

## Conserving Canadian Values: A Conservative Manifesto

During the federal general election of October 2019, the Conservative Party of Canada failed to appeal to Canadians beyond its conservative base and was responsible for the electoral defeat that it suffered. The election campaign revealed the inadequacy of the Conservative Party as a political organization, and the limitations of its leader, Andrew Scheer. During the election campaign, the Conservative Party failed to keep a consistent and constant focus on the incompetence and fiscal irresponsibility of the Liberal Party government and the personal failings and foibles of Justin Trudeau, did not set forth a political platform that clearly articulated what it stands for, and neglected to present a national vision to Canadians.

Moreover, Andrew Scheer failed to assume a leadership role, proved incapable of responding decisively to the 'red herrings' that the Liberal Party introduced regarding his social conservatism, the abortion non-issue, and his dual Canadian - American citizenship. He did not inform Canadians of what he personally wanted to accomplish should he become Prime Minister; and by failing to define himself in the mind of Canadian voters, he let the Liberal Party press define him in a negative fashion.

Now that the Conservative Party is seeking a new leader and planning a policy review, it is the time for the Conservative Party to begin to articulate its principles, beliefs and values and to select a leader of proven competence, character and leadership qualities, who can present a new national policy and a positive national vision to Canadians – a leader in whom Canadians can have confidence and trust in bestowing their vote. That process has now begun.

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A leading Conservative voice, Jason Kenney, has called on Canadian conservatives to consider adopting a 'common good capitalism' philosophy that is being endorsed by American reform conservatives. What the American reform conservatives are advocating is that large corporations and American government move away from a focus on promoting laissez-faire capitalism -- with its almost exclusive emphasis on private enterprise, consumption, and the maximizing of profits -- to embrace a more humane 'common good capitalism'. It is a philosophy – as yet ill-defined -- that is based on moral principles, a concern for the common good of society, and a social concern for the employment of American workers and their well-being, as well as an acceptance of social welfare programs that are responsibly administered and that provide incentives for able-bodied recipients to enter the workforce.

For Kenney, the adoption of a 'common good capitalism' philosophy by a Canadian conservative government – the Government of Alberta -- would also involve the establishing of apprenticeship programs to facilitate Canadian youth entering the skilled trades, and a commitment to the fostering of social mobility through providing support and pathways for those facing 'barriers to upward mobility' to enter into the work force and earn the benefits of a capitalist economy. However, what is missing from the Kenney proposal is a Canadian historical context. What remains unappreciated and unacknowledged is that there has always been an element within Canadian conservatism -- since its origins in the old Anglican Toryism of early 19<sup>th</sup> Century -- that believes in a 'common good capitalism' philosophy embracing government initiatives to promote the common good of Canadians within a mixed capitalist economy.

What is evident is that Kenney is thinking within the context of the Reform Party/Canadian Alliance conservatism of western Canada which embodies the economic principles of traditional American conservatism. In doing so, he has ignored a far older conservative tradition in eastern Canada that embraces a 'common good capitalism'.

The lack of a broader Canadian historical context tends to foster several misconceptions. First, there is an implicit assumption that Canadian conservatism is the same as American conservatism which adheres to the classical 19<sup>th</sup> Century Lockean-liberal capitalist values of individualism, limited government, and a laissez-faire economic theory that denies government any right, or responsibility, to intervene in the economy to promote the common good and well-being of society. Secondly, there is an assumption that Canadian conservatives need to look to American conservatism for a sense of purpose and direction. And lastly, what Kenney is advocating is that Alberta conservatives work within the American Lockean-liberal capitalist system while seeking to alter its primary values; however, that approach embodies an American political perspective that does not apply to Canada more broadly.

#### *A Conservative Tradition: Common Good Capitalism in Canada*

In Canada, a conservative 'common good capitalism' tradition is evident, historically, in the beliefs and values, principles and programs, of the Pre-Confederation Tories in the Province of Upper Canada (Ontario), and in the objectives of the National Policy of the Conservative Party of Sir John A. Macdonald.

