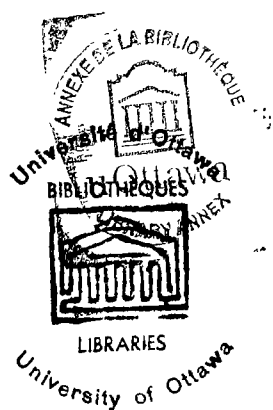


SOME IMPLICATIONS OF CURRENT  
CANADIAN CONCEPTS OF THE JUST  
SOCIETY FOR EDUCATION IN CANADA

by Paul Anthony Johnstone

Thesis presented to the School of  
Graduate Studies as partial fulfilment  
of the requirements for the degree  
of Ph.D. in Education



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## CURRICULUM STUDIORUM

Paul Anthony Johnstone was born on November 8, 1930, in Kingston , Jamaica, the West Indies. He obtained the Diploma in Hispanic Studies from Madrid University, Spain, in 1955, and the B. A. (Hons.) in Spanish from the University of London, England, in 1963, after studying at the University College of the West Indies, Mona, Jamaica. He received the B. Ed. in 1968, and the M. A. in Educational Administration in 1970, from Dalhousie University, Halifax, Nova Scotia, Canada. The title of his thesis was A Conceptual Analysis of Some Current Ideology in Educational Organization and Administration in North America.

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## INTRODUCTION

### STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

A major determinant of the survival and progress of any society today is the educational system it maintains and which sustains it. The relationship between a society and its educational systems is reciprocal when a society creates its formal educational systems to perform essential conservative as well as progressive functions : to preserve what experience has shown to be desirable; to replace the less desirable by developing new knowledge, understanding, and expertise; and to facilitate the effective functioning of society itself, in keeping with the demands of time, growth, and innovation. The crucial importance of education to its society emanates from this inter-relationship. This seems particularly true of developing societies where, to a great extent, education is often an integral part of the movement toward modernity.

Although the relationship between the educational systems and their societal environment is reciprocal, however, it also seems clear that those crucial decisions which determine the direction of educational systems are more often made by politicians. In a comparative study of education in a variety of cultures, ancient and mediaeval, modern and contemporary, in the east and in the west, and in developed as well as in developing societies, Kazamias and Massialas found not only that "Educational change and the movement toward modernity have been

and continue to be major concerns of most countries of the world" <sup>1</sup> but also that

The extent to which the educational profession participates in the formulation of overall educational policy varies from country to country. In general, however, in major decisions affecting aims, control and support of education, certification of teachers, curriculum organization, and even the selection of textbooks, the role of the educational profession is at best minimal. In the majority of cases, the power rests with political figures or legislatures functioning at state or national levels.<sup>2</sup>

The experience of Canadian educators does not seem to negate the truth of such findings.<sup>3</sup>

Given this apparent reality as well as recognition that neither societies, parents nor students will long suffer school systems that do not meet their expectations, needs or demands, prudence suggests that educators seek preventive measures not merely to anticipate and avoid conflict but instead to improve voluntarily the internal efficiency and external effectiveness of their systems rather than be compelled

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1 Andreas M. Kazamias & Byron G. Massialas, Tradition and Change in Education : A Comparative Study, Englewood Cliffs, N. J., Prentice-Hall, 1965, p. 14.

2 Ibid., p. 170.

3 Hugh A. Stevenson, Robert M. Stamp & J. Donald Wilson, The Best of Times/The Worst of Times : Contemporary Issues in Canadian Education, Toronto, Holt, Rinehart and Winston of Canada, 1972.

to adopt curative measures post factum, when the ills in question might well prove stubborn, if not incurable. It is partly in response to the need to recognize explicitly the true locus of policy decisions which determine the directions of education in Canada as well as an attempt to aid in the adoption of anticipatory and preventive measures voluntarily that this study is undertaken. Educational strategy is viewed here as intimately involved in national political policy, as a central part of the cultural whole, and as a crucial specific of the general.<sup>4</sup>

There are two additional dimensions to this particular area of concern. One was expressed in the Summary Report enthusiastically subscribed to, as a basis for constructive action, by 150 educational leaders from fifty-two countries at the end of the International Conference on the World Crisis in Education held in Williamsburg, Virginia, in October, 1967. As Coombs indicated in his Epilogue: How World Educational Leaders View the Crisis:

The conference subscribed to the following propositions as the basis for constructive action

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<sup>4</sup> Byron G. Massialas, Education and the Political System, Reading, Massachusetts, Addison-Wesley, 1969.

1. That education is now a central preoccupation of every nation in the world and, further, that educational plans can be carried out with maximum success only if they are made in relation to educational systems and plans in other countries.
2. That within each country education can no longer be regarded as a series of unconnected enterprises, conducted at different levels with purposes independent of each other. Education within any society must be considered as a unified whole, its parts in balance and the balance in turn reflecting society's requirements and the resources available to meet them.
3. That there is indeed a crisis in education's ability to match performance with expectations. The crisis takes two forms. The first, is the worldwide disparity between the hopes of individuals and needs of society, on the one hand, and, on the other, the capabilities of the educational system. The second is an even greater disparity between the developing countries, faced with the cruel restraints of grossly inadequate resources, and the developed countries, which are increasingly preoccupied with their own internal needs.
4. That in all countries, rich and poor alike, educational programs, structures, management, and the learning process itself require the most immediate attention to ways and means of replacing inflexibility with innovation, traditional or outmoded ideas with fresh approaches and new ventures.

The conference believed that these postulates must be accepted both by educators and by the society that supports them if education is to rise above an attitude of business-as-usual and perform the tasks that the very future of mankind requires. 5

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5 Philip H. Coombs, The World Educational Crisis: A Systems Analysis, New York, Oxford University Press, 1968, p. 174-175.

Though all are important, the focus here is on the implications for Canada of proposition two.

The remaining dimension recognizes the fact, attested to by many influential writers of the western world, that the attainment of a just society is, and has been for centuries, one of the most desired goals of civilized men.<sup>6</sup> Rarely, however, has it been so patently stated as the guiding principle of a national political platform as it was by the new Prime Minister of Canada in the September, 1968, Speech from the Throne:

My Government is deeply and irrevocably committed to the objectives of a just society and a prosperous economy in a peaceful world. My ministers believe that the unity of the country is fundamental to the attainment of these goals, as-indeed-to the enjoyment by each Canadian of the maximum possible liberty, happiness and material well-being.<sup>7</sup>

Though the vagaries of geopolitics and of world markets might delimit the Prime Minister's capacity to implement a "peaceful world" or a "prosperous economy", the same does not seem necessarily true also of a "just society" here..

So, out of this deep and irrevocable commitment comes, in part, the specific problems to be dealt with here: what are "the objectives of a just society", to which Canada has been

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<sup>6</sup> Hon. Pierre Elliott Trudeau, Minister of Justice, A Canadian Charter of Human Rights, Ottawa, the Queen's Printer, 1968, p. 9-12.

<sup>7</sup> Canada, House of Commons Debates, Ottawa, the Queen's Printer, 1st Session, 28th Parliament, Vol. 1, Sept. 12, 1968, p. 6.

irrevocably committed ? Given the customary functions of education, what roles will be required of education in Canada, in the search for these objectives ? What adjustments or innovations will prove necessary ? Toward which educational changes should educators plan ? In other words, what specifically does "the just society" mean here, and, what demands will its political attainment make upon the educational systems of this country ?

Since "the just society" has been stated as the guiding principle of the government's intentions, an analysis of their specific objectives and, especially, their observed practices should help to clarify their particular meanings of this phrase. The peculiar problem of this dissertation, then, is to determine the implications of this "just society" for present and future education in Canada. To do this, the posited future goals must be contrasted with the present status quo; the difference between the sought future ideal and the current reality indicating the way ahead and the necessary goal-seeking activities. The future of education in Canada seems to be inevitably a part of this. It is the outlines of this future that this study seeks to detect, envision, and bring into focus.

In summary, then, the abovementioned problem emanates from four basic or major factors, that: (1) the real decisions that determine a society's objectives and, therefore, its

educational goals are usually made at the national political level; (2) education must voluntarily avoid both dysfunctionality and conflict with its societal environment, often caused by its own internal inefficiency, external ineffectiveness or inertia; (3) education urgently needs to be rationally organized on a national scale in this, as in every other, nation; and (4) education toward just societies is both highly necessary and widely generalizable, because a just society is perhaps the most perennial and universal aim of mankind.

Besides, the exercise of extracting latent educational policy from patent political objectives should not only prove informative and useful but also might well become an important fact of life for those educators who must somehow understand and predict the behaviour of their governments.

#### PURPOSE OF STUDY

In general terms, the purpose of this study is to discover desirable cultural and educational objectives, since educational behaviour is legitimated by the cultural value system. Coombs stated this need when he wrote:

One of the greatest difficulties facing an educational system and the community it serves involves the task of defining its aims and setting its priorities in operational terms that are clear and meaningful. 8

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8 Op. cit., p. 104.

Seeing that the existing provincial educational systems necessarily serve the Canadian national community, whether intentionally or not, education in Canada will be discussed here from a national perspective, and aims and operational priorities will be established from that viewpoint.

Also, it now seems clear that the escalating desire for professional recognition requires that educators become more intimately acquainted with the social, political, economic and legal domains of their societies, so as to become and to produce more aware persons and citizens as well as to be able to function more effectively at the highest levels of policy planning and program development. Erickson signalled the trend in this direction when he wrote:

The erstwhile search for administrative theory seems virtually abandoned today, though a few scholars still attempt to explain important events in terms of what the leader is or does. There seems to be a growing tendency to assume that administrative procedures, instructional approaches, schools and fiscal structures must be analyzed as systems or system components (in the broad sense), and that these systems may be extraordinarily open. Investigation has been widened to include not only the administrator himself, but teachers as his prime interactors, the organization as his context, or even the major determinant of what occurs, the allocative strategies that must be considered, and a wide-ranging politicoeconomic framework. 9

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9 Donald A. Erickson, "Educational Organization, Administration, and Finance", in Review of Educational Research, Vol. 37, No. 4, October 1967, p. 376.

Not only has the scope of the research focus been broadened but also interdisciplinary expertise seems to be fast becoming essential. Now, understanding apparently demands that culture be contemplated preferably in its complexity, if error in prediction is to be minimized and control maximized.

#### ASSUMPTIONS TO BE TESTED

Since the approach to be used here is heuristic (it assumes the problem to be solvable and suggests a procedure for the solution), the assumptions to be tested are stated as follows:

1. A comparison of past and present conceptualizations of justice will
  - (a) clarify current Canadian understanding of the term "the just society", and
  - (b) facilitate the indication of developing trends resulting from current conceptualizations;
2. The trend in Canada's movement towards contemporary Canadian concepts of "the just society" will be verified by an examination of the ideology, expressed intentions, and observed practices-especially in terms of proposed and effected legislation and expenditures - of the Prime Minister and his Government as well as of the major political parties, and specialists in this field;

3. Comparison of the visualized objectives of the national society with the current state of the nation will indicate the cultural implications of "the just society", especially with regard to necessary goal-seeking activities; and

4. The implications for education in Canada, in terms of goals, objectives and purposes, can be determined from the differences discovered in three (3) above.

#### METHODOLOGY AND DESIGN

A clear understanding of the phrase, the just society, is essential to the elaboration of this report. Also, seeing that this phrase is comprehensive enough to seem somewhat vague in terms of specifics and since its intrinsic values are partly relative to time and place, it would seem obligatory, for the purpose of clarity, to establish at the outset the context of contemporary interpretations of it. This requires some indication of traditionally accepted usage, meanings and notions of justice in western tradition up to 1968, at which point general discussion will become more specific. This report, therefore, will be divided into five Chapters, each dealing with the following:

1. Review of the traditionally accepted notions, usage, and meanings of justice, including examination of its development and determination of criteria for assessing economic, political, legal and social aspects of a just society.
2. Description of current Canadian concepts of the just society, especially in terms of visualized objectives, actions aimed at their attainment, and comparison with traditionally accepted meanings.
3. Determination of the contemporary status of the pursued objectives of the just society here in Canada, through examination of expressed perceived national needs, as indicated by major political entities, public opinion, and relevant research.
4. Description of the national motivation toward homeostatic change, goal-seeking activities resulting from the politically perceived difference between the desired goals and the status quo.
5. Indication of the logically resulting functions of education in Canada, essential to the achievement of the pursued national objectives and ideal.

The sample of documents to be used will consist of those publications most conducive to accurate description of past conceptualizations of justice in western tradition and of those current in present Canadian society, including the intended as

well as the attained objectives of contemporary government.

Evaluative instruments of Canada's just society will consist mainly of such primary sources as already approved legislation and expenditures, seeing that stated intentions often differ from goals attained. A preference will be shown here for the reality achieved rather than the promise proposed, up to and including 1972.

The present state of the Canadian nation will also be arrived at by examination of the most comprehensive and reputable reports currently available. Besides, whenever government publications are unavoidably used, attempts will be made to compare their findings with those of opposition groups or of researchers, with a view to maximizing objectivity.

The determination of the implications of the above findings for education in Canada will concentrate on indicating logically necessary functions, goals and purposes rather than specific means of achieving them, since provincial priorities will likely differ. Only those means will be referred to that are inextricably interwoven with or patently legitimized by their ends. Attention will, therefore, be centered upon requisite educational policy and its underlying philosophical implications. Also, since they are mainly means, only such discussion of administration, curriculum, technology and teaching will be included as will serve to clarify the main goal here - the virtually inevitable role of education in Canada

in the attainment of its just society.

Hopefully, out of this might come some indicators as to how to educate for and toward future just societies.

#### DEFINITION OF TERMS

The following terms are used here with the meanings indicated:

**Some:** refers to the delimitation of interest mainly to functions, objectives and purposes rather than to means of attaining them.

**Implications:** indicate those inferences and understandings that are logically deducible from the relation which holds between the two propositions or classes of propositions described herein as (1) current Canadian concepts of the just society, and (2) education in Canada .

**Concepts:** refer to constructs, general notions, or syntheses arrived at by mentally combining component characteristics or particulars.

**The Just Society:** That Gestalt of ideas that comprises the ideal and objectives of the present Canadian national community, sought through the leader, the government and the major political entities.

**Education:** Those formally or informally created and organized systems which facilitate the act or process of imparting or acquiring general knowledge, developing the powers of reasoning and judgment and, generally, of preparing oneself or others for learning to understand and to act.

Power: Ability to do or act; vigour, energy, strength or force; influence, sway, ascendancy or authorization in the exercise of authority in the maintenance of right.

Social Justice: The impartial, fair, equitable, deserved, well-grounded, right in amount, righteous or proper applied to the mutual relations of men or classes of men.

Economic Justice: The impartial, fair, equitable, deserved, well-grounded, right in amount, righteous or proper applied to the production and distribution of wealth and to the condition of a country as to material prosperity.

## CHAPTER 1

### JUSTICE: MEANINGS, DEVELOPMENT AND CRITERIA

The literature concerning justice is rather wide-ranging in both quantity and quality: fortunately, it is also repetitive. Although its repetitiveness facilitates the recognition of patterns, however, it also displays scant respect for disciplinary boundaries; thus imposing an interdisciplinary approach on any attempt at comprehensiveness. Since the major concern of this chapter, however, is with ideology rather than ideas, with the general rather than the specific, it would seem more conducive to arrival at an understanding of its traditionally accepted usage and meanings if justice were first allowed to flow its own course, before making any attempt to restrain it conceptually within the confines of such recognizable disciplines as law, politics, or economics, so as to harness it for purposes of prediction and control. The format of this chapter, therefore, seeks to do this, in tacit recognition of the fact that, though analysis might demand the imposition of an arbitrary periodicity on an intrinsically continuous operation, reality rules that this imposition be recognized as conceptual.

#### 1. TRADITIONAL MEANINGS

Though justice can hardly be reduced to discrete entities, for the purpose of analysis it might be reasonable to say that the precepts of justice have traditionally been understood to be:

- (1) do good and avoid evil;
- (2) harm no one;
- (3) render each man his due, or, to each his own; and
- (4) treat equals equally.

Also, traditionally accepted notions and usage would seem to suggest that justice has been variously understood to mean:

- (1) might, including positive law and civil rights;
- (2) right, including natural law and inalienable rights;
- (3) the legal, or necessarily subsequent to the establishment of communally agreed rights and property;
- (4) the lawful, or the common good;
- (5) duty, or obligation, to which someone has a correlative right;
- (6) the fair, involving the principle of equality;
- (7) a habit of conduct or moral sentiment;
- (8) utility, relative to happiness, pragmatic and environmentally determined;
- (9) internal harmony or inner peace; and
- (10) myth, irrelevant, or indefinable.

Some elaboration might help to clarify how these accepted meanings run wide and deep through western tradition.

a) Precepts of Justice.- Precepts are understood to be laws of nature or general rules, discovered by human reason. As such, they distinguish between inherent right and man-made law, as Hobbes indicates:

... right consisteth in liberty to do, or to forbear;  
whereas law determineth and bindeth to one of them:  
so that law and right differ as much as obligation  
and liberty... 1

So, man-made law is seen to oblige, whereas natural law, though requiring obedience, recognizes also the freedom and morality of human choice. Aquinas further defines three kinds of precept: moral, ceremonial, and judicial - moral precepts being those dictated by natural law; ceremonial, those which are determinations of Divine worship; and judicial, those determinations of the justice to be maintained among men.<sup>2</sup> He sees moral and judicial precepts as aimed at ordering human life, both being derived from reason, while judicial and ceremonial precepts have this in common, that they are specific determinations of general precepts. Kant also suggests three duties of right: live rightly, do wrong to no one, and, assign to every one what is his own. These classical formulae represent, for him, principles which divide the obligations of right into internal, external, and connecting duties.<sup>3</sup> Thus, he summarizes what are traditionally called the precepts of justice.

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1 Thomas Hobbes, Leviathan, London, Dent & Sons, (1651) 1952, pt. 1, chap. 14, p. 47-48.

2 St. Thomas Aquinas, The Summa Theologica, Vol. 2, London, Burns, Oates & Washbourne, 1941, pt. 1 of 2nd pt., tr. 4, Q. 99, art. 4, p. 248.

3 Immanuel Kant, "Division of the Science of Right", in Fundamental Principles of the Metaphysic of Morals, Edinburgh, T. & T. Clark, (1785) 1952, A. 1-3, p. 17-18.

b) Justice as Might.- Contrasts between justice as right and law as might seem common in Greek literature where justice is often viewed as obedience to the commands of the Gods in preference to the demands of earthly laws. An example of this occurs in The Suppliant Maidens, a play by Aeschylus, when the Chorus of the Danaides requests Pelasgus, King of Argos, to protect them from the Egyptians:

Chorus:     Look up unto the Watcher set on high,  
              The Guardian of necessitous souls who sue,  
              Crouched on a neighbour's hearth, for sanctuary,  
              Craving in vain the right which is their due...

Pelasgus:   ... Your answer must be founded on the law  
              Domestic; and ye must maintain and prove  
              That over ye they have no power at all.

Chorus:     ... Be thou the ally of Justice and not Law;  
              Judge thou as judge the Gods and stand of them  
              in awe. 4

Major discussion of these conflicting concepts seems to appear first, however, in Plato's dialogues, The Republic and Gorgias, where it is the central theme.<sup>5</sup> Here, a clear contrast is drawn between the exponents of might and those of right, between those who think that might makes right and those convinced that might can be wrongly as well as rightly used.

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4 G. M. Cookson, ed., "The Suppliant Maidens", in The Plays of Aeschylus, Chicago, Univ. of Chicago, 1952, l. 387-397, p. 5.

5 Benjamin Jowett, ed., The Dialogues of Plato, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1953, p. 252-441.

Also Thucydides, recounting the Melian episode of the Peloponnesian War, says, through the words of the Athenian envoys, that "right, as the world goes, is only in question between equals in power; while the strong do what they can and the weak suffer what they must".<sup>6</sup> The Melians can only reply: "You debar us from talking about justice and invite us to obey your interest".<sup>7</sup> These words resemble those of Thrasymachus in The Republic when he says:

I proclaim that justice is nothing else than the interest of the stronger... the different forms of government make laws democratical, aristocratical, tyrannical, with a view to their several interests; and these laws... are the justice which they deliver to their subjects, and him who transgresses them they punish as a breaker of the law, and unjust. And that is what I mean when I say that in all states there is the same principle of justice, which is the interest of the government; and as the government must be supposed to have power, the only reasonable conclusion is, that everywhere there is one principle of justice, which is the interest of the stronger.<sup>8</sup>

This concept is usually applied as follows: for the stronger, it means that they have the right, so long as they have the might, to exact from the weaker whatever serves their interests. Their demands or laws cannot be unjust, they cannot do injustice, for they are the criteria of justice. The weaker can only do injustice

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<sup>6</sup> Thucydides, The History of the Peloponnesian War, New York, E. P. Dutton & Co., 1920, Bk. 5, ch. 17, No. 89, p. 160.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid., No. 98, p. 160.

<sup>8</sup> Op. cit., in 5, Bk. 1, No. 338-339, p. 301.

but not suffer it. Injustice on their part consists in disobeying the laws of their rulers.

This conceptualization runs like a mainstream in the current of thought through western tradition, the language often varying slightly. More than three centuries ago, Hobbes wrote:

... where there is no Commonwealth, there is nothing unjust. So that the nature of justice consisteth in keeping of valid covenants, but the validity of covenants begins not but with the constitution of a civil power sufficient to compel men to keep them... 9

This statement contains an idea basic to the notion of justice as legal which will be mentioned presently. But the aspect to be stressed here is the idea that only law, reinforced by the power to compel obedience, is viewed here as justice. Rectitude yields to enforceability. Decades later, Spinoza stated that "the right of any person is limited by his virtue or power".<sup>10</sup> In this view, whatever can be imposed is just, so long as the imposer has the power to prevail. Even in 1929, Freud was still restating this idea, the imposer this time being society:

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9 Op. cit., in 1, pt. 1, chap. 15, p. 52.

10 Benedict de Spinoza, Ethics, London, Oxford Univ. Press, 1952, pt. 4, prop. 37, schol. 1, p. 80.

Human life in communities only becomes possible when a number of men unite together in strength superior to any single individual and remain united against all single individuals. The strength of this united body is then opposed as right against the strength of any individual, which is condemned as brute force. <sup>11</sup>

The superior might of the many is right: the theme has changed little, down through the ages. Thus justice consists in obedience and injustice in disobedience to whatever laws the state can enforce: the laws themselves being formulated not with reference to justice as right but to the interests of the state, which seeks its own preservation and claims the right to do so, as long as it has the power. This is the law and order way.

c) Justice as Right.- The exponents of right seem to agree that justice is partly political in the sense that the state, in organization and operation, should be a work of justice. The organizing principle of Plato's ideal was justice. <sup>12</sup> Aristotle, too, maintained that... "justice is the bond of men in states, for the administration of justice, which is the determination of what is just, is the principle of order in political society". <sup>13</sup> But, in this view, justice is not only political. Many agree with Aristotle that "of political justice part is natural, part legal"... <sup>14</sup> They agree that just action partly consists in

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<sup>11</sup> Sigmund Freud, Civilization and Its Discontents, London, The Hogarth Press, 1930, sec. 3, p. 13.

<sup>12</sup> Op. cit., in 5, Bk. 2, p. 316-324.

<sup>13</sup> W. D. Ross, ed., "Politics", in The Works of Aristotle, Vol. 2, London, Oxford Univ. Press, 1908, Bk. 1, sec. 2, 1.37-39, p. 446.

<sup>14</sup> W.D. Ross, ed., "Nicomachean Ethics", in The Works of Aristotle, Vol. 2, London, Oxford Univ. Press, 1908, Bk. 5, chap. 7, 1. 18. p. 382.

law-abiding conduct, but this does not exclude another sense in which the laws themselves and even the constitution of the state itself can be called just or unjust.

Justice as right concludes that a constitution cannot be considered the ultimate standard of justice by those who would compare the justice of different constitutions or of diverse forms of government. That part of justice which is natural refers to a prior and superior natural principle of justice, true for all men at all times, everywhere. This natural principle or law is their final measure of justice in all human institutions and acts as well as in the characters of men.

This natural law implies both natural justice and natural rights which, unlike civil rights, are not conferred on individuals by the state but are intrinsic and inherent in human personality and, as such, unalienable. So, when a government transgresses natural rights, it negates its own reason for being, since it is "to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men".<sup>15</sup> But, even apart from government and civil institutions, even considering men in a state of nature or total freedom, Locke says of this natural state that it

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<sup>15</sup> Thomas Jefferson, "The Declaration of Independence", in American State Papers, (1776) 1952, New York, Encyclopaedia Britannica Ltd., l. 5-10, p. 1.

... has a law of nature to govern it, which obliges everyone, and reason, which is that law, teaches all mankind who will but consult it, that being all equal and independent, no one ought to harm another in his life, health, liberty, or possessions... Every one as he is bound to preserve himself, and not to quit his station wilfully, so by the like reason, when his own preservation comes not in competition, ought he as much as he can to preserve the rest of mankind, and not unless it be to do justice on an offender, take away or impair the life, or what tends to the preservation of the life, the liberty, health, limb, or goods of another. 16

Since this natural law and its implied principle of just dealing between men is not abolished when men associate in the common life of civil society, natural justice and natural rights remain to limit the powers of government and to measure the justice of its laws. This is justice as right.

d) Justice as Legal.- This conceptualization considers justice to exist only after men have given up the state of nature or of survival of the fittest and have formed civil societies, thus consenting to being governed. Hobbes, for example, describes a state of nature as a condition in which "every man has right to everything; and consequently, no action can be unjust".<sup>17</sup> Only when men abandon this unlimited right and create a commonwealth do they acquire in return certain civil rights. Only then is there any meaning to justice conceived according to the ancient

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16 John Locke, Concerning Civil Government, Second Essay, Chicago, Univ. of Chicago, 1952, chap. 2, sec. 6, p. 3.

17 Op. cit., in 1, pt. 1, chap. 15, p. 52.

maxim that Hobbes accepts, that "justice is the constant will of giving to every man his own".<sup>18</sup> Spinoza<sup>19</sup> and Hume<sup>20</sup> both make the same point: a state must be established and men must become citizens. Where there is no legally established right, there can be no justice, no respecting of what is a man's own nor giving him what belongs to him. The difference between Locke and the others seems to lie in his conception of property as the natural right that a man has to the preservation of his life, liberty and estate.<sup>21</sup> For him, there can be justice between men in a state of nature because, even then, each has some property that others are obliged to respect.

e) Justice as the Lawful.- Those who do not see the origin of political society as being a transition from the state of nature, do appeal also to a principle of natural justice. The focus of their attention, however, is on those precepts of justice already mentioned. The essential content of these precepts is present, apart from any doctrine of natural law, in

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18 Loc. cit., in 17, p. 52.

19 Op. cit., in 10, pt. 4, prop. 37, schol. 2, p. 80-81.

20 David Hume, An Enquiry Concerning Human Understanding, London, Oxford Univ. Press, 1902, sec. 12, pt. 3, No. 131, p. 61-62.

21 Op. cit., in 16, chap. 2, sec. 6, p. 3.

Aristotle's analysis of the nature of justice. "The just", says Aristotle, "is the lawful and the fair", <sup>22</sup> "lawful" meaning here not just law-abiding or conforming to the laws of a given society. To him, law aims "at the common advantage... we call those acts just that tend to produce and preserve happiness and its components for the political society". <sup>23</sup> Lawful actions, therefore, are those which intend the common good or the good of others, while unlawful actions are those which injure others or despoil the society. For some, this serves as a primary criterion for differentiating between good and bad government. Those acts which serve the common good are just, those which serve private interests only are unjust, this meaning of justice being equally applicable to everyone in a society. Whether stated as the good of other individuals or as the common good of a community, this understanding of justice is extrinsically oriented, it considers a man's actions as they affect the well-being of others not of himself. Justice as lawful seeks primarily the common good.

f) Justice as Duty.- "Justice, alone of the virtues", says Aristotle, "is thought to be 'another's good', because it is related to our neighbour". <sup>24</sup> Concerned with what is due to

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22 Op. cit., in 14, Bk. 5, chap. 1, l. 35, p. 376.

23 Ibid., l. 15-19, p. 377.

24 Ibid., l. 3-4, p. 377.

another, justice here involves the element of duty or obligation. "To each one", Aquinas writes, "is due what is his own", and "the act of justice is to render what is due".<sup>25</sup> This is why justice implies the notion of duty. In this sense, however, justice seems to go further than merely to discharge the debt each man owes every other. It also seeks another's good. As a result, a difference of opinion arises about the adequacy of this notion of justice to establish peace and harmony in a society. Some, like Kant, feel that, should perfect justice exist, a multitude of individual wills would be perfectly harmonized in free action.<sup>26</sup> Others, like Aquinas, consider justice necessary but insufficient, precisely because it is a matter of duty and debt. Aquinas says:

Peace is the work of justice indirectly, in so far as justice removes the obstacles to peace; but it is the work of charity directly, since charity, according to its very notion, causes peace. For love is "a unitive force"...<sup>27</sup>

Love and friendship unite men, whereas justice merely governs their interaction. What men do for one another because of love surpasses the commands of justice. For this reason charity and mercy are often summoned to temper justice and, sometimes, to set it aside. "Earthly power", says Portia in Shakespeare's

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<sup>25</sup> Op. cit., in 2, vol. 1, pt. 1, Q. 21, art. 1, reply obj. 3, p. 125, and obj. 3, p. 124.

<sup>26</sup> Immanuel Kant, "The Science of Right", in "Fundamental Principles of the Metaphysic of Morals", Edinburgh, T. & T. Clark, 1952, pt. 2, sec. 49, No. 3, p. 57.

<sup>27</sup> Op. cit., in 2, pt. 2 of 2nd pt., Q. 29, art. 3, reply obj. 3, p. 532.

Merchant of Venice, "doth then show likest God's, when mercy seasons justice".<sup>28</sup> There is, therefore, a recognized need to compensate for the shortcomings of this notion of justice.

g) Justice as the Fair.- When the just is conceived as the fair, the fairness is often conceptualized as rectifications, exchange, or distribution of burdens or goods. The principle of a fair exchange or a fair distribution is equality, for fairness requires the exchange of things equivalent in value. The rule of an eye for an eye or a tooth for a tooth is one expression of the principle of equality as the criterion of a fair penalty or a just reward. But, if honours or rewards are to be distributed, equals should be treated equally, and those unequal in merit or desert should receive unequal shares: "For it is by proportionate requital that the city holds together", Aristotle writes.<sup>29</sup>

The unequal treatment of unequals, however, still derives its fairness from the principle of equality, for there is an equivalence of ratios in the proportion of giving more to the more needy or more deserving, and less to the less. Hence the accepted division of this notion of justice into simple or

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<sup>28</sup> W. G. Clarke & W. A. Wright, eds., "The Merchant of Venice", in The Plays and Sonnets of William Shakespeare, vol. 1, London, Oxford Univ. Press, 1905, Act. 4, scene 1, l. 196-197, p. 427.

<sup>29</sup> Op. cit., in 14, Bk. 5, chaps. 3 & 5, l. 10-30 & 33-34, p. 378 & 380.

commutative (an eye for an eye) and proportionate or distributive (according to merit), the circumstances determining which is applied. This notion is based on equality.

h) Justice as Habit.- Another conceptualization of justice is that in which a man is considered to be just in character or to have the virtue of justice. Here, difference in theory reflects the divergence between those for whom virtue is the basic conception, and those who emphasize duty, or those who reduce justice to a moral sentiment. Even among those who treat justice as a virtue, however, there seems to be a difference in analysis. For Aristotle, the virtue of justice, like other moral virtues, is a habit of conduct. It differs from courage and temperance in that it is a habit of action, not of the passions. It is that

... in virtue of which the just man is said to be a doer, by choice, of that which is just, and one who will distribute either between himself and another or between two others not so as to give more of what is desirable to himself and less to his neighbour (and conversely with what is harmful), but so as to give what is equal in accordance with proportion; ... 30

Another difference between justice and the other moral virtues is that courageous and temperate acts are performed only by courageous and temperate men, whereas an act that is outwardly just can be performed by an unjust as well as a just man. 31

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30 Op. cit., in 14, Bk. 5, chap. 5, l. 1-5, p. 381.

31 Ibid., chap. 6, l. 20-25, p. 382.

Also, fair dealing in exchange or distribution, determined by objective relations of equality, is considered the substance of justice as a special virtue, but there is, in addition, what Aristotle terms "general" as opposed to "special" justice.

Aristotle calls the general virtue of justice "complete virtue" because "he who possesses it can exercise his virtue not only in himself but towards his neighbour also".<sup>32</sup> It embraces all the moral virtues insofar as acts are directed toward the good of others. "Justice in this sense", he adds, "is not part of virtue but virtue entire",<sup>33</sup> whereas special justice, the justice of distribution and exchanges, is merely part of moral virtue, simply one particular virtue. Yet, both special and general justice, in this sense, are social virtues. The difference between them resembles that between the lawful and the fair, the distinction between the common good of society, as a whole, and the good of others, as individuals. Justice here is an internalized motivator of fair moral conduct.

i) Justice as Utility.- Another traditional conceptualization is that of justice as based on utility. In this view, justice is distinguished from morality in general as a right in some person correlative to the moral obligation. As Mill explains:

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32 Ibid., Bk. 5, chap. 1, l. 30-33, p. 377.

33 Ibid., Bk. 5, chap. 1, l. 8-10, p. 377.

Justice implies something which it is not only right to do, and wrong not to do, but which some individual person can claim from us as his moral right. No one has a moral right to our generosity or beneficence, because we are not morally bound to practise those virtues towards any given individual. 34

Not to make this distinction is to merge all morality in justice. But, having recognized the obligations of justice, Mill proceeds to show that all persons are deemed to have a right to equality of treatment, except when some recognised social expediency requires the reverse. These supposed essentials of social existence change with time not only into inexpediency but also into injustice. So,

The entire history of social improvement has been a series of transitions, by which one custom or institution after another, from being a supposed primary necessity of social existence, has passed into the rank of a universally stigmatised injustice and tyranny. So it has been with the distinctions of slaves and freemen, nobles and serfs, patricians and plebeians; and so it will be, and in part already is, with the aristocracies of colour, race, and sex. 35

Changes in expediency thus become equivalent to social progress toward the ultimate Greatest Happiness Principle or Utility, where one person's happiness, supposed equal in degree

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34 John Stuart Mill, Utilitarianism, Chicago, Univ. of Chicago, 1952, chap. 5, p. 24.

35 Ibid., chap. 5, p. 30.

(with the proper allowance made for kind), is counted for exactly as much as another's. In this view, justice and expediency differ only in degree; the difference being that peculiar feeling of resentment, moralised by its identification with social good, and which is attached to justice but not to expediency. This concept of justice concludes, therefore, that justice is "the appropriate name for certain social utilities which are... guarded by a sentiment not only different in degree, but also in kind", <sup>36</sup> distinguished from the milder feeling that accompanies the idea of promoting human pleasure or convenience both by the more concrete character of its commands and by the sterner nature of its punishments.

j) Justice as Internal Harmony.- Distinctively, justice as internal harmony does not develop the social reference. Here, in the state as in the soul, justice is a fitting disposition or harmonious order of the several classes of men in the state or of the several virtues in the soul. The just state is not described as acting justly toward other states, nor is the just man defined as a doer of good deeds. Rather, the picture of the soul in which justice resides is one of interior peace or spiritual health, the well-being of inner happiness. As Socrates

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<sup>36</sup> Ibid., p. 31.

declares, justice is concerned

... not with the outward man, but with the inward, which is the true self and concernment of man: for the just man does not permit the several elements within him to interfere with one another, or any of them to do the work of others, - he sets in order his own inner life, and is his own master and his own law, and at peace with himself; ... (His is) one entirely temperate and perfectly adjusted nature... 37

This conception of justice bears a close resemblance to what Christian theologians call 'original justice'. The perfect disposition of Adam's soul, in a state of supernatural grace, consisted, according to Aquinas, in that "reason was subject to God, and the lower powers to reason".<sup>38</sup> This notion of justice underlines the "within" as opposed to the "between" aspect.

k) Justice as Myth.- The idea that justice is irrelevant and, therefore, myth seems to have been popularized in western tradition by Machiavelli, though the thoughts that led to his conclusions apparently were expressed before him.<sup>39</sup> In his Nicomachean Ethics, Aristotle had stated that "perhaps it is not the same to be a good man and a good citizen of any state taken at random".<sup>40</sup> Machiavelli chose to be a good citizen apparently

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37 Op. cit., in 5, Bk. 4, No. 443, p. 354-355.

38 Op. cit., in 2, vol. 1, pt. 1, Q. 95, art. 3, p. 508.

39 Isaiah Berlin, "The Question of Machiavelli", in The New York Review of Books, Vol. 17, No. 7, Nov. 4, 1971, p. 20-32.

40 Op. cit., in 14, Bk. 5, chap. 2, l. 29, p. 378.

because, to him, a choice was inevitable: besides, to compromise was to lose both worlds, and he was convinced not only that men survive collectively or not at all but also that only the strongest nations survive.<sup>41</sup> In opting for a social rather than an individual ideal and morality, and by electing to be a pagan monist, Machiavelli seems to have posited an alternative world in which brotherly love, human goodness and natural law could be unrealizable, a world in which the survival and glory of the state were foremost.<sup>42</sup> In his own words,

... a prince, especially a new one, cannot observe all those things for which men are esteemed, being often forced, in order to maintain the state, to act contrary to faith, friendship, humanity, and religion... in the actions... especially of princes,... one judges by the result.<sup>43</sup>

The state must survive, and the end justifies all means. As Kant was to state much later: "Salus reipublicae suprema lex" (the health of the state is the highest law).<sup>44</sup>

In this view the well-being of the whole community, not that of individuals, makes nations great: so, individuals may be sacrificed to secure the state's survival and glory. Also, since the survival of the state is necessary and since necessity knows

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<sup>41</sup> Nicolo Machiavelli, The Prince, trans. by (W. K. Marriott), London, J. M. Dent & Sons (1513) 1952, especially chaps. 12-21, p. 17-33.

<sup>42</sup> Ibid., chap. 18, p. 25-26.

<sup>43</sup> Loc. cit., in 41, p. 25.

<sup>44</sup> Op. cit., in 26, pt. 2, sec. 49, No. 3, p. 57.

no law, then world history would seem to march to the beat of a different drummer from that of virtue, vice or justice, which are irrelevant to it. To this mode of thought, justice must indeed seem not only non-essential and a myth but perhaps even non-existent.

Perhaps, from a horizontal perspective of meanings, it might now prove useful to turn to a vertical one, centered upon the developmental flow of justice down through the ages to the present time.

## 2. THE DEVELOPMENT OF JUSTICE

A noteworthy feature of the relationship between such concepts as equality, justice, liberty and democracy has been the evolutionary changes in their meanings. Equality has been called, by some, a peculiarly modern idea in western intellectual tradition. Observers, like Alexis de Tocqueville, have maintained that equality, as a social and political ideal, was the new feature most apparent to them in the early days of the North American Republic of the United States of America. As de Tocqueville puts it, equality was "the primary fact... the fundamental fact from which all others seem to be derived and the central point at which all... observations constantly terminated".<sup>45</sup>

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<sup>45</sup> Alexis de Tocqueville, Democracy in America, New York, Albert A. Knopf, 1945, Vol. 1, p. 3.

While emphasizing that social equality is peculiarly modern, de Tocqueville also stressed that it had roots deep in the past. He asked men of his age to recognize that "the gradual and progressive development of social equality is at once the past and the future of their history".<sup>46</sup> This seems true, too, of the philosophical debate about equality: it, also, has roots deep in the past, though only in modern times has it acquired a major place. Equality as the root of justice seems to be a fundamental ideal of modern concepts of democracy, and is the central moral term in the socialist tradition of 'from each according to his ability, to each according to his need or desert'.<sup>47</sup> As a social and political ideal for all men, equality does seem an obvious feature of the modern world.

Although inequality was apparently both ideal and fact in the ancient world, as indicated by such dichotomies as Greek-Barbarian, Spartan-Helot, Roman-non-Roman and freeman-slave, it was possible to find at a certain social and political level considerable concern with equality, as the extensive Greek vocabulary of 'equality-words' shows.<sup>48</sup> Despite the varied

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46 Ibid., p. 7.

47 Laurier LaPierre et al., Essays on the Left, Toronto, McClelland & Stewart, 1971.

48 R. M. Hutchins & M. J. Adler (eds.), The Great Ideas Today: 1968, New York, Frederick A. Praeger, 1968, pt. 3, p. 305.

lexicon descriptive of legal, social, political and economic equality, however, there seems to be no trace of what is now called equality of opportunity. Perhaps the Greeks had no word for it because they did not perceive it as a possibility...

"equalities were the prerogative only of freemen and of Greeks".<sup>49</sup>

It took twenty-two centuries after Aristotle for Rousseau to turn Aristotle's argument around and say: if a slave has the body of a slave and behaves as a slave, it is because he has been treated as a slave.<sup>50</sup> From this point on, the accent is changed from stress of inequality to search for liberty and equality. Whereas previously it was felt that if not slavery then at least inequality in status, education and labour was the price of civilization, by the nineteenth century in the western world the unalterable conditions accepted for centuries were now seen to be alterable. So, equality became a major political and social ideal.

Once generic equality had recognized that equality implied both similarity and difference-enough similarity to be comparable but not so much as to be identical-and as soon as the

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49 Ibid., p. 306.

50 Jean Jacques Rousseau, The social Contract, London, J. M. Dent & Sons, 1930, Bk. 1, chap. 2, p. 2.

metaphysical issue had been clarified somewhat by Bertrand Russell<sup>51</sup> and the Cambridge logician, W. E. Johnson,<sup>52</sup> so that, in addition to sameness, the assertion of 'neither more nor less' or 'sameness of magnitude' was added to the concept, human quality then became more obviously defensible, particularly on grounds of 'equality of type' and 'inequality of degree', especially with regard to evaluation and prescription concerning the treatment of men. It is at this point that equality as a root of justice has now become an issue in moral and political controversy. To 'sameness of magnitude' has been added 'identity of worth and value'.

Since the second World War, extensive controversy concerning justice seems to have centered around the justification of equality as a principle of action or rule of behaviour. This has led to the adoption of three main approaches: the so-called Formalist, Pragmatist, and Naturalist positions.<sup>53</sup> :<sup>54</sup> Of the

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51 Bertrand Russell, Principles of Mathematics, London, Allen & Unwin, 1951, pp. 159-160 and 167-168.

52 W. E. Johnson, Logic, (Vol. 2), New York, Dover Publications, 1964, p. 176.

53 L. Bryson, C. H. Faust, L. Finkelstein & R. M. MacIver (eds.), Aspects of Human Equality, (15th Symposium of the Conference on Science, Philosophy and Religion), New York, Harper & Bros., 1956, and

54 J. R. Pennock & J. W. Chapman (eds.), NOMOS IX: Equality, New York, Atherton Press, 1967.

three, the Formalist position seems the simplest: it suggests that no justification is needed for the rule of equal treatment, nor is there need for concern about its consequences. The Pragmatist position, slightly more complex than the Formalist one, states that the rule for equal treatment is justified by its consequences, and any further question concerns not the rule but those consequences, and whether they are good as well as whether equal treatment does in fact lead to them. The Naturalist position seems the most complex of the three. If its proponents are right, the prior equality, rooted in the nature of man, not only justifies the rule for equal treatment but also explains why the consequences follow from observance of the rule as well as why they are judged to be good: the free pursuit of happiness corresponds to a right based in man's nature.

The more complex stances seem to include the assertions of the simpler ones: not only is equal treatment conceded to be a moral rule and, as such, to lead to certain consequences that are good but also both the rule and the consequences are seen to be based on a prior equality, the equality of men as men. Contemporary human rights movements proclaim this with threats of civil disobedience and revolution.<sup>55</sup> With equality assumed

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<sup>55</sup> James F. Childress, Civil Disobediences and Political Obligation, New Haven, Yale Univ. Press, 1972.

and justice as its natural consequence, the cry is for "Freedom Now!", while the search for the power to constitute or institutionalize this freedom becomes primary.

Out of this pressure of political events has recently risen in the United States of America the voice of John Rawls of Harvard who, in A Theory of Justice, states that if justice and the principles of utilitarianism prove incompatible, utilitarian philosophy must be rejected. He then proceeds to portray the fair society as social democrats see it. Society must repair the ravages of nature, he says, and it exists not only to preserve law and order but also to correct the natural differences between the strong and the weak as well as to give institutional support to self respect.<sup>56</sup> Though his theory is a scheme of rationality for morality in general, it seems to be just one conception of justice among others already mentioned here in the tradition of speculations about justice.

In Rawls' view, a rational social order based on principles of justice must be contrasted with a natural social order arising from blind natural forces of social competition and heredity. The fairness, based on equality, that he aims at, denies both aristocracy and meritocracy. Moral custom and rule are human artifice not second nature. So, the liberal conception

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<sup>56</sup> John Rawls, A Theory of Justice, Cambridge, Mass., Harvard Univ. Press, 1971.

of justice which he articulates opposes the invented moral order to the blind causality of the natural order and contrasts the moralized and socialized citizen with the natural man.

This theory of justice has already been questioned by Hampshire, who finds it an error of emphasis to explain the virtue of justice as a rational consequence of planned cooperation in a rational social setting.<sup>57</sup> The choice of a just social order, he argues, is not necessarily the choice of a rational man. Besides, any other choice is not necessarily irrational. So, the search continues for those guiding principles that will explain the moral beliefs that comprise our current morality.

In order to establish specifics for the purpose of later comparison, it now seems necessary to examine the major aspects of justice involved in particular relevant disciplines.

### 3. SOME CRITERIA FOR EVALUATING A JUST SOCIETY

When applied to specific domains of cultural activity such as the economic, the political, the legal and the social, justice usually refers to fairness or equalization concerning either the kinds of goods that originate with the expenditure

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<sup>57</sup> Stuart Hampshire, "A New Philosophy of the Just Society", in The New York Review of Books, Vol. 18, No. 3, Feb. 24, 1972, p. 34-39.

of labour or the status of men in states. The evaluative principles appear to remain the same, but differences develop according to the type of circumstances to which the principles of justice are applied so as to determine the degree of justice in a given society.

a) Economic Justice.- Whether economics is viewed as production, exchange and distribution, or as a continuum beginning in property, and passing through labour, then wealth, and ending in the good life, the basic issue in economic justice seems to begin with whether or not justice is regarded as a universal standard that measures human institutions and behaviour. From the viewpoint of production, exchange, and distribution, the most vocal seems to have been Karl Marx, who stated his maxim of a just society as: "an association in which the free development of each is the condition for the free development of all".<sup>58</sup> Also, in his analysis of the exploitation of labour in its historic forms of chattel slavery, feudal serfdom, agrarian peonage and what he calls 'wage slavery' under industrial capitalism, he concludes that justice is violated whenever the goods produced by the labour of one man enrich another disproportionately to that other's contribution or desert.<sup>59</sup> In discussing the

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<sup>58</sup> Karl Marx & Friedrich Engels, Manifesto of the Communist Party, Chicago, Univ. of Chicago, 1932, p. 16.

<sup>59</sup> Karl Marx, Capital, London, J. M. Dent & Sons, 1930, pt. 7, chap. 25, p. 302-353.

labour theory of value, too, he not only extends Aristotle's previous discussion of reciprocity and money as a medium to facilitate exchange of commodities<sup>60</sup> but he also uses this theory to analyze justice in exchange as well as just compensation to labour for its productivity.<sup>61</sup> The principle of justice used here seems to correspond to that underlying ancient condemnations of interest as usury and, therefore, unjust<sup>62</sup> as well as to current efforts by economists to differentiate between just and unjust interest rates.<sup>63</sup>

When the economic issue is a question of distribution, the proportioned equality of distributive justice becomes primary. Then, the origin or justification of private property is discussed, based on prior assumptions of the primaeval possession of all things in common, especially land and its resources.<sup>64</sup>

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60 Op. cit., in 14, Bk. 5, chap. 5, p. 380-381.

61 Op. cit., in 59, chaps. 1, 2 & 6, pp. 13-42 & 264-278.

62 Plutarch, The Lives of the Noble Grecians and Romans, The Dryden Translation, London, Encyclopaedia Britannica, 1952, pp. 287 & 409.

63 Paul M. Sweezy, The Theory of Capitalist Development, New York, Monthly Review Press, 1964, p. 67-71.

64 Adam Smith, An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations, London, Methuen & Co., (1776) 1952, Bk. 1, chap. 8, p. 27.

If the point at issue is one of justification, then, in the opinion of many, distribution would recognize that only labour entitles a man to claim possession of the raw materials improved by his work and of the finished products of that work.<sup>65</sup>

Another approach assumes or sees an existing inequitable distribution and tries to remedy it by redistributing wealth more justly:<sup>66</sup> or, reformation of the whole system of private property is proposed, by suggesting public ownership of the means of production as the basis for a just distribution of the fruits of human productivity.<sup>67</sup>

Economic justice seems more easily understood, however, when viewed as a continuum, with property and the good life at opposite ends of the spectrum and with labour and wealth between them. This approach recognizes the distinction between system and environment, between economics as an end and economics as a means, between the acquisition of wealth and wealth as a constituent of the good life. From this viewpoint, it seems easier to perceive that what economics considers its end is merely a means in politics and ethics, and this makes that tenuous

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65 Ibid., p. 27.

66 Paul A. Baran & Paul M. Sweezy, Monopoly Capital, New York, Monthly Review Press, 1968, p. 341-342.

67 Op. cit., in 58, p. 16.

line between the means to wealth (economics) and wealth as a means (to the good life) more readily discernible.

