of liberalism take a middle ground?

Your Task: Examine the potlatch ceremony discussed in Voices on pages 315–316, and explore the following issue: To what extent were the Canadian government's attempts to suppress the potlatch consistent or inconsistent with the principles of liberalism? Use the Questions to Guide You for assistance.

Questions to Guide You

1. To what extent is the position expressed in the Duncan Elliott quote consistent with the principles of liberalism?
2. In your opinion, how strong is the argument presented in each of the quotes?
3. What is the historical context of each of the quotes? How does this affect the position expressed in each quote?
4. Do the quotes provide an argument based on individualism, on concern for the common good, or on aspects of both of these ideas?
5. Who, if anyone, has the right to impose the principles of his or her ideology on another (think of such ideologies as the protection of private property and the right to a belief system)?

Bringing Liberalism to the World

Question for Inquiry

- **To what extent has the imposition of liberalism today affected people globally?**

Pause and Reflect

- **The author both admires and is critical of liberalism. What does the author see as the shortcomings of liberalism?**
- **Under what circumstances, if any, is a country justified in imposing its political ideology on another country?**

From a multiculturalist perspective, no political doctrine or ideology can represent the full truth of human life. Each of them—be it liberalism, conservatism, socialism or nationalism—is embedded in a particular culture, represents a particular vision of the good life, and is necessarily narrow and partial. Liberalism, for example, is an inspiring political doctrine stressing such great values as human dignity, autonomy, liberty, critical thought and equality. However, they can be defined in several different ways, of which the liberal is only one and not always the most coherent.

And [liberalism] also ignores or marginalizes such other great values as human solidarity, community, a sense of rootedness, selflessness, deep and self-effacing humility and contentment. Since it grasps only some aspects of the immensely complex human existence and misses out too much of what gives value to life, liberalism, socialism or for that matter any other political doctrine cannot provide the sole basis of the good society. Political doctrines are ways of structuring political life and do not offer a comprehensive philosophy of life. And even so far as political life is concerned, they need to be interpreted and defined in the light of the wider culture and the unique history and political circumstances of the community concerned.

—Lord Bhikhu Parekh (professor of political theory), "What is multiculturalism?" Seminar magazine, December 1999.
http://www.india-seminar.com/1999/484/484%20parekh.htm

Figure 9-9

Anti-poverty activists and riot police clash in front of the Ontario Provincial Legislature in June 2000. If Canada experienced a decade or more of political and social turmoil, including violent confrontations in the streets, do you think other countries would be justified in intervening and taking over the country to restore order?

Imagine that Canada has experienced a decade of political and social turmoil. Several governments have been dismissed and replaced. There are often political demonstrations in the streets, some of them violent. For a period of time, the Canadian Armed Forces take over the country, claiming that public safety is seriously endangered. Finally, after a series of short-lived civilian governments and military coups, an international force of peacekeepers, led by the United States, invades and occupies the country. A panel of international advisors decides that an unelected interim government should rule the country until law and order are restored. When this has been achieved, the advisors say, the Canadian political system will

need to be significantly restructured. How would you react to such a situation? What would be the reasoning behind your reaction?

Such a situation sounds unlikely or even absurd, yet millions of people around the world have experienced a similar situation. Some of those people welcome foreign intervention, while others resent it. 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

- **Self-interest—**the imposition of liberalism to eliminate or reduce terrorist threats, or for reasons of economic self-interest
- **Humanitarianism—**the imposition of liberalism for moral or ethical reasons, such as to improve living conditions or stop human rights violations

Imposing Liberalism for Self-Interest

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

The idea of liberal democracies imposing liberalism on another country—by force, if necessary—is not new. American president Woodrow Wilson insisted that democracy be an essential component of the peace treaty with Germany and its allies after the First World War. In a 1918 speech (which would later become the basis for the terms of the German surrender) to the US Congress, Wilson stressed the importance of democracy and self-determination in establishing a lasting peace in Europe. Today, protecting national interests in our increasingly globalizing world is an important part of American foreign policy.

