



We have already studied certain groups who responded to the *limitations* to Classical Liberalism: feminism, the women's suffragist movement, and modern liberals in regards to positive liberty (ie. glass ceiling). Here are some more:

## CLASSICAL CONSERVATISM AND EDMUND BURKE

- Wrote **Reflections on the Revolution in France** (1790)
- one of the most widely read books on conservatism
- against the philosophy of the Enlightenment because:

history and experience should be our guides

the minor ills experienced **before** the French Revolution should be endured, instead of the "unknown"

Human society was an organism of slow growth

- The American Revolution fulfilled a great historic tradition. The French Revolution did not (it broke with tradition).
- Burke's evolutionary approach to political and social problems is now generally accepted by **modern** conservatives

### According to Burke:

- ☐ Change needed to respect past generations: stability of society, law & order and maintaining customs & traditions paramount
- ☐ Burke disagreed with Rousseau's "general will of the people". According to Burke, if the average person was allowed to participate in the political process, this would lead to the rule by the mediocre, uneducated, and disinterested. Chaos would ensue.
  - ☐ equality is not important: society is hierarchy of layers, which justifies a limited electorate
- ☐ his biggest fear, was allowing all people, especially uneducated, ill informed people to participate in government, would lead to chaos.
- ☐ responsibilities & civil liberties of citizens, **plus** privileges for elites, as they have the right to rule but also have responsibilities for welfare of others: "**noblesse oblige**"
  - ☐ self-interest has the potential to be harmful
  - ☐ mixed views on economy

The strange superstition has arisen in the Western world that we can start all over again, remaking human nature, human society and the possibilities of happiness, as though the knowledge and experience of our ancestors were now entirely irrelevant. But on what fund of knowledge are we to draw when framing our alternative? The utopias have proved to be illusions, and the most evident result of our 'liberation' from traditional constraints has been widespread discontent with the human condition.

### From Gentle Regrets by Roger Scruton

Scruton wrote in *Gentle Regrets* (2005) that he found several of Burke's arguments in *Reflections on the Revolution in France* (1790) persuasive. Scruton was persuaded that, as he put it, the utopian promises of socialism are accompanied by an abstract vision of the mind that bears little relation to the way most people think. Burke also convinced him that there is **no direction to history, no moral or spiritual progress**; that people think collectively toward a common goal **only during** crises such as war, and that trying to organize society this way requires a real or imagined enemy; hence, Scruton wrote, the strident tone of **socialist** literature.

# FOUR VARIETIES OF CONSERVATISM TODAY

<b>1. Modern Conservatism</b> (Red and Blue Tory or both)	<b>2. Neo-Conservatism</b> (according to some Liberals this type of conservatism is the worst - a combination of Blue Tory social conservatism, neo-liberal economics and a hawkish, nationalist foreign policy)...	<b>3. Right Wing Populism Today</b>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>● Red Tory: socially progressive and fiscally conservative.</li> <li>● limited government involvement in the economy, but some social programs and welfare state is acceptable</li> <li>● trade unionism is acceptable to an extent</li> <li>● some positive liberty and government legislation of equality is justified</li> <li>● I would say most libertarians today would align with "red tories" practically... in terms of voting where there isn't a libertarian option. BUT libertarians would not align with Red Tories because they support some social programs such as healthcare, welfare, etc., because they are straight up laissez-faire free-marketers.</li> <li>● the government should not get overly involved in societal problems and that the private sector should take a larger role in society.</li> <li>● fiscally responsible (conservative): low taxes, reduced government spending, debt is usually bad (dislike "tax and spend" liberals)</li> <li>● accountable government, balanced budgets, market-based delivery of government services, and the use of the market as a regulatory tool.</li> <li>● Blue Tories refer to Red Tories as "Pink Tories" which is a pejorative term to describe a member of the conservative party who is perceived as liberal. In the USA some Republicans are referred to as RINOs (Republican in Name Only).</li> <li>● government protection of morality is justified to some extent (social conservatism)</li> <li>● not always religious</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>● limited government involvement in the economy</li> <li>● very limited range of social welfare programs</li> <li>● increased government protection of morality</li> <li>● maintain traditional social values</li> <li>● distrust of trade unionism</li> <li>● liberal principles have "gone too far"</li> <li>● against excessive positive liberty and government legislation of equality</li> <li>● foreign policy is hawkish (militaristic)/advocate the promotion of democracy and interventionism in foreign policy</li> <li>● often quite religious (Christian Right/Evangelical)</li> <li>● government protection of morality is justified to a greater extent (Social conservatism)</li> <li>● not really the same as a Blue Tory, but both Neo-Cons and a Blue Tory are more conservative than a Red Tory</li> <li>● Neo-conservatives and neo-liberals agree on economic policies</li> <li>● Neo-conservatives are neo-liberal then, but neo-liberals are not necessarily neo-conservative, but for the sake of this course, they are basically synonymous.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>● Some conservatives are turning to populism. The federal political party, <b>People's Party of Canada</b> has challenged modern conservatism. It describes itself as a populist conservative party, bringing together common sense, classical conservatism, libertarianism and a principled alternative to the corrupt establishment parties. The PPC claims that the Conservative Party of Canada was too intellectually and morally corrupt to reform, having abandoned conservative principles long ago. Populism is against elites and bureaucrats.</li> <li>● Populism is on the rise in Alberta with the Alberta separatist/independence movement, reflecting frustrations with federal policies, and perceived economic neglect.</li> <li>● The rise of these movements shows how populist ideas can resonate when citizens feel disconnected from traditional political parties and national institutions.</li> <li>● Some critics claim that populism is fringy and potentially authoritarian.</li> <li>● In some cases, populist movements may also exploit racial or ethnic divisions, framing certain groups as "outsiders" or threats to the cultural and economic interests of the majority population.</li> </ul>

