



Reflecting on Ideology, Action, and Citizenship

Chapter

14

KEY SKILLS

Demonstrating leadership by engaging in acts of citizenship

KEY CONCEPTS

Evaluating the extent to which ideology should shape responses to contemporary issues

Exploring opportunities to demonstrate active and responsible citizenship through individual and collective action

Developing strategies to address local, national or global issues that demonstrate individual and collective leadership

Key Terms

Anti-war movements

Civility

Pro-democracy movements



Figure 14-1 ▲

In late 2004, the world watched as the citizens of Ukraine led their country in a **pro-democracy movement**. Members of the crowd wore something orange, the campaign colour of the political candidate Viktor Yushchenko.

Orange Crush

The crowd chanted, “*Razom nas bahato! Nas ne podolaty!*” (“Together, we are many! We cannot be defeated!”). The words filled Kiev’s Independence Square on the evening of November 22, 2004.

Emerging from a sea of orange, the mantra signaled the rise of a powerful civic movement, a skilled political opposition group, and a determined middle class that had come together to stop the ruling elite from falsifying an election and hijacking Ukraine’s presidency.

—Source: Adrian Karatnycky, “Ukraine’s Orange Revolution.” *Foreign Affairs* (March/April, 2005).

<http://www.foreignaffairs.org/20050301faessay84205/adrian-karatnycky/ukraine-s-orange-revolution.html>

November 22, 2004, was the beginning of a spontaneous, massive protest, called the Orange Revolution, against the results of the Ukraine presidential election on November 21. The declared winner, Viktor Yanukovych, had been hand-picked by the outgoing president, Leonid Kuchma, an anti-democratic and pro-Russian politician.

Yanukovych's opponent, Viktor Yushchenko, was pro-democratic, pro-Western, and the favoured candidate of the middle class.

The Yanukovych campaign was accused of **election fraud** that included voter intimidation, multiple voting in areas favouring Yanukovych, and the burning of ballot boxes in areas with strong Yushchenko support. There was even a report that the pens for ballot-marking had been filled with disappearing ink in some areas of strong Yushchenko support so that ballots would be blank when counted. During the campaign, Yushchenko was poisoned with dioxin and almost died. Evidence suggested that pro-Kuchma operatives had poisoned Yushchenko in an effort to remove him from the presidential race.

Yushchenko publicly declared himself president on November 22 and issued a call for people around the country to come to the capital to demand a re-election. Hundreds of thousands of people descended on central Kiev that day to peacefully state their objections to the election. For 17 days, thousands of protesters stood their ground, demanding that a new election be held. The world watched these events unfold. The Yanukovych government sat back, hoping the opposition would go away, but it did not. On November 27, Parliament declared the election invalid and six days later the Supreme Court pronounced the election null and void.

A new election was held on December 26, 2004. Over 12 000 election monitors from around the world travelled to Ukraine to watch the voting process closely. Canada showed its support for the process by appointing former prime minister John Turner to oversee a group of 500 Canadian volunteer monitors. This time the results gave Yushchenko the win. A peaceful protest by a large number of citizens was enough to change the course of Ukraine's history.

How was it that ordinary citizens could cause the reversal of an election? What prompted them to take action? Several conditions helped make this protest successful.

Ukraine had benefited from more than a decade of civil-society development, a good deal of it nurtured by donor support from the United States, European governments, the National Endowment for Democracy, and private philanthropists such as George Soros. Although such sponsorship was nonpartisan, it reinforced democratic values and deepened the public's understanding of free and fair electoral procedures...

Another factor that promoted a dynamic civic sector was increasing awareness of the ruling elite's corruption. The country's emerging Internet news sites...were an integral part of this process. By November 2004, Ukraine, with a population of 48 million people, boasted some 6 million distinct users accessing the Internet.

—Source: Adrian Karatnycky, "Ukraine's Orange Revolution." *Foreign Affairs* (March/April, 2005).

<http://www.foreignaffairs.org/20050301faessay84205/adrian-karatnycky/ukraine-s-orange-revolution.html>



Figure 14-2 ▲

On September 5, 2004, after a dinner with the chief and deputy chief of the Ukrainian Security Service, Viktor Yushchenko (shown here in July 2004 and in December 2004) became ill. His symptoms and a blood test indicated that he had been poisoned with tetrachlorodibenzoparadiioxin (TCDD), a key ingredient of Agent Orange, a herbicide used in the Vietnam War.