The crucial issues, from this standpoint, cluster around property, labour, wealth and the good life. Property involves the basic question of whether poverty as a problem can ever be solved, once the right of property is admitted.<sup>68</sup> This is in addition to questions concerning how property was initially acquired or how it can be equitably shared. Property also poses questions about the relations between owners and workers as well as the distinctions between private and public property.<sup>69</sup> Because property, once established, tends to expand, it would seem that both possession and non-possession of it are self-perpetuating, thus making divergence between 'haves' and 'have-nots' inevitable and rendering equality impossible.<sup>70</sup> This is the pessimistic view.

The optimistic approach posits education as the solution to the acquisitive society. Once the ideas are accepted that: the fault lies within, not outside, man; it is man's desires, not his possessions, that must be equalized and moderated;<sup>71</sup>

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68 G. W. F. Hegel, The Philosophy of Right, (T. M. Knox, trans.), London, Oxford Univ. Press, (1821) 1952, pt. 3, sub-sec. 2, p. 76-77.

69 Ibid., pt. 1, sub-sec. 1, p. 22-31.

70 Loc. cit., in 68, p. 77.

71 Charles E. Norton, ed., The Divine Comedy of Dante Alighieri, New York, Houghton Mifflin Co., 1952, canto 19, p. 26-28.

and through the notion of need and the concept of living well both men and their societies can learn to temper their lust for wealth; <sup>72</sup> then, it is usually recognized that what has been learned can be unlearned, and that sufficient education toward this end must permeate all of society and not only the educational system. <sup>73</sup> Until this has been tried, the question of whether inequalities of property or the problem of poverty can be solved by law or by education will, perhaps, remain unanswered.

Important issues concerning labour involve the right to work, the relation between man and his work, and just remuneration, which raises questions about profit. The right to work becomes foremost when viewed as a democratic right which accompanies the right to citizenship. <sup>74</sup> This not only underlines the ties between economic and political democracy but also questions the acceptability of economic systems which posit some unemployment as essential to their functioning, thus rendering some expendable so that others might enjoy relative affluence. <sup>75</sup> Justice obviously demands correction of this.

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72 Op. cit., in 68, pt. 3, sub-sec. 2, p. 65-69.

73 Stanley Charnofsky, Educating the Powerless, Belmont, California, Wadsworth Publishing Co., 1971.

74 Op. cit., in 58, p. 16.

75 Op. cit., in 66, chap. 11, p. 343-344.

Issues regarding the relationship between man and his work usually concern the status of the worker, the nature of the work itself and the kind of skill involved.<sup>76</sup> When mass production is considered, the social organization of the working group and the ranking of workers according to function comes into play, the criterion for perceived status usually being the degree of social usefulness or the importance of the contribution to the common good.<sup>77</sup> Other questions often asked are whether work is humane as well as human, and whether work is defined in terms of man or man is fitted into the terms of work.<sup>78</sup>

The question of fair remuneration usually leads to discussion of profit. Is profit just? Is exploitation inevitable? Based on economic criteria as well as the well-being of the given society, work is then discussed as wasteful or useful, and labour is characterized as productive or non-productive.<sup>79</sup>

When wealth is considered, the notion of justice raises questions not only of fairness in exchange and of just distribution but also of poverty at the opposite end of the spectrum.

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76 Op. cit., in 64, Bk. 1, chaps. 1-3, p. 3-10.

77 .Frederick Herzberg, Work and the Nature of Man, New York, World Publishing Co., 1966.

78 M. Scott Myers, "Who are you Motivated Workers?", in How Successful Executives Handle People: Studies on Communications and Management Skills, Cambridge, Mass., Harvard Univ. Press, 1972, p. 31-46.

79 Op. cit., in 64, p. 142-143.

The concept of need is then often used to distinguish between luxury and necessity and to delimit the acquisition of wealth.<sup>80</sup> Because influence, authority and power are concomitants of wealth, however, justice also tends to question how wealth is used, the status of wealth in the rank order of social goods, and the current level of the desire for wealth.<sup>81</sup> This locates such discussion within the realm of ethics and within the context of the good life, which is mainly concerned with the importance of wealth to individual and society, its rank in the hierarchy of desired things, the accepted relation between economic and political morality, and prevalent attitudes towards wealth and poverty.<sup>82</sup> At this point, the following kinds of questions are usually asked: How many possessions are needed for the good life? How much rent, wages, profit or interest is acceptable? Do current attitudes need to be changed? The answers usually indicate the existing societal ideals of economic justice, contemporary criteria of which may be considered to be:

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80 Op. cit., in 68, p. 65-69.

81 John Kenneth Galbraith, The Underdeveloped Country, (5th Series: Massey Lectures), Toronto, C. B. C. Publications, 1967.

82 Barbara Ward, The Rich Nations and the Poor Nations, (Inaugural Series: Massey Lectures), Toronto, C. B. C. Publications, 1966.

1. justification given of private as opposed to public property;
2. accepted relations between owners and workers;
3. acknowledgement of the right to work and attendant security;
4. prevailing relations between workers and their work;
5. level of remuneration of labour and accepted attitudes toward profit;
6. fairness in exchanges;
7. fairness in the distribution of wealth;
8. degree of recognition of poverty as a concomitant of wealth;
9. importance of wealth to both individual and society;
10. recognition of the inseparability of economic from political rights; and
11. degree of perceived need for change of societal attitudes toward wealth and poverty.

Economics now yields to politics. The search for evaluative criteria continues...

b) Political Justice .- A distinction must be made between the political and the social, between state and society, between "the people" and the whole population, for political justice to be discussed with clarity. Systematic study of the sociological nature of political power as well as of relations, organizations and institutions as a distinct sphere of the social

order, has led to descriptions of the characteristics of the political system, the nature of its relations with other spheres of the social order, and the conditions of the stability, continuity, and change of a political system in general, and of specific types of political systems in particular. Though discussion concerning "the political" continues, enough consensus has emerged to allow acceptable definitions of the nature of political institutions in any society or part of it. The following description now seems generally accepted:

- (1) The political system is the organization of a territorial society having the legitimate monopoly over the authorized use and regulation of force in the society;
- (2) It has defined responsibilities for maintaining the system of which it is a part;
- (3) Its organization, therefore, imposes severe secular sanctions in order to implement the society's main collective goals, maintain its internal order, and regulate its foreign relations. All social roles or groups fulfilling these distinct functions in a society, regardless of what other tasks they may perform, constitute the society's political system. 83

This definition presupposes that every society features a political system: to deny this, however, would be to argue that the fulfilment of political functions is random.

Examination of known political systems, also, suggests that the main types of political activities are:

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83 S. N. Eisenstadt, The Political Systems of Empires, Glencoe, The Free Press, 1963, chap. 1. p. 5.

1. The "legislative decision-making" or the "ultimate ruling" activity, the determination of the society's primary goals and formulation of general rules for maintaining or changing the existing order in the society;
2. The administrative activity; dealing with the execution of these basic rules in different social spheres and with the organization of technical activities necessary for efficient execution. The main purpose of the administrative activity is to provide various services to various groups in the society, and to regulate and assure the provision of resources to the political system, such as revenue, by different strata and groups;
3. "Party-political" activity; mobilizing support for different political measures and rules, and for the holders of different political positions;
4. The juridical activity; concerned with testing and authorizing the validity of applying the basic rules to particular, concrete cases arising in the society. 84

Though analytically distinct, these political activities supplement one another, continuous interaction between them constituting the political process in a society. They also indicate the nature of the relations between political institutions and other parts of the institutional structure of a society. They suggest, too, the inputs (types of support and resources) that the political system needs to fulfil its functions and the outputs (major contributions of the system) to the society as a whole. 85

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84 Ibid., p. 6.

85 S. N. Eisenstadt, Political Sociology, New York, Basic Books, 1971, p. 1-22.

Discussion of political justice also demands distinction between 'ruler' and 'ruled'. The rulers are the agents in the political process: they define the goals, formulate and execute the rules, adjudicate, and vie for political support. The ruled are the patients subject to the rules: they demand adjudications and seek to influence the legislators. Often, the same person may be a ruler, at one time or in one respect, and ruled, at another time and in another respect. The rulers may also be subject to the different rules that they themselves promulgate.<sup>86</sup> The distinctions between rulers and ruled seem inherent in the very nature of political activity.

To isolate the political from the social, perhaps one more aspect needs clarification: the interrelations between the political and other societal institutions. The specific output of the political to other spheres of society consists of authoritative decisions concerning:

1. definition of the major collective goals that can be implemented and determination of their order of priority;
2. allocation of prestige, influence, and authorized use of power and facilities to various groups in the society;
3. distribution of various facilities, benefits, and rights to such groups and individuals.<sup>87</sup>

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86 Op. cit., in 83, p. 6.

87 Ibid., p. 7.

Through these decisions, political institutions perform their major functions in a society. The performance of these functions, however, requires the help of other social spheres and institutions, those very spheres toward which its decisions are oriented. These other spheres provide the necessary resources, services and support which ensure the effective functioning of the political institutions. <sup>88</sup>

Political justice centers around three basic issues from which other questions emanate: two are concerned with justice as fairness, the third with distributive justice. The questions of fairness involve both the equality of men as men and equality of opportunity, while the distributive question recognizes the inequalities of men and focuses on recognition of need, merit or desert. Out of these general issues come the more specific questions like the relation between ruler and ruled, the rule of the one or the few as opposed to the rule of the many, and the rule of law as against the rule of men. From these issues stem evaluations of monarchy or tyranny, aristocracy or oligarchy, democracy or anarchy as well as constitutionalism or arbitrary rule, and their effects on liberty, equality and fraternity. The quantitative aspect of rule often involves a qualitative element, rule by the best,

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<sup>88</sup> Op. cit., in 85, p. 11-12.

while the qualitative aspect frequently introduces a quantitative element, rule by the people, either the majority or all.<sup>89</sup>

The affirmation that all men are created equal does not exclude recognition of their individual inequalities. Nor does it mean that all men use their native endowments to good purpose or to the same extent, to acquire knowledge, skill, or character. The crucial question here seems to be whether distributive justice requires, as a matter of right, that the best men should rule. The aristocratic view emphasizes the inequality rather than the equality of men. Men of superior ability have a right to govern, they say; for them to be ruled by inferiors is unjust.<sup>90</sup> The democratic view stresses the equality of men as men as fundamental and decisive, demanding the just distribution of suffrage. The inequality of men in merit or talent, they say, does not establish a political right as does their equality in human nature. The selection of the best men for public office is not a matter of justice, but one of prudence or expediency.<sup>91</sup> Each side, perhaps, contributes part of the truth.

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89 Ernest Barker, Reflections on Government, New York, Oxford Univ. Press, 1960, pt. 1, chap. 3, p. 73-122.

90 Hans J. Morgenthau, Truth and Power, New York, Praeger Publishers, 1970, pt. 1, sec. 7, p. 62-63.

91 Ibid., p. 63.

To grasp the difference between the rule of law and the rule of men, the principle of constitutionality must be understood. Government involves both laws and men: but, not all governments rest upon the supremacy of law, nor are all governments based on a law that regulates the officials of government as well as the citizens and that determines the legality of official acts. The Constitution is that law.<sup>92</sup> To act above or outside the law is not only to act unconstitutionally but also to become both source and arbiter of its legality:<sup>93</sup> this is to assume absolute power and to be answerable to no one!

Constitutions have placed limitations on people and governments, and have provided means of controlling both.<sup>94</sup> They have been given force as well as authority. Separation of powers and checks and balances have become means of enforcing constitutional limitations of office and of preventing one sphere of government from usurping the power of another.<sup>95</sup> Citizens, too, are further protected by constitutional declarations of their rights and immunities, and constitutional government is itself safeguarded by such institutions as judicial review

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92 Pierre Elliott Trudeau, Minister of Justice, A Canadian Charter of Human Rights, Ottawa, the Queen's Printer, 1968, chaps. 1 & 2, p. 9-14.

93 Op. cit., in 89, pt. 2, chap. 4, p. 124-131.

94 Op. cit., in 92, chap. 1, p. 13-14.

95 Ibid., p. 11-12.

and by the availability of the amending power as a means of changing the constitution through due process of law.<sup>96</sup>

Once the demands of equality, freedom, self-rule and consent of the governed have been met, however, other problems of justice usually arise: questions of participation, representation, organization, economic considerations and environment. Issues concerning participation generally focus on whether the people have a voice in government, the extent of suffrage, the level of active participation, and whether the participants comprise all or some of the population.<sup>97</sup> Representation usually raises questions about the election of representatives, the methods involved, the distribution of representation, and the behaviour of representatives as either the betters or the servants of the people.<sup>98</sup> The goal seems to be to make the representative both responsive and responsible to his constituents, and to leaven the reputed common sense of the many with the expected wisdom of the few.

Issues of organization are concerned with such governmental arrangements as the separation of powers or the distribution of authority so as to delimit clearly the jurisdiction of each as well as to provide checks and balances between them, power counterbalancing power between the legislative, judicial, executive

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96 Loc. cit., in 94, p. 13-14.

97 Op. cit., in 89, pt. 1, chap. 2, p. 30-72.

98 Ibid., pt. 1, chap. 3, p. 73-81.

and party-political activity.<sup>99</sup> Distinctively, questions relating to economic considerations often arise in discussions of the common good, when fair economic conditions are usually seen as prerequisite to political democracy and the right to work is then viewed as a concomitant of citizenship, which ensures participation in the good life sought by society.<sup>100</sup>

The environmental issue, however, seems the most crucial because it involves the survival of all. The problem here is either the relation of one sovereign autonomous state with another, or democracy at home and imperialism abroad, or the need for accepted international rule of law to reduce the likelihood of war or to facilitate world government.<sup>101</sup> International relations pose special problems especially because each state considers itself sovereign and autonomous, sovereignty implying absolute power and autonomy indicating absence of external control.<sup>102</sup> This self-identification places such states in a permanently potential state of war, if there is no recognized higher authority to mediate between them. So, when interests conflict, each yields either to superior force or threat of it.<sup>103</sup>

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99 Op. cit., in 83, p. 6.

100 Op. cit., in 89, pt. 3, chap. 8, p. 239-244.

101 Ibid., pt. 1, chap. 1, p. 28.

102 Op. cit., in 90, pt. 3, sec. 23, p. 241-261.

103 Ibid., p. 244-245.

Finally, discussion of the legitimacy and justice of government, its ends, and its limits suggests a close inter-relationship between these and its origin, nature and necessity. Agreement concerning the necessity of government usually includes agreement about its two basic elements, authority and power,<sup>104</sup> since government is impossible unless men obey its directions. Obedience, however, may be voluntary or involuntary: one may recognize the ruler's right to command or fear the consequences of disobedience.<sup>105</sup> These two modes of compliance seem to correspond to authority and power in government. Authority elicits voluntary compliance, while power either coerces or, by threatening coercion, compels involuntary obedience.<sup>106</sup> So, authority and power would seem to be the right and might of government: when right is lacking, government is illegitimate, and when might is lacking, it is ineffective.<sup>107</sup>

What, then, are the relevant criteria in the domain of political justice? These would seem to be:

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104 Op. cit., in 89, pt. 4, chap. 14, p. 399-420.

105 Alexander Hamilton, James Madison & John Jay, The Federalist, Chicago, Univ. of Chicago Press, 1952, No. 15, p. 39-43.

106 Ibid., p. 42.

107 Op. cit., in 105, No. 16-17, p. 43-47.

1. individual freedom, compatible with social justice, to maximize and optimize individual well-being;
2. equality of opportunity to seek the good life;
3. equality of citizenship and to seek public office;
4. security of natural and political rights to self-rule;
5. fair distribution of social goods according to need; desert, merit or agreement;
6. political promotion of the means and ends to the common good; and
7. recognition of law as the principle of political freedom.

As previously indicated, additional specifics may be derived from these.

c) Legal Justice.- Issues of legal justice include not only the quality of the law and its delivery mechanisms but also those who practice it individually and the profession as a whole. As Paul Freund, Professor at Cambridge and at Harvard, has stated:

From the standpoint of its relation to law, justice is viewed in one aspect as the canon governing the judge in applying existential rules, and in another aspect, as the canon governing the legislator in altering the rules. The judge addresses himself to standards of consistency, equivalence, predictability, the legislator to fair shares, social utility, and equitable distribution.

If this is the analysis of justice in relation to law that is afforded by self-conscious ordinary usage, it stands in need of critical review. In particular, the distinction between individual and social justice, and between the judicial and the legislative function, must be examined from within the working process of the law. 108

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108 Paul A. Freund, "Social Justice and the Law", in Richard B. Brandt (ed.), Social Justice, Englewood Cliffs, N.J., Prentice-Hall, 1962, p. 94.

Not only is one confronted here with the problems of the legislator, the law, and the judge but also with questions concerning the interaction between individual and social justice, between the judicial and the legislative, and even between the law itself and qualitative assessment of it. The basic issues in legal justice seem to be all here, reduced to their very essence. Brief clarification might bring them into clearer focus.

There is not only a difference between the laws of nature and those of human conduct, there are also similarities. The difference involves the fact that laws of nature apply to all things: being inviolable, they state necessities of behaviour. Laws of human conduct, however, are aimed at man alone: being violable, they imply freedom in man. The similarities are these: both kinds of laws are general rather than particular and both are directions of behaviour, except that man's freedom allows him to disobey even his nature. When natural laws are not attributed to God, they seem merely descriptive, but when they are, they usually become prescriptive. <sup>109</sup>

The main issues that arise with respect to law as direction of human conduct revolve around its origin, its properties and its authority. Traditional distinctions use many

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<sup>109</sup> Op. cit., in 2, pt. 1 of 2nd pt., Ques. 91, arts. 2, p. 209.

types of classification: divine and human, natural and positive, private and public, moral and political, and others. It seems possible, however, to detect certain parallels between the different writers who use varying criteria to establish their typologies. The opposite of natural law is often called either "human" or "positive" or "written" or, sometimes, "civil" or "municipal" law. Kant derives analysis of law from analysis of rights: so, he differentiates between natural and positive right in terms of "innate" and "acquired" right, or "private" and "public" right. For him,

natural right rests upon pure rational principles a priori; positive or statutory right is what proceeds from the will of a legislator... Innate right is that right which belongs to everyone by nature, independent of all juridical acts of experience. Acquired right is that right which is founded upon such juridical acts. 110

There seems to be three aspects to the source of differentiation here: first, whether the right is inherent in human nature or acquired from the state; second, whether men are seen as living in a state of nature or as living in a civil society; and third, whether the laws do or do not need to be publicly promulgated.

Hobbes, Spinoza, Locke, Montesquieu, Rousseau and others, in differentiating between natural and positive (or civil) law, distinguish between the state of nature and the state of civil society.<sup>111</sup> They recognize that the law which governs men

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110 Op. cit., in 26, p. 5.

111 Vide sec. d, p. 9-10, here.

living in a state of nature is natural (instinctive), or is a rule of conduct that man's reason can innately prescribe, whereas the civil law originates with specific acts of legislation by a political power. Hegel differs by dividing all laws into two kinds: laws of nature and laws of the land, based on the nature of such laws and on how man comes to know them.<sup>112</sup> The heart of his distinction lies in the fact that the law of the land is not discovered, as is the law of nature, by examining man's nature: it is made, it must be officially posited.

Aquinas finds the chief difference between natural and positive law in their originating sources: natural law is made by God, positive law by man.<sup>113</sup> Natural law is, for him, the rational creature's participation in the eternal law. But Aquinas also differentiates between the law of nature generally (eternal law) and the natural law in man. Natural law in man is a moral law: it governs free acts and directs man with regard to good and evil in his private life, not only with regard to the political common good.<sup>114</sup> In these basic ways, among other minor ones, natural and positive law are seen to differ.

Just as men are similar though they differ, natural and positive law are alike, even in those respects in which they

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<sup>112</sup> Op. cit., in 66, Intro., par. 3, p.10-11, & Additions 1, p. 115.

<sup>113</sup> Op. cit., in 2, vol. 2, pt. 1 of 2nd pt., Q. 91, art. 3, p. 209-210.

<sup>114</sup> Ibid., Q. 92, art. 1, p. 213-214.

differ. Both share in the nature of law: each has a maker, God or man; each proceeds in a certain way from the reason and will of its maker; each must be promulgated, though not in the same manner; and each is concerned with a common good, human happiness or the welfare of the state.

The remaining distinction is that made between divine and human law. In divine law, Aquinas distinguishes between God's eternal ordinances and his positive commandments, and in human law, he distinguishes between the law of nations (*ius gentium*) and civil law. The eternal part of the divine law is seen as that which, at the moment of creation, God imprints on all of nature to instill in each created species the principles of its proper actions. But man's end goes beyond being merely proportionate to his natural faculties, he is ordained to eternal happiness. So, since salvation, a supernatural end, exceeds man's capacity without God's help, man must be directed to this end by a law given by God. He promulgated it through verbal declaration, through His word revealed in the Old and New Testaments (the Ten Commandments and the Two precepts of Charity).<sup>115</sup> The civil law, on the other hand, is instituted by a community for its own members.

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<sup>115</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. 2, pt. 1 of 2nd pt., Ques. 93, arts 1-6, p. 215-220, & Q. 95, arts, 1-4, p. 226-230.

Other distinctions are mostly subdivisions of positive law. The chief problems in these parts of law concern constitutions and customs. Questions are raised about the difference between a constitution as law and all other laws obtaining in a state or about the legal force of custom, Since the major concern here, however, is with the general rather than the specific, the remainder of this section will focus upon positive law as a whole, its properties and its defects, and its relation to natural law, while indicating relevant problems of casuistry.

Four properties of positive law seem to stand out above all others: its authority and power, its mutability, the indispensability of courts and judges, and the prevalence of obscurantism by legal men, especially through language. A rule of positive law cannot be made by just any man, but only by one who exercises legislative authority and has the power to enforce the rule. Secondly, the content of positive law continually undergoes change, with the nullification or amendment of old rules and the addition of new ones. Positive regulations on any particular matter also vary from state to state.<sup>116</sup> Third, courts and judges are deemed indispensable because of the way in which justice is delivered. Rules of law are shaped to cover an

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<sup>116</sup> Ibid., Ques. 96-97, p. 230-239.

indefinite number of like cases, the cases to which they must be applied by judicial process being far from uniform. Courts and judges then have to decide whether the facts bring a particular case under the specific provisions of the law. This is the area of judicial discretion, often the battleground of litigants and lawyers.<sup>117</sup> The fourth property hardly seems to need to be stated because of widespread public experience with it: the propensities of men of law, on the bench and at the bar, to protract and complicate the procedures of a trial, to multiply and divide the issues, and to separate themselves from laymen by a heavy curtain of formalistic language.<sup>118</sup>

Two major defects pervade law as a discipline: inherent problems of casuistry, and the difficulty of evaluating the justice of the law itself. Problems of casuistry inevitably arise in the judicial application of any body of law: casuistry meaning here, distinguishing cases and examining them in relation to general rules. The most difficult examples of this seem to be those cases that fall under the letter of a law but seem inconsistent with its spirit. The reverse also occurs. Such cases suggest a seemingly inherent defect in rules of law because law aims at universality, but correct universal determinations are

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<sup>117</sup> Saint Augustine, The City of God, (Marcus Dods, trans.), Edinburgh, T. & T. Clark, 1952, Bk. 19, chap. 6, p. 387-388.

<sup>118</sup> Francis Bacon, Of the Proficiency and Advancement of Learning Divine and Humane, London, Encyclopaedia Britannica, (1605) 1952, Bk. 2, No. 49, p. 94-95.

not always possible. To rectify this, the intention of the law-maker is then sought.<sup>119</sup> From this comes the Aristotelian concept of the "equitable", a correction of the law where it is defective due to its universality. Equity prevents the injustice of misapplication by dispensing justice, in the particular case, according to the spirit not the letter of the law. Hopefully, this circumvents the error arising from the absoluteness of the rule.<sup>120</sup>

Those who share Aristotle's theory of equity seem to acknowledge a standard of justice by which not only the law's application but also the law itself can be measured. Natural justice provides that standard. The justice of laws made by the state is not only relative to the constitution of the state but also, since the constitution itself can be more or less just, there is a standard of justice prior to and independent of the state and, in this sense, natural.<sup>121</sup> The rules of positive law must conform to the law of nature, and natural law applies equally to all men, at all times, everywhere.<sup>122</sup>

A completely opposite view is taken by those who deny natural law, principles of innate right and natural justice. In

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119 Blaise Pascal, The Provincial Letters, Chicago, Univ. of Chicago Press (1656) 1952, letter 14, p. 114-116.

120 Op. cit., in 14, Vol. 2, Bk. 5, chap. 10, p. 385-386.

121 Charles de Secondat, Baron de Montesquieu, The Spirit of Laws, (Thomas Nugent, trans.), London, G. Bell & Sons, (1748), 1952, Bk. 1, p. 1.

122 Op. cit., in 16, chap. 2, sec. 7-8, p. 3-4.

Hobbes' view, for example, the law of nature and civil law contain each other and are of equal extent: both command the preservation of life and the search for security through peace. But, commonwealth is necessary for laws of nature to bind beyond conscience only and for security to be ensured. From this standpoint, all laws have their authority and force from the will of the commonwealth. <sup>123</sup> The difference between this theory of Hobbes and those of Locke and Montesquieu becomes clear in their consequences. Can a citizen refuse to obey the laws of his state? If so, when? The whole question of civil disobedience and the right or duty of rebellion is raised.

At one extreme, rebellion is never justified: law and order and peace are always better. <sup>124</sup> At the other extreme is civil disobedience, popularized by Thoreau. In this view, unjust laws which violate a man's conscience exert no authority over him, though the force of the state be behind them. The just man must break such laws and accept the consequences: he must act at once, even if he stands alone. It is not enough to criticize the government and to join with like-minded fellow-citizens in efforts to get unjust laws abolished or reformed. His conscience compels him not to await help nor patiently to use

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<sup>123</sup> Thomas Hobbes, Leviathan, London, Dent & Sons, (1651), 1952, pt. 1, chaps. 14-15, p. 86-91.

<sup>124</sup> Vide sec. b, p. 4-7, here.

gradual means. 125

As can be seen, the basic issues in the philosophy of law are not separable from questions about justice and liberty, the rights of the individual, the authority of the state and the powers of government. Distributive and corrective justice demand recognition of equivalence and proportionality, the bases of equality; the notion of community raises concerns about a wider equality, and the relations between individual and social justice; and, the authority of government poses problems about the procedural aspects of just solutions.

What, then, are the criteria for assessing the legal justice of a western society? The following seem indicated as resulting from the preceding discussion:

1. Public recognition of law as contributing to security, peace, order and the common good;
2. Need for new laws and reforms aimed at individual security;
3. Acceptance of the rule of law and of individual equality before it;
4. Recognition of the requirements of international law to facilitate peaceful settlement of international disputes;

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125 B. Atkinson, ed., "Civil Disobedience", in Walden and Other Writings of Henry David Thoreau, New York, Random House, (1849), 1937.

5. Constitutional recognition of rights, to secure individual liberty and equality even against government itself;
6. Provision of adequate state machinery for legal reform, to diminish the likelihood of civil disobedience, rebellion, or secession;
7. Recognition of the implications of the casuistry of the judicial process, especially with regard to the quality of the persons comprising the legal profession, and the organization and administration of justice;
8. Ameliorative use of the educative function of law, and of correctional institutions; and
9. Optimization of the use of administrative discretion in matters undetermined by law.

Specific criteria may be determined from these general ones.

#### SOCIAL JUSTICE

In the light of the preceding review of basic approaches to justice, little remains here but to indicate the resulting priorities from the standpoint of social and individual justice, since the concept of the just society includes them both. The selection of priorities within the family of notions of justice is also essential, because all conceptualizations are neither equally acceptable nor defensible. Besides, focus on the just society tends to lessen the attention paid to individual aspects,

by concentrating on social applications of justice. The social and the individual remain, nevertheless, intimately linked, for institutions of justice invariably limit much of the freedom of some, and some of the freedom of all.

Implicit in the description of a society's ideals, objectives, aims or purposes, are the implications involved concerning the understanding, the ability to predict and to control the future that this facilitates. The dynamics of a society can hardly be understood clearly without some reference to its present concepts of its political future. Besides, political discontent seems to be most often directed toward those elements in society which are perceived as most divergent from its ideals. So, clear understanding of the ideal seems to make correct anticipation of future societal behaviour more likely, as the renowned Stanford economist Kenneth Boulding indicates:

The concept of social justice, because it is largely irrelevant to the satisfaction of personal discontent, seems to be irrelevant to a very large area of social life. The concept of social justice is quite fundamental, however, to political discontent, for it presumably represents an ideal state of society from which the existing state is perceived as a significant divergence. It is this divergence between the existing and the ideal state of society which is perceived as the motivation for homeostatic change. Even here, however, the ideal contains a good deal more than the concept of justice. 124

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126 Kenneth E. Boulding, "Social Justice in Social Dynamics", in Richard B. Brandt, ed., Social Justice, Englewood Cliffs, N.J. ; Prentice-Hall, 1962, p. 81.

Three ideas stand out here: first, social justice does not comprehend all of social life; second, the significant difference between ideal and reality indicates likely goal-seeking activities; third, the ideal society exceeds the just society. With these ideas in mind, perhaps the just society to be described here will seem more clear.

The search for social justice has been, and is, both perennial and ubiquitous. But, what is the object of this quest? What are the criteria of social justice? What features today make a society just? The traditional answers have usually been: render to each his due, harm no one, promote the greatest general good, perform those duties to which others have rights, and treat equals equally.<sup>127</sup> But all of these, though substantial, seem to fall short of the modern concept of the just society.

Render to each his due raises the question: what is one's due or right? What is legally rendered is not enough, for laws may be unjust.<sup>128</sup> Moral justice too must be accounted for, but even prevailing moral principles may be unjust.<sup>129</sup> The next step seems to be to say that a man's due or right is that which is

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127 Vide sec. 1, p. 2-20 here.

128 Vide sec. 1b, p. 4-7.

129 Vide sec. 1h, p. 14-15.

his by virtue of valid moral principles. This would make social justice a system of distribution or retribution governed by valid moral principles,<sup>130</sup> and this, in turn, raises two questions: first, which moral principles are valid? and second, are all moral principles those of justice? Since love and mercy and doing good for evil exceed justice, the answer to the second question is negative. Justice, then, would seem to be acting according to the principles of justice rather than according to moral principles.<sup>131</sup> The question thus remains: what are the principles of justice? The answer should come from later examination of the nature of justice.

Since "harm no one" is a clearly stated precept, the only question here would seem to be whether the negative constraint has a positive side or whether neutrality is all that is required. This, too, should be clarified by scrutiny of the characteristics of justice. On the other hand, the idea of promoting the greatest possible general good so as to produce a total balance of good over evil on the whole seems to neglect the individual component or the good of others, while stressing the good of the whole or the common good, its weakness being its primary focus on maximizing

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<sup>130</sup> William K. Frankena, "The Concept of Social Justice", in Richard B. Brandt, ed., Social Justice, Englewood Cliffs, N. J., Prentice-Hall, 1962, p. 3-4.

<sup>131</sup> R. B. Brandt, Ethical Theory, Englewood Cliffs, N. J., Prentice-Hall, 1959, p. 409.

the quantitative balance of good over evil, while minimizing the qualitative individual aspect.<sup>132</sup>

The next traditional reply is the utilitarian one, which interprets the domain of justice as being that in which there are duties with correlative rights, thus making considerations of justice those that establish a duty on one side and a right on the other. This notion excludes generosity or beneficence, too, since no one can claim these from another as his moral right.<sup>133</sup> In this view, a society would seem just if it does to or for its citizens what it ought to do, and what they have a right to have done for or to them. What seems missing here is how such rights can be identified. Mill's answer is the principle of utility: but that, ultimately, identifies justice with beneficence. In fact, Mill seems to accept it only because, to him, the principle of utility has the maxims of equality and impartiality built into it.<sup>134</sup>

The remaining traditional reply, treat equals equally, though indicating that similar cases should be handled similarly and dissimilar ones dissimilarly, does not indicate the criteria to be used to determine the recognition of equals. Throughout

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132 Op. cit., in 130, p. 4.

133 Op. cit., in 34, chap. 5, p. 19-31.

134 Ibid., p. 29-30.

history, men have persistently used, for example, such criteria as ethnicity, race, or the colour of one's skin to determine the status of equals and unequals.<sup>135</sup> : 136 The rules of a just society must be universalizable, but, what is lacking here is the content of social justice, the substance of it. Treat equals equally indicates how to apply the rules, once equals have been recognized as such, but more substantive ethical principles seem required as well as convictions concerning human nature and human good, before this precept can be properly effected. Not all similarities justify similar treatment, nor all differences different treatment.<sup>137</sup>

The classical concept of social justice stated by Plato, Aristotle, and their followers suggests that justice is the apportionment of whatever is to be apportioned, according to the degree to which the recipients possess some required feature, whether this feature be virtue, rank, wealth, personal ability, desert or merit. Need is rarely, if ever, mentioned.<sup>138</sup> The modern concept, however, accepts not just the equal treatment of equals but rather the equal treatment of all human beings as

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<sup>135</sup> G. W. F. Hegel, The Philosophy of History, (J. Sibree, trans.), London, Encyclopaedia Britannica, 1952, Intro., sec. 3, p. 45-48, and

<sup>136</sup> Op. cit., in 73, chap. 10, p. 175-194.

<sup>137</sup> C. I. Lewis, The Ground and Nature of the Right, New York, Columbia Univ. Press, 1955, p. 90-96.

<sup>138</sup> Op. cit., in 130, p. 9-13.

such. It still includes both a meritarian (treat dissimilars dissimilarly) and an egalitarian (treat similars similarly) element, but its novel feature is its insistence on respect for the human personality as such.<sup>139</sup> As Prof. Frankena of Michigan University puts it:

The concept of social justice which prevails in our culture... (is that) a society is without justice insofar as it is without rules (statutes or precedents, written or unwritten rules, legal and moral rules); it must, in both its formal and informal aspects, treat similar cases similarly. It must also treat human beings equally, or it must show why - a requirement which governs its rules as well as its acts and institutions... the primary similarity to be respected is that which all men, as such, have. But a just society must also respect some though not all differences. In particular it must respect differences in capacities and needs, and in contribution, desert, or merit. Such differences may often make it just to treat people unequally in certain respects, thus at least qualifying the prima facie requirement of equality... There is also the principle that agreements should be kept. 140

The current concept of the just society would, therefore, seem to entail: recognition of capacity and need; the keeping of promises, contracts and agreements; individual security from injury; individual liberty; and the absence of actions, laws or mores aimed at impoverishing the lives of the members of a society, materially, aesthetically or otherwise. All men are seen as capable of

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139 Vide the preceding sec. 2, p. 20-26, here.

140 Op. cit., in 130, p. 13-14.

enjoying a happy or satisfactory life and, in that sense, a good life. This justifies treating men not only as equals but also as ends in themselves.

Finally, the boundaries of the just society must be established. A just society is not the same as a loving society: mercy, charity and love go beyond to temper it.<sup>141</sup> Also, a just society is obliged to obey the dictates of reason rather than love, it must be governed by rules.<sup>142</sup> Besides, a just society should modestly refuse to undertake the soaring enterprise of cosmic or poetic justice.<sup>143</sup>

One haunting doubt remains, however, ever since Boulding's comment some ten years ago, that equality is a luxury of rich societies.<sup>144</sup> If justice is indeed something that only rich societies can afford, then only when the poor become rich will just societies be established...

The peculiar characteristics of a just society may now be construed as being:

1. equality, reflected in recognition of the intrinsic value of the human personality;

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141 Vide sec. 1f, p. 11-13, here.

142 Emil Brunner, Justice and the Social Order, London, Lutterworth Press, 1945, p. 104 & 114.

143 J. Hospers, Human Conduct, New York, Harcourt, Brace, & World, 1961, p. 462.

144 Op. cit., in 126, p. 92.

2. recognition of relevant individual differences, reflected in compensatory treatment of individuals, based on capacity, need, merit or desert;
3. keeping of promises, contracts and agreements;
4. concern for and protection of individual security, from the state and from other individuals;
5. promotion of personal liberty, with acceptable limitations;
6. provision of those requirements and opportunities which facilitate individual and communal achievement of the best life attainable;
7. treatment of all men as ends in themselves;
8. avoidance of utility in evaluating justice;
9. flexible societal conceptualization of the good life at both social and individual levels;
10. ensuring that some minimally acceptable standard at least is achieved by all members of society;
11. recognition of society's regulation by rules dictated by reason;
12. acknowledgment that the just society is merely an acceptable minimum, and not the good nor the ideal society; and
13. agreement that society should not attempt to play God, it should not try to be all things to all men.

These criteria can be used to assess the level of justice within contemporary western societies.

## SUMMARY

Traditionally, justice has been symbolized as being feminine, blind and bearing scales: variable , to fit the context of the given case; impartial, to distribute in accordance with the rights of the litigants; and proportionate, according to the fair comparative allotment of each. Despite this seemingly standardized image of justice, however, it should now be clear that the usage, meanings and notions of justice have been multiple and varied. It has been construed as absolute and relative, limitless and delimited, organismic and organic, totally external and wholly internal, arithmetic and geometric in proportion, as happiness and as obligation, as mere habit and even as not existing at all. It could be that some men see experientially only, while others perceive through the mind's eye and try to understand, and yet still others dare to venture beyond, into the realm of imagination, to conjure up what might be. Or, perhaps, some men try to explain justice, while others attempt to explain it away. This chapter has sought to do the former, not only to minimize that degree of error with which men and their societies must live but also in order to use what is now known to improve what is now done.

This review of the usage, meanings and notions of justice throughout western culture has found the most widely recognized precepts of justice as being: do good and avoid evil, harm no one, render each man his due or to each his own, and treat equals

equally. Also, ten basic notions of justice have been detected as widely accepted. Justice as: might, including positive law and civil rights; right, including natural law and inalienable rights; legal, necessarily subsequent to the establishment of communally agreed rights and property; the lawful, or the common good; duty or obligation, to which someone has a correlative right; the fair, involving the principle of equality; a habit of conduct or moral sentiment; utility, relative to happiness, pragmatic and environmentally determined; internal harmony or inner peace; and myth, irrelevant or indefinable. These usages and meanings run wide and deep through the mainstream of western thought.

Examination of the historical development of justice has suggested a sequential relationship between equality, justice and liberty. Equality seems to rest at the root of justice, while justice seems a prerequisite to the promotion of liberty. As a social and political ideal for all men, equality in general and of opportunity, in particular, seems to be a feature of the modern world. The Greeks apparently had no word for equality of opportunity. After Rousseau, stress of inequality was transformed into search for equality, enervating the movement from constitutionalism through democracy toward socialism. Also, recognition that generic equality implied both similarity and difference facilitated the addition to sameness of the assertion of neither more nor less, or of sameness of magnitude, then human equality became more easily recognizable as equality of

type accompanied by inequality of degree. To sameness of magnitude was added identity of worth and value.

Since the second World War, the philosophical positions of the Formalists, the Pragmatists and the Naturalists have dominated the scene, the Naturalist position absorbing the assertions of the others. So, that, not only is equal treatment now conceded to be a moral rule and, as such, to lead to good consequences but also both the rule and the consequences are viewed as based on a prior equality, that of men as men. Contemporary liberation movements now proclaim this often with civil disobedience and even threats of revolution. With equality assumed, and justice as its logical consequence, the cry is for "freedom now" !, as goal-seeking begins.

Current liberal thinking suggests that, if justice and utilitarianism cannot coexist, utilitarianism must be rejected. Here, the moral standpoint consists in using principles of justice to rectify nature's injustices, not just to preserve law and order. It requires that institutional support be given to self-respect, while its fairness denies both aristocracy and meritocracy. Other views contend that justice is not inevitably the result of planned cooperation in a rational social setting and that a just social order is not the only possible choice of a rational man. Any other choice is not necessarily irrational.

To facilitate comparison in the next chapter and to make application to major disciplinary areas clearer, criteria for

evaluating the justice of a contemporary western society were sought through an examination of economic, political, legal, social and individual areas in which justice is often applied. The criteria developed for assessing economic justice were: kinds of justification of private property; the accepted relation between owners and workers; the right to work and job security; the relation between man and his work; remuneration of labour and attitudes toward profit or surplus-value; fairness in exchanges and in the distribution of wealth; recognition of poverty as a societal concomitant of wealth; the importance of wealth to both individual and society; the perceived inseparability of economic from political rights; and the degree of perceived need for change in attitude toward wealth and poverty.

In the field of political justice, the following evaluative criteria were determined: individual freedom, compatible with social justice, to maximize and optimize well-being; equality of opportunity to seek the good life; equality in citizenship and to seek public office; security of natural and political rights to self-rule; fair distribution of social goods according to need, desert, merit or agreement; political promotion of the means and ends to the common good; and recognition of law as the principle of political freedom. More specific aspects can be determined from these.

With regard to legal justice, the following criteria were arrived at: public recognition of law as contributing to security, peace, order and the common good; need for new laws and reforms

aimed at individual security; acceptance of the rule of law and of individual equality before it; recognition of the requirements of international law, to facilitate peaceful settlement of international disputes; constitutional recognition of rights, to secure individual liberty and equality even against government itself; provision of adequate state machinery for legal reform, to diminish the likelihood of civil disobedience, rebellion or secession; recognition of the implications of the casuistry of the judicial process, especially with regard to the quality of persons comprising the legal profession and the organization and administration of justice; ameliorative use of the educative function of law and of correctional institutions; and optimization of the use of administrative discretion in matters undetermined by law.

Finally, scrutiny of the social and individual aspects of justice revealed as basic to the just society: equality, reflected in recognition of the intrinsic value of the human personality; recognition of relevant individual differences, reflected in compensatory treatment of individuals, based on need, capacity, merit or desert; keeping of promises, contracts and agreements; concern for and protection of individual security from the state and from other individuals; promotion of personal liberty with acceptable limitations; provision of those requirements and opportunities which facilitate individual and communal achievement of the best life attainable; treatment of all men as ends in

themselves; avoidance of utility when evaluating justice; flexible societal conceptualization of the good life at both social and individual levels; ensuring that some minimally acceptable standard at least is achieved by all members of society; recognition of society's regulation by rules dictated by reason; acknowledgment that the just society is merely an acceptable minimum, and not the good nor the ideal society; and acceptance of the idea that society should not attempt to play God, it should not aspire to solve all human problems.

By careful application of these, one can assess the justness of a contemporary western society, with a reduced likelihood of major error. These criteria will be applied to current Canadian concepts of the just society, to be determined in the next chapter. Perhaps the Canadian meanings will then become more clear.

## CHAPTER 11

### THE OBJECTIVE : THE JUST SOCIETY

The preceding chapter dealt mainly with the past: this chapter will focus on the future. Here, an attempt will be made to describe Canadian concepts of the just society, especially in terms of ideals and objectives visualized by the government of Canada and the opposition parties between 1968 and 1972, actions of the Canadian government aimed at attaining the stated ideals and objectives and, then, the current Canadian concepts will be compared with traditionally accepted notions of the just society, so as to clarify the meanings of contemporary Canadian usage. An effort will then be made to synthesize the discovered conceptualizations into a coherent, comprehensive, national ideal, so as to indicate the orientation so far adopted and to assess the current level of Canadian attainment of the just society, in terms of the economic, political, legal and social criteria established in the preceding chapter.

The orientation toward the future to be found in this chapter results directly from the ideology expressed concerning the just society either in Speeches from the Throne, in communications of the Prime Minister, in qualifying voices emanating from the Liberal Party, or in the varying viewpoints of the Opposition parties, the Progressive Conservatives, the New Democrats, or the Social Crediters. Whether discussed as a goal, purpose or intention, the just society is invariably

described as a distant ideal<sup>1</sup> or as a gestalt of desirable objectives.<sup>2</sup> Since the present government's conceptualization of the just society seems to be dynamic rather than static and comprehensive as well as specific, it would seem best to examine it first as it appears in the ebb and flow of the Speeches from the Throne between 1968 and 1972, where the process of achieving the suggested objectives seems to be as important as the aims themselves.

### 1. THE IDEOLOGY

a) Speeches from the Throne.- Examination of the four Speeches from the Throne since 1968 seems to suggest an underlying decision-making and problem-solving process, which might be expressed as follows:

1. State major objectives, while recognizing the basic realities to be dealt with, in the pursuit of the indicated goals.

2. Determine the major forces operative within the realities recognized, and select the more manipulable ones from those that are less so. Preferential choices made here should be based on the perceived socio-economic and cultural cost involved in manipulating one force rather than another.

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1 Canada House of Commons Debates, Ottawa, the Queen's Printer, Vol. 1, 3rd Session, 28th Parliament, Oct. 8, 1970, p. 2.

2 Canada, House of Commons Debates, Ottawa, the Queen's Printer, Vol. 1, 1st Session, 28th Parliament, Sept. 12, 1968, p. 6.

3. Having specified acceptable values and ideals, assume control of destiny by choosing those means most likely to prove effective in the manipulation of the determined forces toward the desired ends. At this point, the direction of innovation becomes more obvious as goals become more clearly defined.

4. Maximize the likelihood of successful problem-solving by clearly indicating both the general "enemy" (the target) to be attacked (in this case, isolation) and its components (modes of isolation), then augment the specificity of attack by defining said components as obstacles to particular sought objectives. In this way, the total "war" is broken down into specific, delimited "battles".

A fascinating aspect of this approach is that it is constantly dynamic, and that process and products ebb and flow into each other. For example: innovation, which becomes a discernible intention in step 3, is itself a process rather than a product. Besides, the removal of obstacles, aimed at in step 4, also facilitates a further progression towards the sought ideal. Motion seems continuous. In a word, even the overall objective, maximum progress toward the ideal (the just society), is itself a dynamic concept. For this reason, means and ends may be said to be of equal import here. Analysis of the Speeches from the Throne would seem to confirm this.

The four Speeches from the Throne seem to indicate the abovementioned progression. In the first Speech,<sup>3</sup> there is an

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<sup>3</sup> Ibid., p. 6-9.

initial general statement of the objectives of the just society, accompanied by a recognition of certain existing realities, which posits a prosperous economy as a sine qua non with respect to the attainment of all other political, legal and social objectives. In the second Speech,<sup>4</sup> the government states national progress and individual fulfilment as group and individual goals, reduces discussion of the economic domain, and stresses political, legal, and social objectives, while examining those major forces operative within its search for goal-achievement which seem most functionally relevant to ensuring effectiveness. The third Speech,<sup>5</sup> while reiterating concern with regard to a stable prosperity and a humane community, salutes the advent of the seventies and, in doing so, commits the nation to action, based on anticipatory planning, aimed at assuming control over the national destiny and at selection of those methods which best promise to satisfy perceived individual and group needs. The fourth Speech,<sup>6</sup> indicates the selection of a general theme, isolation, around which specific major obstacles to desired goals are centralized, and also selected approaches geared to remove the effects of isolation by counteracting them. But these

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4 Canada, House of Commons Debates, Ottawa, the Queen's Printer, Vol. 1, 2nd Session, 28th Parliament, Oct. 23, 1969, p. 1-3.

5 Op. cit., in 1, p. 1-3.

6 Canada, House of Commons Debates, Ottawa, the Queen's Printer, Vol. 116, No. 1, 4th Session, 28th Parliament, Feb. 17, 1972, p. 1-4.

are merely the main thrusts of the four Speeches. Each one, in turn, should prove more informative.

At the opening of the first Session of the 28th Parliament, the Speech from the Throne made a preliminary statement about the government's overall policy goals and indicated its essential priorities.<sup>7</sup> The unifying theme was stated as the major objective, the just society.

My Government is deeply and irrevocably committed to the objectives of a just society and a prosperous economy in a peaceful world.<sup>8</sup>

delimited by the exigencies of reality, time, available resources and necessary priorities:

My Government is conscious that aspirations and their realization have to be tempered by a sober awareness of reality. In the complexities of modern society, effective programs take time to develop and more time to implement. At all stages they require financial and intellectual resources which are not unlimited and must be used with careful planning and the hard judgment of priorities. It is a simple fact of life that everything cannot be done at once.<sup>9</sup>

The stated objectives are, then, a just society, a prosperous economy, and a peaceful world: one national, one trans-national, and one international - all tempered by a consciousness of certain realities.

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7 Op. cit., in 2, p. 6-9.

8 Ibid., p. 6.

9 Ibid., p. 6.

The realities to be recognized with regard to the attainment of a peaceful world seem to be: first, that Canada's world environment should be examined. There are four points to the compass, not only east and south, but also north and west. The nations comprising the external environment as well as the interrelations between them should become known to Canada.<sup>10</sup> Second, Canada has substantial responsibilities and great opportunities with regard to international cooperation and development, including external aid.<sup>11</sup> Third, trade today is inevitable, since no nation is totally self-sustaining. Besides, much of Canada's income depends on export trade.<sup>12</sup> Recognition of these realities dictates a review of both external and defense policies.<sup>13</sup>

The achievement of a prosperous economy also requires recognition of certain realities concerning external and internal relationships. The external aspect of Canada's economy underlines the need to be competitive in the world, by manufacturing the sophisticated products of modern life as well as the best in the world, while attaining a level of productivity, efficiency and effectiveness at least equal to that of our best competitors. Also,

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10 Ibid., p. 8.