In Upper Canada, the governing Anglican Tories believed in an activist paternalistic government having a Christian religious and moral duty to promote public morality, the well-being of society, and the common good of the Province. To that end, the Tories adopted a 'National Policy' that aimed at promoting economic development and the strengthening and defending of the institutions which upheld and sustained the rule of law, equality before the law, and liberty under the law, and the religious and moral character of the Province. The institutions were the balanced 'British constitution' of the Province and the independent judiciary; the established Anglican Church; and the 'national' system of education which the Tories established under the direction of the established Church. In the absence of a landed aristocracy, the Tories looked to the 'national' education system – which was open to all – to provide a means of social mobility by which those with exceptional God-given talents and abilities, who diligently applied themselves, could rise in the social hierarchy to form a governing class of Christian 'gentlemen' of a strong moral character, dedicated to the promotion of the common good.

Under the governing Tory administrations, arterial roads, harbours, lighthouses and canals were constructed as public works projects. One major canal project – the Welland Canal (1824-1833) -- was constructed as joint private canal company/public enterprise with the provincial government owning stock in the canal company and having representatives on the Board of Directors to safeguard the public interest. These construction projects were an example of a common good capitalism with the Tory government acting to promote economic development, the national interest, and the common good of society within a mixed capitalist economy.

It was a Tory conservative political philosophy, and political economy, that stood in stark contrast to the Lockean-liberalism of the new American republic which embraced a belief in individual natural rights, the separation of church and state, and a free enterprise economy with laissez-faire government limited to enforcing the law and the sanctity of contract with an emphasis on personal freedom and happiness being attained through each individual following his own reason and pursuing his personal economic self-interest.

Subsequently, with the growth of secularism within Canadian society, the introduction of a democratic popular government (responsible government), and the separation of church and state, Canadian conservatives abandoned any public espousal of the older Tory belief in government as having a Christian duty and responsibility to promote the religious and moral character of society. However, conservatives continued to maintain that government had a moral duty and responsibility to play a paternalistic

leadership role in promoting 'the common good' of society and the national interest within a mixed capitalist economy. Over the opposition of the laissez-faire Liberal Party, the conservative government of Sir John A. Macdonald introduced a National Policy of economic development that involved government becoming directly involved in the Canadian economy for the common good of Canadians and the benefit of the nation.

The National Policy, introduced in 1878, called for the building of a national transportation system comprising a transcontinental railway – the Canadian Pacific Railway – which was a government initiative constructed by a private company with government support, and a national canals system – an enlarged Welland Canal and St. Lawrence River Canals – which were built as public works. On the public works projects, the contracts -- let by the government on competitive bids -- included clauses specifying the 'fair wage' rates that were to be paid to labourers and the various trades to ensure that the canal workers would not be exploited through contractors paying mere subsistence wages.

With the national transportation system in place, the Conservative government strove to encourage European immigration to facilitate the settlement of the West, to develop the Prairie lands as a major wheat-exporting region, and to foster industrialization through tariff protection for nascent Canadian industries which were to provide manufactured goods and machinery for the expanding nation. To further facilitate wheat production, the government Experimental Farms Service bred a faster maturing wheat variety – Marquis wheat – to overcome the shorter growing season on the prairies. The overall objective was nation building and the promotion of the common good of Canadians through government initiatives in cooperation with private enterprise.

Historically, Canadian conservatism have managed to maintain a tradition of common good capitalism – within a predominate North American economic laissez-faire ethos -- through government playing a continuing active role in a mixed capitalist economy. In 1966, that strain of Canadian conservatism was labelled 'Red Toryism'. However, that appellation is an ahistorical misnomer applied from a socialist perspective. It implies that Conservatives who believe in government involvement in the economy, have a socialist 'red' tinge. In fact, they are 'Tories', or 'Tory conservatives', who continue to adhere to the old Tory belief in paternal government promoting the common good.

Tory conservatives do not have a socialist predilection for government ownership of the means of production and direction of the economy. To the contrary, they believe in the capitalist system. However, what they uphold is a free market competition conducted in accordance with traditional western moral values and principles of ethical conduct; and what they reject is the amoral and acquisitive predatory capitalism in evidence more recently in the world of high finance.