Following the Orange Revolution, citizens in the Ukraine are still fighting to see the promised reforms realized in their society.

Since 2004, Ukraine has been confronted with recurrent internal political turmoil and parliamentary gridlock which have tarnished its image as a reforming country and the prospects of deepening relations with the enlarged [European] Union...The 2004 Orange Revolution failed to deliver domestically. The years since then have been marked by political infighting, personal rivalries among its political elite and government incompetence. As a result, Ukraine has stumbled from crisis to crisis...The newly-elected [2007] government of Our Ukraine (OU) and the Yulia Tymoshenko Bloc (BYuT) offers a second chance for the Orange forces to deliver on the promises they made [to the citizens] in 2004...

—Source: Amanda Akçakoca and Richard Whitman, “Ukraine and the EU after the elections: more of the same?”, European Policy Centre, December 2007.

http://www.epc.eu/TEWN/pdf/444589015_Ukraine%20and%20the%20EU.pdf

PAUSE AND REFLECT

To what extent do you believe liberal democratic ideology shaped citizens' actions, the government's actions, or both in the Ukraine during the Orange Revolution?

Chapter Issue

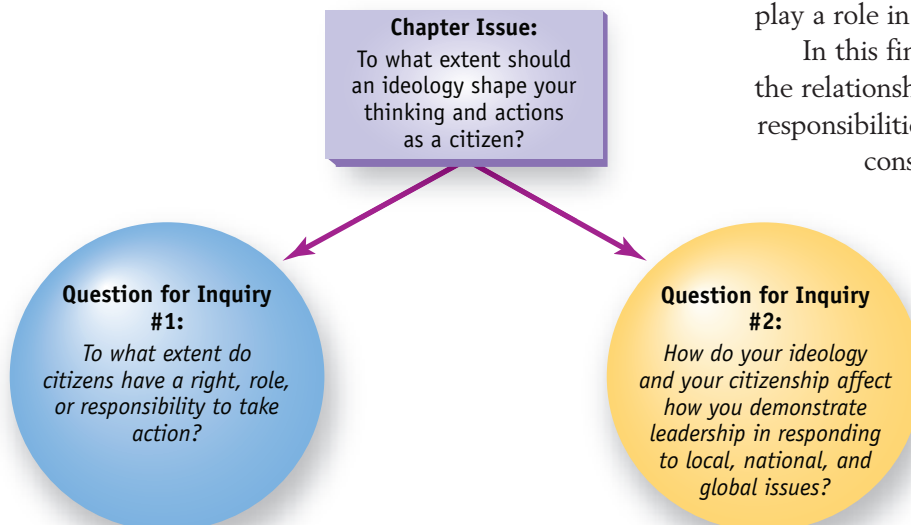
When you began this course you were introduced to the concept of ideology. You were encouraged to explore how your identity, beliefs, and values may attract you toward one ideology and repel you from others. Throughout the course you explored several ideologies and liberalism in particular—its origins, guiding principles, various forms, opponents, and complexities. In Chapter 13 you focused on understandings of citizenship and how citizenship in a liberal democratic society is more than the guarantee of certain rights: citizenship also asks citizens to

consider their responsibilities and actions, and to what extent their identity and beliefs and values play a role in their actions.

In this final chapter you will reflect on the relationship between ideology and your responsibilities and actions as a citizen. You will consider the following Chapter Issue:

To what extent should an ideology shape your thinking and actions as a citizen?

Figure 14-3



Responding to Issues

Question for Inquiry

- **To what extent do citizens have a right, role, or responsibility to take action?**

As you read through this first section of the chapter, bear the Orange Revolution in mind and decide for yourself to what extent you are able to fulfill your obligations to yourself, your country, the citizens of the world, and the planet. Do your responses to environmental, social, economic, or political issues confirm your chosen ideologies, or do they cause you to reconsider or adjust the ideologies you have chosen to embrace? Reading about the responses of others to issues they have confronted will help you consider and evaluate your own responses.

The Anti-Apartheid Movement in South Africa

For over 300 years, the interaction of Africans (black) and European settlers (white) created a legacy of violence, distrust, and hate in South Africa, reflected in **apartheid**, a strict, legislated system of racial segregation and discrimination against Black South Africans set in place by the National Party of South Africa from 1948 to 1994.