11 Ibid., p. 8.

12 Ibid., p. 7.

13 Ibid., p. 8.

trade barriers must be removed, and the stabilization and improvement of the world's financial system must be attained. Thus, competitiveness becomes the primary reality for the survival of Canada's important export trade. <sup>14</sup>

The internal aspect of Canada's economy also demands recognition of equally if not more important realities. Perhaps the major question is whether greater stress should be placed on production or distribution of the nation's wealth. Here, the government opts for primary focus on production, its rationale being "the larger the pie, the more there is to share". Since costs invariably increase, a prosperous economy becomes not just a major objective but rather prerequisite to all other objectives, the distribution aspect being an essential part of the main goal.

My Government believes that the objective of a just society must always include the pursuit of a prosperous economy as well as the fair distribution of its proceeds. Just as we have in the past tended... to consider justice in our society largely in material terms, so we must recognize that there has been a tendency in Parliament and to some degree in Government to concentrate on the distributive aspects of our economy... We have sometimes tended to neglect those aspects that can affect the productivity of our country, and hence the total provision of economic well-being for our society, and its competitiveness in the changing conditions of the modern world... <sup>15</sup>

Priority is, therefore, placed on productivity, on increasing the size of the total pie, on the potential provision of economic well-being for everyone in the society.

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14 Ibid., p. 7.

15 Ibid., p. 7.

Another internal reality to be recognized with regard to a prosperous modern economy is that the possession of natural resources and their accompanying industries is not enough.<sup>16</sup> Nations can remain hewers of wood and drawers of water or mere sources of raw materials for manufacturing nations, unless they too develop the sophisticated technological capacity to manufacture consumer products for themselves and others. To do this implies two requirements: first, priority must be placed on human resources development, involving high level education and training in science, technology and administration; and secondly, the nation must face and resolve the common conflict between economic development and conservation of the environment which will inevitably arise.<sup>17</sup> Also, since fair distribution and exchange of economic proceeds imply that productivity must keep pace with rises in income and government spending so as to restrain increases in prices and levels of taxation, the negative effects of inflation must be minimized.<sup>18</sup>

The remaining reality to be recognized in the economic sphere is that a fair balance of the interests of all means equating east and west with central Canada or reducing regional disparities, strengthening the incomes of those in primary industries, and eliminating cyclical poverty from society, while

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16 Ibid., p. 7.

17 Ibid., p. 8.

18 Ibid., p. 7.

ensuring the maintenance of a level of living satisfactory to most Canadians. These realities demand the production by the Government of Canada of measures that will help to achieve such goals.<sup>19</sup> In the Government's own words:

the advantages of our great physical resources by themselves are no longer an adequate base for a growing and prosperous modern economy. We shall increasingly have to compete on even terms with those countries of the world which are most advanced technologically in the provision of the sophisticated products of modern life. Unless Canada can maintain an economy that is efficient, competitive and productive in relation to the most advanced nations on earth, we cannot have the basis for a society from which poverty has been eliminated, we cannot maintain high levels of employment and income and we cannot ensure the standard of life to which Canadians generally aspire. It is against this background, as well as with the consciousness that the interests of all must be fairly balanced, that the government is approaching its policies and programs of an economic character.<sup>20</sup>

as well as:

Just as incomes cannot increase faster than productivity if price increases are to be restrained, so government spending by all levels of government cannot increase faster than productivity if we wish to restrain the increase in levels of taxation. These two realities are among the most important that Canadians and their leaders must bear in mind during the months and years ahead.<sup>21</sup>

These statements indicate the economic assumptions and rationale of the present government as well as the realities recognized in the search for a prosperous economy, the crucial factor in the

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19 Ibid., p. 7.

20 Ibid., p. 7.

21 Ibid., p. 7.

attainment of the just society.

Certain other factors, however, are also seen as crucial: these concern the national attainment of political, legal and social justice. The realities to be reckoned with here are: first, the functional effectiveness of the government machinery itself, whether it be Cabinet committee,<sup>5</sup> the House of Commons, the Senate, the role of Opposition parties or the adaptation of Government departments to their functions. Secondly, national unity is essential to Canada's continuing existence as well as to the attainment by Canadians of the maximum possible individual liberty, happiness and material well-being. Third, constitutional reform is needed, especially the insertion of a Charter of Public Liberties binding on all governments or a Bill of Rights, so as to right present wrongs, recognize individual dignity, and provide equal access to opportunities and to legal security. Fourth, the implications of the acceptance of egalitarianism must be translated into reality - language and cultural rights must exist and be respected, justice and the law must be equalized between rich and poor, not only investors but also consumers must be protected, imbalances in labour and management relations must be corrected, and the inequities presently experienced by those on fixed incomes and their dependants must be rectified. <sup>22</sup> In a word:

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<sup>22</sup> Ibid., p. 6-7.

Some of these proposals involve the righting of wrongs and others the opening of opportunities long denied. Together they exemplify the essential connection between justice and national unity. The attainment of a just society is the cherished hope of civilized men. While perhaps more difficult to formulate for groups than for individuals, even the members of majorities - political, religious, linguistic or economic - must know what it is to suffer injustice. My Government is deeply concerned to provide and to ensure increased justice, dignity and recognition to the individual, particularly in an age which is characterized by large governments, industrial automation, social regimentation and old-fashioned laws. 23

The primary concern seems to be for the individual's well-being, above and beyond even the common good. Here, government would seem to be at the service of the individual.

Finally, importance is also given to the broad, general reality of preserving and improving Canada's practice of democracy itself. Two concepts stand out here. One is that Canada must be vigilant in conserving, adapting and improving both democracy and democratic institutions in order to meet new demands and circumstances and to avoid failure in its purpose to provide efficient and responsive government. The other concerns a re-interpretation of democracy as practiced here, participatory democracy, which requires meaningful public participation in the operation of the democratic process and demands wider and deeper public understanding of government affairs on both a short and a long-term basis. This, in turn, necessitates an effective

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23 Ibid., p. 7.

two-way communication and information flow likely to facilitate, increase and improve useful public involvement.<sup>24</sup> In summary:

In Canada as in other countries of the world democracy today faces a decisive challenge. It must adapt to new circumstances and new demands, or fail in its purpose. This challenge is not abstract but a confrontation which you will have to face by virtue of your election to this Parliament.<sup>25</sup>

The first Speech from the Throne ends on this exhortatory note.

The second Throne Speech, while continuing the search for a peaceful world, a prosperous economy and a just society, seems to place greater stress on political, legal and social goals, described as national progress and individual fulfilment, while exploring the major forces operative within the realities recognized in the first Speech. In stating both group and individual goals in terms of national progress and individual fulfilment, the concerns of national progress are seen to center around the establishment of short and long-range national policy and stress on participatory democracy, through the use of White Papers to define desirable goals and suggest means of attaining them,<sup>26</sup> while the concern for individual fulfilment leads to a focus on the search for linguistic, legal, economic and social equality and on such individual interests as rights, development, values and the free expression of personality.<sup>27</sup>

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24 Ibid., p. 8.

25 Ibid., p. 9.

26 Op. cit., in 4, p. 3.

27 Ibid., p. 3.

The Government regards national progress and individual fulfilment as indivisible components of its mandate.

The size, complexity and fallibility of the structures that technology imposes on modern societies are often in conflict with the protection and development of individual values. The working of both private and public institutions may endanger the individual's free expression of his unique personality. He must therefore be protected from anything that jeopardizes his rights or limits his personal development. 28

The might of government authority seems to be enlisted here against the machinations of conformity.

In exploring those major forces operative within the realities outlined in the preceding Throne Speech, external, internal and general forces are indicated. The major external forces are stated as being: the vulnerability of Canada to external, especially economic, influences; Canada's lack of intimate contact with much of the outside world; and the limited means at Canada's disposal to cooperate in international development, to reduce international tension and to end current conflicts; the main factor being the compactness and interdependence of today's world. <sup>29</sup> Some of these can be manipulated, others cannot.

With regard to internal forces at work, the government explicitly recognized the imperatives of certain exigencies. For example: the popular public demand for increased participation in determining Canada's destiny,

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28 Ibid., p. 3.

29 Ibid., p. 1-2.

Many citizens in our own country believe that they are entitled to assume greater responsibility for the destiny of our society. Such demands, insofar as they do not conflict with the general welfare, are the expression of a truly democratic ideal. They must be satisfied if our society is to attain its goals of peace and justice. <sup>30</sup>

the demand for the protection of the rights and interests of individuals and groups; the demand that inequalities between citizens, groups, and regions of the country be reduced; that the environment be protected; that inflation be controlled; and that Canadian society itself be intensely examined and the basic principles to guide its immediate and long-term future be determined as well as the means of realizing that future. <sup>31</sup> In addition, current obstacles to economic goals are stated. <sup>32</sup>

The major force operative in the general area would seem to be the need for government effectiveness through relevance in its functioning. The capacity of Canada's reformed political institutions as well as the will of the people seem ready to demonstrate their effectiveness at satisfying citizen needs and aspirations. The major unknown here seems to be: can the principles of popular representation be retained? The government's reply is:

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<sup>30</sup> Ibid., p. 2.

<sup>31</sup> Ibid., p. 2-3.

<sup>32</sup> Ibid., p. 2.

A more intensive consideration of national policies by Parliament is in keeping with the spirit of the recent reforms in the rules of the House of Commons. These new rules will demonstrate that Parliamentary traditions can adapt to the changed circumstances of contemporary life, while continuing to respect the fundamental principles of popular representation.

They are evidence of our common desire to modernize our institutions so that they will satisfy the needs and aspirations of our citizens... 33

The Government of Canada obviously believes that they can be respected.

The Third Throne Speech seems particularly revealing of the rationale guiding the government's behaviour. Here, its preferred values, its societal ideals and its procedural attitude are all indicated with increased precision: the manner in which the values and social ideals are suggested revealing a noteworthy unwillingness to dictate them to Canadians, though no such hesitation is evident concerning its willingness to work towards achieving them. Two new elements are also introduced, which provide new dimensions for understanding the thoughts of the government: one is its recognition of the advent of the seventies and its accompanying implications; the other is its self-analysis of Canada and Canadians, which add the new dimension of Canadian self-perception.<sup>34</sup> The results of two years of self-examination would seem to be beginning

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33 Ibid., p. 3.

34 Op. cit., in 1, p. 1-3.

to bear fruit.

Though the accent on the search for stable prosperity and humane community is continued in this Speech, much attention is also paid not only to the commencement of the decade of the seventies but also to the perceived implications of this new age. The major implications of the new age are viewed as being: the conflict between old and new values, progressively leading to impatience, unease, tenseness, disillusion, frustration, desperation and even violence; an awareness that man must change his course and learn to live in harmony with his environment; recognition of the imminent danger of the likelihood of man's losing control over his destiny to the prevalent forces of science and technology; and, the anxiety caused by a widespread sense of powerlessness in the face of the uncertainties of internal and external forces not yet clearly understood, rapidly changing circumstances, and the openness of the unpredictable future. Apparently aware that the degree of anxiety experienced can lead to either creative action or personality (national) disintegration, the government opts for positive thought and action aimed at assuming control over the national destiny. <sup>35</sup>

Also, because of the uncertainty of the future (which is mostly not manipulable) and the certainty of the present (partly manipulable) overwhelming momentum of change, indifference and lack

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<sup>35</sup> Ibid., p. 1.

of commitment are seen as illusory. Reaction to events proves ineffective. Anticipatory planning, however, seems to provide some measure of control. So, Canada must assume the somewhat existential responsibility for its own self-creation. Canada must create its own future as much as possible. Canada must innovate. In the ensuing insecurity, some stability might come from conserving such constant values as truth, honesty, excellence, relevance, compassion and love, which are recommended as worth preserving.

The passing of the sixties and the beginning of the seventies reminds us that Canada faces a new age; an age which will be subject to forces not all of which are yet comprehended or understood, forces which will proceed from external as well as internal origins. It is a new age not so much because of changed circumstances, but new because of changed values and attitudes.

Because of the clash between these new values and the old, because of the quest by the young and the disillusioned for some resolution of attitudes, we live in a period of tenseness and unease. It is an age frequented by violence as desperate men seek ill-defined goals, an age of frustration as gentle men question impatiently old assumptions. It is an age in which the life-support systems of the biosphere may collapse unless man reverses his present course and begins again to live in harmony, rather than in competition, with his environment. It is an age in which the forces of science and technology now in motion are so massive, so swift, and so comprehensive that man may be facing his last opportunity to control his own destiny rather than be subject to it.

The decade of the seventies extends beyond our present vision, yet the momentum of change is already so overwhelming that man can no longer afford the luxury of reacting to events. He must anticipate and plan. He must accept that contentment and indifference are illusory, that the most dramatic reality is change; that there is more need than ever before to preserve as constant values truth, honesty, excellence and relevance; that a society which is not inspired by love and compassion is not worthy of the name. 36

In this way, the third Speech from the Throne heralds the advent of the seventies, culminating in a statement of its preferred values for the first time since the beginning of the 28th Parliament.

The main values of the government are not all that is stated here, however, Its societal objectives and ideal are expressed too. It seems noteworthy that these are proffered here as choices deserving acceptance and not dictated to the Canadian people. The phraseology seems particularly significant:

At the threshold of the seventies a choice is open to Canadians as it is open to few persons in few countries. With foresight and stamina and enterprise, ours may be, if we wish it;

- a society in which human differences are regarded as assets, not liabilities;
- a society in which individual freedom and equality of opportunity remain as our most cherished possessions;
- a society in which the enjoyment of life is measured in qualitative, not quantitative terms;
- a society which encourages imagination and daring, ingenuity and initiative, not coldly and impersonally for the sake of efficiency, but with warmth and from the heart as between friends.

As Canada moves into the seventies, we are all invited to join in this bold enterprise - to share the excitement, to face the challenge, to pursue the distant ideal of a just society. 37

This is the kind of society that Canadians can choose to make of Canada, if they so wish.

Two of the three major ideas expressed in this Speech have already been mentioned. One is Canada's international commitment to "a world in which peace, social progress and the

dignity of man will be the norm and not the exception as is now too often the case".<sup>38</sup> Another is the conviction that "is growing throughout the world that if man is to survive he must strive without delay to regulate his future".<sup>39</sup> The third concerns the newly added dimension of Canadian self-perception, the government's perception of Canada and Canadians. Of Canadians, the government says:

we are... more amenable to reason and, perhaps, more capable of wise decision than we are normally willing to admit... these are traits that have made Canada a land of freedom. 40

On the other hand, Canada

is a high place of liberty in the world. It is held in esteem because in Canada respect is paid to the individual; privacy and freedom of thought are honoured. Among us, each citizen, each community, finds its roots in liberty. Our national entity does not depend upon a melting pot, but is a concerted exercise of free will . 41

Based on these premises, the Government expresses the final objectives to be mentioned in this Speech. Grounded in liberty and strengthened by tolerance as a people, Canadians are seen to have the capacity, if they retain the will,

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38 Ibid., p. 3.

39 Ibid., p. 3.

40 Ibid., p. 3.

41 Ibid., p. 3.

to adjust our society to reflect the values of our peoples, to benefit from a rich cultural life, to create viable political and social structures, and to strike an equilibrium with nature without which all the rest may be undone. 42

Canada is viewed as free enough, vast enough and diversified enough to undertake this vital task which "could prove to be the principal element of the Canadian fact". 43

In the fourth and final Throne Speech of the 28th Parliament, the central problem of isolation in its varying forms is described, external occurrences are viewed as environmental effects upon the national system, Canada's vulnerability to such internal pressures as experienced in October, 1970, is noted, five major goals are proposed, and the government indicates its standards for self-evaluation. This Speech, therefore, introduces important new elements.

The primary new element is the theme of isolation, perceived as the central cause of individual alienation and for which effective counterforces must be produced.

In a period dominated by bigness, in an increasingly impersonal social system, one of the major challenges facing government is to remove the impression of isolation which so often surrounds men and women, depriving them of their sense of worth, of accomplishment, of fulfilment, and removing from them their identity as individuals. 44

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42 Ibid., p. 3.

43 Ibid., p. 3.

44 Op. cit., in 6, p. 1.

The struggle apparently will be a war against isolation. But many battles make a war: so, isolation is reduced to its component aspects, each aspect becoming an obstacle (battle).

Isolation takes many forms in Canada-physical distance, social stigma, economic deprivation. In each of those forms it represents a degree of rejection, of exclusion, of estrangement. This country fails in its essential purpose if it does not ensure that its most precious resource, human talent, is not wasted away. Our challenge is to remove the barriers that create isolation, to permit each Canadian to detect-even if not always able to fulfil - his own potential, to ensure that his image of Canada is one of promise and compassion. 45

Canada's essential purpose, then, is not only to prevent human waste but also to allow every Canadian at least to discover his potential in an atmosphere of kindness and to live in a land of hope. The task is clear and the architects, too, are clearly indicated as the members of the House of Commons...

We in this place have a special responsibility to help bring these goals and those hopes within reach, to make real the Canada of which our forefathers dreamed... 46

The commitment seems unmistakable.

The second major element in this Speech is a five-point proposal to Parliament: to continue the development of national wealth, to treat more compassionately those who require help, to involve more Canadians in community activities, to protect the

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45 Ibid., p. 1.

46 Ibid., p. 2.

natural heritage, and to fortify the Canadian sense of identity and self-image.<sup>47</sup> Some of these seem to be renewals of previous pledges, others are not. What seems clear, however, is that more goals are being specified and with greater precision.

The final major element here is of great importance, because it indicates the government's own criteria for self-evaluation. This provides some measure of its progress: progress here meaning motion and direction. The evaluational criteria may be framed as the following questions - Does this country: improve life for everyone? resolve differences by reason and not force? practice tolerance? accept love and understanding as the most important human traits? prize international peace and the well-being of people everywhere? assist those afflicted by calamities, whether natural or man-made? deepen and enrich old friendships, and seek and strengthen new ones? maintain openness of attitude, communications and willingness to understand in all directions, such as Europe, the U.S.A., Africa, Asia and Latin America? These, the government says, are "the standards by which we judge ourselves".<sup>48</sup> For some, the further question might arise: to whom does "we" here refer? However, for those who consider Canadians and the Government of Canada to be

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47 Ibid., p. 2.

48 Ibid., p. 3.

identical, there will be no such question.

b) The Trudeau Definition.- The Trudeau definition of the just society seems evidently exemplified by his own life. Judging from his writings and actions over the last approximately twenty five years it seems rather difficult to avoid the conclusion that the adult life of the Rt. Hon. Pierre Trudeau, the present Prime Minister of Canada, is not just highly correlated to but rather inextricably interwoven with a search for the just society.<sup>49</sup> Because his dedication to the just society would seem to be the major motivating force of his life,<sup>50</sup> it proves virtually impossible to separate his definition of it from the man himself, his choice of political party, his personal philosophy, his ideals for Canada, and his chosen means of attaining them.

Wealthy enough to enjoy leisure and to be trained to rule, Pierre Trudeau studied Law, Economics and Political Science at such Universities as Montreal, Harvard, the Sorbonne and the London School of Economics. But he also chose to educate himself, apparently living by the maxim mens sana in corpore sano, reading voraciously but selectively, taking the time to travel, and dedicating his later life to being both intellectual and activist. As a labour lawyer and economist, a writer in *Cité Libre*, a

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49 P. E. Trudeau, Federalism and the French Canadians, Toronto, Macmillan of Canada, 1968, inter alia.

50 Ibid., especially Introduction by John T. Saywell, p. vii-xiii, and Foreword by P. E. Trudeau, p. xix-xxvi (Aug., 1967).

professor of law, a Minister of Justice and, now, Prime Minister, he may be described as being, among other things, a student, a critic and a practitioner of government, almost always in search of the grail of justice in Quebec and in Canadian society. <sup>51</sup>

His reasons for joining the Liberal Party and his perception of his new party as well as his convictions concerning what Canadians expect of Liberals clarify somewhat public understanding of his beliefs:

For me, Liberalism is the only philosophy for our time, because it does not try to conserve every tradition of the past; because it does not apply to new problems the old doctrinaire solutions; because it is prepared to experiment and take risks; and because it knows that the past is less important than the future. That is Liberalism.

For me, the Liberal Party is the party of the future because its roots are planted in every sector of the country; because it unites the academic theorists and the practicing politicians; and because it attracts the young and the old, the rich and the poor, the businessman, the school teacher, the farmer and the factory worker. That is the Liberal Party.

For me, this beautiful, rich and energetic country of ours can become a model of the just society, in which every citizen will enjoy his fundamental rights and in which every individual will find fulfilment. That is Canada. <sup>52</sup>

Concern for individual fulfilment seems an essential element in the Trudeau definition of the just society, which consistently transcends the political and invades the realm of psychology. This facilitates, too, this writer's entry to the Prime Minister's basic principles and philosophy.

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<sup>51</sup> Ibid., p. vii-xxvi.

<sup>52</sup> P. E. Trudeau, Speech at the Liberal Convention, April 5, 1968.

In addition to describing his previous adult life as including a struggle for the triumph of reason over passion in politics, the protection of individual freedoms against the tyranny of the group, a just distribution of national wealth, national unity and bilingualism, without which neither economic progress nor Canada's survival as a nation are possible,<sup>53</sup> Trudeau expresses such an eclectic array of pragmatist, utilitarian, realist, existentialist and idealist ideas in his writings, speeches and other communications that it would seem fruitless to attempt to classify his thinking. Certain constants, however, are detectable. One is the conviction that man's priceless heritage is hope: "material affluence is not essential to human dignity. But self-respect is. And self-respect is a product of hope and faith in the future".<sup>54</sup> Another is his combination of eclecticism and pragmatism which, for him, precludes the application of overriding theories to problems. Theoretical purity is viewed as a luxury and "obstinate consistency" a diversion. "Flexibility allows us to deal with each situation on its merits, ensuring always that the payoff for Canada is greater than the cost"....<sup>55</sup> Others are his concern with keeping ahead of change and directing

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53 Ibid., p. 1.

54 P. E. Trudeau, Prime Minister's Address to a Convocation Ceremony marking the Diamond Jubilee of the University of Alberta, Edmonton, Alberta, May 13, 1968.

55 -----, Prime Minister's Remarks to the Kitchener Chamber of Commerce, Kitchener, Ontario, May 21, 1968.

it, his virtual obsession with personal privacy and, perhaps most important, his acceptance of the notion of equilibrium or balance and proportion,<sup>56</sup> which leads to his theory of equidistance for reconciling individual with society and freedom with order, and of creating counterweights to balance weak with strong, reflected in his negative attitude towards ideological systems and especially public opinion, which

seeks to impose its domination over everything. Its aim is to reduce all action, all thought, and all feeling to a common denominator. It forbids independence and kills inventiveness; condemns those who ignore it and banishes those who oppose it. 57

Perhaps this explains why, to the Prime Minister, media which express public opinion seem to be figurative forms of tyranny, thus leading to his questioning very widely accepted opinions.

Out of these elements seem to grow his ideals and objectives, his priorities, and the strategies believed to lead to their attainment. Although convinced that there are no absolute truths in politics,<sup>58</sup> he expresses clearly, nevertheless, certain values, objectives, priorities and preferences concerning methods. Internationally speaking, he perceives the danger of wars, fears foreign economic domination, and considers communism, fascism and other totalitarianisms as ideological threats. In view of which

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56 Op. cit., in 50, p. xix-xxiii.

57 Ibid., p. xxi-xxii.

58 Ibid., p. xxii.

he concludes that "we need a just society for all the peoples of the world and not only for ourselves".<sup>59</sup> For him, however, the new name for peace is development.<sup>60</sup>

From the national standpoint, the basic principles he espouses would seem to be mainly liberty, democratic government, respect of the individual, and both the parliamentary and the federal systems of government, the classic analyses of which, he indicates, are found in the French thinkers Montesquieu and de Tocqueville. In any case, it would seem that his excitement about Canada's future potential stems largely from the fact that "it was the Canadian constitution that united the qualities of these two systems for the first time in history".<sup>61</sup> Beyond his additional themes of public participation, government decentralization and the need for technological innovation, he claims 'only to be a pragmatist'.<sup>62</sup>

The ideals and objectives he stated for Canada, before the 1968 election, were a just society, distinguished from economic reforms as being "essentially a question of reforming our legal structure, our political structure and our governmental structure",

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59 P. E. Trudeau, Prime Minister's Remarks at Markham, Ontario, May 25, 1968, p. 3.

60 Op. cit., in 54, p. 4.

61 Op. cit., in 50, p. xxii.

62 Op. cit., in 55, p. 5.

and attaching great importance to individual freedoms and rights, the linguistic question, reformed government, improved laws, and "a foreign policy more compatible with the realities of the world", among such other details as housing reforms, medicare, encouragement of sporting events and improved treatment of native minorities. <sup>63</sup>

The priorities and preferred methods that accompany the above goals are stated as being: "start from the facts... of our society; good laws, good policies and justice from all levels of government" as well as "start with the rights of individuals... establish them in the Constitution", and "this will establish the values in which all Canadians believe; the values for which we all stand; the values which unite us". <sup>64</sup> These and the preceding together comprise the Trudeau definition of the just society, his priorities and his approach. One factor, particularly difficult to describe, remains, and this relates to the relationship between Trudeau himself and the notion of justice.

On this occasion, for a fleeting instant, transported perhaps by his musical environment, his audience, his thoughts or his language, Trudeau seems to experience a momentary somewhat mystical union with justice itself, when he says:

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<sup>63</sup> P. Trudeau, Prime Minister's Press Conference, Winnipeg, Manitoba, May 23, 1968, pp. 2-3.

<sup>64</sup> P. Trudeau, Prime Minister's Press Conference, Toronto, Ontario, May 25, 1968, p. 2.

J'aurais voulu être comme la justice dont parle Paul Claudel. Il nous dit: "La justice n'est jamais si belle que sous un déguisement quand elle porte, non pas un bandeau mais un masque et que personne ne sait qui elle est".

J'aurais voulu que personne ne sache qui je suis... 65

Here, the man and his desire for an instant seem to become one, even if only in rhetoric.

c) Qualifying Liberal Voices.- Except for those aspects of the just society which the Prime Minister considers non-negotiable, (which are that: environmental protection will never be sacrificed, in the name of progress, to industrial or commercial development; omnipresent government will never be allowed, in the name of efficiency or social welfare, to substitute itself for individual right to privacy or any other freedom; and, sectarianism, violence and discrimination will not be permitted, in the name of freedom of speech, to replace tolerance, dialogue and moderation respectively), <sup>66</sup> several Liberal members of Parliament add qualifying, rather than contradicting, interpretations and descriptions to the official general definition of the just society. The content of these qualifying voices suggests three main areas of concern: the international, the national and the individual.

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65 P. Trudeau, Premier Ministre, Cité des Jeunes, Rivière-du-loup, Province of Quebec, 26 mai 1968, p. 3.

66 Canada, House of Commons Debates, Ottawa, the Queen's Printer, Vol. 1, 2nd Session, 28th Parliament, Oct. 24, 1969, p. 40.

At the international level, in discussing the objective of a peaceful world, Mr. Murray McBride interprets it as meaning not a single global nation but rather an interdependent world of autonomous nations, each specializing in its own peculiar domains of excellence then exchanging or trading with others.<sup>67</sup> This underlines Canada's need to develop its own chosen areas of excellence. Also, Mr. E. B. Osler suggests that diversification of Canada's export trade, both internally and externally, would probably be the most effective means of countering the currently developing trend towards "continentalism".<sup>68</sup> These statements would seem to indicate preferences for diversification and interdependence as essential aspects of the peaceful world to be sought.

At the national level, several clarifications are made concerning the type of just society being pursued, most of which focus upon ways of improving the quality of Canada's democracy, aspects of legal reform and new rights to be recognized, and specific development needs. Concerning the improvement of the quality of Canadian democracy, discussion deals mainly with enhancing the representativeness of Members of Parliament, recognizing the new importance of city governments, desirable

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67 Canada, House of Commons Debates, Ottawa, the Queen's Printer, Vol. 1, 1st Session, 28th Parliament, Sept. 17, 1968, p. 120.

68 Canada, House of Commons Debates, Ottawa, the Queen's Printer, 4th Session, 28th Parliament, Vol. 116, No. 2, Feb. 22, 1972, p. 135.

aspects of self-determination, increased and improved interaction between Canadians through better transport and communications, and government decentralization and its major implications. The question of representation is raised by Mr. Gordon Sullivan who seems convinced that the gap between accepted political theory and actual government practice should be closed. He argues: that backbenchers listen to constituents but are unable to tell what they have heard; that loyalty to party should not precede loyalty to Canada nor compel compromises of personal integrity; and that the experience and expertise of civil servants, contrasted with the elected representatives' corresponding lack of these, can often lead to the formulation of national policy by civil servants. Remedies are then suggested to make members of parliament more representative of the needs, expectations and aspirations of their constituents. <sup>69</sup>

The case for recognizing the relative contemporary importance of municipal governments is impressively expounded by Mr. Philip Givens who indicates with overwhelming evidence that, among other things, Montreal and Toronto are today larger in population than eight of the ten Provinces, an important implication of this being that, to achieve justice, the federal government must now facilitate urban dispensation of justice to city-dwelling

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69 Op. cit., in 66, Oct. 27, 1969, p. 100.

Canadians, now nearly three-quarters of the total population.<sup>70</sup> Self-determination is seen by Mr. Hubert Badanai to include preferably a boot-strap operation or increased Canadian investment in Canada,<sup>71</sup> while the Hon. M. Jean Chrétien, Minister of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, views the goals of better transport and communications as being improved interaction between Canadians, aimed at deepening understanding and augmenting appreciation of others in a multicultural society.<sup>72</sup>

The concept of decentralization of federal control is given a rather interesting turn of interpretation by the Hon. Mr. Martin O'Connell, Minister of Labour, who sees it as not only a part of the new industrial strategy but also as largely implying the development of western Canada. After rejecting the view of western Canada as merely an agricultural or energy base because this does not do full justice to the possibilities, the potential and the aspirations of westerners, he concludes that:

A good deal of the forward trend in a new industrial strategy for this country will be toward developing higher levels of economic activity in the west. It is in a sense a decentralization of industrial activity in the search for the just society in terms of quality of life and national unity.<sup>73</sup>

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70 Ibid., Oct. 30, 1969, p. 337-341.

71 Canada, House of Commons Debates, Ottawa, the Queen's Printer, 4th Session, 28th Parliament, Vol. 116, No. 2, Feb. 21, 1972, p. 67.

72 Ibid., Feb. 22, 1972, p. 127.

73 Canada, House of Commons Debates, Ottawa, the Queen's Printer, 4th Session, 28th Parliament, Vol. 116, No. 20, March 15, 1972, p. 859.

In this view, it would seem that the west will become to Canada in the seventies what Quebec was in the sixties.

With regard to legal reform and new rights proposed as worthy of recognition, the Hon. Otto Lang, Minister of Justice, describes the current direction of legal reform as tending towards reasonableness of law and responsiveness of legislators, including the provision of essential machinery for continuous review of the law through the formation of the Legal Reform Commission. The reasonableness aims at eliciting voluntary compliance and reducing the need for enforcement, while the responsiveness and the new Commission lend the flexibility to provide quick reaction to requirements for change.<sup>74</sup> The proposed new rights are recommended by Mr. E. B. Osler, who would proclaim as additional rights: the right of rural citizens to share in determining their future; the right to security in an age of change; and the right, in the case of older families, to continue living with dignity and honour in their traditional communities, if they so desire.<sup>75</sup>

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<sup>74</sup> Canada, House of Commons Debates, Ottawa, the Queen's Printer, 4th Session, 28th Parliament, Vol. 116, No. 40, April 27, 1972, p. 1699.

<sup>75</sup> Op. cit., in 68, p. 136.

The remaining qualifying description of the just society at the national level concerns perceived developmental needs. Here, as indicated by the Hon. Mr. Alastair Gillespie, Minister of State for Science and Technology, Canada is seen as lacking specialists in innovation and in development management skills, and to require national organization and specialization at the post-secondary educational level, especially in the research area, where quality rather than quantity is being sought and "centres of excellence" will be given high priority by federal support.<sup>76</sup> The need to improve human relationships and social dynamics, and to reduce violence and war are here seen to be just as urgent as current demands for the application of science and technology to Canadian industry.

Finally, at the individual level, the qualifying Liberal voices add three basic suggestions to the overall definition of the just society. One is that multilingualism should accompany multiculturalism, if Canadians are to become better and more communicative world-citizens.<sup>77</sup> Another is that politicians must increasingly forsake compromise and adhere more strictly to their principles, if emasculated programs are to be avoided.<sup>78</sup> The other underlines the final elusiveness of the main objective,

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<sup>76</sup> Canada, House of Commons Debates, Ottawa, the Queen's Printer, 4th Session, 28th Parliament, Vol. 116, No. 4, Feb. 28, 1972, p. 329.

<sup>77</sup> Op. cit., in 67, p. 157, (Mr. Ray Perrault).

<sup>78</sup> Op. cit., in 66, Oct. 31, 1969, p. 368, (Mr. Douglas Hogarth).

TABLE 1

BASIC GOALS OF THE LIBERAL PARTY CLASSIFIED AS EXTERNAL, INTERNAL  
AND ECONOMIC, POLITICAL AND SOCIAL.External:

- world recognition of peace, social progress and human dignity as the norm rather than the exception.
- wider foreign relations and deeper understanding of other nations and their interrelations.
- greater acceptance of responsibilities and opportunities re international cooperation and development.
- increased export trade, heightened Canadian economic competitiveness, reduced trade barriers, and improved, stable world financial system.
- restructured defense policy relevant to contemporary world realities.
- reduction of Canada's vulnerability to external, especially economic, influences and greater Canadian influence on international tensions and conflicts.
- a diversified interdependent world rather than a single world entity.

Internal:Economic:

- redefinition of desirable national goals and determination of effective acceptable means of attaining them.
- a prosperous economy as prerequisite to the attainment of other (political, legal and social) goals.
- stable prosperity with primary accent on increased production of national wealth.
- fair distribution and exchange of economic proceeds throughout all of Canada.
- national development of sophisticated technological manufacturing capacity.
- minimization of inflation and restrained increases in prices and taxation levels.
- increased incomes in primary industry and satisfactory material well-being for all.
- removal of regional disparities and of cyclical economic deprivation from society.
- reduction of foreign economic control.
- increased Canadian economic specialization and excellence in selected areas.

TABLE 1 (continued)

## BASIC GOALS OF THE LIBERAL PARTY CLASSIFIED AS EXTERNAL, INTERNAL AND ECONOMIC, POLITICAL AND SOCIAL.

Political:

- greater relevance, efficiency and functional effectiveness of government institutions and machinery, especially through decentralization and improved coordination.
- harmonization of federal with provincial and municipal government activities.
- recognition of new importance of city governments.
- satisfactory Constitutional reform, especially insertion of a Charter of Public Liberties binding on all governments and protective of individual and group rights.
- innovative control of national destiny and translation of egalitarianism into reality.
- correction of existing wrongs, institutional support of individual dignity and legal security.
- provision of generous levels of common good and of better two-way information flows between government and the public.
- improved practice of participatory democracy and more positive Canadian self-image.
- control of science and technology and resolution of tensions between old and new values.
- reduction of public sense of powerlessness and isolation by removing the causes.
- national unity, through rejection of the "melting-pot" concept, encouragement of bilingualism and multiculturalism, strengthened tolerance and removal of social stigmas.
- increased and improved societal dynamics through better transport and communications.
- a pragmatic, eclectic approach to governing rather than insistence on theoretical purity: government by objectives.

Social:

- responsive legislators, reasonable laws, establishment of machinery for continuous review of law and recognition of new rights.
- individual fulfilment in a humane community that protects its natural heritage.
- enlightened development of natural and human resources, especially through education, scientific technological training, anticipatory planning and innovative action.
- development of a symbiotic relationship between Canadians and their natural environment.
- individual privacy, liberty and happiness through linguistic, legal and social equality and protection of group and individual rights, development, values and free expression of personality.

TABLE 1 (continued)

BASIC GOALS OF THE LIBERAL PARTY CLASSIFIED AS EXTERNAL, INTERNAL  
AND ECONOMIC, POLITICAL AND SOCIAL.Social: (continued)

- national acceptance of the values of truth, honesty, excellence, relevance, compassion and love.
- perception of human differences as assets, evaluation of life in qualitative terms, encouragement of imagination, daring, ingenuity and initiative, and pursuit of the ideal of a just society.
- evaluation of government by the following criteria: improvement of life for all, resolution of differences by reason, practice of tolerance, regard for love and understanding as most important traits, concern for international peace and the well-being of people everywhere, assistance of those afflicted by natural or man-made calamities, enrichment of old friendships and cultivation of new ones, and government openness of attitude, communications and willingness to understand.

the just society. "I believe we can strive for this ideal but that we can never attain it... there is always room to move forward toward the achievement of this objective".<sup>79</sup> The basic objective, it would seem, is destined to remain the ideal.

d) Varying Opposition Views.- Despite their unrelenting criticism of both the Prime Minister and the Liberal government, the three opposition parties seem to accept the desirability of the just society as a national ideal as well as its concomitant objectives. Varying views are expressed, however, concerning the possibility or the probability of attainment of the just society under Liberal leadership. As will be shown, the New Democratic Party, convinced that the Liberal commitment to work within the existing societal framework renders the achievement of their expressed goals impossible, considers the attempt predestined to failure. The Social Credit Rally, on the other hand, considers the goal attainable, but only if the correct economic priorities are adopted, the first step being, of necessity, adequate reformation of financial institutions. The attitude of the Progressive Conservative Party seems the least clear, perhaps because there seems to be no significant difference between their basic objectives and those of the Liberals, except that theirs seem more vague than those of the government as well

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<sup>79</sup> Op. cit., in 67, p. 333, (Mr. Norman Cafik).

as the fact that it proves particularly difficult to extract a coherent, consistent pattern of beliefs from the expressed convictions of the members of this Party. Specific interests of particular representatives are indicated, but the party's philosophy proves surprisingly elusive.

A skeletal framework of Progressive Conservative objectives may be constructed, however, by organizing the statements of several members into international and national areas of concern, which define to some extent their conception of the just society. In the international sphere, Mr. David MacDonald proposes that Canada undertake the establishment of a world university because he is convinced that "We must behave like a world community if we are to survive as a civilization".<sup>80</sup> This suggests a particular mode of search for international community. In addition, the Leader of the Opposition, the Hon. Robert Stanfield, suggests that "Canada must lead where others have failed to lead or are unable to lead",<sup>81</sup> and that "we can make equality a reality in Canada" and, through the wealth of our cultures and learning, be an example to the world.<sup>82</sup> This viewpoint seems to suggest that

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80 Canada, House of Commons Debates, Ottawa, the Queen's Printer, 4th Session, 28th Parliament, Vol. 116, No. 42, May 1, 1972, p. 1781-3.

81 Op. cit., in 2, Sept. 16, 1968, p. 61.

82 Ibid., p. 62.

Canada should seek to influence other nations by example. But then, Mr. Stanfield also says in the same speech that Canada's performance should not be compared with that of other nations but only with itself,<sup>83</sup> thus suggesting that the term of reference should be internal only. Though this seems somewhat self-contradictory, perhaps the intent is that Canada should compete only with itself, while still serving as an example to others. In any case, this seems to be an initial attempt to apply an internally oriented notion of justice to Canada.

In the national sphere, economic, social and political concerns become apparent. The economic concerns expressed reveal a recognition of the primacy of economic growth without which "all bets are off so far as the achievement of a just or any other kind of satisfactory society is concerned".<sup>84</sup> Also recognized here are such questions as: the conflict between economic development and environmental protection, determining a national industrial strategy, dealing with foreign economic control, and the adoption of a full employment budget. Concerning the question of economic development versus the environment, Mr. Stanfield says:

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83 Ibid., p. 61.

84 Ibid., p. 57, (Mr. Robert Stanfield).

I certainly agree that we must not worship the gross national product and that we must have a higher objective than that. But I want to make it very clear that I believe we shall need continued economic growth for some time to come, at least if we are to tackle our problems of unemployment and poverty and if we are to finance the social plans we have adopted, the measures such as educational programs in which we are involved. This does not mean for a moment that we ought not to be examining the environmental effects of certain forms of economic development and growth or, on the other hand, conducting certain forms of examination. We need more than a department. We also need an organ to guarantee the preservation of the total environment in our country. 85

The question would seem to remain unanswered. With regard to foreign economic control, he also says:

We need foreign investment, foreign technology and initiative in order to maintain our prosperity. Yet surely we can reach a policy which protects the interests of our country... we need a flexible approach, one that is sensible, one that is efficient and one that will preserve our autonomy. 86

Again, the option seems to be for both sides of the question.

Concerning the adoption of a full employment budget in order to solve the unemployment problem, Mr. Stanfield explains that "what it would do is show us clearly whether a particular budget is really expansionary for the economy as a whole, or whether it is not". 87 So much for the solution of this problem. As regards the priorities and objectives of a national industrial

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85 Op. cit., in 1, Oct. 9, 1970, p. 27.

86 Ibid., p. 28.

87 Op. cit., in 6, Feb. 18, 1972, p. 33.

strategy, however, there are more details offered: there is a four-point plan involving the following:

1. the creation of sufficient opportunities for meaningful employment for Canadians...
  2. the attenuation of regional disparities by a consistent program of economic development.
  3. the pursuit of steady economic growth in terms both of gross national product and in terms of productivity through a program of incentives to encourage the initiative of Canadians in all branches of business, industry, farming and other occupations...
  4. to communicate a sense of national purpose to the Canadian people because if that is lacking then we cannot expect to accomplish very much.
- These are the basic priorities of our national strategy... not as a loose and unco-ordinated or unconnected series of individual measures but as parts of a whole strategy for the development of Canada. 88

Such statements as the above make it less than possible to ascertain the specific intent of this party in the economic domain. The social and political objectives, however, do seem somewhat more clear.

Socially speaking, the goals of the Progressive Conservative Party as expressed by their leader, are: "a united and strong Canada" and confederation, national unity being "a matter of the utmost priority"; <sup>89</sup> opportunity for the native peoples of Canada, involving freedom, education and economic progress; <sup>90</sup> protect the

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88 Ibid., p. 33.

89 Op. cit., in 81, p. 53-54.

90 Op. cit., in 87, p. 34.

defenceless, especially the aged, veterans and the unemployed;<sup>91</sup> provide adequate educational opportunities and financial resources for youth;<sup>92</sup> and, liberate the imagination and initiative of Canadians.<sup>93</sup> Political goals are stated as being: more decentralization of decision-making in government,<sup>94</sup> while the evaluational criterion of desirable government is defined as the creation of "a climate of confidence, cooperation and trust within which people, groups and whole regions can live, develop and prosper in Canada".<sup>95</sup> Summarizing the objectives of his party, Mr. Stanfield says:

The decent society we want depends on a combination of solid economic growth and careful planning for the preservation of our environment. With that as our basis we must also see to it that Canadians who, because of age or some disability, cannot play a full economic role, will have a decent standard of living. These are the objectives that we must set ourselves in the years ahead, and we must go a long way toward them in the next four years. <sup>96</sup>

Economic growth? Yes. Preservation of the environment? Maybe. But, definitely, compensatory economic justice for the old and disabled. Interestingly enough, the objectives are yet to be

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91 Op. cit., in 4, Oct. 24, 1969, p. 33.

92 Ibid., p. 33.

93 Op. cit., in 87, p. 34.

94 Ibid., p. 30.

95 Ibid., p. 32.

96 Ibid., p. 34.

set, though in the near future. Although Mr. Stanfield uses the synonym "decent" for "just", however, a week later Mr. Lincoln Alexander was still proclaiming that

we can have a more just society. There is a will in this country, and there are resources and policies available to accomplish this goal. All that is required is a coordinated federal effort and the confidence of the private sector. 97

The concept of a just society still seems to lure the Progressive Conservative heart.

Perhaps the most explicit statement of the Progressive Conservative Party's definition of its ideal society is that referred to by Mr. Robert Coates in a speech in which he quotes Mr. Stanfield as saying in Hamilton:

Let me tell you about the Canada I would like to live in, the Canada I would like my children to inherit and their children after them:

It would be a country in which the accident of birth will not mark a child for life, where the fact of life will be sanctified and celebrated.

It will be a country where every child will bring with him into the world the right to acceptance and love: the right to grow at his own pace: the right and the opportunity to satisfy his curiosity about the things around him, the right to live up to his full capacity for understanding and learning.

It will be a country in which freedom of thought and of movement, of expression and determination will be available to all its citizens.

It will be a country whose people are governed gently and responsively by men and women who truly wish to serve the common good; a country in which to fulfil man's most profound aspirations and to live his finest dreams; a country where men and women can grow old without fear. 98

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97 Ibid., Feb. 24, 1972, p. 211.

98 Ibid., Feb. 21, 1972, p. 82.

TABLE 2.

BASIC GOALS OF THE PROGRESSIVE CONSERVATIVE PARTY CLASSIFIED AS  
EXTERNAL, INTERNAL AND ECONOMIC, POLITICAL AND SOCIAL.External:

- provide leadership by example to other nations, though Canada should compete only with herself.
- seek international community by establishing a world university.

Internal:Economic:

- give primacy to economic growth upon which all else depends.
- resolve apparent conflict between economic development and environmental protection.
- set up a national industrial strategy.
- deal effectively with foreign economic control.
- adopt a full employment budget.

Political:

- responsible, responsive government for the common good, limited by personal capacity only.
- more decentralized decision-making in government.
- criterion of good government = creation of climate of confidence, cooperation and trust in which people, groups and regions can live, develop and prosper.

Social:

- strong, united Canada and confederation with national unity an utmost priority.
- opportunity for native peoples, involving freedom, education and economic progress.
- protect the defenceless, particularly the aged, veterans and the unemployed.
- provide adequate educational opportunities and financial resources for youth
- liberate the imagination and initiative of Canadians
- acceptance of individuality
- recognition of right to self-development and self-fulfilment.
- freedom of thought, action, self-expression and self-determination for all.
- enjoyment of later life everywhere in Canada.

Here, full-blown and unmistakable, is found an acceptance and love of individuality, the right to self-development and fulfilment, freedom of thought, action, self-expression and self-determination for all, responsible and responsive government for the common good, the only limits being personal capacity: this Canada seems a place to enjoy even the twilight of life. There is no confusing here the content of the Conservative ideal.

The main contribution of the Social Credit Rally to the definition of the national ideal, the just society, seems to center around three basic ideas: economic security, social justice and individual freedom. Committed to entrepreneurship as the source of economic vitality, the quintessential belief of this Party seems to be that credit or money should be placed at the service of the nation, the community and the individual, so as to facilitate the satisfaction of needs.<sup>99</sup> This conviction leads to the placement of a high priority on attention to financial institutions and monetary reforms as well as to dedication to the removal of poverty from society.<sup>100</sup> To this Party, the just society is but a step away, provided that Canada's finances are put in order.<sup>101</sup>

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99 Op. cit., in 2, Sept. 17, 1968, p. 131 (M. René Matte).

100 Ibid., Sept. 16, 1968, p. 89 (M. Réal Caouette).

101 Ibid., p. 89.

The search for economic security, viewed as a pre-requisite to social security and individual freedom, involves compensatory assistance to the needy rather than a redistribution of wealth from the rich to the poor.<sup>102</sup> Attention is, therefore, mainly focused on a guaranteed minimum income for everyone, adjustment of family allowance to the cost-of-living index, basic income tax exemptions of \$3,000 for single people and \$5,000 per married couple, protection of consumers, subsidization of primary industries, maximum interest rates for financial companies, adaptation of financial institutions to community needs, and attempt to coordinate production, consumption and distribution to the satisfaction of human needs.<sup>103</sup>

Social justice, on the other hand, seems to be largely aimed at widening intersocietal communications so as to include isolated areas, low rental housing, providing a health dividend for everyone, assisting student employment during holidays through government interdepartmental cooperation,<sup>104</sup> and stopping strikes, which are seen to hurt the innocent more than those immediately involved.<sup>105</sup>

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102 Ibid., p. 89.

103 Op. cit., in 2, Sept. 17, 1968, p. 152-153 (M. Andre Fortin).

104 Ibid., p. 152-153.

105 Op. cit., in 99, p. 132.

Individual freedom, however, seems to be the final goal. This is made clear by the Party's leader, M. Réal Caouette, in his enunciation of the basic principles of the Social Credit Rally.<sup>106</sup> Here, four major points are made. First, that the individual is the most important factor in organized society. Because he is a divinely created being with spiritual, mental and physical needs and potentialities, he has inalienable rights which must be respected and preserved. Such beliefs make Social Crediters unalterably opposed to communism, fascism and all forms of totalitarian government which would make the individual citizen subservient to the state. They also stand opposed to any political organization whose aims are the furtherance of the sectional interests of organized labour, business or finance.<sup>107</sup> Second, the government must serve the individual. In M. Caouette's own words:

The major function of democratic government in organized society is to secure for the people the results they want from the management of their public affairs, in so far as such results are physically possible and morally right.<sup>108</sup>

Third, the individual must be free and must have economic security.

As M. Caouette puts it:

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106 Op. cit., in 100, p. 81-89.

107 Ibid., p. 85.

108 Ibid., p. 85-86.

The individual can only attain his full stature in a society where his ability to make moral choices is restricted as little as possible. Economic security is a necessary means for attaining this freedom... We do not think the government should do everything for us in our society. 109

Fourth, the physically possible must be regarded as the financially possible: the implication being that

whatever is physically possible, desirable and morally right can and should be made financially possible... In so far as we have the capacity to use our national resources, credit ought to be provided to make their utilization possible. 110

The clear option for the primacy and freedom of the individual, based on organized society's facilitating the satisfaction of his needs, expectations and aspirations, seems foremost in the Social Credit philosophy. Having indicated his objectives and priorities, M. Caouette finally states:

In my view, only one step needs to be taken if we are to achieve a just society in Canada; that is to put our finances into order and not only our taxation system... It will not take 10, 20, or 25 years. Once order is restored in finances, the rest will come out very easily. Such is the solution, the means, the way to achieve a just society in Canada. 111

In this view, Canada's just society would seem imminent. To the New Democrats, however, the view seems rather different.

