

A Tory Manifesto for Canada

Recently, a national newspaper columnist claimed that Canadian conservatism is vapid, and has nothing to offer in response to the hegemony of modern liberalism; and, indeed, it is evident that Canadian conservatives have been negligent in failing to enunciate their political thought – their values, beliefs, and principles. Moreover, it is particularly important for Tory conservatives to enunciate their political thought because what passes for ‘conservatism’ in Canada today is the rhetoric of American conservatism which embodies 19th Century classical liberal values. Now is the time for the true conservatives of Canada – the Tories -- to express their values and beliefs as they pertain to current public issues.

North Americans live today within a society marked by continual change that is dominated by Lockean-liberal individualism, liberal-capitalist beliefs, and a worship of technological progress, wherein those who wish to conserve the traditional social order and political culture of Canada are being overwhelmed on all sides. Every day, we see the undermining in public discourse and public actions of the traditional cultural values of western civilization -- the virtue of prudence, respect for the viewpoint of others, and respect for tradition and authority -- coupled with a decline in moral values, in honesty, integrity and courtesy, and a diminishing common respect for others both in public and private life, and even a lack of self-respect and of confidence in one’s self-worth on an individual level. We witness a lack of appreciation for superior learning and knowledge, a lack of recognition for outstanding achievements, a ‘dumbing down’ of education, an absence of civic virtue, and a lack of deference and respect for one’s elders, and a growing disregard for law and order, and a diminishing of faith in the religious beliefs at the foundation of western civilization.

In our modern liberal-progressive society, every individual thinks that his or her personal opinions and views are right, whatever they might be; that those with whom one disagrees are to be shouted down, intimidated, or ignored; that individual freedom is an absolute; and that one’s individual rights take precedent over the rights of others. There is no longer a belief in rational debate on public issues. Indeed, some public issues are even considered taboo, where particularly strong interest groups fear that their partisan position might not be endorsed if the public were to be given an opportunity to comment. The core values of western culture are being undermined and overwhelmed on all sides. It raises the question: where can a true conservative stand against the greed, self-interest, and footloose nature of modern liberal man with his thirst for novelty, change, personal gratification, wealth, and material goods?

Although customs and traditions, as well as institutions, continually evolve and change in response to the prevailing liberal belief in progress, the impact of the spirit of capitalism, the demands of technology, and the personal wants of man, there remains a role for the true conservative. It is to seek to conserve the traditional moral order of western civilization, and to resist the moral relativism of modern secular liberalism. It is a role that embodies the vital essence of tory- conservative political thought, which is the belief in absolute moral values that transcend time, and which -- for western society -- are to be found in the teachings of the Christian religion.

‘Everyman’ may well be incapable of resisting the demands of technology and the desire for novelty, personal gratification and material goods, within our modern liberal-progressive society; yet, as society evolves and changes, the Tory conservative can retain control over his own personal moral/spiritual life, and in how he responds to, and lives with, the presence of the moral relativism and the dictates of technology within a liberal-capitalist progressive society. The true conservative – the Tory -- has the sustenance and guidance of a system of moral values – a moral philosophy which is set forth in the Christian religion. Whether one believes that Christian moral values are based on God’s revealed Word as conveyed directly to man through the Prophets and the teachings of Jesus Christ, or one believes that the Christian system of moral values simply encapsulates the thinking of the wisest men of our civilization -- since Ancient times -- on the moral values necessary to live a good life within society, one thing is certain: the man of faith will adhere to Christian moral values regardless of his situation; whereas the man of intellectual conviction may judge it best to ‘look the other way’ in threatening times.

During the early decades of the 20th Century, the Tory conservative faced a two-fold struggle in living within a liberal-progressive society. He was beset by an all-pervasive Lockean-liberalism with its belief in individualism, the separation of church and state, unfettered human progress, the assertion of civil liberties in the absence of civic duties, absolute property rights, and the pursuit of personal happiness, freedom, and wealth, all of which were presented as constituting the ultimate ideal in civil life and life values. Secondly, it was a Lockean-liberalism that had fused with the spirit of capitalism in embracing its inherent drive to maximize profits, and its commitment to laissez-faire government, free trade internationalism and market value economics, and its rejection of any concept of a national interest in natural resource development, trade and commerce.