Apartheid consisted of numerous laws that allowed the ruling white minority in South Africa to segregate, exploit and terrorize the vast majority: Africans, mostly, but also Asians and Coloureds—people of mixed race. In white-ruled South Africa, black people were denied basic human rights and political rights. Their labour was exploited, their lives segregated.

Under Apartheid, racist beliefs were enshrined in law and any criticism of the law was suppressed. Apartheid was racism made law. It was a system dictated in the minutest detail as to how and where the large black majority would live, work and die. This system of institutionalized racial discrimination defied the principles of the United Nations Charter and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. [emphasis added]

—Source: “Human Rights: Historical images of Apartheid in South Africa,” © United Nations. Reproduced with permission.

<http://www.un.org/av/photo/subjects/apartheid.htm>

The struggle of black South Africans to end apartheid was led by a number of organizations, which viewed themselves as **liberation movements**. One of these organizations was the African National Congress (ANC).

Figure 14-4 ▼

Disproportionate treatment in South Africa, circa 1978.

Apartheid and the People of South Africa	Blacks	Whites
Population	19 million	4.5 million
Land allocation	13%	87%
Share of national income	< 20%	75%
Ratio of average earnings	1	14
Doctors/population	1/44 000	1/400
Infant mortality rate	20% (urban) 40% (rural)	2.7%
Annual expenditure on education per pupil	US\$ 45	US\$ 696
Teacher/pupil ratio	1/60	1/22

Source: Richard Leonard, *Computers in South Africa: A Survey of US Companies* (New York: Africa Fund, November 1978).



Figure 14-5 ▲

These young men are watching a soccer game at an all-white school in Johannesburg during the apartheid era. Spending per child in schools for black South Africans was less than one-tenth that for white South Africans. If black South African children had any schooling at all, it was often in overcrowded classrooms that were led by poorly trained teachers.

PAUSE AND REFLECT

Under apartheid, all black South Africans were required to carry identification papers at all times that detailed where they lived and worked. The only way that a black South African could travel outside his or her community was with a special pass, which was required by the Pass Laws. How does this compare with your right to mobility in Canada?

One of the ANC leaders, Nelson Mandela, began his career as a lawyer. He rose to prominence and eventually became the president of the organization. Initially attempting to use the law and **civil disobedience** to protect black Africans, the ANC eventually resorted to acts of violence in retaliation for similar acts by the South African government.

Another African liberation organization was the Pan-Africanist Congress (PAC), which had split from the ANC. The schism occurred because the ANC did not focus specifically on blacks, but also worked to improve the situation of the other non-white groups discriminated against in South Africa. Led by Robert Sobukwe, the PAC focused exclusively on black power.

Following the principles of **civility** and non-violence, the resistance movement's tactics of protest were sit-ins, boycotts, and strikes, and the tactic used by the South African government was repression. Dissidents were arrested, tortured, and jailed. A defining moment in the struggle against apartheid occurred on March 21, 1960. Prior to this, the PAC had encouraged large groups to stand peacefully outside local police stations to demand to be arrested for not having official passes with them. It was impossible to arrest thousands of people, and the government ignored these protests. For March 21, however, the PAC announced that it would conduct a mass non-violent protest of the Pass Laws by holding a national strike.

On March 21, numerous groups of Africans surrounded police stations as part of the nation-wide protest. The South African government was determined to disperse the crowds using military flyovers, tear gas, and riot police. In the township of Sharpeville, some 5000 to 7000 people had gathered by 10:00 AM in a peaceful demonstration. The crowd did not disperse in spite of the government measures, and a standoff developed. Finally, a shot was fired and then many more. At first, the protesters thought a vehicle had backfired, but then people began to fall. Almost immediately, people began to run. First-person accounts tell stories of police officers on the roofs of vans spraying wide arcs of machine-gun fire directly into the panicked crowd. By the time the shooting ended, 69 people were dead and nearly 200 were wounded—men, women, and children. Most had been shot in the back as they ran.

The government of South Africa claimed that the gathered people were becoming aggressive and throwing rocks. Within days, the government passed new laws. The ANC and PAC were outlawed, and their leaders were sought and imprisoned. A state of emergency was declared and thousands of black South Africans were arrested. In response to international protests, South Africa withdrew from the Commonwealth and declared itself a republic.