## 4. One-nation conservatism (Paternalistic conservatism)



**One-nation conservatism**, also known as **one-nationism** or **Tory democracy**, is a **paternalistic** form of British **political conservatism**. It advocates the preservation of established institutions and traditional principles within a **political democracy**, in combination with **social** and **economic** programmes designed to benefit the ordinary person.<sup>[1]</sup> According to this political philosophy, society should be allowed to develop in an **organic** way, rather than being engineered. It argues that members of society have obligations towards each other and particularly emphasises **paternalism**, meaning that those who are privileged and wealthy pass on their benefits.<sup>[2]</sup> It argues that this elite should work to reconcile the interests of all classes, including labour and management, rather than identifying the good of society solely with the interests of the **business** class.<sup>[3]</sup>

### Political philosophy

One-nation conservatism was conceived by the **Conservative British Prime Minister Benjamin Disraeli**,<sup>[15]</sup> who outlines his political philosophy in two of his novels: *Coningsby* (1844), and *Sybil* (1845).<sup>[16][17]</sup> Disraeli's conservatism proposed a paternalistic society with the social classes intact, but with the working class receiving support from the establishment. He emphasised the importance of social obligation rather than individualism.<sup>[15]</sup> The phrase was coined because Disraeli feared a Britain divided into two nations, one of the rich and one of the poor, as a result of increased industrialisation and inequality.<sup>[16]</sup> One-nation conservatism was his solution to this division, namely a system of measures to improve the lives of the people, provide social support and protect the working classes.<sup>[15]</sup>



One Nation Conservatism is a paternalistic and pragmatic ideology, one that defends the status quo in the social order, but believes that people have obligations to one another (**communitarian**). Landowners should care about their tenants, employers about their employees, and the government about the people. To have a sense of obligation to others **does not require you to believe you know how they should live, let alone a desire to direct it**, but a degree of empathy and respect, coupled with an optimism for progress and how it can benefit everyone.

## Pros and Cons of Conservative Ideology (classical, neo, and modern)

What I like about conservatism...

What I will pass on...

# UNIVERSAL SUFFRAGE AND THE CHARTIST MOVEMENT

Chartism  
(pages 132-133)