Tory conservatives believe in a mixed capitalist system. They maintain that government has a moral duty, as well as a right, to play a direct role in the country's economy, and to do so through public works and through acting in cooperation with private enterprise and private interests to promote the common good and well-being of Canadians and the national interests of the country.

Any renewed commitment by the Conservative Party to a common good capitalism to be effective as a public policy in gaining the support of Canadians, must be presented as rooted in Canadian history – the political heritage of Canadian conservatism -- rather than as a borrowing from an ill-defined American reform conservatism.

*Traditional Conservative Values*

Among the traditional values and beliefs embodied in Canadian conservatism are: a belief in public morality (a clear distinction between right and wrong), the rule of law and equality before the law regardless of race, religion, sex, gender identity, ethnicity or socio-economic status, accountability for one's actions, the maintenance of the sovereignty of Parliament, patriotism and loyalty to the Crown, and the maintenance of an independent judiciary that enforces the laws as enacted by our sovereign parliament, and an insistence on honesty and good behavior, dedication and fiscal responsibility, on the part of public office holders. They include also a belief in government promoting the common good and equality of opportunity, in the work ethic and self-improvement, a belief in gradualism in politics, forbearance, prudence, religious toleration, and respect for the views of those with whom we differ, an openness to rational debate on public issues, respect for the faith and beliefs of Canada's religious communities, and a rejection of identity politics. Where education is concerned, there is a recognition of its crucial role in moral character development, personal and social improvement, the dissemination of knowledge, and in the formation of the national character of Canadian youth.

Among the broader conservative beliefs are: that the capitalist system is best suited for promoting the well-being and material prosperity of Canadians; that economic development is best pursued by private enterprise, but with an allowance for a paternal government involvement in a mixed capitalist economy when required to promote the national interest or a particular common good; that Canada must maintain a strong military presence within the NATO alliance for our national defence; that Canadians owe a whole-hearted support, respect, and appreciation to the servicemen and servicewomen of Canada's armed forces for their patriotism and sacrifices, past and present; that Canada's national economic interests need to be protected and enhanced through government ensuring that any proposed international trade agreement clearly defines the benefits to accrue to Canada and the quid pro quo; and that the Canadian government must enforce Canada's immigration laws, while welcoming immigrants and legitimate refugees who observe Canada's immigration regulations, who want to become Canadians, and who are committed to learning to speak one of Canada's official languages – either English or French -- depending on the community in which they settle. Moreover, government must act to block the uncontrolled entry of illegal migrants by declaring that any and every border crossing point is 'a port of entry' and subject to Canada's immigration law enforcement.

### *The Threat of Modern Liberalism*

More generally, what the Conservative Party, and all Canadians nationalists, need to reject publicly and wholeheartedly is the 'Modern liberalism' philosophy of the Liberal Party of Canada under Justin Trudeau. It is a philosophy that is destructive of Canadian cultural values and institutions, of the freedom of Canadians to exercise their private judgement in deciding political issues, and, ultimately, of the continued existence of Canada as a sovereign nation state.

Modern liberalism is a product of the classical 19<sup>th</sup> Century Lockean liberal beliefs in secularism, individualism, universal natural rights, international free trade, and the moral and material progress of man, that has evolved into a universalist faith. It embodies a humanist perspective on the world that universalizes the human experience, ignores the history and culture of different nations, disparages religious belief, and views the goal of human progress as being the attainment of a global egalitarian society under an universal form of government, such as the United Nations.

Modern liberalism, as evidence by the Liberal Party of Canada, embraces: globalism (economic, social and political), open immigration (migrate to any country that you please), moral relativism (choose your own values), pan-nationalism (loyalties and cultural values that transcend the nation state), a naturalism philosophy (which denies all religious belief and the religious foundation of the traditional moral values

of western society), and post-nationalism (which denies any continued validity to the nation state as the embodiment of the common interests, freedoms, and cultural values of a people).