Both the ANC and PAC eventually turned to more extreme actions, including attacks on government buildings, bombings, and



Non-Violence

Non-violence as a philosophy and strategy has been practised by such leaders as Mahatma Gandhi (in British colonial India's struggle for independence), Martin Luther

King Jr (in the American civil rights movement), and César Chavez (in the struggle for farm workers' rights in California). Non-violence is not passive acceptance of oppression; instead, it can include civil disobedience, media campaigns, and targeted direct (non-violent) action. As Chavez noted,

Non-violence is not inaction. It is not discussion. It is not for the timid or weak...

Non-violence is hard work. It is the willingness to sacrifice. It is the patience to win.

— **César Chavez, quoted in "Applying the Principles of Nonviolence in Our Lives." Carry the Vision.**

<http://www.carrythevision.org/CTV-NV-final.pdf>

Just before the 1960 campaign to protest the Pass Laws in South Africa, PAC leader, Robert Sobukwe spoke to other PAC leaders, imploring them to follow the practice of non-violence.

My instructions, therefore, are that our people must be taught now and continuously that in this campaign we are going to observe absolute non-violence.

— **Robert Sobukwe, quoted in David M. Sibeko, "The Sharpeville Massacre: Its historic significance in the struggle against apartheid." African National Congress.**

<http://www.anc.org.za/ancdocs/history/misc/sharplle.html>

Why did Sobukwe originally insist on non-violence? Do citizens ever have a right to resort to violence against their civil authorities?

other terrorist tactics. While the struggle against apartheid continued within South Africa, it continued in world opinion as well. Countries began to impose sanctions and embargos on South Africa. Trade was reduced. Banks refused loans to the country, South Africa was barred from participation in the Olympics from 1964 onward, and South Africa became isolated from the world. By the late 1980s, it became obvious to the white rulers of the republic that apartheid was indefensible, and successive South African governments began the slow reduction of the policies of apartheid.

Mandela became a symbol of the fight to end apartheid and his cause was taken up around the world. After months on the run, Mandela was arrested in 1962 and sentenced to five years' hard labour for inciting a workers' strike and leaving the country illegally. In 1964, he was tried along with other ANC leaders for "plotting to overthrow the government with violence." In April 1964, Nelson Mandela made a statement in his own defence at his trial, in which he said:

PAUSE AND REFLECT

How did Nelson Mandela answer the Chapter Issue: To what extent should an ideology shape your thinking and actions as a citizen?

During my lifetime I have dedicated myself to the struggle of the African people. I have fought against white domination, and I have fought against black domination. I have cherished the ideal of a democratic and free society in which all persons live together in harmony and with equal opportunities. It is an ideal which I hope to live for and to achieve. But if needs be, it is an ideal for which I am prepared to die.

—Nelson Mandela, “I Am Prepared to Die” (statement at the Rivonia Trial, April 20, 1964). African National Congress.
<http://www.anc.org.za/ancdocs/history/mandela/1960s/rivonia.html>

As apartheid declined, so did the government’s resolve to keep Mandela imprisoned. On February 11, 1990, he was freed from prison. That same year the ANC was once again free to exist in South Africa. Mandela continued the struggle to abolish apartheid. In 1994, the first free interracial election occurred in South Africa. The ANC won the election, and Mandela became the first black president of South Africa. Apartheid was now a thing of the past.

Taking Action: Post-Apartheid South Africa

After apartheid was abolished in South Africa, the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) was created to address the country’s racist past, including the discriminatory policies of the government. It was hoped that by establishing such a commission, the victims of apartheid would come forward to describe their personal experiences. In many respects, the TRC has been viewed as the process that helped South Africa take the last steps toward democracy.

The aim of the commission and its chairman, Archbishop Desmond Tutu, was to promote reconciliation in South Africa’s divided society through truth about its dark past.

One of the Truth commissioners, Dr Faizal Randera said: “If we cannot understand what made people think and do what they did these conflicts will arise again within our society.”

In the turbulent final decade of South Africa’s last white government, few sections of society were left untouched by violence...

“I and many other leading figures in our party have already publicly apologised for the pain and suffering caused by former policies of the National Party. I reiterate these apologies,” [Former President F.W. de Klerk] told the commission...

It has been an unprecedented experiment in trying to heal the wounds of the apartheid era, but after more than two years of hearings and investigations some people are asking how much reconciliation has been achieved by exposure of dark truth from South Africa’s dark past...