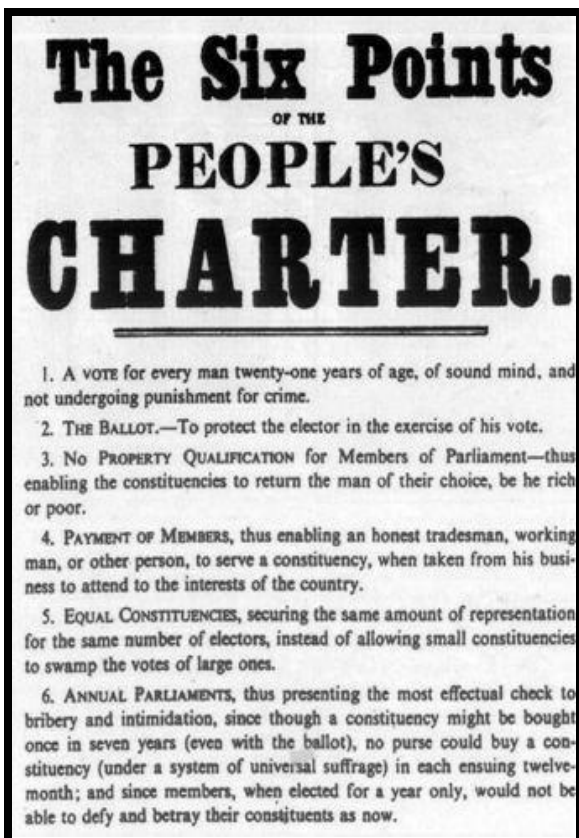
## CONTEXT



The size of the English county electorate in 1831 has been estimated at only 200,000. Furthermore, the sizes of the individual county constituencies varied significantly. Those who owned property in multiple constituencies could vote multiple times; there was usually no need to live in a constituency in order to vote there. [In short, before 1832](#), only 6% of the male population could vote.

In 1832, the vote, because of the [Great Reform Act of 1832](#), had been extended to some of the male middle class (but not to the working class), which increased the electorate from about 500,000 to 813,000 which allowed about one out of five adult males to vote, from a total population (including women and children) of some 14 million.

The dissent and insubordination of the English workingmen reached its peak in the mid- nineteenth century with [Chartism](#), an ideology that called for **political reform** in the country. It arose as a result of the Reform Act of 1832, which had denied voting rights to working people because they lacked real property. Its name was based on the People's Charter, a [document written in 1838](#) by William Lovett and other radicals. The Charter called for several changes to the Parliamentary system.



Although the Chartists demands were not initially implemented and the movement was an initial failure, (in November 1839, 22 Chartists were shot dead by soldiers and many others imprisoned); by 1867 and 1884, their demands were finally met. Historians see Chartism as both a continuation of the 18th century fight against corruption and as a new stage in demands for democracy in an industrial society. Thus, one could say they were the “spark” for future reform and legislation.

Are the Six Points of the People's Charter reasonable? Why or why not?

# Universal Suffrage

With such things as the extension of voting rights, the creation of government social programs, and the recognition of the rights of women and other groups, liberalism evolved into what is often referred to as **modern liberalism**. By the late 1800s and early 1900s, some of these governments began to focus on modern liberal values, such as providing greater **equality of opportunity** for all individuals.

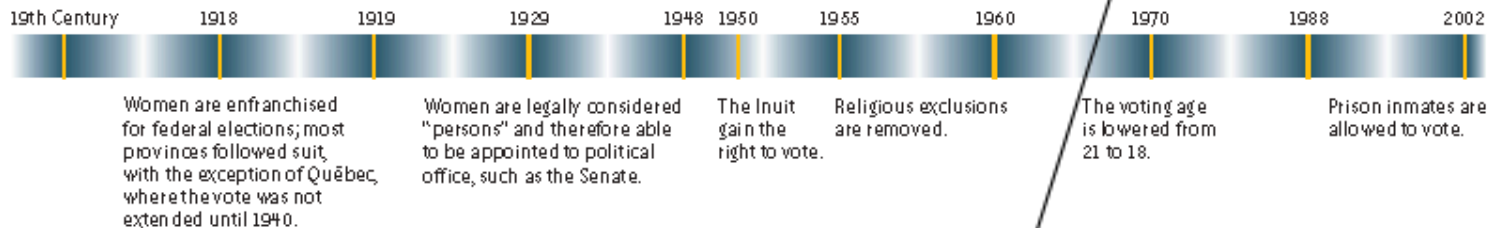
Classical liberalism proclaimed the equality of men, meaning the male gender, **but in reality only certain men were equal**.

Women, First Nations peoples, and certain religious and ethnic groups were not allowed to vote. From 1867 to 1919, the classical liberal idea that voting was a privilege for the few gradually gave way to the *modern liberal* concept that *the franchise was a right*, and the various qualifications were eliminated, at first for men only