It may be a cliché to say that the world is becoming more interdependent, but it is undeniable that changes in communications technologies, trade flows, and the environment have opened borders and created a more interconnected world. These trends give the United States a greater stake in the fate of other societies, because widespread misery abroad may create political turmoil, economic instability, refugee flows, and environmental damage that will affect Americans…the spread of democracy will directly advance the national interests of the United States.

—Sean M. Lynn-Jones, "Why the United States Should Spread Democracy" Belfer Center for Science and International Affairs, Harvard University, discussion paper, March 1998.
http://belfercenter.ksg.harvard.edu/publication/2830/why_the_united_states_should_spread_democracy.html

Figure 9-10 ▲

On October 7, 2001, British prime minister Tony Blair announced that Britain would be participating in the American military action against targets inside Afghanistan. Blair, a member of the Labour Party, had been Britain's prime minister since 1997. Blair was heavily criticized for his unwavering support of US foreign policies and resigned as prime minister in June 2007 due to pressure from his own party.

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 countries, including 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.
http://www.soros.org/initiatives/washington/articles_publications/publications/halperin_20041217/ch1.pdf

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. Prime Minister Blair justified Britain's involvement in the US-led attack on Afghanistan on October 7, 2001:

This atrocity was an attack on us all, on people of all faiths and people of none. We know the al-Qaeda network threatens Europe, including Britain, and indeed any nation throughout the world that does not share their fanatical views. So we have a direct interest in acting in our self-defence to protect British lives. It was an attack on lives and livelihoods.

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

President George W. Bush has compared the "war on terror" to the Cold War.

It is an ideological struggle with an enemy that despises freedom and pursues totalitarian aims. Like the Cold War, our adversary is dismissive

of free peoples, claiming that men and women who live in liberty are weak and decadent—and they lack the resolve to defend our way of life. Like the Cold War, America is once again answering history's call with confidence—and like the Cold War, freedom will prevail.

—George W. Bush, quoted in "Remarks by President Bush on the Global War on Terror" (White House press release, April 10, 2006).
http://www.state.gov/r/pa/ei/wh/rem/64287.htm

The United States extended the "war on terror" to Iraq in 2003, arguing that the country was a threat to the United States because Iraq could begin to use weapons of mass destruction to aid terrorist groups. Unlike the Afghanistan invasion, the war in Iraq did not receive international approval, and Kofi Annan, secretary-general of the United Nations (UN), said the war was illegal from the point of view of the UN. Only the United States and Britain (and small contingents from a few other countries) participated in the invasion. France was one country that did not support the US-led invasion of Iraq, arguing that an invasion would further destabilize the region. As a result, France saw some of its relationships with allies strained. For example, it is estimated that France lost a total of $113 million in wine sales to the United States because of an American boycott over its position. French foreign minister Dominique de Villepin had this to say about the US-proposed invasion of Iraq:

There are two options: The option of war might seem a priori to be the swiftest. But let us not forget that having won the war, one has to build peace. Let us not delude ourselves; this will be long and difficult because it will be necessary to preserve Iraq's unity and restore stability in a lasting way in a country and region harshly affected by the intrusion of force.

Faced with such perspectives, there is an alternative in the inspections which allow us to move forward day by day with the effective and peaceful disarmament of Iraq. In the end is that choice not the most sure and most rapid?…Given this context, the use of force is not justified at this time.