Today, the Tory conservative is faced with an even greater challenge in the demands of modern technology and the erosion of traditional values by an all-pervasive ‘modern liberalism’. Technology shapes human behavior, and is destructive of social norms to the extent that man seeks to conform to its demands in seeking to realize its full economic benefits and to enjoy its conveniences. Modern liberalism denies the validity and legitimacy of traditional values, and promotes a form of multiculturalism that is destructive of our traditional Canadian culture.

‘Modern liberalism’ is the product of a Lockean-liberalism that has evolved into moral relativism, a belief in personal freedom as an absolute (libertarianism), an internationalist outlook that is destructive of national sovereignty, and a denial of, and outright hostility to, any teaching of traditional morality and religious beliefs in public schools. Tories can respect modern liberalism for its strong stance in favour of civil liberties, individual rights, and civil rights. However, the lack of any acknowledgement of civic duties, of the need to uphold public virtues, or of a recognition of a public good that transcends individual interests, is unsettling to a Tory, as is the modern liberal belief in unlimited technological progress and in the reduction of economic inequalities through the actions of an interventionist state and discriminatory affirmative action policies. What modern liberalism seeks to attain is not an equality of opportunity for all, but an equality of results that is to be enforced by the state.

In seeking to eliminate disadvantages, modern liberalism fails to recognize the critical importance of education, and the need to inculcate moral values in the disadvantaged, as well as a change in their cultural values, to enable those in need of assistance to prepare themselves to be able to compete for jobs in the competitive open market of liberal-capitalist society. In sum, Tory conservatives do not care about skin colour, or gender, or the national origin of new Canadians. Individuals are judged on their character, competence and abilities, and work ethic, in a society in which employment and promotion is gained, and respect earned, through one's personal capabilities, achievements and good behaviour.

In the face of an all-pervasive modern liberalism, a currently-prevailing amoral predatory capitalism, and the demands of modern technology, true conservatives are dedicated to continuing to adhere to, and uphold, the timeless values of the Christian moral order of western civilization. Tory conservatives believe in freedom of conscience, freedom of religion, in a positive law that is a reflection of God's moral law, the rule of law, and equality before the law, and in the necessity of a balance of freedom and order within government and society. It is an order in which the corporate interests and social classes of the nation work together in promoting the common good, and the national interest, within a cooperative commonwealth. To that end, it is an order based on personal and public virtue, a sense of moderation, belief in a common good, in prudence and forbearance, and in a functional hierarchal society of mutual interdependence.

Tories believe that men are born with different God-given talents and abilities, and that they differ, on a personal level, in their degree of application and achievement. Thus, the ideal society is a social hierarchy based on merit – a meritocracy – in which there is equal opportunity for all to better themselves, and in which there is a compassion and charity for the deserving poor.

Tories believe that 'man' is naturally a social being, and not a solitary individual who is responsible only to himself. Men and women have duties and responsibilities which are related to their living in society with others, to their being a citizen of a nation, and to their being a parent and member of a family, as well as, for Christians, duties and responsibilities related to their faith. More particularly, Tories believe in rational debate to resolve public issues, and in accountability for one's actions; and they hold that men and women have duties and responsibilities which are related to their citizenship, social status, family, and position of employment, as well as rights and freedoms under the law.