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109 Ibid., p. 86-87.

110 Ibid., p. 88.

111 Ibid., p. 89.

TABLE 3.

BASIC GOALS OF THE SOCIAL CREDIT PARTY CLASSIFIED AS EXTERNAL,  
INTERNAL AND ECONOMIC, POLITICAL AND SOCIAL.External:

- (strong internal orientation : almost no reference to external aims).
- the extent and types of foreign aid commonly accepted and used should also be applied to internal areas of Canada similarly in need of aid.

Internal:Economic:

- economic security as prerequisite to social security and individual freedom.
- entrepreneurship as the source of economic vitality, including subsidization of primary industries.
- credit or money placed at the service of the nation, community and individual to facilitate satisfaction of needs
- high priority attention to financial institutions, monetary reforms and removal of poverty from society, including interest rates ceilings for financial institutions and their adaptation to community needs.
- compensatory assistance to the needy rather than redistribution of wealth from rich to poor.
- guaranteed minimum income for everyone, and adjustment of family allowance to C.O.L. index.
- consumer protection, and basic income tax exemptions of \$3,000 (single) and \$5,000 (married).
- coordination of economic production, consumption and distribution to satisfaction of human needs.
- make financially possible whatever is physically possible.

Political:

- individual freedom, and preservation of inalienable rights.
- oppose communism, fascism and all totalitarianisms as well as organizations intended to further sectional interests of organized labour, business or finance.

Social:

- widen communications to include isolated areas.
- provide low rental housing and health dividends for everyone.
- help student employment during holidays, mainly through government interdepartmental cooperation.
- stop strikes, which hurt the innocent more than those involved.

As indicated by Mr. T. C. Douglas, a former leader of the New Democratic Party, "The just society means more than legal justice: it includes too economic opportunity and social equality".<sup>112</sup> He also argues that a just society cannot be built within the existing societal framework, because the present system is "the antithesis of social justice and economic equity".<sup>113</sup> This argument would seem to stem from the basic idea expressed by the present leader, Mr. David Lewis, who says:

The public sector is not expendable; it is essential for growth and justice. It must not stand still; it must and will grow in response to collective needs and goals. In my view, it is irresponsible private power which must be curtailed and controlled to serve the public good... it is impossible to think realistically and honestly of building the just society without an ever-increasing role for public participation, public planning and public control. 114

Although the basic objective, the just society, seems the same, there would seem to be, nevertheless, radical differences concerning both its components and the methods of achieving it, such differences being based on dissimilar social analyses and economic philosophies which, in turn, instigate different priorities in the immediate strategy of government.

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112 Op. cit., in 4, Oct. 24, 1969, p. 43.

113 Ibid., p. 38.

114 Op. cit., in 2, Sept. 16, 1968, p. 77-78.

The expressed priorities of this Party are both national and international, and they include: first, a nationalism that embraces but is broader than bilingualism; second, the urgent recapture of maximal control over the national economy; third, more independent Canadian behaviour in foreign affairs; fourth, a more equitable tax system, which would tax large corporations making big profits more as well as reject the "trickle-down" theory; and fifth, immediate attempts to solve the problems of those in greatest need, such as pensioners and the unemployed.<sup>115</sup> Apart from these, the major concerns stated would seem to lie in the areas of social and economic justice, the economic area seeming more crucial and, therefore, predominant.

In the realm of social justice, two major goals are indicated: one implying legal as much as social justice, the other being closely aligned with economic justice. The socio-legal goal is that of providing the general public with adequate legal machinery for self-defence against bigness, which imposes individual alienation: "We should establish effective machinery by which the citizen, without cost and without fear, may challenge authority when he feels aggrieved".<sup>116</sup> The other aims at multiplying national efforts in the educational field, because both national economic progress and

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115 Ibid., p. 81.

116 Ibid., p. 81.

the individual's exercise of opportunity are viewed as dependent on it: "Indeed, it is surely also clear that public spending on education, on manpower training and on research is the major means for increasing productivity itself".<sup>117</sup> So, for this party, social investment in education has become an economic requirement.

This perceived relationship between education and economic development in a competitive world is repeatedly expressed and seems to place education in a rather important position in the philosophy of this Party. This is so because of their expansionist economic policy which demands increased productivity which, in turn, will enlarge economic opportunity as well as the individual level of participation. This makes education not only primary in attaining the just society but also a pre-requisite to Canadian national survival:

By efficient use of our resources and capacities my colleagues and I mean higher productivity and more production of goods and service which are socially necessary, and which are essential to the building of the just society. 118

The term "socially necessary" would seem to be not only a clarification but also an indictment of current economic practice, judging from Mr. Lewis' statement of his Party's credo:

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117 Ibid., p. 77.

118 Ibid., p. 76.

There is no argument about the desirability of building a just, or compassionate, or good, or great society: this has been the goal of human organization for centuries. The argument centers on the elements of a just society and how to achieve it, and this is where we in this party differ from the approach laid out in the throne speech.

We do not believe a society can ever be just or good when it is characterized by glaring inequalities; when effective control of the use and allocation of resources is concentrated in a few centres of private economic power which have no legal obligation and little moral incentive to give priority to the public welfare.

We do not believe a society can ever be just or good when its system of values places material success, however attained, at the top of human achievement, regarded more highly and envied more frequently than the works of the artist, the writer, the athlete, the teacher or the spiritual leader. We do not believe a society can ever be just or good when fancy office buildings take priority over homes; when doubtful defense expenditures are considered indispensable while the Indian, the Eskimo, the Métis and the poor generally must wait long years before they are given the opportunity to join the mainstream of life; when the social system places competition and conflict ahead of human cooperation.

And we believe that to achieve the just or good society we must restructure our economic system and our social relationships. Admittedly this cannot be done overnight; but it cannot be done at all by those who do not question the basis and values of our present society, who are governed by conventional wisdom and by traditional attitudes. 119

Clearly, this Party rejects inequalities, control by private economic power of public social welfare, the valuation of material success, indifferently attained, more highly than human creative intellectual, physical or spiritual achievement, and that the

TABLE 4.

BASIC GOALS OF THE NEW DEMOCRATIC PARTY CLASSIFIED AS EXTERNAL,  
INTERNAL AND ECONOMIC, POLITICAL AND SOCIAL.External:

- more independent Canadian behaviour in foreign affairs

Internal:Economic:

- recapture maximal Canadian control over the national economy
- develop a more equitable tax system that taxes large corporations making big profits more, and reject the "trickle-down" theory, for business grants do not remove unemployment.
- solve first the problems of the most needy, like pensioners and the unemployed.
- increased economic productivity requires increased social investment in education.
- the present economic system and its social relations must be changed, however long it takes.

Political:

- private economic power must not control public social welfare.
- nationalism must embrace but be broader than bilingualism.
- the contemporary relation between education and economic development in a highly competitive world makes education pre-requisite to national survival.

Social:

- provide the public with adequate legal machinery for self-defence against bigness and the alienation it imposes.
- multiply national educational efforts: economic progress and individual use of opportunity depend on it.
- more production of socially necessary goods and services is essential to a just society.
- social justice demands removal of existing social inequities.
- material success must not be more valued than human creative intellectual, physical or spiritual achievement
- trappings of profit, conflict or competition must not precede individual needs for survival, shelter or cooperation.
- present assumptions and values, conventional wisdom and traditional attitudes must be radically altered so as to improve societal interrelationships.

trappings of profit, conflict or competition should precede individual needs for survival, shelter or cooperation. It accepts, therefore, that the existing economic system and its attendant social relations must be changed. This will take time. And it can be accomplished only if, in the process, present assumptions and values, conventional wisdom and traditional attitudes are radically altered.

These beliefs, like those of the Liberal Party, would seem to suggest that effective political attainment of the just society would require politicians to possess extensive familiarity with the domain and techniques of social psychology useful for attitude change. This implies possibilities as well as dangers.

## 2. THE PRACTICE

The preceding indicates the promise proposed, the ideal of the just society, and its component objectives and priorities, as perceived by the political parties and their leaders in Canada. The true direction of the national movement should be confirmed, however, by examining the orientation of effected legislation so as to detect policy patterns. Analysis of government behaviour would seem to suggest that a pattern aimed at the objectives of the just society does in fact exist, the behaviour in this case being the majority of the 215 Bills tabled during the four sessions

of the 28th Parliament,<sup>120</sup> most of which were passed, as well as other items of government business.<sup>121</sup> Major actions taken would seem to reflect the priority areas of concern which, in turn, indicate the objectives sought by the legislation in question.

The effected legislation reflects major concern about the areas of economic, political, legal and social justice, aimed primarily at augmenting, diversifying and distributing more equitably the effects of economic activity, improving the functioning, relevance and goal-attainment capacity of government, rectifying imbalances between individuals and institutions including government itself, and seeking to provide individual security and equality, national unity, and a healthy environment: in a word, quality of life.

In the domain of economic justice, the government's direction is demonstrated by legislation concerning tax reform, trade tariffs, export trade development, international development, northern development, western agriculture, regional infrastructure development, inflation control through a Prices Commission and the adaptation or creation of financial institutions to facilitate overall national development, as well as the reorganization or

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120 Op. cit., in 2, Session 1, Sept. 12, 1968, pp. 9-10, (47 Bills); Op. cit., in 4, Session 2, Oct. 23, 1969, p. 4, (71 Bills); Op. cit., in 1, Session 3, Oct. 8, 1970, p. 4, (68 Bills); Op. cit., in 6, Session 4, Feb. 17, 1972, pp. 6-7, (28 Bills)

121 Canada, Statutes of Canada (Acts of the Parliament of Canada) Ottawa, the Queen's Printer, 1969; Vols. 1-11, 1971; and Vols. 1-11, 1972.

creation of relevant government departments and ministries (Environment, Regional Economic Expansion, Urban Affairs and Housing) and even the introduction of such self-destruct administrative mechanisms as the Minister of State concept. <sup>122</sup>

In the realm of political justice, there are new assertions of sovereignty to extend territorial seas or to control Arctic pollution, guidelines concerning foreign ownership, revision of defense policies, widening of foreign relations with French-speaking areas, Latin America, the Pacific and even China, parliamentary reform, aborted attempts at constitutional revision, and some expansion of federal, provincial and municipal relations aimed at either decentralization or at attuning financial capacity to responsibility. <sup>123</sup>

Legal justice is dealt with through consumer protection, revision of expropriation procedures, the extension of legal rights through criminal code amendments, developing Indian policy, and the proposal of a constitutional Canadian Charter of Human Rights to guarantee specific rights beyond the encroachment of the federal or provincial governments. <sup>124</sup>

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122 Ibid., 1969, Vols. 1-11, 1971, & Vols. 1-11, 1972.

123 Idem.

124 Idem.

TABLE 5

LEGISLATION EFFECTED BY THE GOVERNMENT OF CANADA (1968-1972) CLASSIFIED ACCORDING TO CHOSEN POLICY THEMES OR BEHAVIOURAL OBJECTIVES.

Economic Growth:

Panarctic Oils -- Revised Dairy Policy -- Energy Policy revision -- Ministerial trade missions -- Aid to Footwear Industry -- Prices and Incomes Commission -- Industrial Incentives Program -- Prince Edward Island Development Plan -- Legislation for Standards Council of Canada -- Construction assistance for fishing vessels -- Establishment of Ministry of State for Science and Technology -- International Student Summer Employment Exchange -- Non-military civilian employment and training -- Master agreements on development with New Brunswick and Newfoundland -- Export Development Corporation amendments -- Yukon Minerals Bill -- Elimination of 15% excise tax on T.V's, radios, etc. -- Review of Fisheries Policy -- Fisheries Improvement Loans Act amendment -- Canada Grain Act -- Incentives for participation in capital projects abroad -- Cape Breton Development Corporation Act amendments -- Closer ties with Latin America and Pacific rim -- Anti-dumping legislation -- Consolidation plan for small farms -- Freshwater Fish Marketing Act -- National Energy Board Act amendments -- Student Manpower Centers -- Grassland Incentive Program -- Lumber Export Marketing Program -- Assistance for Nova Scotia Heavy Water Industry -- Post Office Amendments Act: assured mail -- Textile and Clothing Board Act -- Investment Companies Act -- Move toward adoption of metric system -- Increased monies available under Small Businesses, Farm Improvements and Fisheries Improvements Loans Act -- Airport construction at Ste. Scholastique -- Program for advancement of industrial technology -- S.T.O.L. Air Transport Program -- Farm Improvement Loans Act amendments -- Canadian Wheat Board Act amendments -- Major review of Agricultural Policy -- Canadian Salt Fish Corporation -- Extension of territorial sea and fishing zones -- Prairie Grain Advance Payments Act amendments -- Changes in National Harbours Board administration -- Farm Products Marketing Agencies Act -- Canada Development Corporation -- Northern Development Program -- Tariff aids to Canadian petrochemical, plastics, forest and pulp and paper industries -- Broadening of Farm Credit -- Government subsidy for construction of vessels for export -- Energy policy.

Sovereignty and Independence:

Parliamentary reform -- Citizenship studies -- Research grant to Parliamentary caucuses -- Government Organization Act: new departments and Ministers of State -- Commonwealth Conferences -- Closer ties with Latin American and Pacific Rim countries -- Expanded role for Senate and House committees -- Expanded francophone ties --

TABLE 5 (continued)

LEGISLATION EFFECTED BY THE GOVERNMENT OF CANADA (1968-1972). CLASSIFIED ACCORDING TO CHOSEN POLICY THEMES OR BEHAVIOURAL OBJECTIVES.

Sovereignty and Independence: (continued)

Proposed changes in House of Commons representation -- Establishment of diplomatic relations with China and the Vatican -- Canada Elections Act amendments -- Prime Minister's visits to U.S.S.R. and Pacific Rim -- Participatory and consultative approach to policy marking: the White Paper technique -- Statement on multiculturalism -- Spécial Joint Committee of Parliament on the Constitution -- Royal Commission on Security and Report -- Committee on Election Expenses report -- Federal Provincial Constitutional Conferences, 1968-71 -- Proposed Canadian Constitutional Charter (Victoria Charter) June 1971 -- Official Languages Act -- Commissioner of Official Languages -- Bilingual Districts named -- Bilingualism Policy for the Public Service and Armed Forces -- Canadian Radio-Television Commission (C.R.T.C.) -- Canadian Educational Broadcasting Agency -- Northern Region Defence Headquarters -- Canadian Development Corporation -- Uranium Industry foreign ownership guidelines -- Foreign Ownership Policy study -- Extension of territorial sea from 3 miles to 12 miles -- Senate Committee on Mass Media -- Department of Communications -- Information Canada -- "Telesat Canada" -- Statement on Defence Policy -- Statistics Act -- National Capital Region Development -- Foreign ownership.

Peace and Security:

Defence Policy -- Reserve Force training -- Revised N.A.T.O. Policy-Publication of Foreign Policy review -- Invocation of War Measures Act -- Public Order (Temporary Measures) Act, 1970 -- Establishment of diplomatic relations with China and the Vatican -- Prime Minister's visits to U.S.S.R. and Pacific Rim countries -- Northern Region Defence Headquarters -- Loans to underdeveloped countries -- Commonwealth Conferences -- Royal Commission on Security and Report -- Federal Court Act -- Supreme Court Act amendment -- Judges Act amendments.

Social Justice:

Proposed amendments to Canada Labour Code: Minister of Labour given broader range of methods that can be used in dispute settlements; powers of revamped Canada Labour Relations Board enhanced; rights of individual union members strengthened; certification requirements eased -- Role of contract dispute arbitrators strengthened -- Canada Labour (Standards) Code: increased minimum wage to \$1.75; maternity leave; equal pay for women; advance notice of termination;

TABLE 5 (continued)

LEGISLATION EFFECTED BY THE GOVERNMENT OF CANADA (1968-1972) CLASSIFIED ACCORDING TO CHOSEN POLICY THEMES OR BEHAVIOURAL OBJECTIVES.

Social Justice: (continued)

prohibition of dismissal for garnishment, severance pay -- Bankruptcy Act -- Loans to underdeveloped countries -- New Unemployment Insurance Act: universal coverage; maternity benefits; increased benefit rates; Claimant Assistance Program; broader eligibility -- June 1971 Tax Reform proposals: blueprint for restructuring fiscal and tax system; increased personal exemptions (personal income taxes eliminated for one million, taxes reduced for 4.7 million, taxes changed by less than 1% for 2 million, taxes increased for 1.3 million); concessions to small business; capital gains tax established; abolition of estate and gift taxes -- Department of Regional Economic Expansion: Regional Development Incentives; 22 designated growth centres; grants to build infrastructure for economic development -- Greater disclosure of corporate financial data -- Law Reform Commission -- Protection of Privacy Bill -- Family Income Security Plan: revised family allowance system -- Parole Act Amendment- Bail Reform Act -- Data Bank Study -- Revision of expropriation procedures - Humanitarian assistance to disaster areas -- Report of the Royal Commission on the Status of Women -- Review of Indian Policy -- Old Age Security Act amendments -- White Paper on Income Security -- Increased Veterans' Pensions -- Minister of State for Urban Affairs -- Manpower Development Program -- Housing Act amendments -- Hate literature legislation -- Tax Review Board -- Nuclear Liability Act -- The Competition Bill: proposals to strengthen laws relating to combines, monopolies, mergers and unfair trade practices -- Low income housing initiatives: 26 city innovative plans; 36,000 units per year -- Study of act of murder -- Criminal Records Act -- Northern Aid development study -- "Opportunities for Youth" program -- Abortion -- Capital Punishment decision -- Policy re Computer Use -- Government's reply to the Royal Commission on the Status of Women.

Quality of Life:

More protection for users of consumer credit -- Prosecutions for misleading advertising -- Official Languages Act -- Motor Vehicle Safety Act -- Commissioner of Official Languages -- Hazardous Products Act -- Canadian Educational Broadcasting Agency -- Protection for purchasers of hearing aids -- Consumer Packaging and Labelling Act -- Uniform standards for children's clothing sizes -- New Weights and Measures Act -- Amateur Sport and Physical Fitness -- Expansion of Drug Quality - assurance program -- Proposed Food and

TABLE 5 (continued)

LEGISLATION EFFECTED BY THE GOVERNMENT OF CANADA (1968-1972) CLASSIFIED ACCORDING TO CHOSEN POLICY THEMES OR BEHAVIOURAL OBJECTIVES.

Quality of Life : (continued)

Drug and Narcotics Act amendments -- Drug research studies -- Statement on Multiculturalism -- LeDain Commission on non-medical use of drugs -- National nutrition survey -- "Melesat Canada" -- See Canada programs -- Expanded francophone ties -- Second language studies -- Transient Youth aids -- International travel programs -- Sports facilities study -- Program to lower drug prices -- Textile Labelling Act -- International Development Research Centre -- Committee on Youth Report -- Record housing starts: 1969 - 200,000 housing starts; 1970 - 190,000 housing starts; 1971 - 220,000 housing target -- Canadian Radio-Television Commission (C.R.T.C.) -- Telecommission Report "Instant World" -- Citizenship Studies -- Information Canada -- Bilingual districts named -- Report re question of drug - induced behaviour.

Harmonious Natural Environment:

Arctic Waters Pollution Prevention Legislation -- Establishment of Department of the Environment -- Joint Canada - U.S.A. Great Lakes clean-up -- Coastal Fisheries Protection Act amendment -- Oil and Gas Production and Conservation Act -- Canada Shipping Act amendments re pollution -- Program for research and prevention of forest pollution -- Northern and Arctic land use regulations -- D.D.T. and phosphate bans -- Northern Inland Waters Act -- Clean Air Act -- Canada Water Act -- Radiation Emitting Devices Act -- Amendments to Fisheries Act for pollution prevention -- Committee to study seal hunt -- Creation of 6 new national parks -- Wildlife sanctuaries -- Energy policy.

The search for social justice is reflected in legislation aimed at environmental protection, national unity through bilingualism and recognition of official languages, improvement of the status of women, revisions of citizenship and immigration, social security, unemployment insurance, industrial relations and even the non-medical use of drugs.<sup>125</sup> The above are but indicators of the flurry of legislation pointed in these directions, but the flickering light is clearly discernible as the vehicle of state inches around and heads in its chosen direction.

Another useful indicator of the government's direction proves to be its spending practices. Examination of its budgetary expenditure according to government function over the last five years (1968-1972) indicates, for example, that although the relative importance of the defence function has dropped considerably, from 18% of the budget in 1968 to 12% in 1972, health and welfare and education assistance, on the other hand, have increased in importance, from 22% and 1% to 25% and 4% respectively. The only other noteworthy change, of 3% or more, is that of transportation and communications, which reflects the transfer of meteorological services to the department of environment, less payments under the National Transportation Act, and a reduction

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125 Idem.

TABLE 6

BUDGETARY EXPENDITURE OF THE GOVERNMENT OF CANADA (FOR THE LAST FIVE YEARS) CLASSIFIED BY FUNCTION  
(in millions of dollars)

FUNCTION	Fiscal year ended March 31, 1972.									
	1968		1969		1970		1971		1972 prelim.	
	Amount	%	Amount	%	Amount	%	Amount	%	Amount	%
General government services..	376	4	411	4	505	4	576	4	662	5
Foreign Affairs	217	2	227	2	243	2	281	2	309	2
Defence.....	1,759	18	1,762	17	1,791	15	1,775	14	1,837	12
Transportation & Communication	951	10	910	8	893	8	940	7	1,021	7
Economic Development & support	1,473	15	1,527	14	1,776	15	1,857	14	2,108	14
Health & Welfare <sup>(1)</sup>	2,142	22	2,372	22	2,734	23	3,192	24	3,600	25
Education Assistance.....	114	1	287	3	315	3	462	4	558	4
Culture and recreation.....	280	3	244	2	376 <sup>(2)</sup>	3	264	2	338	2
Fiscal transfer payments.....	738	8	867	8	932	9	1,229	9	1,429	10
Public debt....	1,301	13	1,480	14	1,717	14	1,920 <sup>(3)</sup>	15	2,122 <sup>(3)</sup>	14
Internal overhead expenses..	439	4	643	6	639	5	686	5	761	5
	9,790	100	10,730	100	11,921	100	13,182	100	14,745	100

(1) Payments out of the Old Age Security Fund, the Canada Pension Plan and the Unemployment Insurance Account are not included.

(2) Includes write-off EXPO deficit.

(3) Includes additional interest in respect of the Public Service, the Canadian Forces and the R.C.M.P. superannuation accounts.

in the operating deficit of the Canadian National Railways.<sup>126</sup>

Examination of expenditures by departments and their major categories for the last five years also indicates interesting growth areas of government spending. Between 1967-68 and 1971-72, there are impressive increases in spending in the Canadian International Development Agency, fiscal transfer payments to provinces, northern development, Indian and Eskimo Affairs, manpower development and utilization, unemployment insurance, health and welfare services, regional economic expansion, the Royal Canadian Mounted Police, bilingualism development programs, education support, air and surface transportation and the Central Mortgage and Housing Corporation.<sup>127</sup> The increased level of expenditure in these areas would seem to translate into reality the expressed ideology of the government with regard to its search for the just society. It seems fair to say, therefore, that whether the term, the just society, continues to be used publicly or not, the striving towards the selected ideal of the just society and its component objectives continues unabated.

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126 Canada, House of Commons Debates, Ottawa, the Queen's Printer, 4th Session, 28th Parliament, Vol. 116, No. 47, May 8, 1972, Budget Paper, p. 19.

127 Ibid., p. 61-64 (See Appendix).

### 3. THE COMPARISON

The preceding sections of this chapter have attempted to indicate the prevailing current Canadian concepts of the just society and to delineate its component objectives and priorities as well as the national movement towards the selected goals. In effect, then, they suggest the translation of the national government's thought and beliefs into action. What remains to this final section is a search for synthesis and for meaning: synthesis of the varying conceptualizations expressed concerning the just society, and clarification of the Canadian meanings embedded in this ideal, in terms of man's traditional concern with the just society dealt with in the previous chapter. The comparison to be made here, therefore, will be between the past and the future, between the traditionally accepted conceptualizations of the just society indicated in the first chapter and the current national concept of the Canadian future, the ideal of the just society and its major objectives already delineated in this chapter. So, first the synthesis.

Since the just society described here includes both a prosperous economy and a peaceful and just world of interdependent nations, then this just society may be seen as the inclusive overall ideal, which subsumes the other two objectives. Also, since the just society is perceived by some as an unattainable ideal but by others as comprised of attainable objectives, the conceptualization of the phrase would seem to include, at

one and the same time, notions both of ideal and objective, the Canadian government's statement of it as an objective seeming to imply its perceived attainability as defined. What, then, is the current Canadian concept of the just society, as defined by those capable of attempting to attain it? The answer seems to reveal three major objectives, essentially interrelated, each one subsuming several component goals, intentions, aims or purposes.

The stated major objectives are a peaceful world, a prosperous economy and a just society. A synthesis of the expressed definitions of a peaceful world would seem to include: a multinational, interdependent world of sovereign, autonomous national states, interrelated through the rule of law, trade, cultural exchange, the free interchange of knowledge and of people, and a functional financial system; harmonious international relations with the peoples of the whole world, through mutual understanding of and cooperation with one another; a wholesome world environment in harmony with international development, especially of the less developed nations; and resulting in international peace, freedom and contentment, conducive to individual security, respect, well-being and happiness. This seems to be the just world society to which Canada aspires.

The Canadian concept of a prosperous economy would seem to involve: efficient, effective productivity, especially of modern, socially necessary goods, resulting in a rising standard of living, equitably distributed; economic well-being for all,

including adequate incomes for those unable to work, sufficient satisfying, well-remunerated employment for those able and willing to work, and recognition that the right to live is identical to the right to work ("... work is the normal mode of access to the goods on which life depends; it therefore cannot be dissociated from the right to live");<sup>128</sup> competitive technological manufacturing capacity to satisfy most local and some foreign consumer needs, harmonized with the maintenance of a clean, healthy natural environment and with improved industrial relations; improved transportation and communications networks; minimization of inflation, equitable taxation, and an effective level of control over the national economy; a fair balance of economic activity, earning levels and income security between the regions of Canada; and satisfactory strengthening of the incomes of those in primary industries, and the elimination of cyclical poverty from Canadian society. This is the prosperous economy of the just society.

The conceptualization of the just society itself subsumes political, legal, social and individual considerations. The political aspect of the just society is described as including: democratic parliamentary and federal systems of government; a modernized Constitution, including a Charter of Public Liberties binding on all governments; relevant, functionally

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128 Op. cit., in 1, Oct. 9, 1970, p. 34 (Pierre Trudeau).

effective government institutions and machinery; improved, decentralized federal-provincial-municipal relations and governments; participatory democracy, subsuming bilingualism, multiculturalism, new policies for native Indians, Eskimos and Métis, and representative of the majority yet responsive to minorities; an adequate general level of common good and of opportunities, and equal access to them; enlightened administration of human and natural resources, especially satisfactory provision for education, research and innovation; and a commitment to the preservation and improvement of the practice of democracy itself.

The legal aspect of the just society highlights the following: development of an acceptable, effective, international legal regime, capable of ensuring world peace, prosperity, harmony and interdependence; correction of existing national wrongs, provision of equality for all before the law as well as of legal security of person and property; an entrenched Bill of Rights, placing individual rights and freedoms beyond the encroachment of even governments themselves; compensatory protection of the small against the large, the poor against the rich, the weak against the strong; reasonable laws, that elicit voluntary obedience and reduce recourse to enforcement, and government responsiveness to people needs for legal reform; in a word, national recognition and acceptance of the rule of laws that are well construed and contribute to the freedom and well-being of

both individual and state.

Finally, the social and individual aspects of the just society envisioned for Canada include: security against the risks and hazards of modern life; acceptable minimal standards of health, welfare, and satisfying recreation for all; the recognition and translation into reality of egalitarianism and its implications; awareness of such spiritual values as God, thirst for beauty, mental and physical pleasure, companionship and solitude; acceptance of the values of truth, honesty, excellence, relevance, compassion and love; protection of individual rights, development, values, and the free expression of integrated personality, against the dictates of conformity; institutional support for individual worth and dignity, liberty, equality of opportunity, self-determination, self-actualization, individual fulfilment and happiness, through innovative control of the national destiny, harnessing the forces of science and technology, and steering a development course in harmony with the environment; in a word, a genuinely humane community, which encourages imagination, daring, ingenuity and initiative, and is a concerted, creative exercise of free will. This is the vision of future Canadian society, as expressed by those attempting to realize these objectives.

TABLE 7.

IDEAL AND OBJECTIVES OF THE CANADIAN JUST SOCIETY CLASSIFIED AS  
EXTERNAL, INTERNAL, ECONOMIC, POLITICAL, LEGAL AND SOCIALExternal:

- interdependent world of sovereign nations related by law, trade, exchange of culture, knowledge and people, and a financial system.
- harmonious relations with all peoples through mutual understanding and cooperation.
- a wholesome world environment coordinated with international development, especially of the less developed.
- international peace, freedom and contentment, conducive to individual security, respect, well-being and happiness.

Internal:Economic:

- increase productivity of necessary goods and services, raising an equitably shared standard of living.
- economic well-being for all, including recognition of the right to work as the right to live.
- competitive manufacturing capacity harmonized with maintenance of a healthy environment: science and technology in harness.
- improved industrial relations, transportation and communications, and effective control over the national economy.
- minimal inflation, equitable taxation, balanced regional economic activity, earnings and income security.
- strengthened primary industry incomes, and elimination of cyclical poverty.

Political:

- democratic parliamentary and federal systems of government and relevant social institutions and machinery.
- a modernized Constitution, including a Charter of Public Liberties binding on all governments.
- decentralized federal control, and optimal federal-provincial-municipal relations.
- participatory democracy representative of the majority yet responsive to minorities.
- generous levels of common good, opportunities and equal access to them.
- enlightened administration of human and natural resources, especially re education, research and innovation.
- improvement of the practice of democracy itself through innovative control of the national destiny.

TABLE 7. (continued)

IDEAL AND OBJECTIVES OF THE CANADIAN JUST SOCIETY CLASSIFIED AS  
EXTERNAL, INTERNAL, ECONOMIC, POLITICAL, LEGAL AND SOCIAL.Internal:Legal:

- an effective international legal regime to ensure peace, prosperity and harmony.
- corrected national wrongs, equality of all before law, and security of person and property.
- protection of the small, the poor and the weak from the large, the rich and the strong.
- laws that elicit voluntary obedience and that respond to reform needs
- acceptance of the rule of laws that contribute to the freedom and well-being of individual and state.

Social:

- individual security against the risks and hazards of modern life.
- acceptable minimal standards of health, welfare and recreation for all.
- realization of egalitarianism and its implications
- awareness of such values as God, beauty, mental and physical pleasure, companionship and solitude.
- acceptance of the values of truth, honesty, excellence, compassion and love.
- protection of individual rights, development, values and free expression of integrated personality against conformity.
- institutional support for individual worth, dignity, liberty, equal opportunity, self-determination and actualization, individual fulfilment and happiness.
- humane community created in concert, encouraging imagination, daring, ingenuity and initiative.

The preceding is an attempt at systematic synthesis of the current Canadian concepts of the just society, expressed by the Canadian people through their political parties, their representatives and their leaders, as shown in this chapter. Now aware of what this just society is intended to be, perhaps it will be easier to understand what it means, in terms of its place within the context of man's perennial and universal quest for the just society. So, next, the search for meaning.

A clearer understanding of those traditionally accepted notions of the term "just" which are being used in current Canadian concepts of the just society may now be ascertained by contrasting the contemporary notions not only with the precepts of justice <sup>129</sup> but also with the basic notions of justice <sup>130</sup> and with the commonly accepted meanings of the term, "the just society". <sup>131</sup> Comparison with the precepts of justice, for example, suggests that, although traces of specific mention of these precepts being applied seem detectable mainly in some 1968 communications of the Prime Minister, such as:

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129 Vide Chap. 1, p. 2-3, here.

130 Ibid., p. 2 & 4-20.

131 Ibid., p. 54-62.

Saint-Augustin disait: "Un État sans justice n'est qu'un repaire de brigands". Et c'est une parole... qui doit nous inspirer constamment en politique parce que c'est le but même de la vie en société, de se rendre justice les uns aux autres. C'est de faire en sorte que chacun ait son dû dans cette société temporelle dont Saint-Augustin voulait faire la Cité de Dieu, ici-bas. 132

Other implied precepts like "do good and avoid evil" and "harm no one" seem to remain still undecided matters of concern, especially in such areas as the law relating to the death penalty in Canada. Also, "treat equals equally" seems clearly reflected in the present struggle against regional disparity, and in legislation regarding bilingualism, multiculturalism, and treatment of natives and minorities, among others. It would seem, therefore, that the traditionally accepted precepts of justice are already recognized in principle, and are beginning to be systematically applied here in Canada.

Regarding the accepted meanings of justice, comparison between the preceding synthesis of the current Canadian concepts of the just society and the traditionally accepted notions would seem to indicate that some meanings are widely accepted while others are not. Those meanings already accepted seem to be, justice as: might, including positive law and civil rights; right, including natural law and inalienable rights; the lawful, or the common good; duty or obligation, to which someone has a correlative right; the fair, involving the principle of equality; and utility relative

to happiness, pragmatic and environmentally determined. Justice as legal or necessarily subsequent to the establishment of communally agreed rights and property, and justice as indefinable, irrelevant and myth, would both seem to have been rejected, while justice as internal harmony or inner peace and justice as a habit of conduct or moral sentiment are still being actively pursued through legislation aimed at privacy and voluntary obedience, among others. This seems to be the current status of Canadians acceptance, rejection or continued pursuit of the traditionally accepted meanings that define the term "just".

Concerning the accepted meanings of "the just society" itself, <sup>133</sup> comparison reveals that most meanings, except perhaps two, have been, for the most part, accepted, the main question being the degree to which expressed beliefs have been implemented. For example, the idea that all men should be treated as ends in themselves would seem accepted in Mr. Trudeau's statement that the right to live must be equated with the right to work in a society such as Canada's: <sup>134</sup> yet, this statement is clearly contradicted by present economic reality which accepts a percentage of unemployed as "normal", thus suggesting that some are expendable so that others might enjoy relative affluence. The idea of the

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133 Vide Chap. 1, here, p. 67-68.

134 Op. cit., in 128, p. 34.

protection of individual security, too, from both the state and other individuals has been strongly recommended,<sup>135</sup> but it has not yet been accepted by several provinces of Canada. Also, such ideas as the recognition of relevant individual differences, reflected in compensatory treatment of groups and individuals based on need, capacity, merit or desert, have yet to be realized in Canada, especially in terms of treatment meted out by the majority to natives and other minorities. In other words, the promise proposed by bilingualism, multiculturalism, and new policies for Indians, Eskimos and Métis, still remains to be realized.

The remaining network of notions comprising the traditional concept of the just society would seem to be in process of application, except perhaps one, which might well prove unattainable in reality (i.e: the avoidance of utility as much as possible when evaluating justice), mainly because what seems just also changes with time, even within a given society. Perhaps, too, Canadians have yet to acknowledge openly that the just society is merely an acceptable minimum, and not the good nor the ideal society. What now seem accepted and at least minimally implemented are, that: society should not aspire to solve all human problems; society is regulated by rules dictated by reason; some minimally acceptable

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135 Pierre Trudeau, A Canadian Charter of Human Rights, Ottawa, the Queen's Printer, 1968, Introduction by L. B. Pearson.

standard of living at least should be ensured to all members of society; societal conceptualization of the good life should be flexible at both the social and the individual level to meet varying aspirations; personal liberty, with acceptable limitations, should be promoted; those requirements and opportunities that facilitate individual and communal achievement of the best life attainable should be provided; promises, contracts and agreements should be kept; and equality, reflected in recognition of the intrinsic value of the human personality, is an essential component of the just society.

This would seem to be the present status of current Canadian concepts of the just society with regard to traditionally accepted connotations of it. The contemporary Canadian meanings seem to be well within the mainstream of traditional western thought: it remains to be seen, however, to what degree such thought and beliefs will instigate relevant action.

## SUMMARY

An attempt has been made in this chapter to perform three basic tasks considered essential to increasing both understanding and predictability: to analyze and synthesize the current Canadian ideology of the just society; to indicate practices of the Government of Canada aimed at the achievement of its stated ideal, objectives and priorities; and to compare current Canadian concepts of the just society with traditionally accepted meanings and criteria suggested in the preceding chapter, in order to clarify contemporary meanings of Canadian usage of the phrase, the just society, and to assess the present level of attainment of the ideal and objectives pursued.

Analysis and synthesis of current conceptualizations of the just society by the Canadian people, as expressed through their political parties, their representatives and their leaders, would seem to suggest that the Canadian ideal, the just society, is composed of three major objectives: a peaceful world, a prosperous economy, and a just society; each major objective subsuming lesser component objectives that define it more specifically.

The Canadian concept of a peaceful world would seem to be defined as involving: a multinational, interdependent world of sovereign, autonomous, national states, interrelated through the rule of law, trade, cultural exchange, the free interchange of knowledge and of people, and a functional financial system;

harmonious international relations with the peoples of the whole world, through mutual understanding of and cooperation with one another; a wholesome world environment in harmony with international development, especially of the less developed nations; and resulting in international peace, freedom and contentment, conducive to individual security, respect, well-being and happiness.

The Canadian conceptualization of a prosperous economy, in turn, would seem to be: efficient, effective productivity, especially of modern, socially necessary goods, resulting in a rising standard of living, equitably distributed; economic well-being for all, including adequate incomes for those unable to work, sufficient satisfying, well-remunerated employment for those able and willing to work, and recognition that the right to live is inseparable from the right to work; competitive technological manufacturing capacity to satisfy most local and some foreign consumer needs, harmonized with the maintenance of a clean, healthy natural environment and with improved industrial relations; better transportation and communication networks, designed to minimize variations in delivery cost; containment of inflation, equitable taxation, and an effective degree of control over the national economy; a fair balance of economic activity, earning levels and income security between the regions of Canada; satisfactory strengthening of incomes of those in primary industries, and the elimination of cyclical poverty from

Canadian society.

The Canadian concept of the objective, the just society, on the other hand, would seem to include political, legal, social and individual goals, the political goals being described as being: democratic parliamentary and federal systems of government; a modernized Constitution, including a Charter of Public Liberties binding on all Canadian governments; relevant, functionally effective government institutions and machinery; improved, decentralized federal-provincial-municipal relations and governments; participatory democracy, subsuming bilingualism, multiculturalism, new policies for native Indians, Eskimos and Métis, and representative of the majority yet responsive to minorities; an adequate general level of common good and of opportunities, and equal access to them; enlightened administration of both human and natural resources, especially adequate provision for education, research and innovation; and a commitment to the preservation and improvement of the practice of democracy itself.

The legal goals subsumed under the objective, the just society, are described as: development of an acceptable, effective, international legal regime, capable of ensuring world peace, prosperity, harmony and interdependence; correction of existing national wrongs, provision of equality for all before the law and of legal security of person and property; an entrenched Bill of Rights, placing individual rights and freedoms beyond the encroachment

even of governments themselves; compensatory protection of the small against the large, the poor against the rich, the weak against the strong; reasonable laws that elicit voluntary obedience and reduce recourse to enforcement, and government responsiveness to people needs for legal reform; in a word, national recognition and acceptance of the rule of laws which are well construed and contribute to the freedom and well-being of both individual and state.

The social and individual goals included under the objective, the just society, are defined as being: security against the risks and hazards of modern life; acceptable minimal standards of health, welfare and satisfying recreation for all; the recognition and realization of egalitarianism and its implications; awareness of such spiritual values as God, thirst for beauty, mental and physical pleasure, companionship and solitude; acceptance of the values of truth, honesty, excellence, relevance, compassion and love; protection of individual rights, development, values, and the free expression of integrated personality against the dictates of conformity; institutional support for individual worth and dignity, liberty, equality of opportunity, self-determination, self-actualization, individual fulfilment and happiness through innovative control of the national destiny, harnessing the forces of science and technology, and steering a developmental course in harmony with the environment; in a word, a genuinely humane community which encourages imagination, daring,

ingenuity and initiative and is a concerted, creative exercise of free will. These subsumed goals comprise the three major objectives which, in turn, constitute the current Canadian overall concept of the just society. This would seem to be the envisioned future Canadian society now being sought.

The reality of the search for the abovementioned just society seems reflected in the planning and policies of the Government of Canada since 1968, as indicated by proposed and effected legislation and by government expenditures. The orientation of most legislation passed in the last four years seems to lie in the direction of economic, political, legal and social justice, and indicate major concern with increasing diversifying and distributing more equitably economic activity and its effects, ameliorating the functioning, relevance and goal-achievement capacity of government, rectifying imbalances between Canada and the outside world, between provincial and federal government, between the so-called five regions of Canada, between individuals and institutions, including government itself, and with seeking to provide individual security and equality, national unity and a healthy environment, all essential to quality of life.

Government expenditure since 1968 also suggests a relative decline in perceived importance of the defence function, accompanied by relative increases in importance of both the welfare and the education assistance functions, and, examination of

spending by departments and their major categories for the last five years would seem to reveal the government's priority interest in such areas as the Canadian International Development Agency, fiscal transfer payments to provinces, northern development, Indian and Eskimo Affairs, manpower development and utilization, unemployment insurance, health and welfare services, the Central Mortgage and Housing Corporation, air and surface transportation, education support, bilingualism development programs and regional economic expansion. Since these preferred areas of government expenditure would seem to translate into reality the expressed intent and ideology of the government, it would seem reasonable to conclude that the search for a just society continues, despite the present absence of public use of the phrase.

Finally, comparison between current Canadian concepts of the just society and traditionally accepted meanings and criteria indicated in the preceding chapter would seem to indicate that: the traditionally accepted precepts are not only accepted in principle but also, to some extent, are now being applied in Canada; most of the basic notions of justice have been accepted and are widely in use in Canada, except for justice as legal and justice as myth which have been rejected, and for justice as internal harmony and justice as a habit of conduct which are now being pursued; and, concerning the just society itself, a surprising majority of the suggested criteria seem to

be already accepted in principle though only minimally implemented, while the two remaining to be adopted would seem to be: the treatment of men as ends in themselves, primarily because of the acceptance of a percentage of unemployed as "normal"; and protection of individual security beyond the encroachment of others and of governments, mainly because of resistance from some provincial governments. Also, the promise proposed by bilingualism, multiculturalism and new policies for native Canadians remains to be realized: this being underlined by the criterion of recognition of relevant individual differences, reflected in compensatory treatment of groups and individuals based on need, capacity, merit or desert. Only one criterion now seems unattainable: the avoidance of utility so far as possible when evaluating justice, mainly because what seems just continually changes with time, even within a given society. Perhaps, too, Canadians have yet to acknowledge that the just society is merely an acceptable minimum, and not the good nor the ideal society. It would be merely the first faltering footstep along the long journey toward a sincerely humane community of persons.

## CHAPTER 111

### THE REALITY : THE STATUS QUO

Whereas the first chapter dealt mainly with the past, with the traditional usage and meanings of justice and the just society, and the second with the future, with the envisioned ideal of a just Canadian society, this chapter will be concerned with the present state of the Canadian nation, with the status quo. This chapter is essential in order to make possible a comparison between the Canadian reality and the desired ideal, between the present and the future, so as to determine the distance to be traversed or the difference between them, which will be considered in the next chapter. The importance of this lies in the fact that the dynamics of a given society seem best understood by examining its present concepts of its political future, not only because such understanding facilitates the ability to predict and control the future but also because it indicates the more likely goal-seeking activities that such a society will probably undertake, as Kenneth Boulding states:

The concept of social justice is quite fundamental... to political discontent, for it presumably represents an ideal state of society from which the existing state is perceived as a significant divergence. It is this divergence between the existing and the ideal state of society which is perceived as the motivation for homeostatic change. 1

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1 Kenneth E. Boulding, "Social Justice in Social Dynamics", in Richard B. Brandt, ed., Social Justice, Englewood Cliffs, N. J., Prentice-Hall, 1962, p. 81.

It would seem that changes or demands for innovation will most likely come in those areas of society which are seen to be most significantly divergent from the desired ideal. Hence the interest here in contrasting the existing with the ideal Canadian state. The ideal, however, has already been analyzed and synthesized: the essential next step, therefore, is description of contemporary Canadian reality, of the state of the nation, of the existing state. So, now, the reality, the status quo.

Individual expression of need often indicates at least two basic facts: what is lacking, and what is desired, the varying intensity of the different perceived needs then serving to determine those that will take precedence in terms of obtaining satisfaction. The same being also true of nations, it would therefore seem reasonable to expect that examination of the state of the nation should prove rather informative if, in the process, special attention were paid to declared needs and their relative intensities, often reflected in statements of intended actions, proposed programs, policies and priorities. This scrutiny of current Canadian reality, aware of this possibility, will therefore focus on those areas with the intention of maximizing and optimizing the information thus gleaned.

The present state of the nation, as perceived by the government of Canada, may be discerned by close examination of

the most recent public statement in this regard.<sup>2</sup> Also, an analysis of its expressed concerns, in terms of policies, and their varying degrees of intensity, in terms of stated priorities, should suggest those areas in which it is most likely that government action will be undertaken in the near future. Because of this and in view of the now known ideology of those political entities which constitute the present national parliament, an attempt will be made here to relate the expressed intentions of the government to the ideal and objectives already indicated in the preceding chapter: a peaceful world, a prosperous economy and a just society.

#### 1. A PEACEFUL WORLD

The pursuit of a peaceful world would seem to be continued by current intentions to seek international peace, to cultivate old friendships and seek new ones, to maintain and improve export trade, and to ensure an effectively functioning world financial system. The search for peace seems detectable in the ongoing quest for security and cooperation in Europe where Canada recommends "freedom of movement of people, trade, information and technology between east and west",<sup>3</sup> thus indicating a desire for free exchange

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<sup>2</sup> Canada, House of Commons Debates, Ottawa, the Queen's Printer, Vol. 117, No. 1, 1st Session, 29th Parliament, Jan. 4, 1973, p. 4-7.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., p. 4.

and interchange, and in attempts to reduce armed forces and arms in the projected discussion of mutual and balanced force reductions between North Atlantic Alliance nations and those within the Warsaw pact. Also, the third United Nations "Law of the Sea" Conference would seem to suggest not only renewed efforts to establish an effective international legal régime but also efficient and fair exploitation of that area of the world's natural resources. <sup>4</sup>

The cultivation of old friendships and the search for new ones may be seen in both the coming reunion of the Heads of Commonwealth governments here in Ottawa next August which should facilitate a renewal of common traditions and institutions and in Canadian consultation with the enlarged European Economic Community so as to strengthen trade and other relations with that group to which an ambassador has already been appointed and accredited. <sup>5</sup>

The maintenance and improvement of Canada's export trade can be seen to be realized through talks with the United States of America to rectify certain existing trading arrangement difficulties which currently hamper the expansion of trade opportunities there, and through a planned new round of multi-lateral trade negotiations concerning tariffs and trade generally

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4 Ibid., p. 4.

5 Ibid., p. 4.

as well as the entrance of Canadian exporters to foreign markets specifically. Also, attempts to ensure the existence of a functionally effective world financial system would seem detectable in recent Canadian action within the Committee of Twenty, aimed at relevant reform of the international monetary system.<sup>6</sup> All of these actions or stated intentions strongly suggest that the Canadian quest for a peaceful world as previously defined continues apace in the international arena.

## 2. A PROSPEROUS ECONOMY

On the national scene, the major concerns expressed also suggest persistent pursuit of both a prosperous economy and a just society.<sup>7</sup> Two overall objectives are expressed: national unity, and equality of opportunity for all Canadians, each one of these basic goals subsuming priorities of economic and social policy respectively. Under the heading of national unity, the stated priority is an economic policy which aims at reducing unemployment, containing inflation, and strengthening the economy. The objectives of this economic policy are, to: expand jobs fast enough to cause a rapid decline in the numbers of the unemployed; promote stable economic growth so as to sustain rising living standards for all and to facilitate a more satisfactory realization

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6 Ibid., p. 4.

7 Ibid., p. 4-6.

of the economy's potential; to attain reasonable price stability; and to distribute expanding prosperity with equity across the nation. <sup>8</sup>

The described program which accompanies the abovementioned economic policy and its objectives serves not only to indicate the government's specific intentions in terms of action aimed at implementing the chosen economic policy but also to state the government's perception of the difference between the existing reality in Canada and the desired ideal and objectives. Hence the interest here in the specifics of the stated programs. This program enunciates four basic types of measures which propose to: broaden and strengthen existing programs; reinforce the strength of the economy; ensure functional Canadian control over the national economy; and contain if not control inflation. <sup>9</sup>

The measures which aim to broaden and strengthen existing programs would seem to be the short-term approach intended to produce immediate results in terms of employment. They consist largely of increased funding for Local Initiatives Programs and on-the-job manpower training as well as a seasonal capital works project in conjunction with the Provinces and Municipalities, and an increase in federal government employment in labour-intensive

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8 Ibid., p. 4.