Figure 14-6 ▲

After his conviction, Nelson Mandela (centre) was sentenced to life in prison and was imprisoned from 1962 to 1990. In 1993, the Nobel Peace Prize was awarded jointly to Nelson Mandela and F.W. de Klerk (the leader of South Africa’s National Party and the country’s president at the time) for “their work for the peaceful termination of the apartheid regime, and for laying the foundations for a new democratic South Africa.” The Nobel committee noted, “From their different points of departure, Mandela and de Klerk have reached agreement on the principles for a transition to a new political order based on the tenet of one man-one vote. By looking ahead to South African reconciliation instead of back at the deep wounds of the past, they have shown personal integrity and great political courage.” (Source: “The Nobel Peace Prize 1993,” October 15, 1993. Nobelprize.org, http://nobelprize.org/nobel_prizes/peace/laureates/1993/press.html.)

The trauma of the past

Much of the criticism of the commission stems from a basic misunderstanding about its mandate.

It was never meant to punish people, just to expose their role in crimes committed under apartheid.

It is in this respect that the achievements of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission stand out.

Only by revisiting the trauma of the past can people look to a better future—but with the truth comes pain and a reminder that reconciliation may still be a distant goal in the new South Africa.

—“**South Africans reconciled?**”, BBC News, October 30, 1998.

http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/special_report/1998/10/98/truth_and_reconciliation/142673.stm



Destiny's Children: “Born Free” in South Africa

JOHANNESBURG, SOUTH AFRICA—At 23, Joy Methula is too young to fully remember the dark

days of apartheid. Too young to remember her mother risking her life to demonstrate against oppression. Too young to recall her elder brother's treason trial and two-year prison stint for organizing student protests. “To me,” she says with a shrug, “they sound like folk tales.”

Methula is a “born free,” part of the generation of 17 million post-liberation blacks who came of age after Nelson Mandela's release from prison in 1990 and inherited a free, though deeply troubled South Africa. There is a South Africa where 1 in 10 blacks is malnourished, 1 in 4 black children are stunted, and 1 of every 2 blacks lives below the poverty line. Despite such statistics, there is also a nation where, for the first time, large numbers of young blacks are getting a good education, finding a good job, and joining the middle and upper classes.

Their journey from shantytowns, mud hovels, and modest brick homes to the suburbs demonstrates how far this country has come toward egalitarianism and nonracialism in a remarkably short time—and how much remains to be done. Their challenges arise from a legacy of 300 years of colonialism and four decades of apartheid that will continue to plague this nation for generations to come. And their aspirations show how young South Africans are breaking with past traditions and cultural norms to remake their country...

Young blacks, however, are looking forward. To them, the political struggle that so consumed their elder siblings and parents is ancient history. Now, they believe, is the time to enjoy the fruits of their elders' struggle...

Though her brother and mother risked their lives to win the right to vote, Methula, like many young people, doesn't plan to cast her ballot in this

week's contests for the national Parliament—only the third time South Africa has held democratic, nonracial elections. Just half of 18- to 25-year-olds are registered to vote, a significantly lower rate than that of any other age group... Now, the preoccupation is with making money: More than 90 percent of youth think money makes people happy, the same survey shows. In the new South Africa, people are judged not by the color of their skin, many of these young people say, but by how much is in their wallets...

While many lament the growth of consumerism and conspicuous consumption, it is in some ways a measure of the success of South Africa's transition. Black graduates are now receiving more than half of all university diplomas each year. In 1991, they received fewer than one quarter of the diplomas... The black middle class, once almost nonexistent, is now bigger than the white middle class.

Luceth Nzima, 22, a first-year student at the University of the Witwatersrand, plans to become a chartered accountant. One of apartheid's legacies is that only 337 of South Africa's 20 000 accountants are black... Maxwell Nqeno, a classmate of Nzima's, returns each night after class to his parents' home in an abandoned building in a squatter camp. He studies by candlelight, fetches water from a nearby communal tap to wash each morning, and uses public toilets.

The government is trying to bridge these two worlds: the rich, western world previously reserved for whites and the traditional, poor world where the vast majority of blacks remain trapped... People like Nzima, who have come into adulthood in the past decade, are acutely aware of the challenges that remain. Their materialism is not without conscience. They dream of mansions and fast cars but also of community centers and clinics for those left behind. "A lot of people died for us so that I can have better opportunities," says Nzima...

—Source: Rena Singer, "Destiny's Children: 10 Years After The End Of Apartheid", *US News and World Report*, April 11, 2004.