—Dominique de Villepin, speech to the UN Security Council, February 14, 2003. Global Policy Forum.
http://www.globalpolicy.org/security/issues/iraq/unmovic/2003/0214dominiquestate.htm

PAUSE AND REFLECT

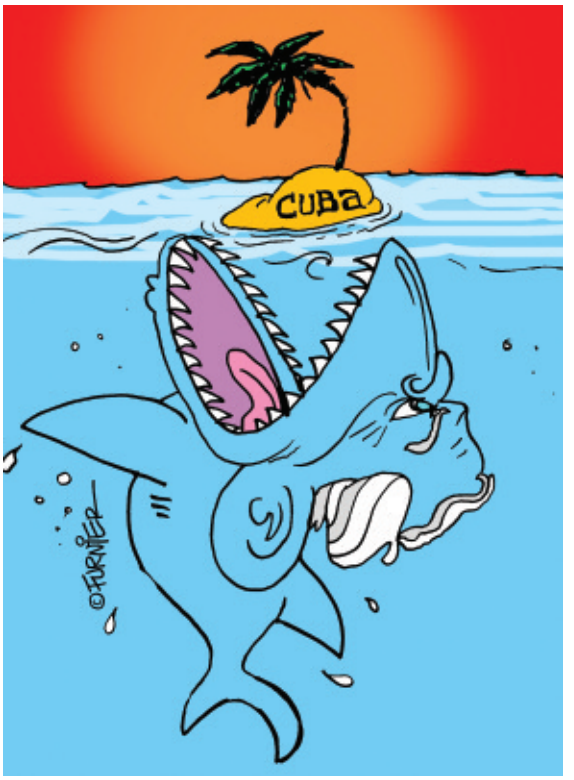
What is de Villepin's main argument for not invading Iraq? What does this say about the imposition of liberalism in other countries? What were the repercussions on countries that refused to join the American-led "war on terror"?

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

Pause and Reflect

- **Do you agree or disagree with the justification for foreign intervention expressed in the quote?**
- **How important do you think the "bonds of common humanity" are in forming the foreign policies of countries such as the United States and Great Britain?**



www.CartoonStock.com

Figure 9-11 ▲

The United States has maintained an economic embargo against Cuba in one form or another since 1960, soon after Fidel Castro's new communist government nationalized American-owned holdings. This embargo makes most forms of trade with Cuba illegal for American businesses, and penalizes non-American companies for doing business with Cuba. One of the stated aims of the embargo is to end the communist system and bring democracy to Cuba. Do you think restricting economic activity is a legitimate means of encouraging modern liberal principles in foreign countries?

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" (cited on p 319).

Apart from national self-interest, another common argument for imposing liberalism on another country is humanitarianism: a belief that a situation demands intervention for moral or ethical reasons, such as the improvement of the living conditions of the population. For example, philosopher John Rawls argues that liberal countries should not tolerate other non-liberal countries that do not observe human rights and that intervention may be justified in such cases. At the same time, he states that liberal democracies cannot intervene in other countries solely because they do not embrace liberalism.

In his account of the foreign affairs of liberal peoples, Rawls argues that liberal peoples must distinguish "decent" non-liberal societies from "outlaw" and other states; the former have a claim on liberal peoples to tolerance while the latter do not. Decent peoples, argues Rawls, "simply do not tolerate" outlaw states which ignore human rights: such states may be subject to "forceful sanctions and even to intervention." In contrast, Rawls insists that "liberal peoples must try to encourage [non-liberal] decent peoples and not frustrate their vitality by coercively insisting that all societies be liberal."

—Source: "Liberalism." Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy (cited on p. 105).

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.

Canada's Involvement in Afghanistan

Canadian troops have been fighting in Afghanistan since 2001, when a US-led coalition of countries began efforts to destroy al Qaeda forces in the country and remove the Taliban regime from power. In the wake of the Taliban's fall, Afghans held democratic elections (their first since 1969) in 2004 and 2005, a process in which women participated as both voters and candidates.