Tories are acutely aware that there is a difference between liberty and license; and that freedom is not unlimited or a universal natural right. They hold that our rights and freedoms, as Canadians, are based on historic rights that were fought for and secured by our forefathers, and are guaranteed by the British North America Act (1867) and The Constitution Act (1982), inclusive of the Charter of Rights and Freedoms. They are not dependent upon any abstract declaration of universal human rights that has no meaning or substance for well over half of the world's population. Tories are aware that the rights enjoyed by Canadians are part of our inheritance as a nation and have evolved from the historic 'rights of Englishmen', which were established over centuries past by men who were inculcated with, and motivated by, Christian values. In England, it was a Christian people who struggled – down through the centuries, commencing with the signing of the Magna Carta (1215) -- to establish and embody in statute, in the common law, and in the national consciousness, political and legal rights that are based on

Christian beliefs about the nature of man, society, morality, and the common good; and today, it is these rights which are now embodied in Canada's constitution.

Tory conservatives believe in 'careers open to talent', that work is a virtue, that idleness breeds crime, and that crime is a product of the ill-formed character and defective moral values of individuals, rather than a product of socio-economic status. The poor are not predestined to criminality. Individuals have free will and freedom of choice as to their conduct, regardless of their particular circumstances, and ought to be held accountable for the same. Tories respect the working man, good honest labour and industry, and are advocates of labour laws that protect and promote the well-being of workers. In the past -- particularly in England, during the era of the Industrial Revolution -- Tory governments enacted 'factory laws' for the protection of workers, and there were Tories among the leading ranks of the Christian socialists in the 19th Century. However, Tories have no use for modern Marxist socialism with its belief in class conflict and social revolution. Similarly, Tories reject syndicalism which appears to motivate the big unions today in seeking to impose their direction upon the public service and private companies by organizing debilitating strikes that extort exorbitant wages and benefits for their members, that impose unwarranted suffering on the public, and that undermine the economic viability and management of private companies.

For Tory conservatives, one of the primary purposes of an education system is to inculcate the traditional moral values of western civilization into the youth of the nation. Whether or not Canadians realize, or are unwilling to acknowledge, the fundamental connection between the Christian religious beliefs and the moral values of western civilization, for Tory conservatives there is no denying that public order, social harmony, and the well-being of the nation, are dependent on a population imbued with moral values. Hence, it is essential that moral values be inculcated in youth not only within the family home, but also within the education system, as well as by religious institutions.

Where schools are concerned, Tories believe that they should be learning, achievement, and character development oriented; that students should be continually challenged to excel; and that there ought to be a set program of study to be covered in each school year in a system of progression from grade to grade with students being tested on their understanding and knowledge of the required basics at each stage in their development. Students who fail to grasp the basic concepts and requisite knowledge and standard of learning and competence at any particular level, ought to be required to repeat a grade to master the basics before advancing to a more demanding grade level. Tories have no use for psycho-babble about the failing of a grade harming a child's self esteem when the alternative -- the promotion of a child beyond his/her learning level -- breeds defeatism, resentment, and eventually a low sense of self-worth. Life is a series of challenges, disappointments and setbacks, the overcoming of which builds character and success in living a good and productive life.

Tories favour the streaming of students into academic and vocational streams in high school, based on aptitude tests and individual learning achievements. The more strictly practical goal is to achieve advancement to a university or community college to prepare, respectively, for a career in the professions, or entry into technical or trade occupations. Not all students are suited for an academically-oriented university education. Entry to Canadian universities ought to be

based on a provincial scholastic aptitude test that embodies a national standard, with government scholarships for the children of the poor who excel academically. In weighing admission applications, Canadian students ought to be given a decided preference over international students of equal achievement for entry into programs of a limited enrollment, given that Canadian universities were established and are funded by Canadians for the higher education of Canadian youth. Similarly, a decided preference should be given to hiring qualified Canadians in the staffing of university and college teaching positions over academics from other countries.

For true conservatives – Tories -- there is a positive role for the state in promoting public morality, virtue, and the common good within a society in which technological and institutional changes and cultural diversity can be accommodated, and accepted. What the state must demand from its citizens is acceptance of the rule of law and the traditional moral values of western society, as well as a respect for the traditional cultural values of Canada, and adherence to the established civil rights of the Canadian nation. Freedom of religious belief does not give anyone the right to impose their beliefs, or observance of their religious laws and customs upon others. If an immigrant wishes to live in Canada, then the onus is on the immigrant to accommodate to Canadian culture, customs, laws and public observances; Canadians ought not to be expected, or required, to recognize and accommodate themselves to a myriad of foreign cultural beliefs, customs, and languages.