Domestically, Modern liberals indulge in identity politics (which is a new form of tribalism that is destructive of any concept of a common national good that transcends individual and group interests), and political correctness (a confining of free speech to innocuous subjects that cannot possibly offend anyone's personal, racial, gender identity, religious and/or cultural sensibilities) in holding that all differences in beliefs, values and cultural norms among the peoples of the world are beyond comment or reproach, and equally acceptable within Canada.

The goal of Modern liberals is the attainment of a homogenous universal state that will supposedly bring peace, happiness, and material prosperity to all peoples everywhere, an equality of condition, and a common sharing of the benefits of modern life within a world community. However, it is far more likely that the universal homogenous state will embody an uninspiring and amorphous egalitarian society under the rule of a dictatorial oligarchy – Big brother -- enforcing the liberal-progressive values of Modern liberalism. (In contrast, Tory conservatives believe that it is the institutions of the nation state and the national culture that sustains the liberties and rights, and the well-being and material prosperity, of the citizens of a civilized society.)

In Canada today, Modern liberalism is personified by Justin Trudeau. In an interview, shortly after becoming Prime Minister, Trudeau exclaimed that Canada is not defined by its history but by its pancultural heritage (elements of many cultures).

"There is no core identity, no mainstream in Canada. ... There are shared values – openness, respect, compassion, willingness to work hard, to be there for each other, to search for equality and justice. These qualities are what makes us the first post-national state." (*New York Times*, Nov. 16, 2015)

For Trudeau, and his fellow Modern liberals, Canada has no distinct national identity rooted in its history, but rather is an amorphous mix of numerous cultures living in a friendly diverse place with some shared social values. Canada is viewed as simply a nice place to live, and open to all who wish to settle here. In effect, immigrants who come to Canada are not expected to adopt and adhere to Canadian values because there are -- according to Trudeau -- no mainstream values to which immigrants can assimilate. Conservatives, both English and French, need to denounce such a view. No Conservative can possibly agree that Canada is nothing more than a nice place to live; that Canada has no mainstream values; and that immigrants need not adhere to Canadian values.

What is equally off putting is the character of Modern liberals who tend to be self-righteous and intolerant. They have a gnostic mentality in viewing themselves as enlightened beings who are destined to bring about a new world order and universal form of government under their governance. They refuse to countenance any public discussion or debate on their views and values; and they cast aspersions on less entitled members of society who do not share their views and values – a "basket of deplorables" in the phrase of Hillary Clinton. Anyone who publicly questions the tenets of modern liberalism is attacked, ridiculed or shouted down, and is branded as being a reactionary, a sexist, or 'a racist' (used as a pejorative term regardless of whether or not a dissenting opinion has anything to do with race), or a stupid person 'who just doesn't get it'.

Modern liberals are supreme egotists who believe in their own entitlements; that only they are fit to govern; that they, and they alone, know what Canadian values are, or ought to be. Although they espouse democracy and individual rights, they concentrate all power in their own hands in government and refuse

to let the issues that concern social conservatives to be publicly discussed and debated. Indeed, the intolerance of Modern liberals toward those who reject their values is well illustrated by the refusal of the Trudeau Liberal government to provide funding for summer camps run by Christian churches, while continuing to fund other summer camp organizations. Summer camps have nothing to do with the abortion issue, but a message was being sent to the Churches that if you continue to speak out publicly on that issue you do so at your peril.

Equally troubling is the establishment of Human Rights Tribunals (a new form of Star Chamber) to enforce political correctness. Individuals can be accused of human rights violations and be convicted and fined by an adjudicator without the accused having any right to counsel, to trial by jury, or to the protections normally afforded to an accused under our established system of laws. There is no legal right of appeal against the decision of a Tribunal adjudicator. Conservatives ought to call for the elimination of human rights tribunals and for the submission of human rights complaints to the Courts where cases can be decided in keeping with Canadian law, the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms, the established legal process, and the rights of an accused.