Figure 9-12 ▲

As of August 2007, approximately 2500 Canadian troops were serving in Afghanistan, in order to help the Afghan people rebuild their nation as a "stable, democratic, and self-sufficient society." (Source: "Why are we there?" Canada's Engagement in Afghanistan, Government of Canada, June 9, 2006. http://www.canadainternational.gc.ca/canada-afghanistan/approach-approche/wawt-psna.aspx)

However, coalition forces have not yet defeated the Taliban entirely, and Afghanistan does not yet have its own armed forces capable of maintaining order and protecting its fledgling democracy from an insurgency. Currently, opinion in Canada is divided over the country's involvement in the Afghanistan mission. Here are a few points of view on the situation:

The hard truth is that an ISAF [International Security Assistance Force] retreat from Afghanistan before that country's own forces can defend its security would most likely condemn the Afghan people to a new and bloody cycle of civil war and misrule—and raise new threats to global peace and security…In sum, an immediate military withdrawal from Afghanistan would cause more harm than good.

—Manley panel (group appointed by the Canadian government to review Canada's presence in Afghanistan), quoted in "Extend Afghan mission if NATO sends more troops: panel." CBC News, January 22, 2008.
http://www.cbc.ca/canada/story/2008/01/22/afghan-manley.html

…it's argued that the mission is necessary to protect Canadians from the threat posed by the Taliban and Al-Qaeda. This is a serious argument, but it can be exaggerated. The Taliban do not pose a threat to the existence of Canada. They're not about to invade. Nor are they developing weapons of mass destruction and missiles capable of reaching North America.

The Al-Qaeda elements sheltering behind the Taliban do not pose an existential threat to Canada either. They certainly provide moral and perhaps technical support to aspiring terrorists elsewhere. But if the threat were truly serious, Washington would not have shifted its focus to Iraq. Nor would General Musharraf be allowed to conclude deals with pro-Taliban militants along the border of Afghanistan, while denying NATO forces access to that region.

—Michael Byers, "Afghanistan: Wrong Mission for Canada." The Tyee, October 6, 2006.
http://thetyee.ca/Views/2006/10/06/Afghanistan/

We're not going to fight unless we have to. My soldiers are trained to fight. But they're also trained in humanitarian assistance and peace support, and that's our focus…And we're here to work with the Afghans, to work on those non-fighting aspects, because that's the road to success. That's the road in the future to provide hope and opportunity…The Afghans invited us here…The governors are so happy because they said, "You really are making a difference. You're not coming here to invade us. You're coming here to work with us and respect us by flying our flag."

—Brigadier-General David Fraser
(commander of Canadian troops in Afghanistan, commander of coalition troops), quoted in
"Cdn. general wants to bring peace to Afghanistan."
CTV.ca, February 28, 2006.
http://www.ctv.ca/servlet/ArticleNews/story/CTVNews/20060228/david_fraser_060228/20060228?hub=TopStories

1. Which of the quotes above do you believe is the most realistic assessment of the situation in Afghanistan? What reasons do you have for your choice? Use the guidelines for historical thinking in the Skill Path as you make your assessment.
2. How do you think most Afghan citizens view the presence of foreign troops in their country? How often do you hear accounts of Afghans' opinions about the UN mission in news reports?
3. Do you think Canada has a responsibility to protect the new democratic system in Afghanistan? If so, what limits, if any, should be placed on that responsibility?

Figure 9-13 ▲

Robert Mugabe has led Zimbabwe since 1980, serving as prime minister from 1980 to 1987 and as president since 1987. Mugabe's policies, which have sanctioned killings of Ndebele tribe members and the expropriation of farms owned by white people, have elicited both domestic and international criticism. Since he has been in power, Zimbabwe's economy has spiralled downward, resulting in food and oil shortages that have caused massive internal displacement and emigration.

Reactions to Foreign Liberalism

The British and Americans have gone on a relentless campaign of destabilizing and vilifying my country. They have sponsored surrogate forces to challenge lawful authority in my country. They seek regime change, placing themselves in the role of the Zimbabwean people, in whose collective will democracy places the right to define and change regimes. Let these sinister governments be told here and now that Zimbabwe will not allow a regime change authored by outsiders. We do not interfere with their own systems in America and Britain. Mr. Bush and Mr. Brown have no role to play in our national affairs. They are outsiders and mischievous outsiders and should therefore keep out!