The separation of church and state has long since been established in Canadian law, and Canadian courts ought to reject out of hand any demand for the imposition of a foreign legal system, such as Sharia law which is based on Islamic religious precepts. Such an imposition, even if made applicable only for Muslims in Canada, would constitute a violation of equality before the law, the separation of church and state, and the rule of law as a standard to which all Canadians are equally subject.

In a secular society, religious beliefs are not absolute and do not trump the basic rights and established freedoms of Canadians under the law and Canada's constitution under which Canadians enjoy a freedom of conscience and a freedom of religion on a personal level. Moreover, Canadians enjoy a complete freedom of conduct within the parameters established by the laws of Canada, the requirements of one's allegiance to the Crown, and the duties that are imposed by Canadian citizenship.

Canada is a sovereign country, and it is Canada's parliament that determines through its statutes, policies, and immigration regulations who, among prospective immigrants and refugees, will be granted the privilege of settling in Canada. Foreign nationals do not have a right to emigrate to Canada simply because they want to do so. It is a privilege that the Canadian state -- with the support of Canadians -- chooses to grant to a selected number of citizens of other countries who want to become a Canadian citizen. If foreign nationals want to benefit from living in a country of peace and prosperity, which is based upon and fostered by Canadian cultural values, they are expected to do so through acculturation.

In the immigration and refugee admittance process, the wellbeing and security of Canadians ought to, and must, take precedence over the immigration desires of any, and all, foreign nationals. For Tories, and many Canadians at large, it is beyond comprehension why immigrants,

who come from failed states where violence, intolerance, misogyny, and poverty, are a way of life, would want to import their native cultural values into Canada. Moreover, Tories – and presumably most Canadians -- do not hold that all foreign cultural beliefs and customs have to be tolerated, or accepted, as being equally valid with Canada's traditional Christian values system. As Canadians, individuals enjoy a freedom to worship as they please, and the benefit of religious toleration, but that does not entitle new Canadians to maintain foreign cultural practices that contravene Canadian laws and government regulations, or that offend the cultural values of the Canadian nation.

Given that Canada is a sovereign country, it is the statutes and immigration regulations of this country that govern who is, and who is not, admissible as an immigrant or a refugee. Tories do not believe that foreigners ought to have any right to challenge, in a Canadian court, whether a particular law applies to them. Such legal challenges of Canadian law by foreign nationals are totally absurd, extremely costly to the Canadians tax-payer, and time-consuming; and they tie up the court resources that ought to be employed in addressing the unconscionable delays that Canadians experience in seeking justice within our Canadian court system. In many cases, such legal challenges by bogus immigrants and refugees are simply a delaying tactic to avoid deportation while the failed applicant seeks to establish a residency in Canada.

In domestic politics, within Canada, Tories believe that citizens ought to accept the legitimacy of a freely-elected government, whether or not one agrees with its particular policies. In a free society, a citizen has a right to freedom of speech and a right of expression through various media, a right to vote, and a right to stand for public office, and a right to 'peaceful assembly' to protest against particular government acts or initiatives. However, a citizen does not have a right to seek to deny a duly-elected government the right to govern, or to engage in violent acts of protest and/or attacks on the police who are charged with maintaining the public peace and order.

Civil disobedience is only legitimate in situations where a government engages in an illegal activity in exceeding its legally-constituted authority, or when a government fails to act to protect the civil rights of its citizens. Civil disobedience is not to be resorted to simply because an individual -- or a particular group of individuals -- does not agree, on a personal level, with a particular government policy. Canadians have representatives in parliament, as well as a Her Majesty's Loyal Opposition (or several opposition parties), to publically express any disagreement or argument that any citizen, or group of citizens, might have against a particular government policy or program initiative.