9 Ibid., p. 4-5.

projects.<sup>10</sup> The long-term approach is detectable in those measures which seek to strengthen the national economy, through either some relaxation of the revenue collection aspects of government activities or incentives to maintain and increase Canada's export trade or through the encouragement of development intended to increase both internal and external competitiveness.<sup>11</sup>

The relaxation of the tax-gathering activities of government would seem indicated by the reference to impending amendments to the Income and Excise Tax and to Customs Tariffs, and the expansion of national export trade seems reflected in revision of the General Adjustment Assistance Plan to help industry increase foreign trade and in amendments to the Export Development Act to augment the activities of the Export Development Corporation. Also, the encouragement of development aimed at improving competitiveness would seem indicated by: financial, management and consulting aid to small businesses; assistance to cooperatives and credit unions; improvements of the transport, storage and handling of agricultural products and crop insurance as well as development of the livestock and feed grain industries; amelioration and enlargement of the Industrial Development Bank; development of the national tourist industry; decentralization of

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10 Ibid., p. 4.

11 Ibid., p. 5.

the Department of Regional Economic Expansion to improve its efficiency and effectiveness in removing regional disparity; research and development incentive programs to increase innovation in the private sector, especially with regard to patenting, licensing, and other technology-related policies; the re-examination, along with the five regions of Canada, of freight rates, railways, consumer prices and economic development in general; and a new Competition Policy aligned with general industrial policies and especially with foreign investment to preserve and strengthen the market system that underpins the national economy.<sup>12</sup> As can be seen, the range and specificity are extensive and intensive.

On the other hand, measures to ensure effective Canadian control over the national economy would seem to involve: screening takeovers, and general protection from further foreign economic control; ensuring the entry of technology to Canada and access of Canadian entrepreneurs to it; increase of local ownership in resource projects; joint control with the Provinces of foreign land ownership and of new direct foreign investment; and the restructuring of the Canada Corporation Act to ensure that a majority of the directors of federally incorporated companies are Canadian.<sup>13</sup> Mention is also made of a special measure to

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12 Ibid., p. 5.

13 Ibid., p. 5.

contain if not control inflation. This involves the establishment of a joint Senate-House of Commons Committee to study inflation and to determine feasible ways of protecting both the value of the Canadian dollar and Canada's world trade position. All of the above is claimed to aim at the development of a coherent set of industrial policies for Canada.<sup>14</sup> It would also seem to express in detail a continuing Canadian search for a prosperous economy.

### 3. A JUST SOCIETY

The other major objective stated is that of "equality of opportunity for all Canadians".<sup>15</sup> This would seem to be a synonym for some aspects of the just society, the known overall goal of the government of Canada.<sup>16</sup> The expressed priority under this heading of equal opportunity for all is a social policy aimed at reorganizing existing social security programs in consultation with the Provinces.<sup>17</sup> The stated objectives of this social policy are, to: assure, through the social security system, a compassionate and equitable guaranteed annual income

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14 Ibid., p. 5.

15 Ibid., p. 4.

16 Vide Chap. 11, p. 135-137, here.

17 Op. cit., in 2, p. 5.

to people who cannot work, such as the aged, the blind and the disabled; ensure that the social security system, so far as it applies to those who can work, contains both incentives to work and a greater emphasis on the need to get those on social aid back to work; establish a fair and just relationship between the incomes of people working at or near minimum wages, those on guaranteed incomes who cannot work, and those who can work but are presently unemployed; recognize that some or all Provinces may wish to make social security structures vary according to their particular social needs, especially with regard to income standards and the cost of living in different communities, and to realize that reconsideration of the total national social security system requires a working consensus between all Canadian governments, and that it must, therefore, be undertaken jointly with the Provinces, in view of which a "Welfare Ministers' Conference" to this effect will be held in April, 1973.<sup>18</sup> These would seem to be the presently perceived priorities in terms of dispensing social justice.

The described program which indicates more specific intentions, in terms of actions intended to implement this policy, includes: a new family income security program, oriented toward the needs of lower income families; improvement of the economic

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18 Ibid., p. 5.

situation of old age pensioners, including the Canada Pension Plan; the doubling of expenditure, over the next three years, on national fitness and amateur sport programs, so as to increase and improve both Canadian fitness and participation in sports; and special efforts in cooperation with the Provinces concerning housing and urban transportation, which would involve: provision of low-cost housing and of suitable accomodation for senior citizens; home-ownership assistance to low and moderate income families; incentives to incite the entry of cooperatives and non-profit organizations into the housing field; assistance geared to the rehabilitation of older neighbourhoods; land assembly to help create new communities and to check urban sprawl; general encouragement of increased investment in housing; establishment of warranties to protect new house purchasers; financial aid in the relocation of railway tracks; and a special study of the general responsibilities of the federal government with regard to urban transportation. <sup>19</sup>

The specifically stated priorities above would seem to suggest the government of Canada's current interest not only in compensatory treatment of such disadvantaged groups as the poor and the aged and in the sustenance of healthy, meaningful life and leisure but also, through its concentration on urban transport and especially housing, would seem to indicate a

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19 Ibid., p. 5.

primary present concern for what might almost be termed the right of everyone to live in respectable surroundings and the quality of life in cities generally. Perhaps this recognizes, too, that social justice will quite likely be more effectively dispensed tomorrow in cities where most Canadians now live.

#### 4. SPECIAL INTEREST AREAS

In addition to the specific national needs already mentioned, the government of Canada also delineates certain special interest areas which can be considered as within the domains of economic, political, legal and social justice.<sup>20</sup> Among these special areas of national interest, environmental protection plays a dual role between economic and social justice: it serves as a parameter which not only defines the acceptable quantity and quality of economic development but also indicates, from the social standpoint, essential non-negotiable characteristics of the chosen quality of life.<sup>21</sup> The other economic factor in this special interest area apparently represents a new departure in Canadian politics which adopts the form of a proposed Conference concerning Western Economic Opportunities between the federal government and the provinces of British Columbia, Alberta, Saskatchewan and Manitoba, to be held in the

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20 Ibid., p. 5-6.

21 Ibid., p. 6.

summer of 1973, in order to explore western potential for economic and social development, the stimulation and expansion of the industrial base of that region, and such concomitants as relevant financial institutions, government machinery, transport needs, federal decentralization of industrial activity and the region's Northern Development requirements.<sup>22</sup> In a contemporary world of "continentalism" and ravenous for natural resources and energy, the importance of the West would seem to be about to become as marked in the seventies as that of Quebec was in the sixties, perhaps with one significant difference: the removal of what might be termed an internal colonialist condition will this time probably involve dealing with a multicultural rather than a bicultural situation. In any case, it would seem that here, too, the rules of the game will need to be changed.

In the political area, the foremost priority seems to be that of increasing the coordination between federal and provincial governmental behaviour, harmonizing their goals, policies and programs. Apparently it is hoped that this harmony will be achieved through a series of planned meetings between both sectors of government at the ministerial level, to be initiated by a Planning Meeting of Premiers in the spring of 1973, which will

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22 Ibid., p. 6.

commence discussions about such matters as financial and economic policy, the Report of the Economic Council of Canada, health care, housing, control of foreign land ownership, income security, industrial policy and post-secondary education.<sup>23</sup> The other priorities apparent in this area concern the recommended change in role of the Canadian Armed Services to one of broader, more varied activities; proposals concerning possible conflicts of interest affecting Members of Parliament, Ministers of the Crown, and public servants; an Election Expenses Bill; and the broadcasting by radio and television of all or part of both the proceedings of the House of Commons and those of its Committees.<sup>24</sup> The only special interest matter mentioned here that is related to legal justice is that of improving the penal and parole systems with a view to prisoner rehabilitation and public protection.<sup>25</sup> It would seem that the functions within and between governments are being redefined, that introspective examination of the integrity of both politicians and the political process is imminent, that public scrutiny of parliamentary functioning will probably soon add a new dimension to public affairs, and that a balance between public fear, public conscience and public responsibility in the legal domain might

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23 Ibid., p. 6.

24 Ibid., p. 6.

25 Ibid., p. 6.

well be forthcoming.

Finally, in the social area, besides the already mentioned question of environmental protection, reference is also made to the crucial importance of intersocietal communications, and new proposals are promised concerning national policy and potential solutions to problems of increased interaction between broadcasting and other telecommunication forms respecting the concerns of the Provinces.<sup>26</sup> Priority seems to be placed here, however, on the reinforcement of bilingualism and multiculturalism: suggestions being made that multiculturalism be encouraged by the establishment of an Advisory Council to the Minister of State, and that the previous national commitment to the policy of bilingualism be reconfirmed, especially through further assistance to the Provinces with regard to education in the official language of choice, the acquisition of the other non-maternal official language as a second language, and through facilitating an increase in the capacities of provincial governments to operate bilingually.<sup>27</sup> Here, it would seem that a renewed attempt is about to be made to improve both the social dynamics of the nation and the quality of intersocietal human relations without which people could hardly ever become persons.

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26 Ibid., p. 5.

27 Ibid., p. 6.

The preceding in this chapter would seem to constitute a synthesis of the expressed perceived needs and priorities which highlight contemporary Canadian reality. What is viewed as lacking by the government of Canada becomes evident from examination of what is desired. In a word, the reality or status quo is elucidated by its perceived divergence from the desired ideal and objectives of the defined just society.

## SUMMARY

As the first chapter examined the past and the second the future, so this chapter deals with the present. Close scrutiny of the current state of the Canadian nation is deemed important here not only because from the long-range viewpoint it facilitates understanding and predictability and therefore, if necessary, increased capacity to control the future but also because from the short-range standpoint comparison between present and future would tend to augment the probability of correctly predicting the likely areas and kinds of government action to be undertaken in the near future, due to the known tendency of observed societies towards homeostatic change based on the degree of significant divergence perceived between their existing and their ideal state of society.

In view of this and in an attempt to increase understanding and predictability here as much as possible while still achieving economy of effort at the same time, an examination is made in this chapter of Canada's perceived present needs and priorities, as expressed by the national government, through its objectives, programs and policies. By analyzing the stated needs and their intensities, it seems possible to determine both what is viewed as nationally lacking as well as which among the desired goals are now considered worth being primarily pursued.

Analysis of the most recent description of the present state of the nation by the government of Canada and of the statement of its intentions as of the beginning of 1973 would seem to reveal, through expressed objectives, policies, programs and priorities, that the national government's ideal and objectives continue to be those already indicated in the preceding chapter as: a peaceful world, a prosperous economy and a just society, as defined in the synthesis of the overall Canadian ideal of the just society.

Persistent pursuit of a peaceful world would seem detectable not only in current attempts at peace-seeking and peace-keeping and in the search for the reduction of armed forces and the establishment of an international legal régime but also in expressed intentions to cultivate old Commonwealth friendships and seeking new ones in the expanded European Economic Community and in attempts to maintain and improve Canada's export trade through talks with the United State of America, multilateral trade negotiations and the attempt to realize an effective world financial system through action within the Committee of Twenty. Also, the quest for international peace through these abovementioned means would seem to be clearly a continuation of the pursuit of the previously defined goal, seeing that each of these modes of pursuit forms part of the previous definition of the objective, a peaceful world.

The same proves true, too, of the other two major objectives, a prosperous economy and a just society. This is so because, although the two major objectives expressed this time are "national unity" and "equality of opportunity for all Canadians", further examination reveals that the major priority of national unity is an economic policy, and that of equality of opportunity is a social policy, both of which when closely scrutinized bear a remarkable resemblance in their objectives, programs and policies to the already indicated definitions of the major objectives, a prosperous economy and a just society. In fact, it would seem fair to describe the present search for national unity and equality of opportunity as being simply attempts to seek to implement some aspects of the previously indicated synthesis of the major objectives of a prosperous economy and a just society. In a word, there may be some variations due to present priorities, but there seems to have been no change in either ideology or objectives.

In the area of economic policy, the objective of a prosperous economy, the stated intentions are those of reducing unemployment, strengthening the economy and containing inflation. These intentions, expressed more explicitly as objectives, seek to expand jobs fast enough to cause a rapid decline in the numbers of the unemployed, to promote stable economic growth so as to sustain rising living standards for all and to facilitate a more satisfactory realization of the economy's potential, to

attain reasonable price stability, and to distribute expanding prosperity equitably across Canada. These objectives, in turn, are accompanied by proposed programs aimed at implementing them, the programs containing measures to broaden and strengthen existing programs, to strengthen the economy, to ensure effective Canadian control over the national economy, and a special measure to contain if not control inflation. All of these are viewed as leading to the development of a coherent set of industrial policies for Canada.

In the area of social policy, the objectives of a just society, the stated intention is that of reorganizing, in consultation with the Provinces, the existing social security programs. Expressed as objectives, this intention seeks to: assure, through the social security system, a compassionate and equitable guaranteed annual income to people who cannot work; ensure that the social security system, as it applies to those who can work, contains both incentives to work and a greater emphasis on the need to get those on social aid back to work; establish a fair and just relationship between the income of people working at or near minimum wages, those on guaranteed incomes who cannot work, and those who can work but are presently unemployed; recognize that Provinces may wish to have social security structures differ according to their social needs; and to recognize, also, that such reconsideration of the total national social security system requires a consensus between all

Canadian governments and must, therefore, be undertaken jointly with the Provinces. These objectives, in turn, are also accompanied by proposed programs which seek to implement them, the programs including such measures as: a new family income security program; improvement of the economic situation of old age pensioners; the doubling of spending over the next three years on national fitness and amateur sport programs; and special effort, in cooperation with the Provinces, concerning urban transportation and especially housing. The attainment of a just society would here seem to be focused primarily on the dispensation of justice today within cities where most Canadians now live.

The remaining special interest areas mentioned may be considered, too, as expressing concern with regard to economic, political, legal and social justice, though the implications may seem less direct. Here, environmental protection would seem to be related to both economic and social justice, the other economic factor being special consideration of western Canada's economic opportunities. The main political concern expressed seems to be that of increasing the coordination of government activities between the federal and the provincial governments, harmonizing their goals, policies and programs: the other areas mentioned being a change in the role of the armed services; conflicts of interest that might affect members of parliament, Ministers of the Crown and public servants; election expenses, and the

broadcasting by radio and television of the proceedings of the House of Commons and its Committees. Concerning legal justice, the improvement of penal and parole systems is specially mentioned with a view to both prisoner rehabilitation and public protection.

Finally, with regard to social justice, concern is also expressed about the crucial importance of communications to improved intersocietal human relations and social dynamics, and a new national policy is proposed. Priority seems to be placed here, however, on the reinforcement of both bilingualism and multiculturalism: suggestions being made that multiculturalism be encouraged by the establishment of an Advisory Council to the Minister of State, and that the previous national commitment to the policy of bilingualism be confirmed, especially through further educational assistance to the Provinces to facilitate both education in the official language of choice and learning of the other official language as a second language as well as ensuring an increased capacity of provincial governments to operate bilingually.

These expressed priorities, policies and programs seem to state the government of Canada's perceived present needs and their intensities, which highlight contemporary Canadian reality or the status quo. What is sought not only shows what is seen as lacking but also indicates the likeliest areas and kinds of government action to be anticipated in the immediate future.

## CHAPTER 1V

### THE DIFFERENCE : THE WAY AHEAD

Now that the triad of past, present and future has been completed, an attempt can be made to take the next logical step in this heuristic process: that of comparing the present with the future so as to determine the likeliest national motivation toward homeostatic change or the essential outlines of probable impending political action aimed at satisfying perceived Canadian needs. In this chapter, therefore, the described existing reality of the current state of the Canadian nation will be compared with the visualized ideal of the just society in order to clarify the difference if any between them, the conclusions drawn from such a contrast being indicative of the logically necessary way ahead for Canadian society. This necessary journey into the future in pursuit of the Canadian ideal of the just society is here seen as constituting and determining impending national political policy. Also, this impending political policy is viewed as determining much of the essential future framework of educational strategy in Canada, since education is invariably a crucial part of the national whole.<sup>1</sup> The first question is, then: is there a perceived significant difference between the existing and the

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<sup>1</sup> Philip H. Coombs, The World Educational Crisis: A Systems Analysis, New York, Oxford University Press, 1968, p. 174-175.

ideal Canadian state? The answer might indicate subsequent questions to be raised.

### 1. THE CONTRAST

As already indicated, expression of need is a two-sided coin: it shows both what is desired and what is lacking. Also, the placement of a need in a priority position, in terms of how soon and to what degree it should be satisfied, invariably reflects the perceived intensity, importance or urgency of that particular priority need.<sup>2</sup> For these reasons, the Government of Canada's stated objectives, policies, programs and priorities can be viewed as indicators of perceived national needs, the priorities indicating the intensities and importance of the needs and, therefore, how urgently and to what extent such priority needs should be satisfied. So, since prediction of the likely areas and kinds of future government activity seems based on these factors, the following comparison of Canada's existing and ideal states is undertaken with them in mind.

The overall Canadian ideal of the just society, as shown in chapter 11, subsumes three major component objectives: a peaceful world, a prosperous economy, and a just society; a just society, when viewed as an objective and not as the overall ideal,

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<sup>2</sup> Kenneth E. Boulding, "Social Justice in Social Dynamics", in Richard B. Brandt, ed., Social Justice, Englewood Cliffs, N. J., Prentice-Hall, 1962, p. 73-92.

referring mainly to matters involving internal political, legal and social justice. The synthesis of the current Canadian concept of the just society also indicated that the conceptualization of "a peaceful world" primarily involved Canada's perception of both its relationship with its external environment or with those nations external to it and its chosen role in international affairs aimed at specifically defined goals. The objectives sought in this Canadian definition of "a peaceful world" were shown to be: a multinational, interdependent world of sovereign, autonomous, national states, interrelated through the rule of law, trade, cultural exchange, the free interchange of knowledge and of people, and a functional financial system; harmonious international relations with the peoples of the whole world, through mutual understanding of and cooperation with one another; a wholesome world environment in harmony with international development, especially of the less developed nations; the above resulting in international peace, freedom and contentment, conducive to individual security, individual respect, individual well-being and happiness, these being the ultimate goals. Given this statement of the desired ideal in this domain, the question may now be posed: is there a contrast between this ideal and the currently existing reality? The answer would seem to be clearly in the affirmative.

An affirmative reply is strongly indicated by contemporary Canadian expression of perceived needs and their intensities in this domain.<sup>3</sup> As shown in chapter 111, expressed as policy and program priorities and, therefore, to be considered not only seriously lacking but also as requirements to be urgently met, the following current Canadian concerns in the international field can be found: the search for peace through security and cooperation in Europe, with recommendations seeking freedom of movement of people, trade, information and technology between east and west and through proposed attempts to secure mutual, balanced reduction of armed forces between North Alliance nations and those within the Warsaw pact; efforts to establish an international legal régime and to ensure efficient and fair exploitation of the world's natural sea resources through the third United Nations Law of the Sea Conference; the cultivation of old friendships through a reunion of the Heads of Commonwealth governments and the search for new friendships through consultation with the enlarged European Economic Community; activity within the Committee of Twenty aimed at instituting a functionally effective international monetary system; and efforts to maintain and improve Canada's export trade, both through talks with the United States of America to solve present trading problems and to expand

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<sup>3</sup> Canada, House of Commons Debates, Ottawa, the Queen's Printer, Vol. 117, No. 1, 1st Session, 29th Parliament, Jan. 4, 1973, p. 4-7.

opportunities there and through multilateral negotiations with other major trading nations with regard to tariffs and trade generally as well as specifically concerning the entry of Canadian exporters to their markets. The striking similarity between these contemporary program priorities and those stated as parts of the definition of the Canadian ideal of the just society or the objectives of "a peaceful world" suggests that the attainment of these objectives persists as priority needs in Canada and, therefore, are currently perceived as urgently lacking and requiring satisfaction. Also, the fact that they are placed in priority positions indicates the perceived intensity of these needs, thereby demonstrating their seen degree of difference in reality from the sought objective of "a peaceful world". This would seem to increase the likelihood of further similar government activities aimed at satisfying these needs.

In the domain of "a prosperous economy", the second major objective of the overall ideal of the just society, it also seems possible to detect remarkable resemblances between contemporary policy and priorities and those of the desired ideal and objectives, which reflect the continued absence of their attainment and, therefore, the urgent priority need for their satisfaction. A comparison of the two sets of objectives and priorities makes this clear. For example, the major objective of "a prosperous economy" was defined in chapter 11 as subsuming the following goals: efficient, effective productivity, especially

of modern, socially necessary goods, resulting in a rising standard of living, equitably distributed; economic well-being for all, including adequate income for those unable to work, sufficient satisfying, well-remunerated employment for those able and willing to work, and recognition that the right to live is inseparable from the right to work; competitive technological manufacturing capacity to satisfy most local and some foreign consumer needs, harmonized with the maintenance of a clean, healthy natural environment and with improved industrial relations; better transportation and communication networks designed to minimize variations in delivery cost; containment of inflation, equitable taxation, and an effective degree of control over the national economy; a fair balance of economic activity, earning levels, and income security between the regions of Canada; and satisfactory strengthening of the incomes of those in primary industries as well as the elimination of cyclical poverty from Canadian society. Now, when these goals are compared with the stated priority, objectives and proposed measures in what is described as "national unity" in chapter 111, it becomes clear that "national unity" is simply a series of basic extracts from "a prosperous economy", extracts to be implemented as perceived priorities at this point in time. The priority, under the heading of "national unity", is an economic policy aimed at reducing unemployment, containing inflation and strengthening the economy. Its objectives are to: expand jobs fast enough to cause a rapid

decline in the numbers of the unemployed; promote stable economic growth, so as to sustain rising living standards for all and to facilitate a more satisfactory realization of the national economy's potential; attain reasonable price stability; distribute expanding prosperity with equity across the nation, while showing special interest in Western potential and opportunities for economic and social development; and to regard environmental protection as a sine qua non which also defines both the acceptable quantity and quality of economic development. These objectives are accompanied, too, by implementing measures intended to: broaden and strengthen existing programs (the short-range approach); reinforce the strength of the economy (the long-range approach); ensure an effective degree of Canadian control over the national economy; and, at least, to contain inflation. It would seem, therefore, that identical ideas have simply been regrouped, some phraseology has been altered, and some vocabulary has been changed: the aims, however, have varied not at all. In other words, there might appear to be variations on the theme: but, the theme has in fact remained intact, integral, identical.

The same seems also true of the comparison between the remaining major objective, the just society described in chapter ll which includes concerns related to political, legal and social justice, and the more recent basic goal stated in chapter lll as "equality of opportunity for all Canadians". Again, both convictions

and intentions seem the same. The goals of political justice, under the objective of the just society, were indicated in chapter 11 as being: democratic parliamentary and federal systems of government; a modernized Constitution, including a Charter of Public Liberties binding on all Canadian governments; relevant, functionally effective government institutions and machinery; improved, decentralized federal-provincial-municipal relations and governments; participatory democracy, subsuming bilingualism, multiculturalism, new policies for native Indians, Eskimos, Métis, and representative of the majority yet responsive to minorities; an adequate general level of common good and opportunities and equal access to them; enlightened administration of both human and natural resources, including satisfactory provision for education, research and innovation; and a commitment to the preservation and improvement of the practice of democracy itself. These goals, when compared with the more recent ones under "equality of opportunity" and "special interest areas" reveal that, for example: radio and television broadcasting of the proceedings of the House of Commons and its Committees would fall under the heading of participatory democracy, as would the maximum priority given to the encouragement of multiculturalism and the reinforcement of bilingualism; the Election Expenses Bill and the proposals concerning conflicts of interest would come under the heading of the improvement of Canadian practice of democracy itself; the

change in role of the Armed Services would relate to the search for relevant, functionally effective government institutions and machinery; and the attempt to increase the coordination between Federal and Provincial government behaviour by harmonizing their goals, policies and programs seems obviously related to the previous objective of improved, decentralized federal-provincial-municipal relations and governments. The similarities seem striking enough to convince an observer that one is confronted here with parts of a whole rather than with two separate and distinct sets of objectives and policies.

In the domain of legal justice, the only goals mentioned in chapter 111 are those of improving the penal and parole systems, while also ensuring both prisoner rehabilitation and public protection. These would seem to correspond with what the Minister of Justice previously described as the current direction of legal reform towards responsiveness and flexibility, in terms of review of the law as well as of its machinery in reaction to requirements for change.<sup>4</sup> Of the six goals of legal justice under the heading of the objective of the just society in chapter 11, the relevant one here would seem to be that indicating government responsiveness to people needs for legal reform.<sup>5</sup>

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4 Vide chap. 11, p. 101, here.

5 Vide chap. 11, p. 137, here.

In the remaining domain of social justice, under the objective of the just society, comparison between the synthesis in chapter ll and in the findings in chapter lll with regard to the goals of "equality of opportunity" and "special interest areas" also indicates noteworthy similarities. The synthesis of the goals of social justice included in the current Canadian concept of the just society defined this aspect of the overall ideal as being: security against the risks and hazards of modern life; acceptable minimal standards of health, welfare, and satisfying recreation for all; recognition and realization of egalitarianism and its implications; awareness of such spiritual values as God, beauty, mental and physical pleasure, companionship and solitude; acceptance of the values of truth, honesty, excellence, relevance, compassion and love; protection of individual rights, individual development, individual values and the free expression of integrated personality against the dictates of conformity; institutional support for individual worth and dignity, liberty, equality of opportunity, self-determination, self-actualization, individual fulfilment and happiness, especially through innovative control of the national destiny, harnessing the forces of science and technology, and steering a developmental course in harmony with the environment; all of this resulting in a genuinely humane community which encourages imagination, daring, ingenuity and initiative, and is a concerted, creative exercise of free will. Now, when these goals are compared with the priority, objectives

and measures referred to under the headings of "equality of opportunity for all Canadians" and "special interest areas" it becomes clear, again, that the contemporary goals and proposed activities are simply current attempts to implement in part the total spectrum of objectives previously included in this domain of the ideal of a just society.

The present priority under the heading of "equality of opportunity for all" is a social policy aimed at the re-organization of existing social security programs in consultation with the Provinces. This places it squarely under the antecedent objective of "security against the risks and hazards of modern life" and within the ambit of both "recognition and realization of egalitarianism and its implications" and "acceptable minimal standards of health, welfare and satisfying recreation for all". Besides, its objectives are to: assure, through the social security system, a compassionate and equitable guaranteed annual income to people who cannot work, such as the aged, blind and disabled; ensure that the social security system, as it applies to those who can work, contains both incentives to work and greater emphasis on the need to get those on social aid back to work; establish a fair and just relationship between the incomes of people working at or near minimum wages, those on guaranteed incomes who cannot work, and those who can work but are presently unemployed; recognize that some or all Provinces may wish to have their social security structures vary according to

their particular social needs, especially with regard to income standards and the cost of living in different communities; and to recognize, also, that such reconsideration of the total national social security system requires a working consensus between all Canadian governments and that it must, therefore, be undertaken jointly with the Provinces. It may be said, therefore, that these objectives, though primarily intended to provide "security against the risks and hazards of modern life", also seek to guarantee economic security to those who cannot work, to ensure available employment to those who can work, and also to relate their incomes justly and fairly. This would seem to involve both compensatory treatment of the disadvantaged and egalitarianism. Recognition of both Provincial desires and the need for a working consensus between all government would also seem to demand a new equation of Provincial financial capacity to their responsibilities and, therefore, expanded decentralization, at least of the present federal financial capacity. Add to these contemporary objectives the measures which seek to implement them (a new family income security program oriented toward the needs of lower income families; improvement of the economic situation of old age pensioners; the doubling of expenditures over the next three years on national fitness and amateur sport programs; and special efforts, in cooperation with the Provinces, concerning urban transportation and especially housing), and the government's present orientation

becomes even clearer. Fairness and justice here would seem to involve not only compensatory recognition of individual differences but also includes a qualitative aspect, the need to sustain healthy, meaningful life and leisure, the right of everyone to live in respectable conditions, and the quality of life in Canadian cities. And this would also seem to include the recognition, too, of the crucial importance of improved communications to social dynamics and intersocietal human relations here in Canada which was already mentioned in the economic domain.

Generally speaking, then, it may be said that this comparison between the existing and the ideal states of Canada indicates a presently perceived contrast or significant difference between the reality, the status quo, and the desired ideal and objectives of the just society. It seems true that: the functions within government and between governments are being redefined as part of the search for functionally relevant and effective government; introspective political self-examination of the integrity of both politicians and the political process itself might help to align appearance with act and thus improve the quality of the practice of democracy in Canada; the quality of public information and the degree of public participation might be enhanced by direct public scrutiny of parliamentary functioning depending, of course, on the quality of such functioning: and these might culminate in helping to equate public apathy and

conscience with public responsibility and activity. Current convictions, intentions and actions of the government of Canada, however, as reflected in policies, programs and priorities would seem to continue to be clearly oriented toward the previously stated ideal and objectives of the just society as defined, and these perceived contemporary needs and their intensities inform the curious observer of the likeliest areas and kinds of government action to be expected in the future as attempts to satisfy the perceived national needs. So, a second question can now be posed here: what conclusions result logically from this perceived contrast between Canada's existing and ideal states? The answer should indicate the likeliest outlines of future behaviour of the Government of Canada.

## 2. THE CONCLUSIONS

The main conclusions that result logically from the perceived contrast between Canada's existing and ideal states indicated in the preceding comparison would seem to be that: first, the contemporary convictions, objectives and policies now being stated by the Government of Canada are not different from those defined during the preceding 28th Parliament as the ideal and objectives of the just society. In fact, rather than being merely similar, they seem to be identical. The relationship between them would seem to be that of a part to a whole, present programs and measures attempting to implement as priorities certain parts of

the total spectrum of objectives which constituted the defined ideal of the just society. Second, since the primary motivation of the Government of Canada would seem to emanate from the defined ideal and subsumed objectives of the just society, then increased understanding and predictability of probable future government action should result from scrutiny of such motivation. Third, this motivation, comprised by the stated major objectives which constitute the ideal of the just society, would seem to be composed of not separate and distinct basic motivating forces but rather of apparent aspects of a single major motive force, "a peaceful world" being the external international extension of internal national intentions and "a prosperous economy", though transnational in that so much of Canada's wealth depends on export, being both an essential national prerequisite and an inevitable component factor in the attainment of "a just society". These major objectives would thus seem to be but branches of a single tree, the trunk being the defined Canadian ideal of the just society. This would seem to make the defined ideal of the just society Canada's primary motivating force toward homeostatic change. Fourth, since the defined ideal of the just society would seem to be Canada's primary motivating force toward its presently perceived political future, then a concise yet comprehensive statement of this defined ideal or of Canada's basic national aims indicating the ends of and means to this just society should most likely reveal the major constituent forces that comprise this primary

motivation. The search for enlightenment here, then, would now seem delimited to the discovery and understanding of such a concise yet comprehensive statement.

Fortunately, such a statement seems readily available, due perhaps to the 28th Parliament of Canada's conviction that "an empirical process of adjustment cannot be continued indefinitely . There comes a time for renewal..."<sup>6</sup> This quest for renewal led to a reassessment of Canada's foreign policy which, in turn, culminated in a restatement of basic Canadian national aims, as follows:

In developing policies to serve the national interests, the Government has set for itself basic national aims which, however described, embrace three essential ideas:

- that Canada will continue secure as an independent political entity;
- that Canada and all Canadians will enjoy enlarging prosperity in the widest possible sense;
- that all Canadians will see in the life they have and the contribution they make to humanity something worthwhile preserving in identity and purpose.

These ideas encompass the main preoccupations of Canada and Canadians today: national sovereignty, unity and security; federalism, personal freedom and parliamentary democracy; national identity, bilingualism and multicultural expression; economic growth, financial stability, and balanced regional development; technological advance, social progress and environmental improvement; human values and humanitarian aspirations. <sup>7</sup>

Here then, succinctly stated, would seem to be the guiding motive forces and criteria which will determine Canada's route and journey

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<sup>6</sup> Mitchell Sharp, Secretary of State for External Affairs, Foreign Policy for Canadians, Ottawa, the Queen's Printer, 1970, p. 8.

<sup>7</sup> ibid., p. 10-11.

into the predictably unpredictable future. Born of recognition of a changing world and of a resultant changing Canadian outlook, these guiding principles seem definitively rooted both in anticipatory flexibility and in meticulously chosen Canadian interests:

the Government has been constantly reminded of its need and responsibility to choose carefully aims, objectives and priorities in sufficiently long and broad terms to ensure that essential Canadian interests and values are safeguarded in a world situation where rapid and even radical changes can be anticipated as normal rather than exceptional conditions. Canada, like other states, must act according to how it perceives its aims and interest. External activities should be directly related to national policies pursued within Canada, and serve the same objectives. 8

A peaceful world, a prosperous economy and a just society or Canada's aims and interests would, therefore, all seem to serve the same objectives, since:

In essence, foreign policy is the product of the Government's progressive definition and pursuit of national aims and interests in the international environment. It is the extension abroad of national policies. 9

Finally, the totality of Canada's national policy is broadly described as six main themes which are closely inter related and whose priorities may be mixed into various patterns to achieve different desired results. These main themes are to: foster economic growth; safeguard sovereignty and independence; work for peace and security; promote social justice; enhance the

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8 Ibid., p. 8-9.

9 Ibid., p. 9.

quality of life; and, ensure a harmonious natural environment.<sup>10</sup>  
To some, such broad themes might seem somewhat abstract or vague but, as John Cogley indicated in a recent editorial, the founding fathers of the United States of America asked themselves about the aims of the government they were establishing and concluded in shamelessly abstract terminology that it was to

establish justice, insure domestic tranquillity, provide for the common defense, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity. 11

These five American aims seem even less precise than the six Canadian themes. In any case, not only can greater precision be obtained here through use of the stated main preoccupations of Canada and Canadians today.<sup>12</sup> but also by resorting to suggested possible Canadian policy mixes such as these:

- In response to popular sentiment, which is concerned with the threats of poverty and pollution and the challenge to national unity, the themes could be ranked beginning with (1) Social Justice, (11) Quality of Life, (111) Sovereignty and Independence.  
Or
- In order to meet growing environmental problems the emphasis could be (1) Harmonious Natural Environment; (11) Quality of Life; (111) Social Justice. Or
- In order to deal with economic crises the policy emphasis could be: (1) Economic Growth; (11) Social Justice. 13

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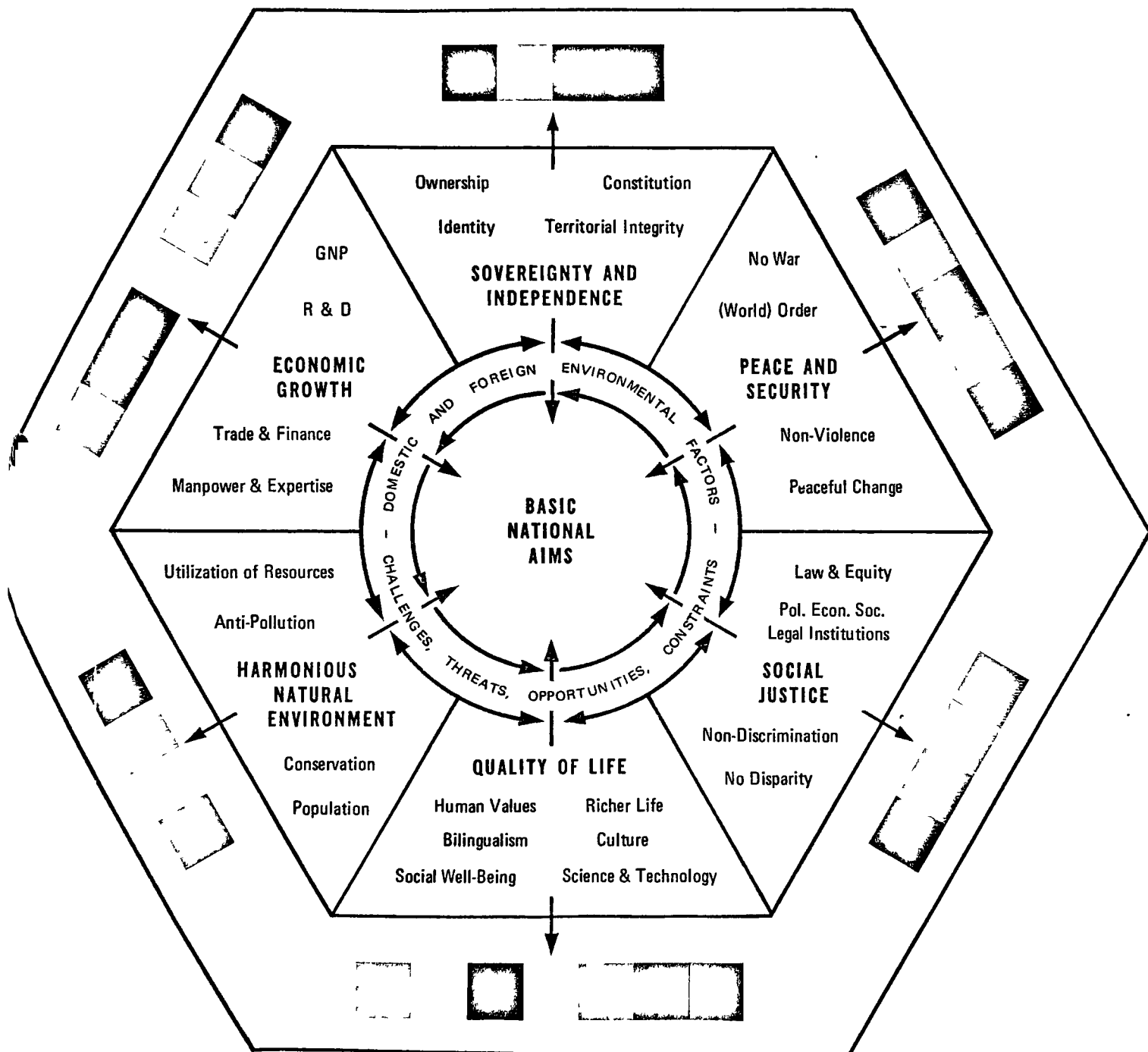
10 Ibid., p. 14.

11 John Cogley, "Opinion", in The Center Magazine, Santa Barbara, California, Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions, Vol. 5, No. 3, May/June, 1972, p. 3.

12 Op. cit., in 6, p. 10-11.

13 Ibid., p. 31-32.

CHOSEN MAJOR FUNCTIONS OF THE GOVERNMENT OF CANADA CLASSIFIED ACCORDING TO BASIC POLICY THEMES OR BEHAVIOURAL OBJECTIVES.



NOTE:

1. In each segment the "key words" in small print indicate the kind of policy questions that may arise, though not always under the same theme necessarily.
2. The straight arrows indicate the relationship between basic national aims and external functions. The one-way arrows in the inner circle indicate the ever-changing environmental factors; the two-way arrows in the outer circle signify the interrelationships among the policy themes.

If, to this, the following statement is added

the Government is of the view that the foreign policy pattern for the seventies should be based on a ranking of the six policy themes which gives highest priorities to Economic Growth, Social Justice and Quality of Life policies. 14

then, not only does future Canadian activity in external affairs become more predictable but it also becomes possible to state that the Government of Canada's contemporary policy emphasis is that which is intended to deal with economic crises, judging from its present proposed policies of "national unity" and "equality of opportunity" <sup>15</sup> which are in fact policies of economic growth and social justice, as the preceding policy mixes indicate.

Perhaps it might now be reasonable to conclude, also, that the perceived difference between the Canadian existing and ideal states has been demonstrated and that the most likely way ahead for Canada in the immediate future has been clarified. The implications of such political policy for essential educational strategy in Canada can now be identified.

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14 Ibid., p. 32.

15 Vide chap. 3, here.

## SUMMARY

This chapter attempts to take the next important step in this heuristic process of identifying latent yet essential educational strategy from present political policy by comparing Canada's perceived present with its pursued future so as to determine, if possible, the likeliest motive forces toward homeostatic change or the most likely impending political activity intended to satisfy urgent Canadian needs. Two elements, therefore, are seen as important: first, the comparison between Canada's existing and ideal states in order to discover whether there exists a perceived significant difference between them; and second, the conclusions to be drawn from such a comparison in terms precise enough to facilitate subsequent identification of necessary educational strategy as a core component of national political policy.

Comparison of the described existing reality of the current state of the Canadian nation with the previous synthesis of the visualized ideal of the just society seems to reveal a clearly conceived contrast or a perceived significant difference, thus indicating a strongly desired need for change oriented towards the just society as defined in chapter 11. This perception of significant difference is here based on the extensive and striking similarities between currently expressed needs, especially in areas of economic, political and social justice, as objectives,

programs and priorities, and those previously stated during the life of the 28th Parliament as objectives of the just society. Since expressed needs and their intensities reflect both the desired and the lacking as well as their urgencies, then the extensive contemporary needs stated are also seen as revealing the extensive present shortcomings perceived. Hence, the extent and degree of significance of the recognized difference acknowledged here as a clear contrast between reality and ideal. So, current convictions, intentions and actions of the Government of Canada, reflected in her policies, programs and priorities, seem to continue to be clearly oriented toward the previously stated ideal and objectives of the just society as defined, present programs indicating currently perceived priorities.

The main conclusions drawn from this seen significant difference between Canada's existing and ideal states culminated in the conclusion that the search for enlightenment here was presently delimited to the discovery and understanding of an adequately concise yet comprehensive statement of Canada's contemporary basic national aims, now viewed as most likely to reveal the major constituent forces comprising Canada's current primary motivation. Such a statement of basic national aims was found to exist and to embrace three essential ideas, that: Canada will continue secure as an independent political entity; Canada and all Canadians will enjoy enlarging prosperity in the widest possible sense; and, all

Canadians will see in their own lives and in their contributions to humanity something worthwhile preserving in identity and purpose. In fact, a succinctly stated set of principles serve to indicate not only the main preoccupations of Canada and Canadians today but also the guiding motive forces and criteria which apparently will determine Canada's journey into the future. These principles include: national sovereignty, unity and security; federalism, personal freedom and parliamentary democracy; national identity, bilingualism and multicultural expression; economic growth, financial stability, and balanced regional development; technological advance, social progress and environmental improvement; human values and humanitarian aspirations. The previous synthesis of the ideal and objectives of the Just Society seems here reduced to its very quintessence.

Finally, to maximize understanding, these guiding principles and criteria are broadly divided into six main themes, and suggestions are made regarding possible mixes of priorities to facilitate functionality and goal-achievement. The six main themes are, to: foster economic growth, safeguard sovereignty and independence, work for peace and security, promote social justice, enhance the quality of life, and ensure a harmonious natural environment. Since the Government has also made it clear that its foreign policy is really internal national policy extended into the international arena and since the chosen ranking of its

six basic policy themes currently gives highest priority in this decade to Economic Growth, Social Justice and Quality of Life, in that order, then comparison of this with current internal policy would seem to make it possible to categorize the Government of Canada's present policy mix as that which it considers most useful in dealing with economic crises. So, given the government's contemporary internal policies of national unity and equality of opportunity which are in fact policies of economic growth and social justice, it would now seem possible to arrive at the government's own evaluation of the status quo. It would also now seem possible to identify the implications of such political policy for essential educational strategy in Canada's near future.

## CHAPTER V

### IMPLICATIONS FOR EDUCATION IN CANADA

In this chapter, the *raison d'etre* of the preceding ones, an attempt will be made to indicate the broad cultural implications involved in the current Canadian concepts contained in the chosen ideal and objectives, the general educational strategy which would seem to result necessarily from the chosen political policy, and the more important specifics that will be required of the educational systems in Canada if the pursued national goals are to be efficiently achieved. Undoubtedly, education qua education has its own imperatives which must also be correlated with the educational strategy to be suggested here, but the essential focus of this chapter will be placed upon the educational behaviour that follows logically from the political policy detected in the preceding chapters.

This political policy has been shown in the preceding chapters to have been conceived as flexibly operational at varying levels of specificity. Originating in three basic motivating intentions: that Canada will continue secure as an independent political entity; that Canada and all Canadians will enjoy enlarging prosperity in the widest possible sense; and, that all Canadians will see in their own lives and in their contributions to humanity something worthwhile preserving in identity and purpose; <sup>1</sup> this political policy was then translated into a set

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1 Vide chap. 4, p. 182, here.

of guiding principles and criteria intended to instruct contemporary and future Canadian political behaviour. These principles and criteria have been stated as being: national sovereignty, unity and security; federalism, personal freedom and parliamentary democracy; national identity, bilingualism and multicultural expression; economic growth, financial stability and balanced regional development; technological advance, social progress and environmental improvement; human values and humanitarian aspirations.<sup>2</sup> These principles and criteria have also been viewed as reflecting the main preoccupations of Canada and Canadians today.

To facilitate further understanding, these principles and criteria have also been expressed as behavioural objectives described as six main themes, including suggestions concerning possible patterns of priorities which would facilitate functionality and goal-achievement.<sup>3</sup> The six main themes or behavioural objectives are: to foster economic growth; to safe-guard sovereignty and independence; to work for peace and security; to promote social justice; to enhance the quality of life; and, to ensure a harmonious natural environment.<sup>4</sup> Though implementation might cause changes, the government has also stated that its

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2 Vide chap. 4, p. 182, here.

3 Vide chap. 4, p. 184.

4 Vide chap. 4, p. 183-184.

foreign policy is really internal national policy extended into the international arena <sup>5</sup> and that its chosen ranking of foreign policy priorities for the seventies places economic growth, social justice and quality of life at the highest priority levels and in that order. <sup>6</sup> So, taken together, these two statements would not only seem to indicate present internal policy priorities as well but would also explain why the most recent Speech from the Throne enunciates as current policies both "national unity" and "equality of opportunity" which are in fact policies of economic growth and social justice when defined. <sup>7</sup> These six main themes or behavioural objectives have also been more explicitly described and related to the overall ideal of the just society and its three major component objectives here in chapter IV : <sup>8</sup> the fostering of economic growth being related to the objective of "a prosperous economy"; the safeguarding of sovereignty and independence and working for peace and security being related to the major objective of "a peaceful world"; and the promotion of social justice, the enhancement of the quality of life, and the ensuring of a harmonious natural environment being both transnational

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5 Vide Chap. 4, p. 183, here.

6 Vide Chap. 4, p. 185.

7 Vide Chap. 3, p. 149-156.

8 Vide Chap. 4, p. 168-180.

and also reflecting concern for the basic objective of "a just society".

The more specifically described synthesis of the current Canadian concepts of the ideal of the just society and its three major subsumed objectives of a peaceful world, a prosperous economy, and a just society was outlined as follows, the definition of "a peaceful world" including: a multinational, interdependent world of sovereign, autonomous, national states, inter-related through the rule of law, trade, cultural exchange, the free interchange of knowledge and of people, and a functional financial system; harmonious international relations with the peoples of the whole world, through mutual understanding of and cooperation with one another; a wholesome world environment in harmony with international development, especially of the less developed nations; all of these resulting in international peace, freedom and contentment, conducive to individual security, respect, well-being and happiness.<sup>9</sup>

The current Canadian concept of "a prosperous economy" was seen to involve: efficient, effective productivity, especially of modern, socially necessary goods, resulting in a rising standard of living equitably distributed; economic well-being for all, including adequate incomes for those unable to work, sufficient satisfying, well-remunerated employment for those able and willing

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<sup>9</sup> Vide Chap. 2, p. 128, here.

to work, and recognition that the right to live is identical to the right to work; competitive technological manufacturing capacity to satisfy most local and some foreign consumer needs, harmonized with the maintenance of a clean, healthy natural environment and with improved industrial relations; better transportation and communication networks, designed to minimize variations in delivery cost; minimization of inflation, equitable taxation, an effective degree of control over the national economy; a fair balance of economic activity, earning levels, and income security between the regions of Canada; satisfactory strengthening of incomes of those in primary industries, and the elimination of cyclical poverty from Canadian society.<sup>10</sup>

A just society, described as an objective and not as the overall ideal, was seen to subsume political, legal, social and individual considerations, the political aspects including: democratic parliamentary and federal systems of government; a modernized Constitution, including a Charter of Public Liberties binding on all Canadian governments; relevant, functionally effective government institutions and machinery; improved decentralized federal-provincial-municipal relations and governments; participatory democracy, subsuming bilingualism, multiculturalism, new policies for native Indians, Eskimos and Métis, and representative of the majority yet responsive to minorities; an adequate general

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<sup>10</sup> Vide Chap. 2, p. 128-129, here.

level of common good and of opportunities and equal access to them; enlightened administration of both human and natural resources, including satisfactory provision for education, research and innovation; and a commitment to the preservation and improvement of the practice of democracy itself. <sup>11</sup>

The legal aspect in turn, involved: the development of an acceptable, effective, international legal régime capable of ensuring world peace, prosperity, harmony and interdependence; correction of existing national wrongs and provision of equality for all before the law and of legal security of person and property; an entrenched Bill of Rights, placing individual rights and freedoms beyond the encroachment of even governments themselves; compensatory protection of the small against the large, the poor against the rich, the weak against the strong; reasonable laws that elicit voluntary obedience and reduce recourse to enforcement; and government responsiveness to people needs for legal reforms; in a word, national recognition and acceptance of the rule of laws that are well construed and contribute to the freedom and well-being of both individual and state. <sup>12</sup>

The remaining social and individual aspects of the just society desired for Canada were seen to include: security against the risks and hazards of modern life; acceptable minimal standards

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11 Vide Chap. 2, p. 129-130, here.

12 Vide Chap. 2, p. 130, here.

of health, welfare and satisfying recreation for all; recognition and translation into reality of egalitarianism and its implications; awareness of such spiritual values as God, beauty, mental and physical pleasure, companionship and solitude; acceptance of the values of truth, honesty, excellence, relevance, compassion and love; protection of individual rights, individual development, individual values and the free expression of integrated personality against the dictates of conformity; institutional support for individual worth and dignity, liberty, equality of opportunity, self-determination, self-actualization, individual fulfilment and happiness, through innovative control of the national destiny, harnessing the forces of science and technology, and steering a developmental course in harmony with the environment; all of this resulting in a genuinely humane community which encourages imagination, daring, ingenuity and initiative and being a concerted, creative exercise of free will.<sup>13</sup> The above seemed to be the envisioned future Canadian society, as described by those now striving to attain it. All of the preceding is included in the current Canadian concept of the ideal of the just society as defined since 1968: and, it is from these new patent political objectives that an attempt will next be made to extract the inherent, latent, essential educational policy.