—Robert Mugabe, speech to the UN, September 26, 2007.
http://www.un.org/webcast/ga/62/2007/pdfs/zimbabwe-en.pdf

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.

Experience indicates that democracy requires a particular combination of institutions and informed public opinion. Outside efforts to impose change typically bring unforeseen consequences that may result in neither stability nor democracy.

—William Anthony Hay, "Democratization, Order, and American Foreign Policy," April 2006. Foreign Policy Research Institute,
http://www.fpri.org/enotes/200604.americawar.hay.democratizationorderforeignpolicy.html

PAUSE AND REFLECT

Do you think there are circumstances in which a country's stability and public security are more important than its citizens' right to democratic self-determination? Why or why not?

Foreign governments' insistence on democratic reforms may sometimes ignore the volatility of a particular country's domestic situation. For example, after 20 years of rule under Major General Juvénal Habyarimana, in 1992, the Rwandan regime established a multi-party system and became a coalition government, partly in response to pressure from Western governments. Some observers, such as journalist Robert Kaplan, believe that this coalition government, which was made up of conflicting ethnic groups, eventually created the circumstances that allowed the 1994 Rwandan genocide to take place: ethnic violence that caused the deaths of approximately 800 000 people.

Justifying his own reluctance to hold free elections during a 20-year period of rule, Ugandan president Yoweri Museveni, who has been in power since his military takeover in 1986, made the following comments about the limitations of multi-party democracy in Uganda:

I happen to be one of those people who do not believe in multi-party democracy. In fact, I am totally opposed to it as far as Africa today is concerned…If one forms a multi-party system in Uganda, a party cannot win elections unless it finds a way of dividing the ninety-four percent of the electorate [that consists of peasants], and this is where the main problem comes up: tribalism, religion, or regionalism becomes the basis for intense partisanship.

—Yoweri Museveni, quoted in Robert D. Kaplan, "Was Democracy Just a Moment?," *The Atlantic Monthly* December 1997.
http://www.theatlantic.com/issues/97dec/democ.htm

PAUSE AND REFLECT

- **Do you think it is realistic to expect non-liberal regimes to convert to liberal democracies simply by holding free and fair elections?**
- **What conditions do you think are necessary for a liberal democracy to survive and flourish?**

In the next section, we will consider reasons for which liberalism may founder when it is brought in by a foreign power.

INVESTIGATION

Haiti's Troubled Democracy

Many citizens of industrialized countries are comfortable with the idea of providing aid to other countries during humanitarian crises such as famines or earthquakes. But opinions tend to be more divided when governments consider intervening in a foreign political crisis. Should industrialized countries avoid getting involved in foreign political situations unless their own security is threatened? Or do countries with political stability and available military resources have a responsibility to maintain or restore liberal democracy in countries where the political system has collapsed?

Something to Think About: Since June 2004, the UN has maintained an international peacekeeping mission in Haiti involving soldiers and police officers from 41 countries, including Canada. As of January 2008, there were 9000 UN peacekeepers in Haiti. Should foreign countries under the leadership of the UN intervene in Haiti to maintain liberal democracy?

Some Background: Haiti is the second-oldest nation-state in the Americas, having declared independence from France in 1804 after a successful slave revolt. Throughout the country's history, Haiti has had a succession of democratically elected presidents and military takeovers.

Haitians elected Dr François Duvalier president in 1957. He declared himself president for life in 1964 and ruled as a dictator until his death in 1971. He was succeeded by his son, Jean-Claude Duvalier, who ruled as president for life until he was deposed in 1986. For the next five years, Haiti was ruled by military governments.

In 1990, Haitians once again elected a president democratically. Jean-Bertrand Aristide was in power for only eight months when he was forced from office by a military coup. The military proceeded to rule the country until 1994, when the United States invaded and occupied the country, restoring Aristide to power.