For their part, Her Majesty's Loyal Opposition has a duty to focus debate on any shortcomings in the government administration, programs and policies, to articulate the concerns of Canadians on particular issues, and to present viable alternative policies and programs. However, the opposition parties do not have any right to engage in obstruction for obstruction's sake or for partisan party purposes. Political parties are simply vehicles for presenting a political program to the voters, and for providing a means by which a majority of the elected members of parliament, of a particular persuasion, can coalesce under a leader to whom the Governor-General can entrust the government of the country. The duty of members of parliament, whether in government or in opposition, is to promote the public good and wellbeing of the nation, to safeguard the traditional rights and privileges of the members of parliament, and to act always in

keeping with one's conscience and good judgement, rather than offering a blind loyalty to a political party and subservience to its particular partisan interests.

Although customs and traditions may change over time, the Tory conservative stands always for: public morality, the rule of law, and equality before the law regardless of race, religion, gender, ethnicity, or socio-economic status, the pursuit by government of the public good, gradualism in politics, the protection of national sovereignty and the sovereignty of parliament, the promotion of national security, the strengthening of Canada's national culture, the defence of the national interest in international affairs, patriotism and loyalty to the Crown, fiscal responsibility and good behavior in public office, and an independent judiciary that enforces the laws as enacted by parliament.

Tories believe in the sovereignty of parliament as the executive power and law-making body of the nation, and reject the making of judicial legislation by activist judges. Where statutory law is concerned, only the Supreme Court ought to possess the right to declare that a particular law contravenes the Charter of Rights and Freedoms. Lower court judges are sworn to uphold the law, and ought to enforce the law as written; although they are free, in their judgements, to recommend that a particular law -- in bearing on a case before them -- be referred to the Supreme Court for review.

Where the development of natural resources is concerned, Tories believe in the government pursuing policies of national economic development, and in protecting the public interest through securing particular benefits for the nation out of such projects. It is the role of the government to ensure the sustainability of the exploitation of Canada's natural resources, and to continually strive to minimize any negative impacts of resource development on the environment and its ecology, and to ensure that the natural habitat is ultimately restored. It is held that this can be done by legislation to protect and promote the public interest in a mixed-capitalist economy but, in some instances, may require a resort to public enterprise – the establishment of a Crown Corporation.

In all cases, where there are economic development projects of a national import, the government must ensure that such developments serve the public interest, and not just the interest of the private company or developer. Tories believe in private enterprise, and reject socialism. However, it is a private enterprise that is carried on not only in accordance with the spirit of capitalism, but within the traditional Christian moral framework of acceptable conduct. It is far different than a private enterprise conducted in keeping with an amoral predatory capitalism that is based on profiteering, market manipulation, and the exploitation of others.

Where immigration is concerned, Tory conservatives favour the encouragement of emigration from countries that share our cultural values, from countries that have a literate national culture and a heritage of national achievement and, from all countries, of families headed by individuals who possess sufficient skills and/or education to enable them to live, and prosper, within a competitive liberal-capitalist economy. Moreover, Tories welcome immigrants who come to Canada to become Canadians, to work to support themselves, to accommodate themselves to Canadian cultural values, to become one with us, to intermarry with Canadians, and to adopt a Canadian identity, outlook, and citizenship. Traditionally, immigrants have become Canadians in

adopting Canadian cultural values, and in learning to speak either English or French – Canada’s two official languages -- while remaining proud of their origins and native cultural heritage; yet today, many new immigrants are unwilling to make such a commitment to Canada. They want to retain their foreign culture, language, and loyalties, and are demanding that the Canadian government aid them to do so. Such demands are totally perverse and completely unacceptable.