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13 Vide Chap. 2, p. 131, here.

Before this can be effectively done, however, some general cultural implications must first be clarified, so as to facilitate the subsequent determination of educational policy, since society and its culture both determine and legitimate the rationale, content and methods of a formal educational system's behaviour.<sup>14</sup>

### 1. SOME CULTURAL IMPLICATIONS

Examination of major cultural implications of the current Canadian concepts of the just society seems essential at this point for several reasons. One is that the search for meaning or understanding seems much more urgent now than the search for knowledge alone. As Alexander Meiklejohn has stated:

Today... the search for knowledge is enormously successful and, may I add, enormously easy: anybody can do investigating if he gets the opportunity and the materials. But the search for understanding what we know seems to be getting less rather than greater. It cannot keep pace. And that is the real danger to our culture. 15

This report, besides the search for knowledge, also seeks to enter the realm of understanding.

Another reason is that much is now known about the impact of education on politics, but there seems to be little knowledge extant about the effect of politics on education. This seems due

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<sup>14</sup> Seymour B. Sarason, The Culture of the School and the Problem of Change, Boston, Allyn and Bacon, 1971, p. 1.

<sup>15</sup> Alexander Meiklejohn, "At an early Center meeting", in The Center Magazine, Santa Barbara, California, Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions, Vol. 5, No. 3, May-June, 1972, p. 82.

to the fact that the relationship between politics and education has so far been studied mainly from the standpoints of education being either outside the political system as such or inside it as a subsystem, both of these viewpoints not only raising questions concerning the usefulness of a systems approach but also minimizing the available information about the impact politics has on education. In the words of Byron Massialas:

We have already mentioned... the absence in the literature of analyses which use education as the core, and political processes or institutions as the independent or influence factors. If we were to use this approach, the concentration would be on the impact that the political system has on education... The absence or inadequacy of educational models notwithstanding, models from other disciplines might provide fruitful alternatives. 16

This report attempts also to explore at least one probable and, hopefully, fruitful alternative.

A third reason is that politics and education are related to culture: the political system typically making authoritative, legitimate, binding decisions indicating accepted values, while the educational system mirrors, maintains and sometimes changes them.<sup>17</sup> For this reason, culture is seen here as possibly containing mediating elements which might help to clarify the bonds

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16 Byron G. Massialas, Education and the Political System, Reading, Mass., Addison-Wesley, 1969, p. 211-212.

17 Ibid., Chap. 7, p. 205-206.

that bind politics and education together. Recently Michael Novak, in describing his theory of politics as drama, ended by saying that:

We are all at least alike in this: that we live out stories with our lives, that we can discern our own story and those of others, that we can see quickly the inadequacies in the stories of others and slowly the inadequacies in our own, and that we are free to learn from one another, to invent, to deepen ourselves, and to create. These points are as true of cultures and nations as of individuals. 18

Since, "through all our political actions runs the story we are telling with our lives - the story we tell with our lives far more potently than with our principles",<sup>19</sup> perhaps this meeting of politics and education in the pathways of culture might tell more truly the story of the education-polity nexus. The development of human intelligence may be a primary function of the formal education system, but human intelligence is also operative in and through human actions which lie, except for the hermit, firmly within the domain of politics.

What, then, are the cultural implications for Canada of the political acceptance of such principles as national sovereignty, national unity and national security? Of federalism, parliamentary

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18 Michael Novak, "Politics as Drama", in The Center Magazine, Sanata Barbara, California, Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions, Vol. 5, No. 3, May-June, 1972, p. 14.

19 Ibid., p. 14.

democracy and personal freedom? Of bilingualism, multiculturalism and national identity? Of economic growth, financial stability and balanced regional development? Of technological advance, social progress and environmental improvement? And of human values and humanitarian aspirations? Their cultural implications should be revealed through analysis of both their overall impact as a whole and the likeliest specific effect of each principle. Besides, since these principles are also perceived as being the major contemporary preoccupations of Canada and Canadians, they may also be described as being the current Canadian priority needs that most urgently demand satisfaction if unease is to be removed and equilibrium established.

The intent behind the extensiveness of the redefinition, renewal and innovation attempted since the advent of the 28th Parliament would seem to bear many of the earmarks of a contrived silent revolution in Canadian political behaviour, if Lichtman's definition of revolution is accepted. He describes it as follows:

Revolution... involves the idea of a total transformation of the economic, political, and legal structure of a given society, establishing in power a class which was previously suppressed and exploited. In modern times it has been assumed that the transformation of public power would also lead to a transformation of social relations and of human nature itself. But as yet this hope can be neither verified nor denied.

Revolution involves a total seizure of power. It aims to control the future... revolution implies a belief in progress, the growth of rationality, human autonomy, and control over nature and human society itself. The precondition of revolution is therefore the growth of an apparatus of control technology - and the precondition of this apparatus itself is capitalism which supplies the material motive for transforming material and human nature.

Revolution implies the fulfilling of previously blocked and frustrated human possibilities. 20

The popularly perceived inversion of the possession of power, especially in the control of such crucial federal ministries as those determining regional economic development, internal industry and external trade and the culture of the State, the initial unilateral totality of the exercise of power, the identification of foreign with internal policy, the obvious design in the third Throne Speech to control Canada's future, the Prime Minister's insistence on the growth of rationality and a reduction of emotionalism in politics, the presence of an apparatus of control technology within the leader's office, the legalized genesis of the realignment of power relationships within Canadian society inherent in biculturalism, multiculturalism and new status for natives in society, the effort to supercede a questionably representative system with a more participatory political process, the posited primacy of environmental protection over economic development and of human autonomy over governmental imperatives, the tacit

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20 Richard Lichtman, "A Case against Capitalism", in The Center Magazine, Sanata Barbara, California, Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions, Vol. 5, No. 5, Sept-Oct., 1972, p. 50.

anticipation of the future decline of the work ethic signalled by the new extent and quality of income security, and the tentative exploration of potential ways of fulfilling frustrated community and human possibilities through youth opportunities, local improvement experiments and funding of disadvantaged groups : all these and other activities, initiated since 1968, seem to conform with the preceding description of silent revolution. Besides, since "it is not part of the definition of revolution that it be violent"<sup>21</sup> and since the analogy also used to describe it is that of gestation,

the act of birth is a revolutionary change in the relation of fetus to mother. A previously dependent organism, drawing on another, is thrust into separateness. Its organs have evolved slowly but inexorably and cumulatively over time. Finally, a radical break occurs which makes it possible for them to function independently. Both slow growth and sudden rupture are integrally connected in any revolutionary process. 22

it would seem possible to extend even further the non-violent gestation analogy to the nascent Canadian politics. The intriguing aspect of this type of revolution is that it evolves.

The fascinating fact that revolutions evolve might perhaps be more familiar to political scientists than to educators. However, the present Prime Minister has been both. Some important facets of the evolutionary aspect of revolution, pertinent to the cultural

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21 Ibid., p. 51.

22 Ibid., p. 51.

implications to be arrived at here, were stated by the Austrian historian, Friedrich Heer, recently:

The "revolutionary situation" is not established by a unique crisis, a political catastrophe, or the collapse of a particular power structure, ruling class, caste or elite. It requires much more: a wide field in which a crisis can ripen and be taken seriously by a large public.

Genuine revolution assumes a great measure of inner freedom. Dictatorship, totalitarian régimes, authoritarian governments are obstacles to revolution.

Without significant changes in the social climate, there can be no revolution... A change in the social climate means that every man, woman, and child has to learn to see himself with new eyes. It means that old values no longer obtain. It means that the professional trustees of power, the ministers of the church, the professors, teachers, men of business, industry, and science will have become so insecure inside that they no longer believe the old system is functioning. It means a change in consciousness. 23

The need for general social malaise, extensive national freedom, change in social climate, questioning of old values, insecurity of the traditional professional trustees of power with regard to the qualitative functioning of the old system, and a widespread change in public consciousness, however, are not all. As Heer adds:

In the long run, the revolution is not fashioned by people who declare that they are revolutionaries. The revolution of mankind will be realized most strongly where it reaches the deepest levels, in the unconscious. And there are many people who are working together for revolution, but who do not even recognize the word, know nothing about it and don't want to know about it.

Revolution, in a word, is far too important a matter to be left in the hands of revolutionaries. 24

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23 Friedrich Heer, "Revolutions Evolve", in The Center Magazine, Sanata Barbara, California, Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions, Vol.5, No. 5, Sept.-Oct., 1972, p. 49.

24 Ibid., p. 49.

From this viewpoint, many Canadians may presently be active participants in a silent evolving revolution of which they are more or less unaware. When one adds to this the ideas expressed by Novak: first, that the political agent invariably finds himself involved in directing at least three dramas at the same time : the dramas that constituents want to think that they are living out, the leadership that one would genuinely like to give, and that which, under various real pressures, one can really effect; <sup>25</sup> and second, that

A good leader must, by definition, lead: he lives out, in advance of his constituency, a story into whose unfolding drama he slowly persuades them to follow him. He tells them only gradually what is happening, encouraging them little by little. <sup>26</sup>

then it would not seem impossible that Canada and Canadians, since 1968, could have begun to live out a national life story of which they are told only gradually what is happening. Perhaps this is one way in which the universe might be unfolding as it should.

The overall motivation, then, behind the extensive re-definition of national goals, reorientation of purposes, revision of policy, programs and priorities, renewal of institutions, creation of new governmental machinery and methods, and other innovations may be reasonably said to be that of a consciously attempted silent evolutionary revolution containing the preceding

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25 Op. cit., in 18, p. 10.

26 Ibid., p. 10.

characteristics indicated by Lichtman and Heer. The question with regard to this contemporary political policy therefore becomes: given this revolutionary intent, what are the discernible cultural implications? What specifics seem involved in this sought new culture?

The considerable concern for innovation, expressed in detail at the beginning of this chapter, would seem to reflect, among other things, certain convictions now held by those possessing political power. These convictions seem to include a belief that both major and minor institutions in Canadian society are experiencing an identity crisis, especially from the viewpoint that traditionally established leaders seem to be no longer commandingly leading. This seems reflected in the church, the universities, the military, the press, politics and even in schools. These convictions seem to recognize, too, that public demand for radical reform has rapidly moved into the personal realm. Women are now resisting those restrictions formerly placed upon their freedom by custom and convention, and minority groups, whether French, Ukrainian, Indian, Catholic or Black, have become increasingly impatient with their ascribed station. Modernity is being both praised and blamed for what is happening. But the important fact here seems to be the Prime Minister's stress of both technology and ecology, the two major cultural movements abroad in the land, one relentlessly carrying modernity to its

logical conclusions and the other representing a rejection of it.<sup>27</sup> Both of these movements may be considered contemporary, but the second seems to be firmly against what, until quite recently, was widely considered progressive. In any case, the main point seems to be that the previously accepted notion of an ever more beneficent progress has now come under widespread attack by a folk-singing counter-culture, an almost rampantly religious youth who disclaim the death of God and hesitantly embrace both Oriental mysticism and a touch-and-tell personalism, in an apparent attempt to counteract the mindless machine and the heartless bureaucracy of modernity.

Apparently people will eventually retaliate whenever they perceive their basic humanity to be endangered. Though this helps, however, the problem would seem to remain that the society's major institutions seem still not attuned to dealing with this new consciousness that has emerged. Formerly functional organizations like Parliament and methods like existing government machinery are beginning to seem outmoded and sometimes even threatening, especially when they no longer seem to reflect the real interests of those persons they were designed to serve. Perhaps the self-image of the individual no longer corresponds to the official identity postulated by established institutions. The old rules and regulations often seem written for a rapidly becoming obsolete

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27 Vide Chap. 2, p. 85-89, here.

breed. This discrepancy would seem to lie at one of the roots of the unrest characterizing the present time.

Amidst this unrest, there has also been a widespread, somewhat mindless, attack on the very idea of institutions and quite some talk about abolishing them.<sup>28</sup> Politics without parties, law without courts, justice without jails, religion without churches and education without schools have been recommended.<sup>29</sup> So far, however, societies have not been known to survive without institutions, for other ways of acting together remain to be found. In recognition of this, present political policy seems to indicate that existing cultural institutions or their replacements, such as those with ecological, consumer or regional developmental concerns, must be made to reflect the self-images of those they pretend to serve. Those that do not must be reshaped or reformed. Underlying all this would seem to be a recognition that the major contemporary tasks are intellectual ones. Much dialogue, much thought and much creativity seem needed to remake the political party, the church, the press, the family and the school into institutions able to

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<sup>28</sup> Glenn Smith & Charles R. Kniker, Myth and Reality: A Reader in Educational Foundations, Boston, Allyn and Bacon, 1972.

<sup>29</sup> Hugh A. Stevenson, Robert M. Stamp & J. Donald Wilson, The Best of Times/The Worst of Times: Contemporary Issues in Canadian Education, Toronto, Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1972.

serve Canadians now determined to achieve more personal freedom and autonomy for themselves and their children than ever before. So far, the traditional guardians of major institutions have seemed less than ready to confront such a challenge. Yet, the massive task of reconstructing Canadian society must somehow be done mainly by those capable of detecting that core of reason beneath all the emotional sound and fury extant. Current crises, such as October 1970 or of Western separatism, need not be signs of a massive national nervous breakdown: they could be the screams that herald the birth of a new Canadian culture.

This new culture seems to be envisaged as one in which people can live and die securely, harmoniously and humanely amidst continuous change. It will also have its norms, codes and regulations, but its eventual survival will apparently be determined by the degree to which the reasons for it are so internalized by Canadians as to become commonly and implicitly understood. In other words, the reasons given by legislators, moralists and revolutionary pundits may be important, but they will be insufficient. They will not be enough because: first, it seems virtually impossible so far to articulate moral rules and legislative norms that can take account of the complexities of concrete decision-making. The computational inadequacies of such precepts and principles as "harm no one", "do good and avoid evil" or "seek the greatest good of the greatest number", though essential to justice, seem already obvious; second, it seems rather doubtful that most people act wholly in terms

of well-defined moral codes even when they have them. As Daniel Callahan says:

Man is more than just a rational animal. He also feels, senses, imagines and relates. To survive, therefore, culture must have been so internalized as to inform the a-rational parts of man, as much as the rational. Reason may check and correct the spontaneous precritical responses we feel, but it alone does not guide our moral life. Man is more than just a mind. 30

Not only is there discernible here a link between culture seen in this way, as so internalized as to inform the a-rational as much as the rational parts of man, and the intended silent evolving Canadian revolution which involves individuals below the threshold of their awareness but also educational implications begin to become visible to the mind's eye: for culture, viewed in this light, is clearly a nurturing context, feeding and shaping Canadians. One aspect of the new culture, then, would seem to be that of a nurturing society. This would seem to be an extension of formal education into the informal culture.

The notion of a nurturing society would seem re-inforced by the fact that, with the body politic as well as with the human body, a major method of ensuring good health is by way of periodic examinations. The political behaviour of the 28th Parliament

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30 Daniel Callahan, "Search for an Ethic: Living with the New Biology", in The Center Magazine, Santa Barbara, California, Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions, Vol. 5, No. 4, July-August, 1972, p. 4-5.

would seem to have largely constituted an attempt at re-examining the Canadian body politic with a view to diagnosis and treatment as seen to be required. So, just as the individual, with his distaste for sickness, disease and death, aspires to transcend the limitations imposed by his finite body through recourse to biomedical enterprise, so too the Canadian nation would seem to be aspiring to renew and transcend itself through its quest for the just society. Referring to the United States of America, Callahan had also said about its culture:

Everything should not be demanded of everyone. One function of a culture is to make up for our deficiencies in private wisdom, to take some of the burden of truth-seeking off our individual shoulders, to save us from going to the mat on each and every question, to allow us to know things with our feelings which we do not by philosophical standards know in our heads. To be sure, every individual will have to seek the truth at some time. But he should not have to do it alone and he should not always have to do it. A culture should assist him.

Unfortunately we do not live in a culture which provides much help. 31

The present government's motivation would seem to be partly aimed at rectifying such shortcomings here in Canada: White Papers being used not only to compensate for deficiencies in private wisdom but also to elicit improved public truth-seeking or recognition of reality. In any case, the political desire to assist the individual here seems clear. The noteworthy factor here, however, would seem to be the recognition that the new cultural

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31 Ibid., p. 5.

base, when established, should, in shaping people, instill in them good habits of just intentions, emotional responses sensitive, for example, to the needs of the native dispossessed, the ennobling desires comprising the objectives of the just society, and healthy repugnances toward such matters as encroachments of the State upon individual or group rights, its intrusion into the bedrooms of the nation or the proliferation of isolation. Such reasons for the new culture, however, establish a direction and general standards, but there are other aspects to the game plan.

These other aspects include those drives that most cultures seem to display: the pursuit of meaning, community, value and integrity.<sup>32</sup> Not only do frequent references by the Prime Minister to "the integrity of Canada" reflect his awareness of this, but he has even enunciated clearly his attitude concerning these matters in his expression of his preferred methods and priorities. Establish the rights of individuals in the Constitution, he says, and "this will establish the values in which all Canadians believe; the values for which we all stand; the values which unite us".<sup>33</sup> It seems clear, therefore, that he perceives a culture as consisting of people working together for common ends, sharing some binding visions and agreeing on some values to be

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32 Ibid., p. 6.

33 Vide Chap. 2, p. 96, here.

shared. Such a culture would seem based on laws, rituals, customs and public institutions, which together lend shape and strength, solidity and specificity to the chosen visions and values. The leader's view would seem consistent, therefore, with the conviction that, to be viable, the new culture must provide a nurturing ground for the development and enrichment of Canadian life. If this is accepted, then those other cultural drives already mentioned may be now considered.

A critical element in any culture seems to be that it should develop and offer to its component individuals acceptable ways of satisfying those basic human needs which go beyond physical well-being. Human beings seem to need a sense of meaning, some way at least of dealing with absurdity or inconsistency or some way at best of developing a belief system that makes sense of things and of life. As Callahan puts it: "Moral codes and ethical systems develop out of the matrix of theories or convictions concerning the nature of human life".<sup>34</sup> People also seem to need a sense of community, the possibility of living in peace and mutual enrichment with others. For community to exist and survive, trust seems fundamental: trust resulting from shared values, an interdependent common life and a sustaining belief that normally one's neighbour is not an enemy. An important element in this is described as follows:

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<sup>34</sup> Op. cit., in 30, p. 6.

Observed laws, whose spirit and not just letter are accepted, provide one measure of community. At the same time, there must be standards of value, of right and wrong, which exist independently of the law. Without such standards, there would be no way of judging the human validity of law. Most importantly, mutual trust will be displayed by a feeling of security in the presence of others, particularly in the presence of strangers, about whom we know nothing other than their common citizenship in our society. 35

The search for reasonableness and responsiveness in Canadian law would seem to meet the standards required here. 36

The drive toward a sense of meaning and of community seem no stronger than the impulsion of culture toward values, the need for coherently structured goals, which permit both individuals and communities to determine what to seek or avoid. Since individual desires often tend to be contradictory and sometimes even conflicting, they need to be sorted out and some distinction drawn between what is desired or pursued at a given point in time and what ought to be desired or pursued. One cannot live comfortably with one's self for long unless some internal order has been established: internal order with priorities, with ways of handling dilemmas, and with a relatively settled sense of what is good for one's self. At the cultural level, this implies that life in common requires at least a basic compatibility between and among the values of different individuals and beyond that some commonly held social convictions about where

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35 Ibid., p. 6.

36 Vide Chap. 2, p. 101, here.

the good of each and of all lies. <sup>37</sup>

The fourth major component seems to be the drive for integrity, for a unified self: a self sure of its worth and at ease with itself. <sup>38</sup> The contemporary preoccupations of Canadians already indicated in this chapter seem to place much emphasis on self-determination as a critical factor in the integrity of Canada and Canadians. By using the political process to help in clarifying the Canadian self-identity, a further step seems to have been taken along the road to individualism. This raises a crucial question here however, because, in its extreme form, such individualism presupposes that each person must create himself, his own values and his own world de novo, because no ultimate basis exists on which to ground the drive for meaning and values. This tends to make self-determination itself the ultimate good to be sought, because it then becomes the essential condition for the creation of self-sustaining private selves, values and worlds. Yet, widespread acceptance of justice would seem to suggest confidence in a universal moral reason as at least one story that is believed, though the expressed ideal be one of community in diversity through which individual uniqueness and respect for the uniqueness of others is deepened. This basic problem was posed by Callahan when he wrote:

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37 Ibid., p. 6-7.

38 Ibid., p. 7.

Curiously, while laissez-faire capitalism is on the decline, laissez-faire self-creation continues to find an audience. Both assume that there is some natural marketplace in which a hidden hand harmoniously regulates private and public interests. While that illusion has been debunked in economics, it hangs on in the realm of values. It is not likely to last there either. 39

Although this hanging on of laissez-faire self-creation in the realm of values may be seen simply as resulting from the differential pace of the diffusion of ideas throughout the whole of society, the problem remains, nevertheless, and must sooner or later be dealt with. Perhaps, in dealing with such post-industrial problems as multi-national corporations and ecology at the global level, the presently perceived dichotomy between individual and social values will be removed. The present government's removal of the previously existing dichotomy between external and internal political policy may well prove to be a step in this direction. Whatever the case, this brief examination of some major cultural implications of current Canadian political policy would seem to have suggested some of the essential aspects of future educational strategy in Canada.

Judging from the preceding, it would seem that education in Canada must begin to stress the cultural drives toward meaning, community, value and integrity. Educational strategy must take account of and integrate these drives into a coherent over-all

perspective of the pursued just society outlined at the beginning of this chapter. And that perspective must, in turn, be embodied in the new culture, suffusing its laws, customs, institutional arrangements and the changing Canadian political life. Education must, therefore, develop too a coherent view of the meaning of life; it must express some acceptable level of understanding of the mutual obligations of Canadian life in common; it must display an ordered, reasonable and deep commitment to some clear set of values - at least to those recommended here, if nationally accepted, such as: God, beauty, mental and physical pleasure, companionship, solitude, truth, honesty, excellence, relevance, compassion and love, not to mention others expressed at the beginning of this chapter; <sup>40</sup> and it must not threaten the integrity of individual Canadians. At least, future education in Canada must avoid making any Canadians feel that they are victims of an absurd universe, victims of a discriminatory society, victims of the power of others whose values differ from their own or that their personal integrity has been violated. In a word, the good education of the future will elicit a deep and positive response in the culture of the whole nation.

This would seem to make future education in Canada an integral and extremely important part of the total nurturing society, not merely reflecting or changing an already existing culture determined

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40 Vide p. 193-196.

by the political system but rather continually helping to create it, since education must be essentially involved in the primarily intellectual task of building the new culture proposed by the just society. This task will require, however, not only that the major issues involved be determined - for only then can there be clear thinking about the acceptable rationale, content and methods of the nurturing society to shape Canada's future - but also that such major issues be analyzed and understood. The rather open national climate of self-determination recently established seems not merely to court but rather to necessitate and even demand dialogue. This would seem to suggest that, since the educational sector normally is well equipped to deal with such basic issues of overriding importance as the nature of man, what he is and what he can become, the extent to which human or non-human nature can and should be manipulated or controlled, and the relationship between public and private morality (between law and ethics), then perhaps the needed dialogue between educators and politicians might begin with these considerations. For education, like culture, would seem to base its behaviour on a similar complex mix of thought, feeling and imagination, as the following statement indicates:

a culture requires some image of man to work with and to hang his hopes on; some image of man's relationship to that empirical reality which he finds to be his environment; and some image of the relationship of the personal self within to all those other external selves who are our fellow human beings. 41

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41 Op. cit., in 30, p. 8.

These requirements of culture seem identical to the demands of education too. So, perhaps both culture and education will be served by analysis of these essentials. Viewed at this level, the common dichotomy between culture and education would seem to disappear.

## 2. GENERAL EDUCATIONAL IMPLICATIONS

General educational implications or the future philosophy to underpin education in Canada may be arrived at, then, by exploring these essential questions involved in current Canadian conceptualization of the just society: what is the current Canadian concept of man? how do Canadians now conceptualize the relationship between man and nature? and, how do Canadians today relate public and private morality? The answers to these questions seem crucial both to the survival of Canada and to the quality of the individual life of every Canadian.

What, then, is the current Canadian concept of an acceptable and correct image of man? Some clues are provided by the preceding synthesis of the social and individual aspects of the just society.<sup>42</sup> There, man is envisioned as a creature with imagination, daring, ingenuity and initiative, creatively exercising his free will in concert with his fellowmen and others in search of a genuinely humane national and world community, harmoniously attuned to his

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<sup>42</sup> Vide Chap 2, p. 141-142, here.

environment, innovatively controlling his destiny with science and technology in harness, secure in his knowledge that his social institutions respect and support his individual worth and dignity, his liberty, equality of opportunity, self-determination, self-actualization, individual fulfilment and happiness, convinced concerning the social protection of his individual rights, development, values, and the free expression of his integrated personality from the societal dictates of conformity, aware of God, desirous of beauty, mental and physical pleasure, companionship and solitude, and imbued with such values, among others, as truth, honesty, excellence, relevance, compassion and love. This seems an impressive vision of man. An important factor here, too, is that much of this has been recommended, the implication being that Canadians may choose. Canadians can creatively choose because the reality seems rich enough in both positive and negative elements, in prudent correctives provided by reflection on past errors and without abandoning hope. In a word, it may be said that man is envisioned here as that creature who, after serious deliberation, is found to be most creatively useful in shaping the future. This Canadian concept of man is not fixed but flexible, not static but dynamic. It seems to strive to avoid the shortcomings, while accepting the virtues, of the following statement:

The failure of ethical codes which reduce demands on human beings by taking their statistically average conduct as a norm, making minute the distance between what people do and what they ought to do, rests on a static image of man, providing no space for growth or transcendence. No less static are attempts to fix, once and for all, an essence of man.

Both the moral life and attempts at shaping an image of man should be like works of art where a limited material reality is shaped by the imagination into a creation grounded in, but at the same time richer than, the reality from which it takes its beginnings. 43

It would seem, then, that merely to ask the question: what is the normatively human? is itself to indicate a striving of the imagination, a searching for something beyond normal vision: it is to express in a way a degree of dissatisfaction with conventional opinion. The recent Canadian exercise in thoughtful national self-examination would seem to indicate this.

How do Canadians conceptualize the current relationship between man and nature? Here again, the findings included in the preceding synthesis of the ideal and objectives of the current Canadian concept of the just society prove useful. 44 Normally, general discussions about nature seem to tend to be dominated by three basic common alternative models of the relationship between man and nature: the power and plasticity model, the sacral and symbiotic model, and the teleological model. 45 A brief examination of each of these models should help to clarify current Canadian

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43 Op. cit., in 30, p. 10.

44 Vide this chapter, p. 191-196.

45 Op. cit., in 30, p. 10.

thinking in this area.

In the power and plasticity model, nature is usually viewed as essentially alien and independent of man, as having no inherent value, and as driven by impersonal forces and causes. For these reasons, nature is seen as plastic, capable of being used, dominated and shaped as man sees fit. Here, man's relationship to nature is understood to be such that man possesses the unrestricted right to dominate, manipulate and control nature through whatever methods possible, so as to serve man's goals. The only limitations to the use of power to subdue nature, in this view, are those that arise from man's lack of understanding of the workings of nature. This limitation imposes care and caution since nature might retaliate, but the limitation is practical only, it is subject to being overcome by increased human ingenuity. From this viewpoint, the goal of knowledge is power, and any ethical problems that might arise from the use of such power will be restricted solely to those concerning the objectives sought and the means used by human beings. Nature is not seen here as one of the ethical actors. <sup>46</sup>

The sacral and symbiotic model is usually viewed as having either a religious or a secular form. In its religious forms, nature is seen as a part of God's creation to be respected and heeded.

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46 Ibid., p. 10.

In this view, man is perceived not as the master but as the steward of nature which has been left in his trust. In its secular forms, however, man is seen as a part of nature. So that, if man must be respected, so too must nature which nurtures and sustains him. Here, nature has value in and of itself apart from man who should live in harmony and in balance with nature, consciously recognizing the relationship as symbiotic. From the viewpoint of this model, nature is a teacher which shows man how to live with it, with himself and with other men.<sup>47</sup> This model would seem to form part of the currently accepted Canadian conceptualization.

The remaining type of model generally used, the teleological one, perceives a purposiveness and a logic in nature, but disregards any necessary implication of a guiding hand behind these features. Here, it is possible to study nature and detect its meaning and its human significance. The knowledge acquired can then provide guidance in deciding the wisest course of human conduct. At least, man can learn to understand the possible folly in trying to better nature or to transcend its inherent limits. In this view, the limitations to man's unbridled intervention become obvious.<sup>48</sup> Several variations on these basic model themes can be found, but the general outlines would seem to be more important here than their varying specific details. Each

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47 Ibid., p. 10.

48 Ibid., p. 11.

responds differently to the question of control. This model also would seem to form part of the currently accepted Canadian conceptualization of the relationship between man and nature.

Not only is the present Canadian concept of the relationship between man and nature reflected in the third Throne Speech of the 28th Parliament,

It (the new age of the seventies) is an age in which the life-support systems of the biosphere may collapse unless man reverses his present course and begins again to live in harmony, rather than in competition, with his environment. 49

but also, toward the end of that Speech, harmony between man and nature seems to be posited virtually as a sine qua non, when the belief is expressed that Canadians can, if they will, learn "to strike an equilibrium with nature without which all the rest may be undone".<sup>50</sup> Besides, the Prime Minister himself, in stating those basic principles of his government that he considers non-negotiable, has made it quite clear that: "First of all, we will never sacrifice, in the name of progress, a clean and healthy environment to industrial or commercial development".<sup>51</sup> The commitment here seems unmistakable. Nor does the leader of the Opposition significantly disagree: for he, in turn, declares

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49 Canada, House of Commons Debates, Ottawa, the Queen's Printer, Vol. 1, 3rd Session, 28th Parliament, Oct. 8, 1970, p. 1.

50 Ibid., p. 3.

51 Canada, House of Commons Debates, Ottawa, the Queen's Printer, Vol. 1, 2nd Session, 28th Parliament, Oct. 24, 1969, p. 40.

that: "We need more than a department. We also need an organ to guarantee the preservation of the total environment in our country".<sup>52</sup> There would seem to be no reason to doubt Canada's new commitment to a symbiotic relationship between man and nature. The question would, therefore, seem to be: what does the acceptance of this type of relationship mean? The answer requires a return to the previously described types of models.

The power and plasticity model places man at the summit of nature as its lord and master. Here, action, mastery and incessant innovation are prized virtues. The sacral and symbiotic model puts both man and nature together in the centre of the universe. In this view, spontaneity, contemplation and passivity become central virtues: unlimited control would not be sought nor manipulation pursued. The teleological model, on the other hand, would not deny the need for some control. It would, however, seek to base any such need for control on an understanding of the inherent features of nature, allowing them to indicate the limits and the main guidelines.<sup>53</sup> The significance of this lies in the fact that each of these models contains important ethical implications.

The power and plasticity model seems to take the stand that man must be the creator of his own ethical norms, acting to bring order out of chaos by acts of unaided intelligence and

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52 Op. cit., in 49, Oct. 9, 1970, p. 27.

53 Op. cit., in 30, p. 11.

will. Here, there are no moral codes, no absolutes and no guides, other than those that man himself chooses to establish. The sacral and symbiotic model would seem to support an ethic that is derived entirely from contemplation of the ways of nature. Here, whatever is most in harmony with nature will be seen as good. The teleological model, in turn, would seem to take nature as a partial guide, while recognizing some differences between man and the rest of nature. In this model's view, man must also create his own ethical norms and moral codes, but he can find in nature some outline of a base for the foundation of his moral life.<sup>54</sup>

Since ethics, education, culture and politics all seem to involve some model of man, of nature, and of man's relationship to nature which underlies both each total system and specific decisions in each domain, the development of the above Canadian model would seem to indicate what Canadians currently understand man and nature to be in all these areas. The fact that such concepts of man and nature usually lie below the threshold of consciousness would seem to make them all the more powerful. So, perhaps by recently making these criteria and principles clear, the silent evolving revolution seeks to facilitate their internalization. From the educational viewpoint, in any case, the place

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54 Ibid., p. 11.

to begin to change moral behaviour and, therefore, cultural and political behaviour would seem to be at the level of the individual image of man and the world. So, this would seem to be another implied function of future education in Canada, in its ongoing dialogue with the political sector in developing the new Canadian culture.

One question remains in this section: how do Canadians today relate public and private morality? The phrase "public morality" does not seem to be very popular in Canada today, probably because it tends to conjure up such pictures as the policeman, the censor, the self-righteous moralist or techniques of technological eavesdropping. The commonly heard statement that "you can't legislate morality" or that "the state has no place in the bedrooms of the nation" would seem to suggest a rejection of any attempt at merging public law and private ethics. This reflects an apparently unrecognized contradiction in political and public thinking, because current acceptance of the concept of self-determination at both individual and social levels indicates the reverse: it indicates an effort to combine the need for law with the fact of significant differences among and between individual and group values. It would seem, then, that the common pretense that public law and private morals need have nothing to do with each other is really seen as false. In other words, it would seem that, without conceptualizing it clearly, the public seems to sense some relationship between law and ethics. This would

seem quite natural, seeing that every individual is at one and the same time both a person and a citizen. At the individual level at least, then, there would be a more or less obvious relationship. The problem, however, seems to go deeper.

Generally speaking, laws reflect what the community values, what it considers essential to its common welfare. Given this fact, can current demands for civil rights or abortion, for example, be interpreted merely as reflecting a shift in legal theory, unrelated to what people now consider right and wrong? Does frowning upon medical experimentation without the consent of those to be experimented on say nothing about what the community believes that one human being owes another? It does seem clear from previous discussion in chapter 1 that such words as "equality", "justice" and "freedom" are not only specific legal concepts: rather, their power as concepts derives from their ethical weight. Besides, it does seem unrealistic to refuse to recognize that moral attitudes of people are in fact influenced by what the law prohibits or permits. The idea that law and morality should be separated, therefore, would seem to be not only a dangerous myth but also a systematic distortion of reality. What is perhaps more important is that this mythical distortion also distracts the community from the need to try, through public dialogue, to arrive at some common values and moral standards that could pervade and enrich their common life.

To elicit voluntary obedience, law must have moral weight behind it. Law must also seem fitting and proper, consonant with and evocative of human hopes and aspirations for a genuinely humane community. But the expectation that one's neighbour will treat one with justice and respect cannot effectively rest on law alone. It must also rest on some expectation that one's neighbour privately cherishes the value of justice, that he would be just even if the law did not require it of him. As indicated in chapter 2, this is the notion of justice as habit from which emanates the concept of the just man: this was also seen to be one of the notions of justice not yet widely internalized here in Canada. Until this notion of justice does become widely internalized, there will remain a strong probability that whenever law and order are inveighed there will be questions of: law for whose benefit? and, order to what end?

The separation of law and morality also has a rather devastating effect when it predicates that, apart from what the law requires, everyone should be free to shape his own values and way of life as he sees fit. Though this ideal of human freedom seems praiseworthy, in that it bespeaks respect for conscience and the value of self-determination, the privatized individualization of morality to which it can lead seems too often likely to leave individuals lost about how, once free, they should use their freedom or shape their conscience. Being born into an already ongoing world reality from which most of this is learnt, those with religion in the family would seem likely to survive:

but, for those growing numbers with no formalized religious nurture, it would seem necessary for the new nurturing society to provide some assistance. Besides, dispossessed of values independent of law, people would seem to have no criteria with which to evaluate law. The resulting lack of some common standards by which to make moral judgments could very well end, therefore, not in an increase of individual freedom but rather in the propagation of legal herd behaviour. This would be the reverse of what is intended. It would seem essential, then, that ethical issues become fit for rational public dialogue and that they be no longer treated as too personal, too emotional or too subjective to be exposed to public scrutiny and judgment. Herein seems to lie another essential new function of education in its dialogue with politics.

The current Canadian concept of the ideal of the just society seems fully aware that one function of a viable culture is that of providing its citizens with some common sustaining values and with some mutually rewarding ways of working together to attain a more humane life. The importance of this cultural function was also indicated by Callahan when he wrote:

In the absence of some well-thought-out standards of public morality which can be appropriated into private lives, there will exist no reasonable way at all for people to think through their ethical dilemmas... Nor, more generally, will there be any possibility of developing those deep habits of action, sustained by sane affective responses, which, as much or more than formal moral codes, establish the ethos of a culture. 55

The ethos of the new Canadian culture, then, would seem to require not only that acceptable standards of public morality be appropriated into private lives, thus removing the presently perceived dichotomy, but it must also facilitate the internalization of just habits of action and reinforce them by sane affective responses, often more crucial than formal moral codes.

The implication for education here would seem to be that future education in Canada must concern itself more consciously and more specifically with the dynamics of moral decision-making, with how such issues are conceived, with the ingredients used, and with the way in which they are mixed, though not necessarily with the conclusions to be arrived at. As this report shows, such scrutiny can reveal not only a person's or a government's whole way of looking at the world but also that one's way of looking at the world shapes one's conclusions. What seems most important here, however, is that the discovery of a viable way to deal with this is both an individual and a cultural problem, and both must be solved simultaneously.

### 3. IMPORTANT EDUCATIONAL FUNCTIONS

Perhaps the most important educational specifics to be detected in the recent politics of the just society reside in the novel attempt by the silent evolving Canadian revolution to redefine itself in terms other than those traditionally used. Rather than seeking to define itself negatively, in terms of its difference from the United States of America, it seems to strive

to base Canada's self-identification positively, on contemporary world reality and on the nation's future needs for self-determination, while at the same time using this approach to integrate its two major cultures. Apparently unintentionally, Lipset indicated this new Canadian approach when he wrote:

The more traditional form of Canadian nationalism would seem to continue in the French-Canadian protest movements with their anti-English and anti-establishment overtones directed at those within Canadian borders who represent English cultural, political, and economic domination. As English Canadians seek to isolate Canada from the United States, French Canadians look for means to assure the safety of their culture surrounded by 200 million English speakers. In a sense both English and French Canadians have similar objectives, to protect two tiny minority cultures from being absorbed by more powerful neighbours. 56

Viewed from this perspective, the struggle of both groups would seem identical: the new Canadian politics apparently attempts to raise this similarity of struggle to the level of national consciousness. The current Canadian concept of the just society also seems to reflect a new confidence, a new sense of assurance throughout the nation, something predicted nearly a decade ago by Frank Underhill when he said that "If we are eventually to satisfy ourselves that we have at last achieved a Canadian identity, it will be only when we are satisfied that we have arrived at a better

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56 S. M. Lipset, "National Values: Canada and the United States", in J. W. Berry & G. J.S. Wilde (eds.), Social Psychology: The Canadian Context, Toronto, McClelland and Stewart, 1972, p. 41.

American way of life than the American have",<sup>57</sup> The present shift in Canada's self-image that Lipset describes as "from that of a nation to the right of the United States to one on its left"<sup>58</sup> would seem to typify the new Canadian mood which would probably prefer to define its own movement as forward and more humane rather than from right to left. In any case, Canadians would probably accept as true today, that

Many Canadians now seek to defend the integrity of Canada against the United States by defining their own country as more humane, more egalitarian, more democratic, and more anti-imperialist than the United States. Many Canadians now view their country as more "leftist" or liberal in its institutions and international objectives than the United States. 59

This shift in the definition of the character of Canada's chief reference group would seem to have also affected current Canadian values, reflected in the recent behaviour of the Trudeau government. The educational specifics to be extracted from political policy here, then, emanate not only from the behavioural objectives and the present primary preoccupations of Canada and Canadians but also from the prevailing new Canadian mood of self-confidence and the attempt to harness the contemporary scientific revolution to Canada's future.

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57 Frank Underhill, The Image of Confederation, Toronto, Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, 1964, p. 69.

58 Op. cit., in 56, p. 41.

59 Ibid., p. 41.

For the purposes of this report, since the behavioural objectives of the present government place fostering economic growth, promoting social justice and enhancing the quality of life in priority positions and since these behavioural objectives are subsumed in the more comprehensive statement of the principles that guide the thinking of this government because those principles are perceived as responsive to the current priority preoccupations of Canada and Canadians, then it would seem more likely to prove fruitful here if attention were focused upon these principles, criteria or preoccupations, bearing in mind the clearly expressed political priorities. Perhaps it should also be remembered here that, in terms of comprehensiveness, an important aspect of cultural change, the technological one, remains to be dealt with, and that this aspect, because it affects social institutions and, therefore, such as formal education, more directly, will perhaps prove more immediately useful to explore. Also, because primary stress has been placed upon the harnessing of the new scientific revolution to Canada's future, as indicated in chapter 2, it would seem necessary to deal with the implications of this prior to examining those other more obvious areas involving educational implications such as participatory democracy, equality of educational opportunity, equality in schools, and the latent characteristics of equality and justice in education. This sequence in treatment would seem necessary because of the observable change in definition of both

democracy and equality and, therefore, the change in the notions of justice which are now being applied.

The first group of principles and criteria stated by the government includes national sovereignty, unity and security. The focus here would seem to be placed on the continuing existence of the Canadian nation as an integrated whole and on its uninhibited capacity to express itself as a national entity both within itself and in relating to other national entities. The primary concern here, then, would seem to be the understanding and integration of the national personality which, in turn, would facilitate the national capacity to express itself through national self-transcending acts of self-creation and of meaningful relationships with our nations: acts which also aid in the national task of increasing self-definition, recognition and respect. The specific educational function involved here would seem to be that of optimizing and maximizing such national understanding and integration of the nation as an entity, learning to understand the peculiar characteristics and intentions of the other nations of the world, and helping the political sector to determine which acts of relationship with other nations would be most likely to prove to be in the best interests of each. The major factors involved in this would seem to have been already dealt with in the preceding section.

The second group of principles and criteria mentioned involve federalism, parliamentary democracy and personal freedom. The focus here would seem to be placed upon the type of government ideology and machinery preferred and the intended effects of these on the individual citizen as a person. Without discussing at this point the pursued redefinition of democracy, the reasons given for the above preferences in style of government have been indicated as being:

The former, (parliamentary systems of democracy) because they make the various organs of power independent of each other and give a prominent role to the opposition. The latter, (federal systems) because they divide the exercise of sovereignty between the various levels of government, and give none of them full powers over the citizen.

The theory of checks and balances... has always had my full support. It translates into practical terms the concept of equilibrium that is inseparable from freedom in the realm of ideas. It incorporates a corrective for abuses and excesses into the very functioning of political institutions. 60

The search for order, balance and proportion and equidistance between alternatives, would seem to be viewed here as the governmental ways most likely to ensure the eventual attainment of personal freedom.<sup>61</sup> In this view, government is evidently seen as a major means to the desired end of individual freedom. The

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60 Pierre Elliot Trudeau, "Foreword", in Federalism and the French Canadians, Toronto, Macmillan of Canada, 1968, p. xxii-xxiii.

61 Ibid., p. xxii.

educational function to be derived from this group of principles would seem to be, among others, to assist the politicians in determining whether these choices of government ideology, institutions and methods are likely to prove optimal in achieving the desired goal and whether the individual citizen and person, having attained freedom, will be able to use it constructively. This also would seem to have been largely dealt with in the preceding section: what remains to be examined here will be subsequently scrutinized when the major implications of democracy for education are analyzed.

The third group of principles indicated suggests concern for national identity, bilingualism and multicultural expression. Here, the major factors involved would seem to be not only how Canada sees itself and sees others as seeing it but also how others in fact do see Canada. The first two types of self-perception were described in the third Throne speech, where the government said of Canadians that:

we are... more amenable to reason and, perhaps, more capable of wise decision than we are normally willing to admit... these are traits that have made Canada a land of freedom. 62

and, of Canada, that it

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62 Vide Chap. 2, p. 87, here.

is a high place of liberty in the world. It is held in esteem because in Canada respect is paid to the individual; privacy and freedom of thought are honoured. Among us, each citizen, each community, finds its roots in liberty. Our national entity does not depend upon a melting pot, but is a concerted exercise of free will. 63

An example of the third type of perception, how outsiders do see Canada, was given at the beginning of this section, where Canada was described by Lipset as being two small groups of people, one mostly French and the other mainly English, and both groups busily striving to protect their relatively tiny minority cultures from being absorbed by a massive neighbouring one. The perceived distinctive factors in Canadian culture, then, would seem to involve essentially its French and English biculturalism as well as its freedom of multicultural expression which reflect the vertical mosaic rather than the melting pot, though the current political movement would seem to intend to remove the vertical element from the mosaic. The educational function reflected here would, therefore, seem to be to sustain, extend and improve the quantity and quality of Canadian French-English biculturalism and bilingualism, because this is seen as the core factor and definitive aspect upon which the survival of current Canadian culture depends, <sup>64</sup> as well as to nurture and augment the free

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63 Ibid., p. 87.

64 J. W. Berry & G.J.S. Wilde, eds., "Canadian Dualism", in Social Psychology: The Canadian Context, Toronto, McClelland and Stewart, 1972, p. 43.

development of multicultural contributions to the total Canadian culture.

The educational implications of economic growth, financial stability and balanced regional development would seem to emanate mainly from the implied need within these principles to increase the national production of wealth so as to augment the total amount of wealth to be equitably distributed, to ensure the continuance and improvement of international trade on which almost one-third of the national income depends (this element also involves the competitiveness of Canadian economic activity which, in turn, contains comparisons between the quality of Canadian workers and that of the workers in other countries, especially those with which Canadian trade will compete: all of which underlines the need for Canadian educators to be constantly aware of the most recent developments and levels of quality of education in other countries in the world, so that Canada will not lag behind in the pace and quality of her own educational efficiency and effectiveness), and to distribute both economic activity and incomes equitably across the nation, which suggests not only related national standards of quality in education throughout all provinces but also a rational redistribution of the educational load between formal and informal educational systems. In today's changing and mobile Canadian society, education must become one of the few permanent elements, beginning in the cradle and continuing to the grave. This, for

demographic reasons, will require a vast increase in the availability of education for adults, whether for work, leisure or recreation. It may well be that education itself will gradually become the largest existing national enterprise.

The next group of principles named includes technological advance, social progress and environmental improvement. The government's expression of intent to place ecological concern above or before economic development would seem to have removed, here, the previously common conflict between environmental protection and economic growth. It does not deny, however, the harnessing of the new scientific revolution to Canada's future development, and this scientific revolution brings with it such enormously complicating factors for education as the biological revolution, new relations between theory and practice, computer technology and the effects of operant conditioning. This group of principles, especially technological advance and social progress, would seem to require more than a passing reference, particularly because they have not yet been closely examined.

What complications, then, does the new scientific revolution which the Prime Minister calls "technology" bring for future education in Canada? Some of them seem greater than any man has seen before. These complications result from the three subsumed revolutions which comprise the major one: the biological revolution, with its promise of expanding longevity; the computer

revolution, with its associated logico-mathematical imperatives; and the behavioural sciences revolution, symbolized by such developments as operant conditioning; all of which together constitute the contemporary scientific revolution, which can affect cultural change through technology as much or more than does ideology or developments in belief systems.

Apparently, one of the major changes resulting from the scientific revolution is a change in world view, from domination by physics to domination by the biological sciences. This change in conceptual framework would seem to mean that, instead of perceiving nature in terms of matter or life as animated matter, it will now be seen from the viewpoint of life. As Wheeler describes it:

Tomorrow... Matter will be seen as part of the chain of life and will be interpreted in organic, homeostatic, or other biological metaphors. Our over-all way of thinking and of interpreting the world will shift from the idiom of matter to that of life, from mechanics to organic processes. In philosophy, I suppose this means thinking in terms associated with men like Whitehead and Teilhard de Chardin rather than Newton and Locke. 65

This would logically necessitate a shift in the existing overriding ethic of formal education away from the Protestant ethic to a more universal, biologically oriented, ecological and homeostatic one.

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65 Harvey Wheeler, "Technology: Foundation of Cultural Change", in The Center Magazine, Santa Barbara, California, Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions, Vol. 5, No. 4, July-Aug., 1972, p. 48.

Another important characteristic of the scientific revolution would seem to be a reversal of the traditional relationship between theory and practice, from stress of activist practice to stress of thoughtful theory, because the guiding principles in human affairs will probably now be more often drawn from science. This seems indicated by the following statements:

The world of the Industrial Revolution was dominated by practical considerations. The world of the scientific revolution... will be dominated by theoretical considerations... Control over the flow of scientific innovation will rival, if not supplant, the importance of controlling the flow of capital. It is already true that if one could control the general character of scientific advance for the next few decades, one could thereby control the framework within which social change would take place. 66

The "practical considerations" referred to here would seem to include the fact that industrial inventions were typically devices for enhancing the various capacities of the human body. They made the hand more effective with machine tools, enabled man to travel faster with mechanized vehicles, allowed man to process more textiles with weaving and sewing machines and to farm more effectively with reapers and threshers as well as fabricate faster with factory looms. In a word, "these inventions enhanced and extended the eye, the ear, the hand, the leg. They had a mass-market potential, because every human being has a body to be extended by each invention".<sup>67</sup> Such innovations

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66 Ibid., p. 49.

67 Ibid., p. 49.

are seen to deal with parts of the person or of the world.