Aristide's successor, René Préval, was elected democratically to office in 1996. Aristide was once again elected in 2001. He fled the country in 2004 after months of protests against his government, which his critics claimed was violent and corrupt. Months after his departure, the UN peacekeeping mission began. According to the UN Security Council, intervention was (and is) necessary for security and protection during the electoral period and to assist with the restoration and maintenance of the rule of law, public order, and public safety in Haiti.

In 2006, Haiti held its first presidential elections in six years, and René Préval returned to power due to voting that, according to observers, was marred by fraud. Despite the return of the democratic process, and the presence of the peacekeeping force, problems continue.

Here are a few points of view on foreign involvement in Haiti:

The United Nations Stabilization Mission in Haiti, known as MINUSTAH, *along with the help of international aid, has been able to achieve a "measure of political stability" and a "considerable increase in security" in Haiti, [Canada's ambassador to the UN John] McNee said.*

Figure 9-14 ▲

Haitian protestors clash with UN peacekeepers. Many Haitians do not believe the UN should be in Haiti at all. Does an organization such as the UN have an obligation to intervene when a country is experiencing civil unrest, or should the country be left to work it out itself?

But McNee said Haiti needs to find long-term answers to its deep economic problems.

"We were all struck by the developmental challenges in Haiti," he said. "The situation remains fragile. In fairness, we should stress the fragility of it."

The real challenge, he said, is increasing employment in Haiti, and if the economic situation could be improved, then people could be persuaded not to get involved in criminal activity.

—Source: "Haiti in better shape because of UN: Canadian diplomat." CBC News, April 25, 2007. © CBC 2007
http://www.cbc.ca/world/story/2007/04/25/mission-haiti.html

Foreign Affairs Minister Pierre Pettigrew downplayed demands for a Canadian withdrawal from Haiti on Monday, labelling protesters outside his office as "a marginal group of Haitian Montrealers."

Saying the protesters were "fixated on the past and nostalgia," Pettigrew dashed any hopes of a Canadian pullout, expressing his belief that Canada is helping bring stability to the strife-torn Caribbean nation.

The group is among a growing movement in Canada demanding the return of Canadian police officers working to revamp the Haitian National Police. Their voices have become even louder since the December shooting death of retired RCMP officer Mark Bourque, part of the mission in Haiti.

Activists have accused members of the UN stability mission of contributing to the chaos by helping a [supposedly] corrupt Haitian police force support the Haitian elite while targeting the poor majority, many of whom oppose the interim government.

—Source: "Pettigrew: Canada will stay the course in Haiti," CTV.ca, January 3, 2006.
http://www.ctv.ca/servlet/ArticleNews/story/CTVNews/20060103/staying_Haiti_060103/20060103?hub=Canada

Figure 9-15

What do you think this cartoonist's opinion is regarding the political stability in Haiti? Do the sources in this Investigation provide any other perspectives regarding issues in Haiti?

QUESTIONS FOR REFLECTION

1. Why do you think Canada has successful democratic governments whereas Haiti's democratic governments have not worked?
2. Working in a small group, brainstorm reasons why the United States and other industrialized countries, including Canada, sometimes attempt to impose their ideology of liberal democracy on other countries. Come up with as many reasons as you can, and then rank these reasons from the most justifiable reason to the least justifiable reason. The group should come up with a consensus on the ranking. If you cannot come to a consensus, complete the ranking by preferential voting. For example, if your group came up with 10 reasons, each group member would rank the reasons from 1 to 10. A reason ranked 1 (the most justifiable) would get 10 points, and a reason ranked 10 would get 1 point. Add up all the votes cast for each reason and you will have a ranking for your whole group (that is, the reason with the highest number of points will be ranked in first place, and the reason with the least number of points will be ranked tenth).
3. Explore the different ways groups can make decisions. Is voting, as in our democratic tradition, always the best way? What are the strengths and weaknesses of decision making by voting as opposed to other forms of decision making such as authoritarian or one-person rule, consensus, and preferential voting?