Figure 4-14

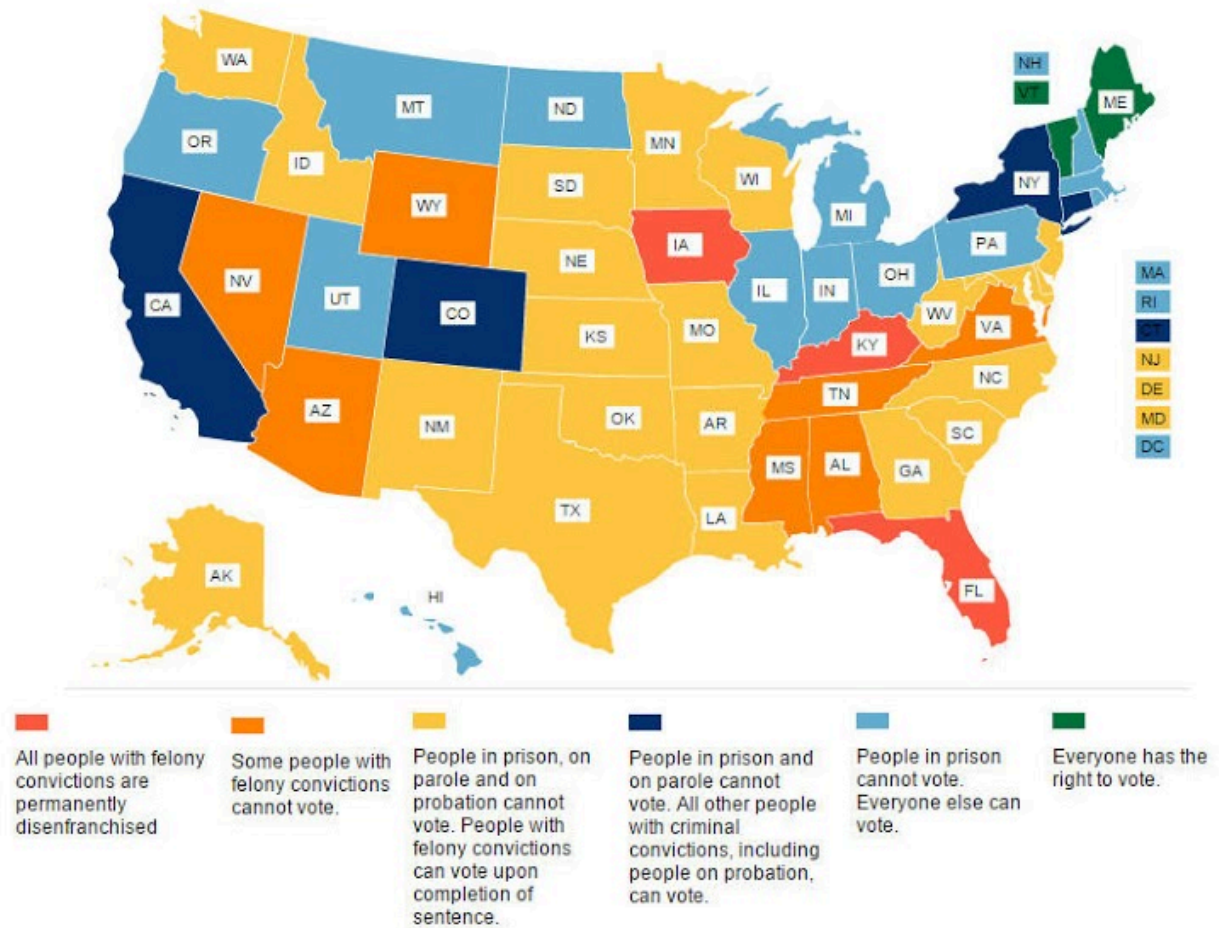
What biases were reflected in the restrictions on voting? What other changes to restrictions in voting might be challenged in the future?

The right to vote was not uniform across the country. The focus was on enfranchising men by reducing and then removing property qualifications. This was achieved by the end of the century.



Answer these questions and this one: would you restrict anyone from voting on this timeline?

# Map of State Criminal Disfranchisement Laws



[Felony Disenfranchisement Laws \(Map\)](#)

Study the map above. What is your opinion on criminal disenfranchisement laws? Which states should Canada emulate? On this issue, is Canada too liberal or are some states in the USA too conservative? Defend your answer.



In the United States, a felony is a serious crime that is usually punishable by more than one year in prison. Felonies include violent crimes like murder, rape, and aggravated assault; property crimes like burglary, armed robbery, and grand theft; drug crimes such as large-scale possession, trafficking, or manufacturing; white-collar crimes like fraud and embezzlement; and crimes against the state, including election fraud, bribery, or treason. Committing a felony can have serious consequences beyond prison: in most states, people convicted of felonies lose the right to vote while incarcerated, and in some states, disenfranchisement continues even after release unless rights are restored. For example, possessing or intending to sell large amounts of marijuana - over 2 ounces (about 57 grams, roughly the weight of two decks of cards) in many states - can be charged as a felony, potentially leading to temporary or even permanent loss of voting rights.

Nonviolent crimes, especially theft, financial fraud, or minor drug possession, can permanently affect someone's right to participate in democracy. Canada does not disenfranchise people for criminal convictions the way the U.S. does. Even people in prison retain the right to vote. In Canada, punishment for a crime (including felonies like murder or fraud) never affects your eligibility to vote.