Modern liberals are discipline adverse and fail to distinguish between liberty and license, and the enforcement of the law and regulations governing conduct as distinct from a toleration of misconduct and lawlessness. We see Modern liberal school administrators and judges in our courts system who do not believe in punishing bad behavior and criminal acts, and who place a strong emphasis on the individual rights of miscreants and criminals rather than on the enforcement of existing laws and regulations governing behavior, on justice for the victims, and on the protection of the community. We see bad behaviour unchecked and undisciplined in our schools and criminals, who have been convicted of serious crimes, being given minimum prison sentences and early release back into the community. Under our modern liberal establishment, the rule of law is being undermined with no one being held truly accountable to society for engaging in destructive and criminal behaviour.

The classical liberal philosophy of the 19<sup>th</sup> Century recognized that individual rights and liberties were not absolutes; that they were circumscribed wherever and whenever they impinge on the rights and liberties of others. However, that limit is no longer recognized by Modern liberals who maintain that their peculiar tenets and values are absolutes and are to be imposed on everyone else. Big Brother is not far removed.

Our schools have been turned into a propaganda tool for the inculcation of modern liberal values in our youth, while at our universities the traditional values of western society and the achievements of western civilization are ignored or disparaged, and the teaching of Canadian history is downgraded. How are Canadian youth to become Canadians, and to be proud of their nation, if they are not exposed to the cultural values, character and achievements of our civilization, and the history of our nation?

Modern liberalism is a philosophy that has infested not only the Liberal Party of Canada, but academia, the courts, the national press, and left-wing organizations. It is omnipresent in our society. In such a situation, it is the Conservative Party alone -- through taking a stand against the globalism, moral relativism, political correctness, pan-nationalism, and identity politics of Modern liberalism -- that can provide Canadians with the opportunity to express their own views on Canada's national interests and cultural values, and to do so at the ballot box without being publicly attacked, ridiculed, and having their character slandered. The Conservative Party must enable, and engage, Canadians to regain control over the future of Canada in presenting Canadians with a meaningful and real choice in deciding the future of their country.

*A Conservative Global Warming Strategy*

Where global warming is concerned, Canadian conservatives must recognize a need for all levels of government worldwide to act to drastically reduce carbon emissions. For Tory conservatives, what is needed in Canada is the introduction of a climate change policy that provides government support and encouragement for the development of new technologies to reduce carbon emissions, as opposed to the Liberal Party policy of closing down Canada's oil and natural gas industries and imposing an ever escalating carbon tax on Canadians who are already overtaxed. Among the new technology areas, in which Canadian companies occupy a leading edge, are: the development of hydrogen fuel cell technology for employment in transport vehicles, the development of more highly-efficient and less-costly solar panels, new battery types for electric vehicles that provide a greater life cycle, driving range, and quicker charging times, new carbon capture technologies, and carbon sequestering techniques.

Moreover, in the oil sands industry a new non-aqueous extraction process has been developed, and is being tested, which promises to eliminate toxic tailing ponds, and there are Canadian research institutions that are currently developing new technologies to reduce the carbon footprint of the oil sands in the mining and the oil extraction phase, and in the end use of the product. In view of these developments, the Conservative Party ought to support the construction of pipelines for the export of Canada's oil and natural gas resources for the substantial economic benefits that accrue to Canada in tax revenues, job creation and economic spinoffs. This can be done by government declaring several major pipeline projects to be 'a project in the national interest' or a 'national concern'. The world demand for oil is continually increasing if Canada does not supply the oil, and reap the financial and employment benefits, it will be supplied by countries that are not committed to protecting the environment and reducing greenhouse gas emissions.

The Conservative Party ought to continue to call for a repeal of Bill C-48, the 'Oil Tanker Moratorium Act' that prohibits large tankers from operating along the west coast north of Vancouver Island, and of Bill C-69, which imposes a new review and approval process for major infrastructure projects that enables a small minority of environmental activists and climate change zealots to continually challenge and effectively block major construction projects -- such as pipelines -- that are in the national interest and that will provide major economic benefits to Canadians. What is needed is a responsible review and approval process that involves Canadian regulators familiar with the industry associated with a particular project, and that sets a time limit both for the submission of briefs to the Impact Assessment Agency and for the release of its ruling.