Why Can Liberalism Fail?

History has demonstrated that there is no final triumph of reason, whether it goes by the name of Christianity, the Enlightenment, or, now, democracy. To think that democracy as we know it will triumph—or is even here to stay—is itself a form of determinism, driven by our own ethnocentricity.

—Robert D. Kaplan, "Was Democracy Just a Moment?,"
***The Atlantic Monthly* December 1997.**
http://www.theatlantic.com/issues/97dec/democ.htm

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.

When the right conditions for success are not present, some argue, it may even be harmful to another country's security to try to foster liberal democracy prematurely. William Anthony Hay of the Foreign Policy Research Institute makes the following argument:

> *No easy path exists to national cohesion and democratic institutions in developing nations. Forcing democratization's pace risks unrest, particularly where deep fault lines exist within societies. Sectarian differences and opposing economic interests can both work against the basic level of consensus that democracy requires, and ethnic conflict introduces another volatile factor that often combines with religion and economic disparities. Rapid change and competition for power within a society exacerbate preexisting ethnic tensions, as seen in post-1989 conflicts from Yugoslavia to Rwanda…*
>
> **—William Anthony Hay, "Democratization, Order, and American Foreign Policy," April 2006. Foreign Policy Research Institute.**
> http://www.fpri.org/enotes/200604.americawar.hay.democratizationorderforeignpolicy.html

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 peacebuilding 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.

Explore the Issues

Concept Review

1. Complete a table that looks like the one below based on the material you have read in this section.

Arguments for the Imposition of Liberalism	Examples for Each Argument
Arguments against the Imposition of Liberalism	**Examples for Each Argument**

Concept Application

2. What principles of modern liberalism do you think can be successfully fostered in a country by foreign intervention? What principles of modern liberalism can be embraced only through domestic support or instigation? To what extent has the imposition of liberalism today affected people globally? Are there more effective ways of encouraging modern liberalism than those addressed throughout the chapter?
3. Historically, how successful do you think liberal democracies have been in fostering liberalism in other countries?
4. Do Western liberal democracies insist that all their foreign allies embrace liberalism? List examples where they have not done so and why this would be.
5. Are there circumstances in which a country's stability and national security are more important than its citizens' rights to democratic self-determination? Why or why not?

Reflect and Analyze

In this chapter you have explored the question ***To what extent, and for whom, has the imposition of liberalism been successful?*** and considered how this imposition can have an impact on the viability of liberal principles in democratic societies, notably in North America. First you looked at the effects of the imposition of liberalism on First Nations peoples by North America's colonial European governments and later by the Canadian government on First Nations and Inuit peoples. You considered some of the differences between Aboriginal and European liberal ideologies, and how these differences led to conflicts over issues such as governance and land holding. You also examined attempts to assimilate First Nations, Métis, and Inuit peoples into non-Aboriginal Canadian society and contemporary efforts to resolve some of the issues facing Aboriginal peoples.

Next you broadened the perspective to think about how people in other countries around the world have been affected by the imposition of modern liberalism. You considered some of the arguments used to justify foreign intervention in non-liberal countries, such as self-interest and humanitarianism You also thought about the impact of attempts to impose liberalism and how local populations can be affected by foreign intervention.

Respond to Ideas

1. Reflect on what you have read, thought about, and researched in this chapter. Express your thoughts on the following question: What principles of modern liberalism, if any, can and should be imposed on non-liberal societies? To what extent could the imposition of liberal principles impact the ability of these principles to be successfully embraced and implemented in a society?

Respond to Issues

2. Are there other means of encouraging modern liberalism that would be more successful than those addressed throughout this chapter?

3. Research an example of a First Nations, Métis, or Inuit organization or group that has applied some of the principles of liberalism and its own more traditional approaches to decision making and governance. To what extent has this organization or group succeeded in bridging individual and collective approaches and worldviews in an effort to achieve goals for its people and community?