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<http://www.usnews.com/usnews/culture/articles/040419/19apartheid.htm>

Consider the different young people identified in this feature as you answer these questions.

- 1 What would you identify as the most important legacies of the apartheid era in South Africa today? In what ways is an ideology a part of the causes and effects of these legacies?
- 2 To what extent do citizens in South Africa have the right, role, or responsibility to take action in response to these legacies? What beliefs and values may most strongly motivate their actions? In what ways can a citizen's generation have an impact on his or her beliefs and values and actions?
- 3 In what ways has apartheid had an impact on the beliefs and values of Black South Africans? White South Africans?

The War against the Vietnam War

Just as the fight to end apartheid in South Africa lasted decades, so did the war in Vietnam. After the Second World War, the former colonial power in southeast Asia, France, was allowed to return to the country. Many Vietnamese, however, wanted control of their own country and so they fought the French army. By 1954, the French were defeated. According to the Geneva Accords of 1954, Vietnam was to be independent, and it was temporarily divided into two zones, North and South Vietnam, in preparation for an election that was to be held in 1956. In the frenzy of the Cold War, the election never happened. The northern part of the country was supported by communist countries, including the USSR and China, while the south was supported by Western powers led by the United States. As you read in Chapter 7, this American support was part of the larger US policy of containment, which was practised in the Cold War in an effort to “contain” or limit the spread of communism.

The United States first sent military advisors to Vietnam in 1950. By 1961, the United States was beginning to bring American troops to South Vietnam to defend the Saigon government from attacks from within the country and from North Vietnam. By 1963, however, the mission (containment of communism in Vietnam) was looking less and less viable. Some leaders in the United States were looking for ways to get out. Arthur Schlesinger recalls in his book *Robert Kennedy and His Times* that American president John F. Kennedy asked Canadian prime minister Lester B. Pearson (1957 Nobel Peace Prize winner for diplomacy) for advice about Vietnam. “Get out,” is what Pearson replied. Kennedy apparently responded, “That’s a stupid answer. Everyone knows that. The question is: How do we get out?” (Source: Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr, *Robert Kennedy and His Times* (New York: Ballantine, 1978), p. 767.)

When American vice-president Lyndon B. Johnson took over as president after John F. Kennedy was assassinated on November 22, 1963, Johnson seemed initially more concerned with domestic policy than foreign policy. Johnson sought election as president in 1964 and won in a landslide victory. He is credited with a strong domestic policy, which he called “The Great Society.” This included civil rights legislation, the “war on poverty,” and health care for people living in poverty and those who were elderly. The US involvement in Vietnam, however, soon took on tremendous importance for Johnson and millions of other Americans. During his leadership, as the American casualties in southeast Asia increased, protests against American involvement grew and protesters would often taunt the president over how many young men had died in the war that day. Johnson announced in March 1968 that he would not seek re-election and withdrew from public service. Richard Nixon was elected president in the next election.



Figure 14-7 ▲

Estimates vary for the numbers who died in the Vietnam conflict, but they include: 58 159 American soldiers, 3–4 million Vietnamese (both sides), and 1.5–2 million people from the border states of Laos and Cambodia.

What happened in the United States over the course of its involvement in Vietnam is enlightening not only in terms of the actions of political leaders, but also in terms of the kinds of actions ordinary citizens can take to effect change in society.

An **anti-war movement** began slowly. When the American phase of the war began in the late 1950s and early 1960s, the anti-war movement existed largely among academics at universities. American involvement at that time was very limited. As the 1960s progressed, however, the number of American soldiers in the conflict increased until, by the end of 1968, there were over 500 000 US troops engaged in the war. The troops were overwhelmingly young (often reported as having an average age of 19, but this has been disputed; the average age of a US soldier who died in the conflict was 22.8 years of age) and a one-year tour of duty was required. This short tour of duty meant that few of the combatants gained experience, their basic training was brief, and they often served under inexperienced leadership. Many of these American combatants were not volunteers; they had been drafted into service through the American registry for selected service (you read about the **draft** in Chapter 13).

Some young men joined the National Guard or the Peace Corps rather than serve in Vietnam. Others were exempt because they were married or for “physical, mental, or moral grounds.” Some young men asked for deferments for college or university education. Others fled the United States as **draft dodgers** to countries such as Sweden and Canada. All told, low-income Americans and African-Americans were disproportionately represented among draftees. By the late 1960s, the anti-war movement was in full force, and the times were characterized by unprecedented student activism and political engagement of young people, and a popular culture that encouraged both free expression and questioning authority.