With respect to tanker traffic, there is a need to make the transport of oil as safe and secure as possible, with a minimal ecological impact, which can be achieved through enacting legislation to ensure: that the tankers use low sulphur fuels with emission controls; that shipping channels are well-defined and monitored; that low speed limits are enforced on the tankers; that Canadian pilots are employed; that double-hulled vessels are used to transport the oil; that settlement tanks are constructed for the discharge of bilge waters; and that an establishment is maintained at the ready to immediately confine and clean up any oil spill to conserve the ecology unimpaired.

More generally, the Conservative Party ought to adopt a policy of environmental responsibility with both corporations and government being called upon to focus on the undertaking of national economic development projects in conjunction with a commitment to environmental protection and remediation.

At present, there are existing technologies that, if widely adopted, can effect highly impactful reductions in greenhouse gas emissions: electrically-powered and hybrid vehicles, hydro-power and wind power for electricity production, and small modular reactors (SMRs) which produce clean nuclear power in place of the burning of fossil fuels. Substantial reductions in greenhouse gas emissions can be achieved through

the adoption of hydrogen fuel cell technology (zero carbon emissions) in place of diesel fuels in the long-haul trucking industry, as well as a more widespread adoption of existing lower carbon emission fuels: natural gas and biofuels. In the short term, the use of lower-sulphur diesel fuels, in conjunction with emission controls, can reduce greenhouse gas emissions in heavy transport trucks and ships by an estimated eighty-five percent.

Given such possibilities, the Conservative Party ought to make a commitment to a global warming policy that is based on government cooperating with private enterprise and private interests – with the aid of applied research at the National Research Council – to support the continued development and introduction of innovative new technologies capable of attaining a truly substantive and substantial reduction in greenhouse gas emissions. It is a policy based on developing practical solutions to the global warming threat. More particularly, the Conservative Party ought to publicly support the construction of pipelines and liquefaction plants to enable liquid natural gas [LNG] to be exported from Canada's west and east coasts. It will provide a major stimulus to the Canadian economy, will promote a substantial job growth, and will furnish heavy carbon polluting countries – in particular China and India -- with a substitute fuel for coal-fired electrical power generating plants that are the major contributor to global warming.

Canada currently accounts for only 1.6% of global carbon emissions and, given the carbon absorption capacity of Canada's boreal forest, Canada is almost a zero net, or neutral, carbon emitter on the world stage. Indeed, the conservation of the boreal forest, in conjunction with the introduction of a government commitment to promoting reforestation -- to increase the capacity of the carbon capture capacity of Canada's forests -- and a commitment to supporting the development and adoption of new technologies for reducing greenhouse gas emissions, is the most practical and effective way to achieve a further substantial reduction in the emission of greenhouse gases by Canada.

Moreover, the new technologies that are being developed in Canada to reduce greenhouse gas emissions, will make a significant contribution to reducing emissions globally through providing other countries with viable technical options for drastically reducing their carbon footprint. (China at 29.5%, the U.S. at 14.3%, the European Union at 9.6%, and India at 6.8% account for over half of the global greenhouse gas emissions.) Such a policy is the most effective and cost-efficient way for Canada to make a highly significant contribution toward achieving the greenhouse gas emission reduction targets set forth in the Paris Accord of 2016 for combatting global warming. It is a practical approach in keeping with conservative values.

What the Conservative Party ought to stand for is 'a balance of economic development and environmental stewardship' (good conservative principles) to ensure the future material prosperity of Canadians within an ecologically sustainable approach to development, while rejecting the Liberal Party climate change policy which is based on the closing down of the oil and natural gas industries and the imposition of an ineffective, punitive, and ever increasing carbon tax levy on Canadians. However, any commitment by the Conservative Party to a technological approach to achieving dramatic reductions in greenhouse gas emissions, will require a further backup effort to inform Canadians of the groundbreaking advances that are being made – in Canada and elsewhere -- in the development of new technologies that are capable of making truly substantial and crucial reductions in the emission of greenhouse gases.