The significant point here seems to be that postwar scientific innovations are qualitatively different from the industrial inventions of the past. Instead of merely expanding the capacities of the human body, contemporary scientific discoveries like atomic energy, the computer and the biological synthesis and prolongation of life are systemic. They deal with entire systems such as energy, thought and life.<sup>68</sup> Both human and political capacity to deal with such systemic discoveries and inventions would presently seem inadequate. National representative and legislative institutions of the age of the Industrial Revolution seem unable to deal with the global environmental system or with the system of life itself. It would seem that, from the standpoint of understanding this new world, both man and his political institutions have become somewhat obsolete. Perhaps a key to this problem is that scientific knowledge is cumulative whereas political knowledge and wisdom are not. From the educational viewpoint, this implies that philosophy and ethics must begin again with each child as he matures. As Wheeler describes this situation:

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68 Ibid., p. 49.

It would now seem an observable fact that the gap between the accumulation of scientific knowledge and technological competence with its additive capacity, compared with the non-additive nature of philosophic, political and deliberative wisdom, has become so great that the human being is now obsolete from a functional standpoint. We are simply not able to deal with the complexity of our problems. 69

This statement of the problem would seem to place squarely upon the shoulders of education the task of cultivating within each individual sufficient philosophic, political and deliberative wisdom to be able to handle the individual and social levels of this difficulty. Perhaps both greater maturity and longer life are needed in the new nurturing society, so that the search for subsistence may be replaced by the quest for improvement of the cultural order. This, however, would seem to make the biological revolution not only useful but perhaps also necessary.

Fortunately, biology does not yet seem as suspect today as physics, perhaps because it brings with it ecology, and ecological balance and environmental protection already provide themes for the future. Besides, present demands for environmental protection may reasonably be expected to spill over into a concern for individual somatic and psychosomatic balances. 70 Present prevalence of natural food and vitamin fads seems to suggest that these are already present in society. It should not be surprising, then, if biological and biochemical gadgetry

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69 Ibid., p. 50.

70 Ibid., p. 51.

in the form of pills or drugs for everything from impotence to stupidity begin soon to appear. This would seem to introduce a time factor which will not allow education to determine its stance in relation to these matters with any degree of leisure.

The problems posed by the computer seem to include not just a question of understanding but even that of the alienation of man from his own mind. A startling proposition. These difficulties seem to arise because human thinking processes information in a manner described as "natural", whereas computers are viewed as "artificial" processors of information. Both natural and artificial ways of processing information are associated with reasoning: the computer applying a form of invented logic or reason that functions through artificial codes, languages or algorithms, or specially constructed notation systems that differ from natural languages. Because human communication with computers

rely upon an intermediate artificial language: a sophisticated notation system which (serves as) a conduit between the thought processes of the brain as expressed through natural languages and the artificial reasoning and calculating procedures of the electronic information machine. The world of the computer remains a world of artificial reason... 71

it would seem that one of the major future problems will be that of devising accommodations between so-called natural and artificial reasoning systems. In addition, just as the factory, dominated by

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71 Ibid., p. 52.

the logic of the fabricating machine, required the worker to adapt himself to the demands of the machine, it seems also that the logic of keeping records in bureaucracies, asserting itself in similar fashion, resulted in the substitution of function for person. An interesting fact here is that, years after the idea became accepted that any function that could be routinized could be computerized, it proved easier to computerize bureaucratic operations than machine fabrication.<sup>72</sup> In other words, it proved easier to adapt people to computers than to adapt computers to other machines.

Because of the extent of the influence of the business community on Canadian society as a whole, there would seem to be a danger here of adjusting man to computer rather than computer to man: the result being the reduction of natural human thought processes to the limited, artificial, routinizable range and style of thinking and calculating of the computer. This seems confirmed by recent applications of information machines to bureaucratic decision-making routines which have increased the perception of many bureaucracies as being artificial decision routines. As Wheeler describes it:

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72 Ibid., p. 52.

These decisions are as artificial as the programs that make them possible. Their product is not to be confused with natural man-made decisions. Human beings must learn how to conform to the novel imperatives of the artificial logico-mathematical reason of information machines. Just as the earlier imperatives of factory and bureaucracy placed the burdens of stress on man so will these new computer-borne imperatives. Just as the factory was associated with the alienation of man from his work, just so, the information machine, with its artificial reason, portends the alienation of man from his own mind. Some people-mainly mathematicians-will understand this world, but the mass of people will not, and nevertheless they must live in it. <sup>73</sup>

The idea of human beings conforming to the imperatives of information machines and, therefore, to the alienation of man from his own mind seems to this writer just as desirable as the reduction of human thought to the routinizable or to logico-mathematical reasoning only. So, because the artificial symbolic and institutional world of information processing is already present in Canada, it would now seem urgent for educators to decide on which side of this movement education will stand and whether man or machine will learn how to conform.

The fact that modern man already lives in this changed symbolic environment also suggests his adopting a sort of neo-Pythagorean outlook or worldview which would cause him to see his environment, and probably everything, in terms of numbers or computer languages, with the magical or spiritual connotations quite likely removed. <sup>74</sup> Since this aspect of the problem also

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<sup>73</sup> Ibid., p. 52.

<sup>74</sup> Ibid., p. 53.

raises serious questions of understanding for the mass of people who must live in this modern world, then an additional function of education here would seem to be to help people to understand this new world and to minimize as far as possible, if not prevent, the alienation of man from his own mind. Primacy of the computer might serve well economic man, but: after wealth, what? seems already in question.

The remaining important aspect of the scientific revolution seems to be the increasing use of the behavioural sciences and especially operant conditioning in society, including education. Perhaps due to the inefficiency of multiple individualistic behaviours within a democracy, desire for more effective control and for substantial reduction in the level of needed punishment has become uppermost, especially concerning what the first Throne Speech of the 29th Parliament described as prisoner rehabilitation and public protection. The scientific underpinning of behaviour modification through positive reinforcement provided by the work of B.F. Skinner would seem to have removed the need to decide whether to believe in such conditioning and whether to use it. According to Wheeler:

Operant conditioning is now, and always was, "there", even among the most primitive of men, just the way speech was "there". Behaviour always contained operant conditioning potentials just as speech always contained potentials that later allowed us to produce grammar, logic, and mathematics. 75

This seems like another way of saying that truth does not begin to exist when discovered: it must have been there before. This would also seem to make the question here one of whether to leave matters as they now are or to use this new awareness in widespread applications, substituting positive reinforcers for aversive stimuli or punishments in relevant cases. Though it might seem true that widespread adoption of positive reinforcement principles in social and political domains could lead to a reduction of negative liberty (freedom from) and increase in positive liberty (freedom to), thus possibly moving society beyond liberty if not dignity,<sup>76</sup> there would still remain a host of unanswered methodological and value questions, particularly concerning group conflict resolution, control of controllers, means-to-end techniques, social analysis and the causal effect of ideas on social change.

Whatever Canadian society might decide, however, certain educational implications already seem clear. If legal or social restraints are reduced by whatever means used, then individual need to use expanded liberty creatively will likely increase. The need to facilitate self-management and desirable behaviour patterns would seem to be greatly augmented when punitive institutions yield to educational ones.

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<sup>76</sup> B. F. Skinner, Beyond Freedom and Dignity, New York, Knopf, 1971.

Generally speaking, the main effects of the scientific revolution on formal education would seem to be a shift in primary function from preparing youth for useful and rewarding lives in commerce and industry (the functional requirements of an industrial society) through the practical portrayal of facts about or the scientific description of the external world which they were to enter or through the development of the team and competitive spirit acquired by participation in physical activities and so necessary for "success" in a society dominated by business.<sup>77</sup> In an age of educated unemployables, the student cry of irrelevance would seem largely directed at that spirit of practicality which permeates the present curriculum because of the perseverance of the Protestant ethic of the industrial society into a post-industrial world. The new scientific revolution of the post-industrial world would seem to suggest that formal education should now replace the primary function described above with a more universal, ecological, biologically oriented and homeostatic ethic, suffusing all departments of learning with the new conception and using them to reveal the intimate truths about human beings as persons, about societies as organic person-related entities, and about the world as a man-related environment to be almost religiously celebrated and preserved. Future education in Canada now seems required

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77 Op. cit., in 65, p. 55.

to help Canadians to know themselves in a more complete emotional and somatic sense than ever before, and as persons in communities and in the world in ways that were not possible until now. In a word, the curricula of Canada's post-industrial culture must be oriented towards life in all its forms and manifestations. Predictively stated:

The full time occupation of the graduate of the past was to use his matter-dominated, business-oriented education to make his way in the world outside. The occupation of the university graduate of the future will more likely be to use his life-dominated and self-oriented (collective as well as individual) education to improve the emotional, somatic, and social health of the world and the environment of which he is a temporary custodian. 78

Education in Canada must now become self-oriented and life-dominated, for each Canadian and for all Canada. These would seem to be the specific educational implications of technological advance, social progress and environmental improvement.

The remaining principles stated, human values and humanitarian aspirations, would seem to be both the alpha and the omega of the current Canadian concept of the just society. Although human values and humanitarian aspirations seem to pervade the whole notion of the just society as the ideal and objectives are defined here, those specifically recommended by the political sector as now acceptable to Canadian society would seem to be mainly: an acceptable minimal standard of health, welfare and recreation for

all Canadians; the effective translation into national social reality of equality, justice, liberty and fraternity; the spiritual goods of religion, beauty, mental and physical pleasure, sincere companionship and occasional solitude; such guiding principles as truth, honesty, excellence, relevance, compassion and love; institutional protection of individual rights, development and values so as to ensure the free development and expression of integrated personalities; institutional support of individual worth and dignity, equality of opportunity and self-determination in order to facilitate self-actualization, individual fulfilment and happiness; and innovative national development, harmonizing the use of science and technology with environmental protection and ecological balance; all of this resulting in a genuinely humane national Canadian community that nurtures creativity and encourages its expression through imagination, daring, ingenuity and initiative. Since the recent Canadian politics seeks to heighten the level of community participation in the decision-making process, then the reciprocal relationship between politics and education here would seem to be enhanced, with the formal educational systems increasing their function of aiding in the selection of cultural goals, institutions and methods at municipal, provincial and national levels while, at the same time, opening themselves to greater interaction with the adult community through intensified use of their resources by adults in search of satisfaction of their needs, expectations and

aspirations. The implications of this for future education in Canada would seem to be the conscious implementation of "Community Education" with all its concomitants.<sup>79</sup>

The interweaving of concepts of societal development, use of technology, and social and individual values, in the political attempt to respond to the wishes of the Canadian community to move toward an alternative condition of life viewed as humanly better, would seem to have not only underlined the imperatives of development as a cluster of societal goals and a set of economic, political, legal and social processes but also to have created for education in Canada an increased need, in its dialogue with the political sector, to recognize the analytical, synthetic, normative and prescriptive levels of discourse at which development proceeds. Recognition of the analytical mode which seeks to discover how technology affects values, which channelling structures it requires and which interests it serves; of the synthetic mode which explores the connections between processes and social forces and under which connections these conditions produce different effects; of the normative mode which asks not only what is and what ought to be but also how the "ought to be" can become reality, thus demanding criteria and norms of the desirable as well as defense of such norms; and of the prescriptive

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<sup>79</sup> W. Fred Totten, guest editor, "Community Education: A Special Issue", in Phi Delta Kappan, Vol. 54, No. 3, Nov. 1972, p. 148-210.

mode which outlines the tasks, methods of procedure and how to win the support so essential to effective execution of social change: <sup>80</sup> recognition of all these modes of discourse not only establishes the framework within which the political-educational dialogue will take place but also seems to clarify those latent contradictions harboured within the use of technological processes. Because of the importance of these contradictions to the future of Canadian culture, it seems particularly important that educators ensure their inclusion in their dialogue with the political sector.

Some of the major caveats which seem to require examination have been recently indicated by Denis Goulet of the Center for the Study of Development and Social Change in Cambridge, Massachusetts. An important contradiction has been found to be the fact that technological processes powerfully promote centralization and elitism along with the correlative danger of mass manipulation while they simultaneously spread and focus demands by formerly passive people for participation, control over their own lives and greater autonomy.

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<sup>80</sup> Denis Goulet, "Technology, Development, and Values Defined", in The Center Magazine, Santa Barbara, California, Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions, Vol. 5, No. 5, September-October 1972, p. 24.

Another contradiction seems to be that technology, while presenting itself as able to meet human needs, is in fact harnessed to the satisfaction of wants, especially those wants consonant with the will to power and prestige, thereby reinforcing privilege.<sup>81</sup> Also, technology channels and expresses some values while, at the same time, it threatens others: it expresses a certain kind of rationality and efficiency, treating human dilemmas as problems to be solved while simultaneously it threatens contemplation, gratuitous celebration, disinterested friendship, nonconceptual forms of rationality and the concern for transcendence. But, even more fundamentally, technology also seems to heighten the tension between uniform and pluriform values. So that, when societies try to preserve cultural diversity and find themselves obliged to use technology to do so, they also discover that, once they accept technology, they are also trapped in the currents of standardization.<sup>82</sup>

In view of the crucial importance to the Canadian identity of biculturalism and multicultural expression and in view of the Canadian national interest in preserving a diverse world, it would seem essential that Canadian educators now do their utmost to ensure that a pluriform world and nation not be reduced to uniformity by abdicating culture. In a word, it seems that the domain and functions of technology must rapidly be established, for time is of

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81 Ibid., p. 24.

82 Ibid., p. 25.

the essence.

Finally, the remaining area from which specific educational implications can be drawn would seem to be the political domain of democracy, with its correlative understandings of equality of educational opportunity, equality in schools and the latent characteristics of equality and justice in education.<sup>83</sup> In view of the ideal and objectives stated at the beginning of this chapter as the ideal and objectives involved in the current Canadian concepts of the just society, the fundamental premises of the type of democracy posited for Canada would seem to include: the significance, autonomy, dignity and worth of the individual; the directional quality of varying groups in Canadian society; the place of argument and of persuasion in society, including the right of dissent; and the role of power and control with respect to democratic principles. Out of these should come the remaining educational specifics to be arrived at here.

The priority given to the autonomous person by participatory democracy as defined here would seem to require of future education in Canada that it consciously and specifically ensure the development of each Canadian as a self-actualizing

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<sup>83</sup> Lee J. Cronbach & Patrick Suppes, eds., Research for Tomorrow's Schools: Disciplined Inquiry for Education, New York, Macmillan, 1969, p. 260.

personality. This would seem to demand that educational systems develop in every Canadian those characteristics which constitute and enhance individual autonomy, such as: a superior perception of reality; heightened acceptance of self, of others and of nature; increased spontaneity, resistance to enculturation, detachment and desire for privacy as well as an increase in problem-centering, a livelier ability to appreciate things and a wider range of emotional reaction; a higher frequency of peak (ecstasy-type) experiences; increased identification with other human beings; an improved facility for positive interpersonal relations; a more democratic or less autocratic character structure; increased creativeness (imagination, daring, initiative and ingenuity); and greater openness to change in one's personal value system.<sup>84</sup> Although all Canadians might not attain to all these or similar characteristics of personal autonomy, the acquisition of a majority of such qualities should tend to augment the probability of personal autonomy. If education were to add to the above a gradual movement from an egocentric to a universal love of or at least concern for others from infancy to maturity, through widening identification, then the likelihood that mature Canadians would comfortably unite with the human family of nation

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<sup>84</sup> Abraham H. Maslow, Toward a Psychology of Being, Princeton, New Jersey, D. Van Nostrand, 1962, p. 23-24.

and of world would seem greatly increased. This would seem to fulfil the requirements of the first abovementioned fundamental premise of democracy applied to education.

The second fundamental premise, that of the inherent directional qualities of social groups, refers to certain useful postulates, such as, that: man is essentially gregarious; societies, including cloistered ones, express a basic need of man to group; democratic society emphasizes individual dignity, man's universality and uniqueness or his oneness (homogeneity) and his differences (heterogeneity); when individuality is exaggerated, democratic process is endangered, but when grouping emphasizes man's need for self-worth and his need to respect and serve others, then grouping enhances the democratic premise; optimally men seek to serve themselves and often others, in search of gratification as human beings; and through helping one another, skills, talents, ideas and viewpoints are exchanged, integrated and placed at the disposal of others.<sup>85</sup> Because of these inclinations of groups and because education assumes that man can learn to know and that it is better to know than to remain ignorant, it would seem better, therefore, that groups be flexible and heterogeneous not only to make the tasks of interaction richer and more satisfying but also

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<sup>85</sup> Benjamin M. Sachs, Educational Administration: A Behavioural Approach, Boston, Houghton Mifflin, 1966, p. 33.

to further the process and evolution of democratic society.

Involved in this, too, is the question of minority groups, of women and the poor who, so far, have only recently been recognized legally as having status equal to that of the majority, through new programs for native Canadians, biculturalism and multiculturalism. The need felt by these powerless groups for security, recognition, participation and self-respect indicate the areas of their greatest need for nurture.<sup>86</sup> It would seem that future education in Canada must not only analyze and understand the culture of poverty and its differences from the ethos of the culture of the majority but it must also familiarize itself with both past and potential contributions of the plurality of cultures within Canadian society: it must fill in the missing or neglected elements of the Canadian mosaic so as to enhance the totality of the national culture, and it cannot with impunity continue to refuse to confront the importance of sexualization, sexuality, erotic behaviour, variants of symbiotic relationships, morality and sexual behaviour or the changing roles and status of men and women in relationship to one another, all of which questions arise not just in dealing with women but rather in exploring and understanding better than ever before the nature and makeup of human beings and how they relate to one another.

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<sup>86</sup> Stanley Charnofsky, Educating the Powerless, Belmont, California, Wadsworth Publishing Co., 1971.

People ignorant of their sexual natures seem likely to continue to oscillate in attitude between repression and license. In any case, the minds of people, like nations, should no longer be allowed to continue to exist half slave and half free. Until individuals can see each other as they really are rather than as projected wish-fulfilment images, they seem hardly likely to move toward their full potential. It would seem, therefore, that future education in Canada must also seek

to establish man's sexuality as a health entity; to identify the special characteristics that distinguish it from, yet relate it to, human reproduction; to dignify it by openness of approach, study, and scientific research designed to lead toward its understanding and its freedom from exploitation; to give leadership to professionals and to society (it educates and trains them), to the end that human beings may be aided toward responsible use of the sexual faculty and toward assimilation of sex into their individual life patterns as a creative and recreative force. 87

Even when considered merely from the health viewpoint, the current prevalence of diseases caused by uninhibited sexual activity would seem to demand urgent educational acceptance of this responsibility. The education of the whole person clearly requires this.

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87 Mary Calderone, "It's Society That Is Changing Sexuality", in The Center Magazine, Santa Barbara, California, Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions, Vol. 5, No. 4, July-August 1972, p. 66.

The third fundamental premise, the place of argument and persuasion and of the right to dissent in Canadian society, would seem to emanate from such basic functional principles of democracy as the ideals and ideas of justice, liberty, equality and fraternity, free discussion between equals, self-determination, rule of law, plurality of political parties, universal suffrage, differentiation of function, cooperation and interconnection, balance between division and cooperation, reconciliation of differences, agreement to differ, acceptance of the majority principle and of common consent or a consensus of opinion, and the principle of compromise as well as the essential conventions or virtues essential to the effective functioning of democratic systems, such as, toleration of differences of opinion, such candour as is open to conviction by the weight of argument, moderation in the hour of strength and reasonableness even in defeat.<sup>88</sup> These covert conventions are as important as overt institutions to the survival of democracy, because they deny that monopoly of truth even by a majority which would remove the point in discussion and the reason for democracy. The educational implications of these abovementioned elements of democracy would seem to be not only that not all methods will be permissible but also that there can be no single right answer in education, that

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<sup>88</sup> Ernest Barker, Reflections on Government, New York, Oxford University Press, 1958, chaps. 1-3, 7, 8, and 14.

persuasion must be the prevailing mode of discipline, that toleration, openness, moderation and reasonableness must reign supreme and that equality is a necessary adjunct of brotherly nationhood. So, future education in Canada must develop these qualities in learners, since they are essential to the preservation of the democratic system and, perhaps, even to those who proclaim it.

The final fundamental premise inherent in the current Canadian conceptualization of democracy is that of the role of power and control with respect to democratic principles. The general characteristics of the power process which defines democracy would seem to be, that: power is exercised with maximum self-responsibility; the power process is not absolute and self-contained; and the benefits of the power process are distributed throughout the body politic.<sup>89</sup> The implications of these characteristics, in turn, would seem to be that: democracy is incompatible with authoritarianism, regardless of its benefits; decisions are conditional and subject to challenge, thus making democracy incompatible with the arbitrary, uncontrolled exercise of power, regardless of the majorities who exercise it, and, democracy is incompatible, too, with the existence of privileged castes, regardless of the expectations concerning an assumed common

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89 Harold D. Lasswell & Abraham Kaplan, Power and Society, New Haven, Connecticut, Yale University Press, 1961, p. 234-284.

interest. Future education in Canada, therefore, should not only not contribute to authoritarianism, the arbitrary exercise of power or the existence of privileged castes in Canadian society but also would seem to be required to prevent or remove them. Obviously, these facts should be reflected in future educational procedures.

When the democratic use of power is reduced from the general level to the specific and its exercise is individualized, certain other aspects of democratic use of power ~~become~~ apparent too. These aspects of the individualized use of power concern: power as a function of perception and personality; power as belonging to the group or individual served; power as service; the power flow; the destructive nature of power; and the enhancing nature of power.<sup>90</sup> The implications of these aspects would seem to be that: since an individual's value structure is often determined by his past experiences which largely constitute his current social perception and personality, it becomes particularly important in a democratic society that the environment be conducive to democratic perceptions, since these will likely emerge later if or when power and control are exercised. The educational environment should, therefore, provide such experiences as are conducive to the development of the necessary democratic perceptions and attitudes.

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90 Op. cit., in 85, chap. 5.

Also, accompanying the belief that ultimate control belongs to the public, would seem to be the conviction that power belongs to the people served by their representatives. This power can be augmented through service, it would seem, if such service recognizes the needs of those over whom power is exercised. Thus, clearer communications can mean greater insight, greater insight can cause better service, better service can generate increased granting of power, and so on... the movement is circular. The educational implication here would seem to be that of developing within each individual a heightened capacity for empathy, a dedication to service and extensive communicative skills and abilities.

Involved here, too, are the democratic ideas that: status without service conflicts with democracy, because it nourishes the authoritarian notion of a power elite; in order to share and alternate power and responsibility, alternative sources of leadership should be continuously developed (every Canadian should therefore be educated to lead and to rule); in other words, if power is not to be inherited by an increasingly privileged group, a democracy should make conscious attempts to widen the area and levels of society from which representative leaders come. Education's treatment, especially of minorities, must reflect this.

The concept of power flow refers to the idea that, since the people elect or discharge their representatives or limit their behaviour when it is not in their interest, then power flows from them to their agents who, in turn, should be responsible and responsive to those they serve, encouraging them to assist in decision-making, thus increasing their voluntary involvement and acceptance of responsibility. Education should, therefore, seek to augment the individual's capacity for making decisions, encourage participatory involvement in learning activities and develop the willingness to accept responsibility.

Future education in Canada should be particularly aware of the destructive nature of power which often seems to arise from attempts to reduce ambiguity or confusion, resulting in excessively detailed regulations, limiting variations in procedure, the mechanization of behaviour at the expense of personalization and the reduction of human relations to an acceptance-obedience level which precludes questioning of authority and participation in decision-making. Education must, therefore, beware of efficiency being interpreted and practiced as rigidity, depersonalization and individual or group impotence and of reducing individual autonomy, compelling acceptance of aggression-submission, creating ambivalence or acceptance-seeking accompanied by fear and of stressing conformity, often through an abuse of fairness in the form of standardization and through failure to recognize that a particular act might have one set of meanings for one group

and another set of meanings for another.<sup>91</sup> For example, does vocational training always mean "shop"? Or can it mean agricultural training in a rural school, a trade in an inner city school, academic preparation in the suburbs and professional school in a university?

Finally, the enhancing nature of power would seem to be employed when the notion of power as service demonstrates an inherent component of humility, organizing decisions and control around the needs of those served. Here, power is seen as expressing itself as a genuine desire to understand and help others, operating at a deep empathic level rather than at a "do-good" level. This is often described as power expressed as love.<sup>92</sup> The specific educational implications involved here would seem to be those of accustoming the young and learners in general to using power, authority and influence, with humble consideration of the needs of those one intends to serve, with an honest intention to understand and help others, and with generous actions suffused in empathy and genuinely guided by compassion and love.

All of the abovementioned would seem to emanate as specific educational implications from the political ideology of democracy and its concomitant understandings of equality of

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91 Ibid., p. 75-77.

92 Ibid., p. 77.

educational opportunity, equality in schools and the latent characteristics of equality and justice in future education in Canada. These, coupled with the other findings to be found in this chapter, seem to suggest that future education in Canada in the seventies will be aimed at helping Canadians to learn: to understand themselves, other peoples of the world and their natural environment; to determine how Canadians and others currently live, why people now live as they do, how Canadians and other peoples would prefer to live as individuals and in community, and how best the individual and collective lives of people can be improved; and to ameliorate the quality of Canadian life by inciting Canadians to improve not only themselves, existing cultures and even mankind through work, recreation, leisure and other means but also to better the individual's perception of his own life by assisting him to clarify his reason for living, by adding wide variety to life as a counterweight to boredom and by deepening individual recognition of previously untapped sources of physical, emotional and spiritual satisfaction in life. In this way, perhaps, the ideal and objectives of current Canadian concepts of the just society may be attained.

## SUMMARY

This chapter, the *raison d'être* or the main objective of the preceding ones, provides a description of the new Canadian culture likely to result from the current Canadian concepts of the just society, the basic aspects of the philosophy of education that would seem to stem from this new culture, and the behavioural priorities of the formal education systems in Canada which would seem to emanate from acceptance of the new culture and its inherent educational philosophy. The description of these three areas results from the examination of the broad cultural implications of the ideal and objectives of the current Canadian concepts of the just society, of the general educational implications which seem to result necessarily from the preferred political ideology of the just society, and of the more important specific behaviours that would seem to be required of Canada's educational systems, if the pursued national objectives and ideal are to be effectively achieved. The conclusions arrived at here are therefore seen as constituting that future educational strategy in Canada which is latent within the existing, though perhaps so far not too patent, political policy. Also, although education qua education is viewed as generating its own imperatives, attention is focused here upon education as a central part of the national whole, and upon the probable effects of national political ideology and behaviour upon future education in Canada.

In extracting the inherent latent educational strategy from the now patent political policy, three approaches of descending levels of specificity or of concentric circles moving inwards were used: the level of national culture, that of the educational philosophy inherent in the new culture, and the level of the educational priorities in behaviour seen as latent within the given educational philosophy. Examination of the major cultural implications of the current Canadian concept of the just society was undertaken for four main reasons, because: society and its culture both determine and legitimate the rationale, content and methods of its formal educational systems; the search for meaning and understanding seems much more urgent now than the quest for knowledge alone; much is known about the impact of education on politics but little about the effect of politics on education, apparently due to the lack of studies of the relationship between politics and education which use education as the core or dependent variable and political processes, institutions or factors as the influence or independent variables; and, because both politics and education are closely related to culture - the political sector typically making authoritative, legitimate and binding decisions about accepted values and behaviour, and the educational sector usually mirroring, maintaining and sometimes changing them - culture is viewed here as a mediating factor potentially capable of clarifying the customary interaction between politics and education.

The extraction of basic cultural implications from the government's guiding principles and criteria or the major contemporary preoccupations of Canada and of Canadians, seemed to reveal, in terms of overall impact, that the motivation behind the extensive political redefinition of national goals, reorientation of purposes, revision of policy, programs and priorities, renewal of institutions, creation of new governmental administrative machinery and methods, and other innovations attempted since the beginning of the 28th Parliament in 1968, bears a rather striking similarity to recently widely accepted definitions of evolutionary revolution as non-violent and gestational. This would seem to suggest that Canada and many Canadians may be presently, even if unwittingly, involved in the process of a consciously construed, though silent, evolving revolution, expected to culminate in certain anticipated cultural changes in Canadian society.

This evolutionary revolution, reflected in the current government's considerable concern for innovation and in the Prime Minister's stress of both technology and ecology (which, in turn, suggests the cultural movements of modernity and counter-modernity), appears to envisage the advent of a new Canadian culture in which people can live and die securely, harmoniously and humanely amidst continuous change: its eventual existence and survival apparently being decided by the degree to which the reasons for it become commonly and implicitly understood and, therefore, internalized. This internalization of the values of innovation, technology

and ecology is seen to lead to the development of a nurturing society or context which feeds and shapes individual Canadians. The educational implications of this is viewed as being the extension of formal education into the more informal cultural realm, thus creating a consciously learning or nurturing Canadian society which inculcates such habits as just intentions, emotional responses sensitive to the needs of the dispossessed, ennobling desires and actions and healthy repugnances towards governmental encroachment on group or individual rights or privacy and towards the present proliferation of isolation in Canada.

Other aspects of the new Canadian culture envisioned include its drive toward meaning, community, value and integrity. The development of a sense of meaning is seen here as referring to an arrival, at least, at some way of dealing with absurdity or inconsistency and, at best, of developing a belief system that makes sense of things and of life. The quest for community involves the cultivation of that fundamental trust which often results from shared values, interdependent common life, and the conviction that neighbours are not enemies, all of which increase the possibility of living with others in peace and mutual enrichment. The impulsion towards values, in turn, reflects the need for coherently structured goals that allow both individuals and communities to determine what they should seek or avoid, and where the good of each and of all lies. Finally, the integrity

of Canada refers to the drive toward a unified national self: a self sure of its worth, confident in its identity and at ease with itself, because it determines itself.

The educational implications extracted from these cultural ones were that future education in Canada must take account of and integrate the cultural drives to meaning, community, value and integrity into a coherent over-all perspective of the pursued ideal and objectives of the just society as here defined, and that perspective, embodied in the new culture, must pervade the laws, customs, institutional arrangements and the changing Canadian life. Education must develop, too, a coherent view of the meaning of life, express an acceptable understanding of the mutual obligations of Canadian life in common, display an ordered, reasonable and deep commitment to a clear set of values such as those recommended here, and not threaten the personal integrity of individual Canadians. Future education should elicit a deep and positive response in the whole national culture by helping to create it and by being, in turn, reshaped and renewed by it. In a word, the dichotomy between culture and education should disappear.

The general educational implications or major aspects of the future underlying philosophy of education in Canada were arrived at by attempting to answer three basic questions involved in the current Canadian conceptualization of the just society: what is the current Canadian concept of man? how do Canadians currently

conceptualize the relationship between man and nature? and, how do Canadians today relate public and private morality? Based on the preceding synthesis of the social and individual aspects of the just society, a current Canadian concept of man was arrived at which envisions man as, among other things, that creature who, after serious deliberation, is found to be most creatively useful in shaping the future, a concept of man that is not fixed but flexible and not static but dynamic.

Current Canadian conceptualization of the relationship between man and nature was found to be based on a combination of both the sacral and symbiotic model and the teleological model, two of the three basic common alternative models normally used in discussing the relationship between man and nature, which in essence imply a symbiotic relationship between man and nature in which whatever is most in harmony with nature is seen as good and nature is viewed as a partial guide, though some differences between man and the rest of nature are also recognized. In these models, man must not only create his own ethical norms and moral codes but also, through contemplation of the ways of nature, he can find in nature some outline of a base for the foundation of his moral life. Since the level of the individual image of man and the world is seen as the educational place to begin to change moral and, therefore, cultural and political behaviour, this was seen as another necessary function of future education in Canada.

The presently perceived relationship between public and private morality was found to reflect an apparently unrecognized contradiction in political and public thinking between an unwillingness to attempt to merge public law and private ethics and current acceptance of the concept of self-determination at the individual and social levels which indicates the opposite by trying to correlate the need for law with individual and group values so as to facilitate voluntary obedience. This seemed to question whether the common pretense that public law and private morals are completely unrelated is really believed to be true, especially seeing that every individual is both a private person and a public citizen. It would seem that individual Canadians in fact sense some relationship between law and ethics. The need to evaluate the law, to internalize the habit of just intentions (the notion of justice as habit or of the just man) and to avoid legal herd behaviour, all seem to make necessary the introduction of ethical issues into rational public dialogue, so as to facilitate public scrutiny and judgment and to clarify the ethos of the new culture which requires that acceptable standards of public morality be appropriated into private lives and that just habits of action be reinforced by sane effective responses. The educational function involved here was seen to be that future education in Canada must concern itself more consciously and more specifically with the dynamics of moral decision-making, though

not necessarily with the conclusions to be reached. For the relationship between so-called public and private morality presents both an individual and a cultural problem, both of which must be solved simultaneously.

In seeking to determine the more important specific behaviours now required of education as a result of Canada's recent attempt to redefine itself positively rather than negatively and to indicate the similarity of struggle of both English and French groups to protect their two tiny minority cultures from being absorbed by more powerful neighbours, the new Canadian mood due to the perceived shift in Canada's self-image, based on the changed definition of the character of Canada's former chief reference group, the United States of America, was recognized as well as the effort to harness the contemporary scientific revolution to Canada's future. Also, grounded in the government's statement of the principles and criteria that guide its thinking and its indicated priorities, based on the perceived primary preoccupations of Canada and Canadians, more specific educational functions as opposed to the preceding overall perspective were arrived at. These specifics were, therefore, regarded as potential future priorities of Canada's now provincial educational systems.

These potential priorities of future education in Canada, from the viewpoint of functions, were seen to be: to help Canadians to optimize and maximize national self-understanding and

the integration of the nation as an entity, to learn to understand the characteristics and intentions of the other nations of the world, and to aid the political sector in determining which acts of relationship with other nations would most likely prove to be in the best interests of each; to assist the political sector in determining whether governmental choices of ideology, institutions and methods are likely to prove optimal in achieving selected objectives as well as seeking to ensure that individuals, having attained relative freedom, will be capable of using it constructively; to sustain, extend, and improve the quantity and quality of French-English biculturalism, because this is seen as the core factor and definitive aspect upon which the survival of the overall current Canadian culture depends, and to nurture and augment the free development of multicultural contributions to the total Canadian culture; to be constantly aware of the most recent development and levels of quality of education in other countries, so that Canada will not lag behind in the pace and quality of her own educational efficiency and effectiveness; to develop related national standards of quality in education throughout Canada as well as a rational redistribution of the educational load between formal and informal educational systems; to make of education a continuing element in Canadian life from the cradle to the grave, which requires a vast increase in the availability of pre-school facilities and in education for adults, whether for work, leisure or recreation, all of which suggests

education itself as becoming eventually the largest national enterprise; to deal effectively with the described implications of the biological, the computer and the behaviour sciences revolutions as well as the overall contemporary scientific revolution, and such attendant problems as expanded longevity, logico-mathematical imperatives, change in world perspective from physics to biology, stress of theory rather than practice due to use of science, systemic changes in energy, thought and life, the need to balance non-additive philosophic, political, and deliberative wisdom with cumulative scientific knowledge and technological competence, the need to determine the stance of education with regard to pills for stupidity or neurosurgery to improve intellectual functioning, devising accommodations between natural and artificial reasoning systems, to avoid the adjustment of men to computers and the resulting reduction of natural human thought processes to the limiting, artificial, routinizable range and style of thinking and calculating of the computer culminating in the alienation of man from his own mind, the need to understand the new numerological environment of the languages of information processing machines which all must live in, and the potential virtues and dangers of increased societal control over individual behaviour through the use of operant conditioning while transmitting desirable behaviour patterns and teaching self-management; to facilitate the increase of educational rather than punitive institutions in Canadian society; to replace irrelevant present

educational functions with a more universal, ecological, biologically oriented and homeostatic ethic, suffusing all departments of learning with the new conception and using the new approaches to reveal the more intimate truths about human beings as persons, about societies as organic person-related entities and about the world as a man-related environment to be celebrated and preserved; to help Canadians to know themselves in a more complete emotional and somatic sense than ever before and as persons in communities and in the world in ways that were impossible until now due to lack of knowledge; to orient the new curricula towards life in all its forms and manifestations; and to make future education in Canada life-dominated and self-oriented for each Canadian and for all Canada.

The remaining educational functions which relate mainly to human values and humanitarian aspirations were found to be: the conscious implementation of the concept of "Community Education", with all its concomitant understandings of a heightened reciprocal relationship between politics and education at the municipal, provincial and national levels, enhanced use of analytical, synthetic, normative and prescriptive modes of discourse in the ensuing dialogue between them regarding individual, community and national development, while recognizing the latent contradictions hidden within the use of technological processes as well as the urgency of the time factor; the development of every Canadian as a self-actualizing personality, by focusing upon those

characteristics which constitute and enhance individual autonomy, along with a gradual movement from an egocentric to a universal love of or at least concern for others from infancy to maturity, through widening identification; helping to ensure that social groups are heterogeneous and flexible not only to make the tasks of interaction richer and more satisfying but also to further the process and evolution of democratic society; recognizing the special needs caused by powerlessness in minority groups, women and the poor, especially for security, recognition, participation and self-respect and, therefore, analyzing the culture of poverty, understanding its differences from the majority culture, familiarizing educators with the past and potential contributions of the plurality of cultures within Canadian society, filling in the missing or neglected elements of the Canadian mosaic so as to enhance the totality of the national culture, and confronting the educational need to deal with the necessary exploration and further understanding of the nature and make-up of human beings and how they relate to each other; recognition that education of the whole person includes education concerning sexualization, sexuality, erotic behaviour, variants of symbiotic relationships, morality and sexual behaviour and the changing roles and status of men and women in relationship to one another; application of democratic principles to education so that it becomes clear to learners that not all methods are permissible, that there are no single right answers, that persuasion must be

the prevailing mode of discipline aimed at eventual self-discipline, that toleration, openness, moderation and reasonableness must reign supreme, and that genuine equality is a necessary adjunct of fraternal nationhood; conscious attempts to remove authoritarianism, arbitrary exercise of power, and the existence of privileged castes in Canadian society as incompatible with democracy; ensuring that the cultural and learning environments are conducive to democratic experiences and perceptions; developing within each Canadian a heightened capacity for empathy, dedication to service and extensive communicative skills and abilities; ensuring that alternative sources of leadership are continuously developed and, therefore, that every Canadian is educated to lead or to rule so that power and responsibility may be alternated and not inherited by an increasingly privileged group; augmenting individual capacity for decision-making, encouraging participatory involvement especially in learning activities as well as the willingness to accept responsibility; taking care to avoid the interpretation and practice of efficiency in education as rigidity, depersonalization and individual or group impotence as well as the reduction of individual autonomy, compelling acceptance of aggression-submission, creating acceptance-seeking accompanied by fear and stressing conformity, especially through abuse of fairness in the form of standardization or through failing to recognize that particular acts might have different sets of meanings for different groups or individuals; and accustoming

the young and learners in general to using power, authority and influence with humble consideration for the needs of those one intends to serve, with an honest intention to understand and help others and with generous actions suffused in empathy and genuinely guided by compassion and love. All of these would seem to be implications for education in Canada contained in current Canadian concepts of the just society.

## SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

This section contains an overall summary of this research report, indicates the major conclusions arrived at and suggests some detected implications for further studies in this domain of the relationship between politics and education, especially concerning the impact of political variables on educational ones.

The problem posed here, that of determining those educational functions of Canada's future educational systems which would be consonant with the current political ideology and policy described as the objectives and ideal of the just society, was considered important not only because of persisting public uncertainty throughout Canada concerning the true meaning and implications of the recent politics of the just society introduced since 1968 and the apparent directional floundering of the provincial educational systems in search of meaningful orientations but also because some parallelism in direction and some complementarity in behaviour between Canadian politics and education seemed necessary to minimize dysfunctionality and to maximize positive reinforcement toward national, group and individual goal-achievement. Besides, the prevalence of world-wide conflicts between organismic national behaviours and the particularistic organic orientations of people and groups seems to have led to pervasive value crises which have occasioned a return to such basic societal concerns as the good life, the just society and the quest for relative human security within the elusive haven of community. The problem here was therefore seen not as

geographically peculiar but rather as globally general, thus suggesting the generalizability of any useful solutions possibly arrived at here.

In view, too, of the recent rapid increase in knowledge and the concomitant confusion in dealing with it, a major concern of this report was seen as being some contribution towards understanding rather than merely increasing knowledge, which led to the adoption of a heuristic approach aimed primarily at a search for meaning, at the current Canadian meaning of the phrase "the just society", and at the inherent meanings implied for future cultural and educational behaviour here in Canada. So, by comparing political promises proposed with legislation and expenditures effected, by contrasting verbal expressions of intent with observable political behaviour, the preciseness of the correlation between political intent and act was established. Given this veracity, the imperatives of the search for meaning then seemed to require the placement of current Canadian usage of the phrase, the just society, within the context of tradition, since social meanings are rarely if ever ahistorical. Hence the format of this research report.

Having clarified the current Canadian meanings involved in the just society by briefly indicating basic traditional notions, the historical development of the meanings of justice and some criteria through which the justness of a society might be evaluated in the economic, political, legal and social domains,

it then became possible to determine which notions of justice were likely to be given priority in the quest for the attainment of a just Canadian society as defined, by comparing the government's perception of the status quo or contemporary reality with the desired ideal. Based on the homeostatic belief that nations as well as individuals seek some functional equilibrium by striving to satisfy those needs perceived as greatest or most urgent, current Canadian goal-seeking priorities were detected by scrutinizing expressed policy and program intentions. Then, from these stated policies, programs and priorities perceived as contemporary primary preoccupations of Canada and of Canadians, logically necessary educational strategy essential to the achievement of agreed national aims were determined, in terms of future educational philosophy and of more important educational functions.

Because the reciprocal relationship between the political and the educational sector was conceptualized here as a whole to part interaction with the political ideology representing the whole and the formal educational systems the core systemic part, the major movement of power and authority legitimately emanating from the political sector and being reflected by and in the educational sector, it seemed obligatory first to clarify the current political ideology of the just society so as to be able subsequently to elucidate its inherent educational philosophy and latent educational functions. This report, therefore, felt obliged to do both: to produce a synthesis of the defined ideal

and objectives of the just society and then by deduction, induction, extrapolation or otherwise to extract logically from it the inherent latent educational strategy that its goal-achievement demanded. The comprehensiveness, specificity and clarity of both the synthesis of the current Canadian concepts of the just society and its concomitant implications for education in Canada should, therefore, be the ultimate criteria on which the viability and validity of this heuristic technique rest as well as on their usefulness and replicability. Since the main concern here is with the educational implications, the synthesis of the defined just society to be found in chapter 2 and at the beginning of chapter 5 need not be repeated here. What follows here, however, is an indication of the major educational functions derived from the synthesis, its perceived resulting culture and its inherent philosophy of education.

As a problem-solving research method in this domain, this technique seems feasible in terms of its economy, its capacity to facilitate understanding, prediction and possibly influence, though not control, depending on the use made of its findings and because of the directionality of power and authority within the existing relationship between politics and education. Its major shortcomings would seem to be its simultaneous demand for analytical competence in a variety of disciplinary areas and its consumption of time when undertaken by a single individual. These seem likely to be overcome, however, by selected group

effort which seems to be an increasingly popular approach to contemporary research in several fields.

Though it might seem redundant and, therefore, inadvisable to repeat several findings here, especially in view of the fact that such summation necessitates their removal from their context, thus enfeebling their vigour, the need to indicate the degree to which the initial hypotheses have been met and deference to the traditional requirements of a research report both demand that findings embodied in the preceding chapter be reported here. This writer, therefore, suggests the following conclusions, with all the attendant qualifications they are normally heir to...

Some implications of current Canadian concepts of the just society for education in Canada are:

- 1 - the extension of formal education into the more informal cultural realm, thus creating a consciously learning or nurturing Canadian society which inculcates such habits as just intentions, emotional responses sensitive to the needs of the powerless and dispossessed, ennobling desires and actions and healthy repugnances towards such matters as governmental encroachment on individual rights or privacy and towards the proliferation of isolation in Canada.
- 2 - future education in Canada must take account of, and integrate, the developing cultural drives toward meaning, community, value and integrity, as here defined, into a coherent overall perspective of the pursued ideal and objectives of the just society and that perspective, embodied in the new culture, must pervade

the laws, customs, institutional arrangements, and the changing Canadian life.

- 3 - education here must develop a coherent view of the contemporary meaning of life, express an acceptable understanding of the mutual obligations of Canadian life in common, display an ordered, reasonable and deep commitment to a clear set of values such as those recommended here, and it must not threaten the personal integrity of individuals.
- 4 - future education in Canada should strive to elicit a deep and positive response in the whole national culture, by helping to create it and by being, in turn, reshaped and renewed by it. It should seek to remove the presently perceived dichotomy between education and culture.
- 5 - education in Canada must recognize the current Canadian conceptualization of man as being flexible, dynamic, one who, after serious deliberation, is found to be most creatively useful in shaping the future; a creature possessing imagination, daring, ingenuity and initiative, creatively exercising his free will in concert with his fellowmen and others in search of a genuinely humane national and world community; harmoniously attuned to his environment; innovatively controlling his destiny with science and technology in harness; secure in his knowledge that his social institutions respect and support his individual worth and dignity, his liberty, equality of opportunity, self-determination, self-actualization,

individual fulfilment and happiness; convinced of the social protection of his individual rights, development, values, and the free expression of his integrated personality from the societal dictates of conformity; aware of God, appreciative of beauty, mental and physical pleasure, companionship and solitude; and imbued with such values, among others, as truth, honesty, excellence, relevance, compassion and love.

- 6 - education must also recognize the new perceived relationship between man and nature as being based both on sacral and symbiotic and on teleological models; as being essentially one in which whatever is most in harmony with nature is preferred and nature is viewed as a partial guide, though differences between man and the rest of nature are also recognized.

According to these conceptualizations, man must not only generate his own ethical norms and moral codes but also, through contemplation of the ways of nature left in his trust, he can find in nature some outline of a base for the foundation of his moral life. The level of the individual image of man and the world should be viewed as the educational place to begin to shape and change moral and, therefore, cultural and political behaviour.

- 7 - future education in Canada must concern itself more consciously and specifically with the dynamics of moral decision-making, with how such issues are conceived, with the ingredients used, and with how they are intermixed, though not necessarily

with the conclusions to be reached, because the relationship between so-called public and private morality is not only at present contradictory but also presents major individual and societal problems (such as the public need for agreed values, the private need to evaluate public law and to determine personal ethics, the cultural imperatives that acceptable standards of public morality be appropriated into private lives and that just habits of action be internalized and reinforced by positive affective responses) which must be solved simultaneously.

- 8 - education here must now proceed to redefine Canada positively, in terms of contemporary world reality and current national requirements for self-determination, rather than negatively, in terms of its perceived difference from the United States of America, especially because of the recent shift in Canada's self-image and the changed definition of the character of her chief reference group, the U.S.A., and because of the need to recognize the similar struggle of both French and English Canadian groups to protect their two tiny minority cultures from being absorbed by more powerful neighbours.

In addition to these broad and general implications, some more specific functional implications for education in Canada are seen as being:

- 9 - to assist individual Canadians to optimize and maximize national self-understanding and the integration of the nation

as an entity, to learn to understand the characteristics and the intentions of the other nations of the world, and to aid the political sector in determining which acts of relationship with other nations are most likely to prove to be in the best interests of each.

- 10 - to help the political sector to determine whether governmental choices of ideology, institutions and methods are likely to prove optimal in achieving selected national goals as well as seeking to ensure that individuals, having attained relative freedom, will be capable of using it constructively.
- 11 - to sustain, extend, and improve the quantity and quality of French-English biculturalism, because this is seen as the core factor and definitive aspect upon which the survival of the overall current Canadian culture depends.
- 12 - to nurture and augment the free development of multicultural contributions to the total Canadian culture.
- 13 - to be constantly aware of the most recent developments and levels of quality of education in other countries, so that Canada will be less likely to lag behind in the pace and quality of her own educational efficiency and effectiveness.
- 14 - to develop related national standards of quality in education throughout Canada as well as rational redistribution of the educational load between formal and informal educational systems.