Tories do not believe that Canadians must alter their traditional cultural values to accommodate the distinctive cultural values of new arrivals, or that government must aid immigrants to maintain their native culture and language. If potential immigrants want to continue to live within a foreign culture, and do not want to become a Canadian, then they ought to emigrate to a country that shares their cultural values. Moreover, Canadians should not be expected to accept, or tolerate, foreign cultural values that contradict or conflict with our basic rights and values. To cite but one example, women in Canada are recognized legally as ‘persons’ who have equal rights with males in our society and in our public life. Hence, Tories do not accept any treatment of new Canadian women -- by any immigrant culture and/or religion -- as non-persons and non-entities who must cover their faces and hide their identity in public. Whether or not an individual is willing to accept such treatment is irrelevant.

Tories totally reject the concept of ‘dual citizenship’. The loyalty of a Canadian must be to Canada, and Canada alone; loyalty cannot be divided.

Where foreign aid is concerned, Tory conservatives hold that a priority ought to be given to disaster relief for countries suffering from natural calamities; and that, otherwise, foreign aid ought to be targeted, and of a temporary duration, for deserving countries where Canadian aid can be seen to be having a decided effect in improving the lives and well-being of the people. Canadians should not be taxed to provide aid to foreign dictators to enrich their families and stabilize their oppressive rule over their own people.

Tories honour our military servicemen and servicewomen, revere Canada’s military heritage, and believe in a strong military with the capacity to defend Canadian interests anywhere in the world. Canada’s military is comprised of men and women who have volunteered to serve their country and to risk their lives in its defence. As such, they ought to be deployed only in defending Canadian interests, and in the defence of allies who will support Canada in turn. Canadian soldiers should not be ordered to risk their lives and health in forlorn endeavours to rescue failed states in inhospitable lands. Peacekeeping at the behest of the United Nations should be undertaken only by volunteers and only in instances where the parties engaged in a conflict express an interest in ending their hostilities.

A true conservative defends the established constitution of his country, and recognizes that a constitutional monarchy is the best form of government. With but one significant exception – the United States of America -- republics, under partisan presidents, come and go, but constitutional monarchies endure. They provide stability, and bespeak a public respect for the nation’s cultural and political heritage. In supporting the existing constitution of government, Tories believe that only men and women of high moral character, honesty, integrity, and achievement, are fit to stand for election to public office, and to receive appointments to public offices of trust. Both in public office, as in private life, Tory conservatives hold that a Christian forbearance must be

exercised in dealing with those with whom one differs on public questions. Forbearance is requisite for the proper and effective functioning of a constitutional government that is based on a separation of powers and an independent judiciary.

Although our modern liberal-progressive society will continue to evolve and change, Tories still believe that conservatism is a viable political philosophy. They believe that the peace, order and good government of a nation depends upon the moral character and cultural values of its people which must be formed by instruction within the family and the school system, as well as by the teachings of our religious institutions. A nation depends for its social harmony and order, peace and wellbeing, upon recognition by the public that there is a universal standard of right and wrong in human conduct, and upon the recognition by its statesmen that public morality depends ultimately upon a belief in God and a religiously-based sanction for moral values. Spiritually, Tory conservatives believe that there is a higher power to which one must ultimately answer for one's conduct here on earth.

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Tories are the true conservatives of western civilization in that they alone possess a timeless conservative political philosophy that poses an alternative to Lockean liberalism. Today, many so-called conservatives are simply 'situational conservatives' who defend the old order of the recent past, and hold in esteem the best of whatever was of that particular political culture. Thus, in the United States, most conservatives today are upholders of the values, beliefs and principles of 19th Century Lockean liberalism against the perceived threat of the social engineering practices of the 'modern liberal' interventionist state, and in Russia there are conservatives who uphold the values, beliefs and principles of an orthodox Marxist-Leninism. Historically, Canada has been home to a wide variety of conservatives: Tory conservatives; Liberal conservatives; Progressive conservatives; and, more recently, even believers in American Neo-conservatism. For an exposition on the political philosophies of Anglican Toryism and Lockean liberalism, see: Robert W. Passfield, *Military Paternalism, Labour and the Rideau Canal Project* (2013), "Appendix".