At the same time, there needs to be a commitment by government to initiate programs to minimize the negative impacts of global warming -- and the extreme weather that it generates -- on Canada and the wellbeing of Canadians. Although greenhouse gas emissions have a definite impact on global warming,



there is still the possibility that global warming is largely a natural phenomenon that man is hopeless to prevent against the forces of nature.

### *A Six-Point Conservative Program Proposal*

More generally, the Conservative Party ought to formulate a new National Policy embodying a commitment to a civic nationalism that embraces an adherence to a common good capitalism, the maintenance of Canada's traditional cultural values, the defence of Canada's national interests, and a practical technologically-based response to combatting global warming. Such a national commitment will serve to clearly define and distinguish a Canadian conservative philosophy from the Modern liberal philosophy of the Liberal Party of Canada under Justin Trudeau.

For the benefit of Canadians, what is needed is a public commitment by the Conservative Party to a six-point program comprising: 1) a common good capitalism to promote the social and economic well-being of Canadians and the economic development of the country; 2) the promotion of the national interests of Canada in domestic and international affairs; 3) an immigration policy based on the Canada's needs that welcomes immigrants and legitimate refugees who respect our immigration laws and want to become Canadians; 4) a commitment to promoting equal opportunity for all Canadians and Canadian communities through providing educational avenues and employment prospects -- with social assistance for the elderly and the poor -- while rejecting the introduction of special privileges and separate interest group rights that discriminate against other Canadian communities; 5) a global warming policy that rejects carbon taxes and provides support and encouragement for Canadian firms and entrepreneurs engaged in the actual development of promising new technologies with a potential to dramatically reduce carbon emissions; and 6) a defence of, and reassertion of, traditional Canadian cultural values.

Where education is concerned -- a provincial responsibility -- Canadian conservatives ought to insist that university Arts programs offer a survey course in western civilization that inform students of the achievements realized by our civilization in the arts, science, technology and engineering, medicine, jurisprudence, human rights, religious toleration, and in parliamentary democracy, as well as the Green Revolution; that Canadian history be made a compulsory course of study for Arts students; that freedom of speech be supported and maintained on Canadian campuses to foster a rational debate on public issues; and that a priority be given -- based on comparable qualifications -- to the entry of Canadian students into Canadian university programs and to the hiring of Canadian professors. Any university, or faculty, that is dominated by foreign administrators and professors, by a universalist Modern liberal post-national philosophy, and by large contingents of international students, is no longer capable of serving a national function in teaching Canadians about their own country and culture, and in providing intellectual leadership for the promotion of the national interests and common good of Canadians. The Canadian identity is rooted in the history of Canada, which Canadians must keep alive if they are to continue to possess a viable national culture, a sense of nationhood, and a feeling of patriotism.

The survival of Canada as a sovereign nation state, with a distinct Canadian culture and freedom of thought and discussion, depends on the Conservative Party presenting Canadians with a viable moral, political and philosophical alternative to the post-national globalism and authoritarianism of the Modern liberalism currently embraced by the Liberal Party of Canada. Conservatives have always stood for 'peace, order and good government', respect for Canada's traditional religious beliefs and moral values, for liberty under the law, for the promotion of Canada's national interests and economic development, and for the pursuit of the common good for the benefit of all Canadians. The time is now crucial for Canadian

conservatives to publicly reaffirm their commitment to Canadian values, the Canadian nation, and the common good of all Canadians.

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P.S. For a deeper and broader analysis of the threat posed by the 'Modern liberal' mindset to the viability of the nation state, to established liberties under the law, and to the cultural values of western civilization, see: Roger Scruton, *England and the Need for Nations* (London: Civitas: Institute for the Study of Civil Society, 2004/2006); and Robert Sibley, "The Rise of the Oiks, Intellectual Betrayal in an Age of Illusion", *The Dorchester Review*, Vol. 9, No. 2, Autumn/Winter 2019, 15-29. Scruton characterizes the 'Modern liberal' mindset as 'oikophobia' (Greek) which he interprets as an aversion to one's home culture and a felt need to denigrate it.