- 15 - to make of education a continuing element in Canadian life from the cradle to the grave, which requires an enormous increase in the availability of pre-school facilities and of education for adults, whether for work, leisure or recreation.
- 16 - to deal effectively with the tremendous implications of the overall contemporary scientific revolution as well as its constituent biological, computer, and behavioural sciences revolutions, and especially with such attendant problems as: expanded longevity; the logico-mathematical imperatives of information processing; the change in world perspective from physics to biology; relative stress of theory rather than practice, due to the prevalent use of science; systemic changes in energy, thought and life; the need to balance non-additive philosophic, political and deliberative wisdom with cumulative scientific knowledge and technological competence; the determination of education's stance with regard to, for example, pills for stupidity or neurosurgery to improve intellectual functioning; devising accommodations between natural and artificial reasoning systems, so as to avoid the adjustment of people to computers and its likely resulting reduction of natural human thought processes to the limiting, artificial, routinizable range and style of thinking and calculating of the computer, culminating in the alienation of man from his own mind, as he has already been

- alienated from his work; the need to understand the new numerological environment of the languages of information processing machines in which people have already begun to live; and the potential virtues and dangers of increased societal control over individual behaviour through widespread use of operant conditioning, while attempting to transmit desirable behaviour patterns, to teach self-management, or to facilitate the increase of educational rather than punitive institutions in Canadian society.
- 17 - to replace irrelevant present educational functions with a more universal, ecological, biologically oriented and homeostatic ethic, suffusing all areas of learning with the new conception, and using it to reveal the more intimate truths about human beings, as persons, about societies as organic person-related entities, and about the world as a man-related environment to be celebrated and preserved.
- 18 - to help Canadians to know themselves in a more complete emotional and somatic sense than ever before, and as persons in communities and in the world in ways not possible until now, because of lack of knowledge.
- 19 - to orient the new curricula toward life in all its forms and manifestations, and to make future education in Canada life-dominated and self-oriented for each Canadian.
- 20 - to implement consciously throughout Canada the concept of "Community Education", with all its attendant understandings

- of an enhanced reciprocal relationship between politics and education at municipal, provincial and national levels; heightened use of analytical, synthetic, normative and prescriptive modes of discourse in the ensuing dialogue between them concerning individual, community, and national development, while recognizing the contradictions lurking within the use of technological processes and the urgency of the time factor.
- 21 - to develop every Canadian as a self-actualizing personality, by focusing upon those characteristics which constitute and enhance individual autonomy, while also encouraging a gradual movement from an egocentric to a universal love of, or at least concern for, others, through widening identification from infancy to maturity.
- 22 - helping to ensure that social groups are, or become, heterogeneous and flexible, not only so as to make the tasks of interaction richer and more satisfying but also in order to further the process and evolution in Canada of democratic society.
- 23 - to recognize and satisfy the special educational needs of powerless minority groups, women, and the poor, especially for security, recognition, participation, and self-respect, by analyzing the anatomy of powerlessness and alienation as well as the culture of poverty, understanding its differences from the majority culture, familiarizing in-service and

- trainee educators with the past, the present and the potential contributions of the existing plurality of cultures within Canadian society, filling in the missing or neglected elements of the Canadian mosaic and removing the vertical aspects, so as to augment and improve the totality of the national culture.
- 24 - to confront the educational need to deal with the necessary exploration and further understanding of the nature and makeup of human beings, and how they relate to each other.
- 25 - to recognize that education of the whole person must necessarily include education about sexualization, sexuality, erotic behaviour, variants of symbiotic and family relationships, morality and sexual behaviour, and the changing roles and status of men and women in relationship to each other.
- 26 - to apply democratic principles to education, so that it becomes clear to teachers and learners that not all educational methods are permissible, that there are rarely any single right answers, that persuasion must be the prevailing mode of discipline aimed at eventual self-discipline, that toleration, openness, moderation and reasonableness must reign supreme, and that genuine equality is a necessary adjunct of fraternal nationhood.
- 27 - to strive continuously to remove authoritarianism, arbitrary exercise of power and authority, and the existence of privileged would-be castes from Canadian schools and society, as being incompatible with democracy.

- 28 - to ensure that the cultural and the learning environments are conducive to democratic experiences and perceptions.
- 29 - to develop within each Canadian a heightened capacity for empathy and inclination towards dedication to service as well as extensive communicative skills and abilities.
- 30 - to ensure that alternative sources of leadership, from every level, group or sector of society, are continuously developed and, therefore, that every individual Canadian is equally educated to lead or to rule (this is crucial to the democratic concept), so that power and responsibility may be alternated and not inherited by an increasingly privileged group.
- 31 - to augment individual capacity for decision-making, encouraging participatory involvement especially in learning activities as well as the willingness to accept responsibility.
- 32 - to take care to avoid the interpretation and practice of efficiency in education as rigidity, depersonalization, and individual or group impotence as well as the reduction of individual autonomy, compelling acceptance of aggression-submission, fostering acceptance-seeking accompanied by fear, and stressing conformity, especially through abuse of fairness in the form of standardization, or through failing to recognize that particular acts might have different sets of meanings for different groups or individuals.
- 33 - to accustom the young especially, but learners in general, to using power, authority, or influence with thoughtful

consideration for the needs of those they intend to serve, with an honest and sincere intention to understand and to help others, and with generous actions suffused in empathy and genuinely guided by compassion and love.

34 -to give to Canada a national educational address, and the capacity to coordinate and rationally organize her presently decentralized, disorganized, and uncoordinated educational activities.

Though multiple specific functions can be determined from these, the abovementioned seem to be the major educational implications of current Canadian concepts of the just society.

Because the indicated political and educational findings throughout this report would seem to have answered for the most part those questions asked in the statement of the problem in the introduction - what are the objectives of the just society to which Canada has been irrevocably committed? What role will be required of education in the search for those objectives? what adjustments or innovations will prove necessary? toward which educational changes should educators plan? In a word, what specifically does the just society mean here in Canada, and what demands will its political attainment make upon the educational systems of this country? - it would not seem unreasonable now to state that:

1. - A comparison of past and present conceptualizations of justice, as shown in chapters 1 and 2, does (a) clarify current understanding of the term the just society, and (b) facilitate (as shown in chapter 2) the delineation of developing trends resulting from such current conceptualizations;
2. - The trend in the movement of Canada toward contemporary Canadian concepts of the just society is verified, as seen in chapter 2, by an examination of the ideology, expressed intentions, and observed practices - especially in terms of proposed and effected legislation and expenditures - of the Prime Minister, his Cabinet and the major political parties. Unfortunately, pertinent academic research dealing with this particular aspect of contemporary politics was scarcely available;
3. - Comparison of the visualized objectives of the national society (chapter 2) with the current state of the nation (chapter 3) does indicate the cultural implications of the just society (chapters 4 and 5), especially with regard to necessary goal-seeking activities (chapter 4); and
4. - The implications for education in Canada, in terms of goals, objectives and purposes, have been determined (chapter 5) from the differences discovered in three (3) above.

The heuristic approach used here may, therefore, be said to be relatively valid and viable. Its capacity to understand and predict and, if so used, exert influence if not control, can

best be determined by close scrutiny of contemporary political behaviour and by attempts to anticipate, circumvent or redirect it, especially through educational inputs. between now and March, 1974, when overt national government behaviour towards education in Canada will be officially decided in terms of new policy. Once again, time is here of the essence.

During the process of this study, this writer became painfully aware of rather large areas of neglect, in terms of research studies, in this domain of the relationship between politics and education in Canada. Some of these areas have already been mentioned in the body of this report, but the following areas of further study are suggested for those who might be interested in developing a meaningful body of knowledge in this domain:

- the whole area of the application of justice to school or classroom behaviour seems to remain still uncharted territory, although so many latent aspects of it seem implied in democratic educational ideology. This area has apparently been touched only tangentially so far in studies relating mainly to the education of native peoples or minority groups.
- Equality of opportunity in education suggests multiple research possibilities.
- Equality in schools seems to have been discovered fairly recently, especially in social psychology research studies, but much meaningful work can be done here by education, especially

with regard to the effects on educability, learning styles and tempo of family life styles, child-rearing practices, communication problems arising from cultural variations and their effects on learning in schools.

- Such areas as socialization, politicization and the educational development of elites need to be studied more thoroughly in Canada, especially if political science, psychology, sociology, comparative religion and philosophy are to be introduced soon to young voters in high schools.
- The major area of the relationship between education and politics, and particularly that of the impact of politics on the educational system and on Canadian educators would seem to suggest extremely wide research possibilities urgently requiring attention.

Until this domain is adequately described and major determinant factors sorted out, it seems unlikely that significant experimental work can be done in this area.

Aquinas, St. Thomas, The Summa Theologica, Vols. 1 & 2, (trans. by Fathers of the English Dominican Province in Ottawa), London, Burns, Oates and Washbourne, 1941, 826p. & 1085p.

Relatively concise exposition of the sacred doctrine relevant to the Christian religion, intended for application to the instruction of beginners, and arranged according to the imperatives of the subject-matter itself. Very vital here to the understanding of human acts, the philosophy of law, and varying aspects of government and justice.

Atkinson, Brooks, ed., "Civil Disobedience", in Walden and Other Writings of Henry David Thoreau, New York, Random House, (1849) 1937, 91 p.

Discussion of the theory of resistance to civil government resulting from the perceived primacy of individual conscience and its relation to laws viewed as unjust. Important theory, particularly relevant to contemporary extra-institutional political behaviour of youth and dispossessed minorities, since Mahatma Gandhi and Martin Luther King. Very significant here to the discussion of natural law and some of its consequences.

Augustine, Saint, The City of God, (trans. by Marcus Dods), Edinburgh, T. & T. Clark, (413-426) 1952, 491 p.

Argues against the worship of gods for temporal advantages or for eternal life, describes the origin, history, and destinies of the earthly and the heavenly cities, the vanities of this life, and the present and future destined peace and happiness of the heavenly city. Important here to the discussion of necessary error involved in the human search for truth through positive law.

Bacon, Sir Francis, Of the Proficiency and Advancement of Learning Divine and Human, London, Encyclopaedia Britannica, (1605) 1952, 101 p.

Apparently part of an ambitious plan to place man in control of nature, by pointing out the merits and demerits of learning and knowledge and by examining the complexities inherent in the increase and spread of human knowledge. Useful here as an indicator of the virtues and especially of the vices relative to human learning.

Baran, Paul A. & Paul M. Sweezy, Monopoly Capital, New York, Monthly Review Press, 1968, 391 p.

Analysis of the economic and social order of the U. S. A., aimed at clarifying the complicated question of monopolistic capitalism. An essay rather than a treatise, lacking comprehensiveness and exaggerating truth. Difficult in part but enlightening in general. A pointed reminder that society must be examined as a whole to be better understood.

Barker, Sir Ernest, Reflections on Government, New York, Oxford University Press, 1958, 420 p.

Informed, clear, moderate discussion of modern democracies and dictatorships and of the nature of liberty. A major contribution here to the understanding of tacit elements of the political theory of capitalist democracy.

Berlin, Isaiah, "The Question of Machiavelli", in The New York Review of Books, Vol. 17, No. 7, Nov. 4, 1971, p. 20-32.

Illuminating interpretation of the meaning of Machiavelli in the history of western thought and ideas. From this was developed the notion of justice as myth, irrelevant, or indeterminate.

Berry, J. W. & G. J. S. Wilde, eds., "Canadian Dualism", in Social Psychology: The Canadian Context, Toronto, McClelland & Stewart, 1972, p. 43-44.

Discussion of the most distinctive feature of current Canadian culture, French-English biculturalism, described here as dualism. Interesting social psychology studies of similarities and differences between these groups. A basic educational implication is derived from this core Canadian fact.

Boulding, Kenneth E., "Social Justice in Social Dynamics", in Richard B. Brandt, ed., Social Justice, Englewood Cliffs, N.J., Prentice-Hall, 1962, p. 73-92.

Lively discussion of major determinants involved in social dynamics. This provided one of the basic assumptions of the heuristic method used in this thesis, that of national homeostatic functioning based on the perceived divergence between reality and ideal.

Calderone, Mary, "It's Society That Is Changing Sexuality", in The Center Magazine, Santa Barbara, California, Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions, Vol. 5, No. 4, July/August 1972, p. 58-66.

Argues that the societal exploration, in search of better understanding, of the nature and makeup of human beings and how they relate to each other is causing profound changes in people. Society is changing sexual behaviour, rather than the opposite. Informative discussion of five major aspects of human sexuality in which concepts are evolving rapidly. Very relevant implications for education of the whole person.

Callahan, Daniel, "Search for an Ethic : Living with the New Biology", in The Center Magazine, Santa Barbara, California, Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions, Vol. 5, No. 4, July/August 1972, p. 4-12.

Posits the thesis that satisfactory resolution of the present troubled relationship between ethics and the life sciences must be cultural, not individual. Moral dilemmas presented by genetic engineering, organ transplants, prolongation of life or behaviour control by psychosurgery require more than individual ad-hoc solutions. Important arguments for required cultural changes.

Canada, House of Commons Debates, Ottawa, the Queen's Printer, 1st Session, 28th Parliament, Vol. 1, Sept. 12, 1968 - Vol. X, Oct. 22, 1969, 11, 732 p.

Indicates the perceived state of the nation, the intentions of the Government of Canada, and the major concerns of Canada and Canadians as reflected in the statements of the people's representatives at the national federal level during the period of time indicated. Essential here in determining the existing political ideology, ideal, and objectives as well as the national policy, programs and priorities, especially viewed as needs urgently to be satisfied.

....., House of Commons Debates, Ottawa, the Queen's Printer, 2nd Session, 28th Parliament, Vol. I, Oct. 23, 1969 - Vol. VIII, Oct. 7, 1970, 8, 902 p.

Same as above, for the period here indicated.

....., House of Commons Debates, Ottawa, the Queen's Printer, 3rd Session, 28th Parliament, Vol. I, Oct. 8, 1970 - Vol. X, Feb. 16, 1972, 10, 961 p.

Same as above, for the period here indicated.

....., House of Commons Debates, Ottawa, the Queen's Printer, 4th Session, 28th Parliament, Vol. 116, No. 1, Feb. 17, 1972 - Vol. 116, No. 91, Sept. 1, 1972, 3, 949 p.

Same as above, for the period here indicated.

....., House of Commons Debates, Ottawa, the Queen's Printer, 1st Session, 29th Parliament, Vol. 117, No. 1, Jan. 4, 1973, 12 p.

Indicates the contemporary state of the nation as perceived by the present Government of Canada, the current objectives and intentions, and stated policy, programs and priorities. Important for contrasting the seen status quo with desired national objectives.

Canada, Statutes of Canada (Acts of the Parliament of Canada), Ottawa, the Queen's printer, 1969, 1394 p.; Vols. I-II, 1971, 1499 & 680 p.; and Vols. I-II, 1972, 1289 & 2189 p.

These five volumes contain detailed descriptions in French and English of all Public General Acts and Local and Private Acts of the Parliament of Canada between Sept. 12, 1968 and Feb. 16, 1972. Crucial for verifying effected expenditures and legislation.

Charnofsky, Stanley, Educating the Powerless, Belmont, California, Wadsworth Publishing Co., 1971, 200 p.

Provocative study of living patterns, attitudes, and educational needs of various minority groups in the U. S. A., stressing the pervasiveness of powerlessness, the perpetuating effect of the educational system, and the need for the poor to experience power through self-awareness, self-confidence and group identification. Vital connection made between humanistic education theory and grave educational problems. New concepts of society and of education's role within it are indicated.

Clarke, W. G. & W. A. Wright, eds., "The Merchant of Venice", in The Plays and Sonnets of William Shakespeare, Vol. 1, London, Oxford University Press, 1905, p. 406-433.

This dramatic discussion of the demands of naked justice underlines the need for justice to be tempered with mercy and compassion. It underlines here some of the shortcomings of certain perceptions of justice and, therefore, the compensatory societal need for love.

Cogley, John, "Opinion", in The Center Magazine, Sanata Barbara, California, Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions, Vol. 5, No. 3, May/June 1972, p. 2-3.

Discussion of the modus operandi essential to the development of a new foreign policy. It indicates the need to ask philosophical questions of the policy makers so as to determine basic aims and purposes. Useful for assessing the Canadian attempt at national self-redefinition.

Cookson, G. M., ed., "The Suppliant Maidens", in The Plays of Aeschylus, Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1952, p. 1-14.

This play exemplifies the ancient Greek view of justice as obedience to the commands of the gods rather than to the demands of earthly laws. Helpful here in distinguishing between justice as right and law as might.

Coombs, Philip H., The World Educational Crisis : A Systems Analysis, New York, Oxford University Press, 1968, 241 p.

By underlining the importance of the relationship between education and politics, and the urgent need to remedy the current critical educational situation, this book influenced this writer towards examining the impact of politics on education in Canada.

Cronbach, Lee J. & Patrick Suppes, eds., Research for Tomorrow's Schools : Disciplined Inquiry for Education, New York, Macmillan, 1969, 281 p.

The Committee on Educational Research of the National Academy of Education of the U. S. A. examines the nature, extent and significance of educational research and its potential role in improving education. Addressed mainly to administrators and policy makers interested in the research community's ideas, it involves educators in rethinking educational purposes, revising curricular content, instructional procedures, and in reorganizing educational institutions. Stress placed on the need to examine latent concepts of justice and equality in educational policy here contributed to the decision to undertake this study.

Eisenstadt, S. N., ed., Political Sociology, New York, Basic Books, 1971, 632 p.

A new synthesis of a relatively new discipline, blending speculative, theoretical-analytical, and comparative approaches, to open up new lines of inquiry for the social sciences. Very useful here in isolating the political system from the economic and social systems, and in determining criteria for evaluating political justice.

Frankena, William K., "The Concept of Social Justice", in Richard B. Brandt, ed., Social Justice, Englewood Cliffs, N.J., Prentice-Hall, 1962, p. 1-29.

Very lucid discussion of social justice and the just society in modern terms.

Freud, Sigmund, Civilization and Its Discontents, (trans. by Joan Rivière), London, The Hogarth Press, 1930, 35 p.

Discussion of the nature of culture, the requirements of civilization, and basic human inclinations. Justice is seen here as the first requisite of culture. Relevant to the discussion of justice as might or right.

Freund, Paul A., "Social Justice and the Law", in Richard B. Brandt, ed., Social Justice, Englewood Cliffs, N. J., Prentice-Hall, 1962, p. 93-117.

Significant discussion of legal justice from the viewpoint of internal and external standards. Useful for selecting criteria for evaluating legal justice.

Goulet, Denis, "Technology, Development, and Values Defined", in The Center Magazine, Santa Barbara, California, Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions, Vol. 5, No. 5, Sept./Oct., 1972, p. 24-25.

Very clear though brief analyses and definitions of development, technology, values, and their relationships and contradictions. Helpful for understanding value implications involved in the widespread use of technology.

Hamilton, Alexander, James Madison & John Jay, The Federalist, Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1952, 258 p.

Defense of the Constitution of the U. S. A. and interpretation of its rationale, checks and balances. Important treatment of the concepts of federalism and democracy.

Hampshire, Stuart, "A New Philosophy of the Just Society", in The New York Review of Books, Vol. 18, No. 3, Feb. 24, 1972, p. 34-39.

A fair assessment of John Rawls' new book, A Theory of Justice, indicating its many strengths and scant weaknesses. Interesting criticism of modern liberal concepts of the just society.

Heer, Friedrich, "Revolutions Evolve", in The Center Magazine, Santa Barbara, California, Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions, Vol. 5, No. 5, Sept./Oct., 1972, p. 49.

Succinct clarification of the characteristics of evolutionary revolution, which facilitates recognition of local attempts in that direction.

Hegel, G. W. F., The Philosophy of History, (trans. by J. Sibree), London, Encyclopaedia Britannica, 1952, 218 p.

A philosophical, as contrasted with an original or reflective, history of the world. Reason applied to the contemplation of universal history. Contributes a viewpoint to discussion of the state, the law and justice.

Hegel, G. W. F., The Philosophy of Right, (trans. by T. M. Knox), London, Oxford University Press, (1821) 1952, 150 p.

Systematic exposition of fundamental concepts related to what is here described as substantively right and ethical or universally recognized and valid. An attempt to apprehend and portray the state (the ethical universe) as inherently rational. Important to the examination of the truth about right, ethics and the state.

Hobbes, Thomas, Leviathan; Or, Matter, Form, and Power of a Commonwealth Ecclesiastical and Civil, London, Dent & Sons, (1651) 1952, 242 p.

Impartial discourse about man, sovereignty, Christian Commonwealth and the Kingdom of Darkness, while stressing the mutual relation between protection and obedience that should be observed. Very relevant to the discussion of natural law, liberty, and distinctions between law and right.

Hume, David, An Enquiry Concerning Human Understanding, London, Oxford University Press, 1902, 64 p.

Argues against "school metaphysics" with its syllogistic reasoning method and in favour of an experimental "scientific" approach to the acquisition of knowledge. Relevant here to questions of liberty and moral behaviour.

Hutchins, R. M. & M. J. Adler, eds., The Great Ideas Today : 1968, New York, Frederick A. Praeger, 1968, 538 p.

Analyses of the historical development of the concept of equality, among other things, and its relation to democracy, liberty and justice. Suggests a sequential relationship between equality, justice and liberty.

Johnson, W. E., Logic, Vol. 2, New York, Dover Publications, (1922) 1964, 258 p.

Comprehensive examination of inference, relations of subordination and coordination amongst different propositions, symbolism and functions, syllogisms, kinds of magnitude, deduction, and various types of induction. Sameness of magnitude, as an aspect of equality, comes from the discussion of types of magnitude here.

Jowett, Benjamin, ed., The Dialogues of Plato, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1953, 814 p.

Basic discussion of justice as involving conflict between might and right seems to be most clearly stated here first by Plato, whose work serves here as the foundation for the examination of traditional meanings of justice and the just society.

Kant, Immanuel, "The Science of Right", (trans. by W. Hastie), in Fundamental Principles of the Metaphysic of Morals, Edinburgh, T. & T. Clark, (1785) 1952, 63 p.

Systematic, philosophical analysis of knowledge about the principles of natural right from which positive legislation is derived. Crucial here to understanding various aspects of right and law.

Kazamias, Andreas M. & Byron G. Massialas, Tradition and Change in Education : A Comparative Study, Englewood Cliffs, N. J., Prentice-Hall, 1965, 182 p.

Comprehensive comparative study indicating the predominant direction of power in the politics-education nexus as emanating from the political sector. This reinforced the decision to investigate the impact of politics on education.

Lasswell, Harold D. & Abraham Kaplan, Power and Society, New Haven, Connecticut, Yale University Press, 1965, 295 p.

Examination of various usages of power within society here help to indicate essential inferences for future educational behaviour in Canada's systems.

Lichtman, Richard, "A Case Against Capitalism", in The Center Magazine, Santa Barbara, California, Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions, Vol. 5, No. 5, Sept./Oct., 1972, p. 50-55.

Argues that increasing affluence makes more blatant the contradictions between reality and the myths of equality and freedom. This provides the non-violent, gestational definition of recent revolutions used here.

Lipset, S. M., "National Values : Canada and the United States", in J. W. Berry & G. J. S. Wilde, eds., Social Psychology : The Canadian Context, Toronto, McClelland & Stewart, 1972, p. 13-42.

Comparison between Canada and the U. S. A., indicating their perceived national value differences. Canada's changed position with regard to the U. S. A., and the similar struggle of both French and English Canadians for cultural survival are recognized.

Locke, John, Concerning Civil Government, Second Essay, Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1952, 58 p.

Examination of basic theories of government, of political power, its proper functions and obligations, and distinguishing between the different kinds of power and authority that result from different relationships and positions. Important for differentiating between the state of nature and the civil state, and to discussions surrounding justice as legal.

Machiavelli, Nicolo, The Prince, (trans. by W. K. Marriott), London, J. M. Dent & Sons, (1513) 1952, 48 p.

Concerning principalities and the rule of princes, here is described the various kinds of principalities, how they should be ruled, and the way in which a ruler can maintain himself in power. The author appears to reject individual morality, opting for a social one. From this line of thought emanates the concept of justice-as myth or irrelevant.

Marx, Karl, Capital, (trans. by Marie Sachey and Herbert Lamm), London, J. M. Dent & Sons, 1930, 411 p.

Extraordinary analysis of commodities, money, capital, the production of absolute and of relative surplus value, wages, and the accumulation of capital that has radically changed modern economic thinking. Difficult reading at times, but extremely informative. Crucial to the concept of economic justice and very useful in establishing evaluative economic criteria.

.....& Friedrich Engels, Manifesto of the Communist Party, (trans. by Samuel Moore), Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1932, 21 p.

Outlines the initial basic communist credo which posits the proposition that, in every historical period, the prevailing mode of economic production and exchange, and the social organization that necessarily follows from it, form the basis upon which is built and from which alone can be explained, the political and intellectual history of that period. This ideology constitutes both the major element in the national system's environment and the primary environmental press to which Canadian political ideology and policy must respond. A major contributor to the discussion concerning economic, political and social justice.

Maslow, Abraham H., Toward a Psychology of Being, 2nd ed., Princeton, N. J., D. Van Nostrand, 1968, 240 p.

Very useful for determining the component characteristics of the autonomous personality. From this emanates an important educational implication.

Massialas, Byron G., Education and the Political System, Reading, Massachusetts, Addison-Wesley, 1969, 219 p.

Very good, quite comprehensive, and fairly recent analysis and summary of the findings of empirical research and theory, including cross-cultural approaches, which seek to delineate the relationships between education and the political system. Focus is placed on political functions performed by education, such as: political socialization of children and youth; selection, recruitment, and training of political leaders; student activism; and teacher participation in the political process. Decisive in determining the directionality of this study.

Meiklejohn, Alexander, "At an Early Center Meeting", in The Center Magazine, Santa Barbara, California, Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions, Vol. 5, No. 3, May/June 1972, p. 82.

Raises the rather telling question of the increase of knowledge being accompanied by a diminishing search, but an increasing need, for understanding what is known. One of the driving forces behind the search for understanding here.

Mill, John Stuart, Utilitarianism, Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1952, 53 p.

Discussion of utilitarianism, the principle of utility, its proof, and the connection between justice and utility. From this comes the notion of justice as utility used here.

Morgenthau, Hans J., Truth and Power, New York, Praeger Publishers, 1970, 449 p.

Studies of justice and power, and of the historical limits of justice reported here, prove rather meaningful with regard to national and foreign policy thinking involving justice between nations. Clarifies realities of international relations.

Myers, M. Scott, "Who Are Your Motivated Workers?", in How Successful Executives Handle People : Studies on Communications and Management Skills, Cambridge, Mass., Harvard University Press, 1972, p. 31-46.

This six year study, done at Texas Instruments in the U. S. A., seeks to separate motivatable workers from those who are not. In the process, it identifies why some employees work effectively, what dissatisfies others, and major causes of dissatisfaction. Helpful in understanding the relation between man and his work, related to economic justice.

Novak, Michael, "Politics as Drama", in The Center Magazine, Santa Barbara, California, Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions, Vol. 5, No. 3, May/June 1972, p. 4-14.

Excellent article illuminating the moral dilemmas of political action and clarifying the complexity of human behaviour in concrete situations. Very useful for understanding political behaviour.

Pascal, Blaise, The Provincial Letters, (trans. by Thomas M'Crie), Chicago, University of Chicago Press, (1656-1657) 1952, 167 p.

Polemic aimed at enlisting public opinion for the Jansenists and against their Jesuit adversaries. Interesting contribution to the question of casuistry, often involved in legal justice.

Plutarch, The Lives of the Noble Grecians and Romans, (The Dryden Translation), London, Encyclopaedia Britannica, 1952, 897 p.

Representative stories of famous Greeks and Romans apparently intended to instruct the reader. Revealing impressions of prevailing concepts of justice of this epoch increase understanding of traditional notions of just behaviour.

Rawls, John, A Theory of Justice, Cambridge, Mass., Harvard University Press, 1971, 607 p.

A workable, systematic, coherent view of justice applied to a society. Representative of contemporary leading liberal thought. Though focusing mainly on two major notions of justice, fairness and equality, this work is impressively comprehensive. An excellent modern study of justice applied to society.

Ross, W. D., ed., The Works of Aristotle, Vol. 2, London, Oxford University Press, 1908, 681 p.

The "Politics" and especially the "Ethics" make major contributions here to the understanding and societal application of justice. Very important for understanding most basic notions of justice.

Rousseau, Jean Jacques, The Social Contract, (trans. by G. D. H. Cole), London, J. M. Dent & Sons, 1930, 122 p.

Discourses on the origin of inequality among men, political economy, and on the basic principles of political right. Attempt to serve simultaneously both utility and justice. Basic to the study of man in state as opposed to man in nature.

Sarason, Seymour B., The Culture of the School and the Problem of Change, Boston, Mass., Allyn & Bacon, 1971, 246 p.

Discussion of the reason for the failure of previous attempts at changing schools, description of the complex nature, structure and functioning of schools, and suggestion of approaches more likely to prove effective. Enlightening with regard to essential elements in school functioning and change.

Secondat, Charles de, Baron de Montesquieu, The Spirit of Laws, (trans. by Thomas Nugent), London, G. Bell & Sons, (1748) 1952, 315 p.

Extremely comprehensive examination of the nature and multiple aspects of law, their relation to government, ideas, and other things, their formulation and application. Essential to a proper understanding of laws and legal justice.

Sharp, Mitchell, Secretary of State for External Affairs, Foreign Policy for Canadians, Ottawa, the Queen's Printer, 1970, 42 p.

Crucial for understanding the decision-making approach, method, and conclusions of the Government of Canada. Very revealing with respect to operational guidelines and current goals.

Smith, Adam, An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations, London, Methuen & Co., (1776) 1952, 468 p.

A classic of economic theory which describes, among other things, the mercantile system preceding the laissez faire and the post-industrial. Useful here for discussing economic justice.

Spinoza, Benedict de, Ethics, (trans. by W. H. White), London, Oxford University Press, 1952, 112 p.

Impressive study of God, the nature and origin of the mind and the affects, the strength of the affects, and the power of the intellect. Basic for understanding human bondage and liberty.

Stevenson, Hugh A., Robert M. Stamp & J. Donald Wilson, The Best of Times/The Worst of Times : Contemporary Issues in Canadian Education, Toronto, Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1972, 586 p.

Reflects the wide-ranging issues, problems and possibilities of contemporary education in Canada at every level, from the viewpoints of recent past, present and future. Stresses increasing societal complexity and growing demands for effective changes. Useful overall view of the educational situation in Canada.

Sweezy, Paul M., The Theory of Capitalist Development, New York, Monthly Review Press, 1964, 398 p.

Fairly comprehensive analytical study of basic principles of Marxian political economy. Important here to the discussion of such economic questions as profit or surplus value, just recompense for labour, and justice in exchanges.

Thucydides, The History of the Peloponnesian War, (trans. by Richard Crawley), New York, E. P. Dutton & Co., 1920, 272 p.

The Melian episode included here is used to indicate the contrasting standpoints of justice seen as might and justice viewed as right.

Totten, W. Fred, ed., "Community Education : A Special Issue", in Phi Delta Kappan, Vol. 54, No. 3, November 1972, p. 148-210.

Comprehensive summary of current thinking and practices with regard to this increasingly acceptable approach to public education. Invaluable for indicating a viable way to return society and education to democratic behaviour, individuals back to autonomy, and social groups to community.

Trudeau, Pierre Elliott, Minister of Justice, A Canadian Charter of Human Rights, Ottawa, the Queen's Printer, 1968, 174 p.

Recommends and outlines the proposed form and contents of a new Canadian Charter of Human Rights, to be entrenched in Canada's Constitution, which places individual rights beyond encroachment by others or by even governments themselves. Useful for determining those fundamental rights and liberties that Canadians have and cherish.

..... Federalism and the French Canadians, Toronto, Macmillan of Canada, 1968, 212 p.

Relentlessly logical essays concerning the present Prime Minister's concept of Canadian federalism and French-Canadian society. Remarkably consistent with his contemporary thoughts and actions. Helpful in determining the ideology of the present government's leader.

..... Premier Ministre, Cité des Jeunes, Rivière-du-loup, P. Q., 26 mai 1968, 4 p.

An example of the more lyrical and discursive style of the Prime Minister whenever he speaks in French. Here he develops the theme of justice not only as "le but même de la vie en société", but more particularly as "faire en sorte que chacun ait son du dans cette société temporelle dont Saint-Augustin voulait faire la Cité de Dieu, ici-bas". The perceived importance, and a particular concept, of justice are indicated here.

Trudeau, Pierre Elliott, Prime Minister's Address to a Convocation Ceremony Marking the Diamond Jubilee of the University of Alberta, Edmonton, Alberta, May 13, 1968, 9 p.

Discourse concerning the relationship between human dignity and citizenship, between the educational standard of a labour force and its productivity, peace as development, and the invalidity of the assumption that an improved standard of living ensures an open society and respect for the rule of law. Some aspects of the leader's basic thoughts are shown here.

..... Prime Minister's Remarks to the Kitchener Chamber of Commerce, Kitchener, Ontario, May 21, 1968, 12 p.

Discussion of the eclecticism and pragmatism of his government's approach, and their rejection of over-riding theories or theoretical purity. Insistence upon "starting from the facts". This further reflects some of the leader's basic ideas.

..... Prime Minister's Remarks at Markham, Ontario, May 25, 1968, 4 p.

Indication of Canada's major problems as he sees them as well as of his ideas and priorities. Ideological threats from various totalitarianisms, the menace of the third world, the danger of foreign economic domination, the need to remove national regional disparities, and the importance of harnessing technological change to serve Canada's development through education are stated. These help to define the Prime Minister's ideology.

..... Prime Minister's Press Conference, Toronto, Ontario, May 25, 1968,

General discussion of the Prime Minister's intended priorities should he retain leadership of the national government. The rights of individuals entrenched in the Constitution, good laws, effective policy, and justice from all levels of government are indicated. These help to clarify the leader's likely action priorities.

..... Prime Minister's Press Conference, Winnipeg, Manitoba, May 23, 1968, 13 p.

Here the Prime Minister defines his just society in some detail. French language rights, individual liberties, participatory democracy, reform of government structure, laws, housing, and of foreign policy are stressed. This further clarifies the current concept of the just society.

Trudeau, Pierre Elliott, Speech at the Liberal Convention, April 5, 1968, (recorded).

Discourse defining the new leader's concept of liberalism as a political philosophy. Particular concern for the triumph of reason over passion in politics, just distribution of national wealth, social justice, and the protection of individual freedoms against the tyranny of the group is expressed. These further specify the new leader's basic beliefs and concerns.

Wheeler, Harvey, "Technology : Foundation of Cultural Change", in The Center Magazine, Sanata Barbara, California, Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions, Vol. 5, No. 4, July/August 1972, p. 48-56.

Impressive discussion of major shifts in social institutions and belief systems as influenced by the technological, as opposed to the ideological, aspects of cultural change. Very useful for determining major elements of the current scientific revolution and their cultural, philosophical and educational implications.

STATEMENT OF EXPENDITURES BY DEPARTMENTS AND MAJOR CATEGORIES  
FOR THE LAST FIVE FISCAL YEARS

(in millions of dollars)

	1967-68	1968-69	1969-70	1970-71	1971-72 (preliminary)
<b>AGRICULTURE—</b>					
Administration and general	109 6	115 5	114 7	120 8	135 7
Agricultural commodities stabilization account—net operating loss .	139 7	145 4	136 3	126 4	127 0
Wheat inventory reduction payments			100 0		
Canadian Livestock Feed Board	21 6	18 2	22 2	20 8	20 4
Farm Credit Corporation—net operating loss	3 8	6 0	8 7	8 6	8 4
Canadian Dairy Commission	0 3	0 3	0 4	0 4	0 5
	275 0	285 4	382 3	277 0	292 0
<b>COMMUNICATIONS</b>	14 5	12 9	13 4	13 9	21 0
<b>CONSUMER AND CORPORATE AFFAIRS—</b>					
Administration and general	12 9	13 8	16 1	18 1	22 2
Prices and Incomes Commission			0 6	2 1	1 8
	12 9	13 8	16 7	20 2	24 0
<b>ENERGY, MINES AND RESOURCES—</b>					
Administration and general	4 2	4 9	6 5	7 7	7 6
Atomic energy	69 3	72 6	74 9	76 7	89 0
Dominion Coal Board	33 6	7 2	8 8	6 0	
Minerals, energy and earth sciences	53 9	54 8	56 7	56 7	77 4
National Energy Board	1 6	1 5	1 9	2 4	3 0
	162 6	141 0	148 8	149 5	177 0
<b>ENVIRONMENT</b>	147 7	159 2	164 8	172 9	199 0
<b>EXTERNAL AFFAIRS—</b>					
Administration and general	48 5	53 7	59 7	55 7	77.8
Assessments, contributions and other payments to international organizations and international multilateral economic and special programs	16 7	15 3	13 3	15 5	16 2
Canadian International Development Agency	150 1	156 8	168 7	209 9	214 5
International Joint Commission	0 4	0 4	0 5	0 5	0 5
	215 7	226 2	242 2	281 6	309 0
<b>FINANCE—</b>					
Administration and general	36 4	23 7	19 3	29.2	42 5
EXPO 1967—deficit			122 9		
Grants to municipalities and provinces in lieu of taxes	41 5	45 1	49 5	54 1	58 0
Public debt charges	1,300 8	1 480 0	1,716 9	1,822 8	1,995 0
Fiscal transfer payments to provinces	737 5	867 1	932 4	1,228 9	1,429 0
Tariff Board	0 5	0 4	0 4	0 5	0 5
Auditor General	2 3	2 4	2 9	3 1	4 0
Insurance	0 4	0 4	0 6	1 0	1 0
	2,119 4	2,419 1	2,844 9	3,139 6	3,530 0
<b>GOVERNOR GENERAL AND LIEUTENANT-GOVERNORS</b>	1 0	1 0	1 1	1.2	1 2
<b>INDIAN AFFAIRS AND NORTHERN DEVELOPMENT—</b>					
Administration and general	5 3	5 8	7 5	7 7	9 0
Conservation program	27 4	30 6	32 2	33 5	48 0
Indian and Eskimo affairs	139 4	165 2	204 1	227 7	251 0
Northern development	50 9	55 0	57 5	81 7	108 0
	223 0	256 6	301.3	350 6	416 0
<b>INDUSTRY, TRADE AND COMMERCE</b>					
Statistics Canada	163 9	179 2	263 7	211 5	281 0
	22 5	24 0	32 4	39 1	69 0
	186 4	203 2	296 1	250 6	350 0
<b>JUSTICE</b>	15 4	16 9	19 7	22 7	28 4

STATEMENT OF EXPENDITURES BY DEPARTMENTS AND MAJOR CATEGORIES  
FOR THE LAST FIVE FISCAL YEARS  
(in millions of dollars)

	1967-68	1968-69	1969-70	1970-71	1971-72 (preliminary)
LABOUR.....	10.9	11.1	12.1	13.5	17.0
MANPOWER AND IMMIGRATION—					
Administration and general.....	20.6	23.4	10.0	12.4	15.0
Development and utilization of manpower.....	342.3	337.4	399.4	529.5	585.0
Immigration.....	21.6	29.4	24.3	22.8	23.0
Municipal winter works incentive program.....	30.5	21.5	0.4		
Program development.....	2.9	4.4	5.4	6.1	7.0
Unemployment Insurance Commission—					
Administration and general.....	37.6	38.8	45.0	79.0	74.0
Government's contribution to the fund.....	69.5	86.6	98.4	99.0	89.0
	525.0	541.5	582.9	748.8	793.0
NATIONAL DEFENCE—					
Administration and general.....	24.7	24.9	26.8	29.9	32.4
Canadian forces superannuation account—					
Government's contribution.....	58.4	57.0	65.6	70.4	73.8
Amortization of deferred charges.....	72.6	104.5	92.2	89.4	66.0
Additional interest.....				45.7	59.0
Defence services.....	1,528.3	1,507.7	1,540.6	1,517.2	1,602.1
Defence research.....	40.6	44.1	44.1	45.9	47.3
Mutual aid to NATO countries.....	18.0	15.3	14.1	14.4	14.4
Civil emergency measures organization.....	8.0	6.3	5.0	5.0	5.0
	1,750.6	1,769.8	1,788.4	1,817.9	1,900.0
NATIONAL HEALTH AND WELFARE—					
Administration and general.....	3.9	4.2	11.0	12.3	18.0
Food and drug services.....	7.9	9.1	12.2	15.6	19.0
Health insurance and resources—					
General health grants to provinces.....	46.0	44.0	69.1	19.6	16.0
Government's contributions under the Hospital Insurance and Diagnostic Services Act.....	468.6	561.9	635.9	734.3	850.6
Health resources fund.....	32.7	33.9	34.4	37.5	37.0
Medical Care Act.....		33.0	181.0	400.5	576.5
Other.....	1.3	1.6	1.2	1.4	1.9
Health services.....	7.6	6.7	7.0	6.5	8.0
Medical services.....	36.5	39.2	40.6	45.4	47.0
Welfare services—					
Family allowances.....	558.8	560.2	560.1	557.9	554.5
Youth allowances.....	49.4	52.4	55.1	58.0	59.8
Unemployment assistance.....	6.1	1.1	0.7		
Canada assistance plan.....	225.6	256.8	293.6	391.6	462.4
Other.....	36.6	30.2	22.6	23.0	28.3
Medical Research Council.....	20.7	27.2	31.2	34.4	35.0
	1,601.7	1,661.6	1,955.7	2,338.0	2,714.0
NATIONAL REVENUE—					
Customs and excise.....	56.7	59.5	70.1	74.4	84.5
Taxation.....	58.1	60.2	74.2	84.0	97.0
Tax Review Board.....	0.3	0.3	0.3	0.4	0.5
	115.1	120.0	144.6	158.8	182.0
PARLIAMENT—					
House of Commons.....	14.3	14.3	17.6	21.0	27.8
Senate.....	3.4	3.6	4.6	5.1	5.3
Library of Parliament.....	0.6	0.7	0.8	1.1	1.3
	18.3	18.6	23.0	27.2	34.4

STATEMENT OF EXPENDITURES BY DEPARTMENTS AND MAJOR CATEGORIES  
FOR THE LAST FIVE FISCAL YEARS  
(in millions of dollars)

	1967-68	1968-69	1969-70	1970-71	1971-72 (preliminary)
POST OFFICE.....	281.7	319.5	340.5	368.6	412.0
<b>PRIVY COUNCIL</b>					
Privy Council.....	8.1	6.3	6.9	7.2	8.2
Economic Council of Canada.....	1.5	1.5	1.6	1.7	1.7
Chief Electoral Officer.....	0.7	13.5	0.3	1.2	1.2
Commissioner of Official Languages.....			0.4	0.4	1.0
Public Service Staff Relations Board.....	1.0	1.1	1.2	1.3	1.6
Science Council of Canada.....	0.4	0.4	1.2	1.2	1.3
	11.7	22.8	11.6	13.0	15.0
<b>PUBLIC WORKS—</b>					
Administration and general.....	48.4	43.4	38.2	38.1	42.9
Accommodation services.....	133.8	172.0	190.5	218.4	263.5
Marine services.....	43.9	32.1	31.3	34.6	34.6
Trans-Canada highway—contributions to provinces.....	64.7	37.3	26.8	39.6	2.0
	290.8	284.8	286.8	330.7	343.0
<b>REGIONAL ECONOMIC EXPANSION.....</b>					
Cape Breton Development.....	134.7	125.7	179.4	260.5	276.0
	1.7	30.1	32.7	37.3	40.0
	136.4	155.8	212.1	297.8	316.0
<b>SECRETARY OF STATE—</b>					
Administration and general.....	28.8	24.5	16.4	26.6	60.4
Bilingualism development program.....			1.7	53.4	74.1
Education support program.....	108.2	276.6	301.4	388.2	450.0
Canada Council.....	16.9	20.6	23.7	24.2	26.0
Canadian Broadcasting Corporation.....	143.3	148.3	166.0	166.0	181.0
Canadian Film Development Corporation.....		0.2	0.4	1.0	1.0
Canadian Radio-Television Commission.....	1.0	1.9	2.8	3.3	4.0
Centennial Commission.....	31.2				
Company of Young Canadians.....	2.4	1.9	1.9	1.9	1.9
National Arts Centre Corporation.....	1.0	1.1	2.5	2.6	2.8
National Film Board.....	9.3	10.0	10.5	10.4	11.0
National Library.....	1.6	1.7	2.0	2.5	4.0
National Museums of Canada.....	6.7	7.1	7.3	8.2	10.0
Office of the Representation Commissioner.....	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1
Public Archives.....	2.0	2.2	2.4	3.7	3.7
Public Service Commission.....	12.7	12.9	14.1	15.8	18.0
	365.2	509.1	553.2	707.9	848.0
<b>SOLICITOR GENERAL—</b>					
Administration and general.....	0.9	0.5	0.9	1.4	1.6
Correctional services.....	64.9	63.6	70.0	75.1	85.0
Royal Canadian Mounted Police.....	87.7	101.8	113.2	146.3	178.4
	153.5	165.9	184.1	222.8	265.0
<b>SUPPLY AND SERVICES—</b>					
Administration and general.....	3.0	4.3	4.0	4.2	4.0
Services.....	32.8	34.6	40.7	36.5	42.0
Supply.....	21.5	21.6	23.2	21.6	21.5
Public Printing and Stationery.....	4.7	3.5	4.0		
Information Canada.....			1.5	7.0	7.5
Canadian Arsenals Limited.....	0.4	0.3	0.5	1.5	1.5
Canadian Commercial Corporation.....	2.0	2.1	3.4	3.9	3.5
	64.4	66.4	82.3	74.7	80.0

STATEMENT OF EXPENDITURES BY DEPARTMENTS AND MAJOR CATEGORIES  
FOR THE LAST FIVE FISCAL YEARS  
(in millions of dollars)

	1967-68	1968-69	1969-70	1970-71	1971-72 (preliminary)
<b>PORT—</b>					
Administration and general.....	7.1	7.9	7.4	8.5	15.0
Transportation program.....	104.0	115.4	109.0	124.5	157.4
Airline transportation program.....	92.0	91.5	95.6	90.9	100.0
Surface transportation.....	58.7	41.1	47.3	49.6	71.6
Canadian National Railways—deficit.....	35.8	29.2	24.6	29.7	24.2
<b>Canadian Transport Commission—</b>					
Administration and general.....	3.6	4.2	10.3	10.5	15.7
Payments under the National Transportation Act.....	126.0	93.7	79.6	65.7	52.3
Contributions to the railway grade crossing fund.....	15.0	15.0	15.0	20.0	20.0
Maritime Freight Rates Act.....	14.2	13.9	14.6	14.0	14.0
Steamship subventions.....	11.1	12.2	6.0	6.0	6.0
Subsidies to air carriers.....	1.2	1.3	3.4	1.8	2.0
National Harbours Board.....	4.8	6.6	8.6	2.5	2.2
St. Lawrence Seaway Authority.....	10.6	11.4	10.5	10.1	13.6
	484.1	443.4	431.9	433.8	494.0
<b>PORT BOARD—</b>					
Administration and general.....	38.3	43.2	45.4	55.6	62.0
Provision for salary revisions.....		120.5	58.7	65.0	15.0
<b>Public service superannuation account—</b>					
Government's contribution.....	59.6	66.0	73.5	85.6	88.0
Amortization of deferred charges.....	60.6	84.8	91.8	84.8	86.0
Additional interest.....				49.5	65.0
National Research Council.....	101.0	117.8	121.7	122.9	129.0
	259.5	432.3	391.1	463.4	445.0
<b>INDUSTRIAL AFFAIRS AND HOUSING—</b>					
Department.....					2.0
Central Mortgage and Housing Corporation.....	23.1	29.7	43.6	47.0	62.4
National Capital Commission.....	23.2	25.0	24.0	28.4	47.8
	46.3	54.7	67.6	75.4	112.0
<b>INDUSTRIAL AFFAIRS—</b>					
Administration and general.....	10.1	10.1	4.7	7.3	6.8
Welfare services.....	114.2	112.9	112.6	109.8	99.3
Insurances.....	205.6	223.3	222.3	216.4	238.6
Food and treatment services.....	61.4	71.6	72.1	66.4	70.9
Veterans land administration.....	9.5	9.7	10.7	10.1	11.4
	400.8	427.6	422.4	410.0	427.0
	9,789.6	10,730.1	11,921.6	13,182.1	14,745.0

## APPENDIX 2

### ABSTRACT OF

#### Some Implications of Current Canadian Concepts of the Just Society for Education in Canada.<sup>1</sup>

The problem posed here was that of determining and describing those educational functions of Canada's future educational systems which would be consonant with the current national political ideology and policy defined as the objectives and ideal of the just society, introduced in 1968. This was viewed as a specific way of delimiting and examining the larger and wider question of the relationship between the political and the educational sector, especially with regard to the impact of national political ideology, policy, programs and priorities on the national philosophy of education and on the consequent functions of the formal education systems, if parallel direction and complementary behaviour between politics and education are to be achieved.

Since the relationship was conceptualized both as reciprocal and as a whole to part interaction, the political sector representing the whole and the educational sector the core systemic part, with the major impulsion of power and authority legitimately emanating from the political domain and being reflected by and in the educational systems, it seemed obligatory, for clarity, first to elucidate the

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1. P. Anthony Johnstone, doctoral thesis presented to the Faculty of Education of the University of Ottawa, Ontario, March 1973.

politically defined ideal and objectives of the just society, so as to be able subsequently to extract logically from them the inherent but latent educational strategy required by national goal-achievement. To do this, a heuristic approach was posited, based on the assumptions that the term "just" derived its accepted meanings from traditional notions of justice and that nations homeostatically seek some functional equilibrium by striving to satisfy those needs perceived as greatest or most urgent.

So, by scrutinizing major traditional notions of justice and the historical development of the meanings of justice as well as by selecting some criteria through which the justness of a society might be evaluated in the economic, political, legal and social domains, current Canadian meanings involved in the phrase, the just society, were clarified, thus facilitating the determination of those notions of justice more likely to be given contemporary priority in the current quest for the attainment of a just Canadian society as defined. To ensure the existence of a significant correlation between political intent and act, political promises proposed or verbal expressions of intent were contrasted with legislation and expenditures effected or observable political behaviour. This seemed to establish credibility.

Given this reasonable congruence or veracity, more likely directions of future government activity were then sought, by comparing the present state of the nation with the desired future ideal and objectives. Then, from a synthesis of the preferred

political direction and methods, in terms of stated policy, programs and priorities based on the perceived primary preoccupations of Canada and of Canadians, the inherent latent educational strategy was determined, culminating in the statement of thirty four (34) basic implications for future educational functioning here in Canada.

It is hoped that these implications might provide some basis for future discussion aimed at amplifying understanding not only of necessary democratic educational behaviour but also of the influence that political variables exercise over educational functioning, especially in such areas as equality of educational opportunity, equality in schools, and those elements of justice so often patent even to children yet persistently latent in the philosophy and practices of several educational systems.