Free expression and questioning authority had a particularly strong impact during a time of war. In any war, there will be mistakes. There may also be aggressive overreactions and atrocities. Until the advent of modern communications, these events were usually revealed only after the war was over in books and the occasional magazine or documentary. In the 1960s and 1970s, however, reporters and photographers had relatively few restrictions on what they filmed and reported in Vietnam. In turn, most Americans routinely watched the evening news—which was both relatively new as an information source and less varied than it is today, since most people had access to only three television channels. Many Americans also read newsmagazines such as *Life*, *Look*, *Time*, and *Newsweek*, which had powerful photography and reports on the war. The news of Vietnam was a shared, almost unavoidable, and disturbing experience for Americans. Some of the images that Americans saw—of American soldiers, Vietnamese combatants, and civilians in the region—

quickly became iconic and are credited with shaping public opinion against the war. At the same time, popular music and movies were delivering a steady stream of arguments to support the position that the war was not a “just war.”

Throughout the war, television news and newsmagazines focused on the stories of young American soldiers. According to Daniel C. Hallin, professor of communications at the University of California, Los Angeles, in the early years of television news from Vietnam

...the emphasis was on the visual and above all the personal: “American boys in action” was the story, and reports emphasized their bravery and their skill in handling the technology of war...In the early years, when morale was strong, television reflected the upbeat tone of the troops.

However, as the war continued and casualties grew in number, and

...as withdrawals continued and morale declined, the tone of field reporting changed. This shift was paralleled by developments on the “home front.” Here, divisions over the war received increasing air time, and the anti-war movement, which had been vilified as Communist-inspired in the early years, was more often accepted as a legitimate political movement.

—Source: Daniel Hallin, “Vietnam on Television.”
Museum of Broadcast Communications.

<http://www.museum.tv/archives/etv/V/htmlV/vietnamonte/vietnamonte.htm>

No one was used to viewing the realities of war so immediately and in such an unfiltered way. No one could ignore the sacrifice that young men were making for a questionable exercise. Additionally, the scope of the draft brought the seriousness and the inescapability of the war right to the main streets of every town in America. Over time, almost 3 million Americans served in the Vietnam conflict. Everyone knew someone who had served.

Support for the war was widespread in the early years, but it waned, especially after 1968. Opposition in the United States and around the world to the war in Vietnam was loud and varied. The following are some of the many individual voices and actions in protest. As you read them, consider how the individuals involved demonstrate their ideologies.

Among the student groups and anti-war protesters, perhaps the Students for Democratic Society (SDS) was the best known. SDS became famous for the slogans “Make Love, Not War” and “Burn the card, not people,” which encouraged young men to burn their draft cards. In April 1965, Paul Potter, president of SDS, gave the following speech in front of the Washington Monument before a crowd of 25 000 anti-war protesters.

PAUSE AND REFLECT

If ordinary citizens have an increased knowledge of a war, how might that affect their right, role, or responsibility to act on that knowledge?

Figure 14-8 ▼

In this *Life* magazine photo taken in 1966, American medic Thomas Cole tends to fellow American soldiers despite his own injury. The Vietnamese-born, French photographer Henri Huet covered the Vietnam War for Associated Press. He died in 1971 on a battlefield inspection with three other photojournalists and the commanding officer of the South Vietnamese force invading Laos. The group’s helicopter pilot lost his way and flew into heavily defended areas.





Figure 14-9 ▲

In this photo taken near the end of the war, a Vietnamese woman carries her wounded daughter away from the fighting. What impact do you think this photo would have on American readers?

Most of us grew up thinking that the United States was a strong but humble nation, that involved itself in world affairs only reluctantly, that respected the integrity of other nations and other systems, and that engaged in wars only as a last resort. This was a nation with no large standing army, with no design for external conquest, that sought primarily the opportunity to develop its own resources and its own mode of living. If at some point we began to hear vague and disturbing things about what this country had done in Latin America, China, Spain and other places, we somehow remained confident about the basic integrity of this nation's foreign policy. The Cold War with all of its neat categories and black and white descriptions did much to assure us that what we had been taught to believe was true.

But in recent years, the withdrawal from the hysteria of the Cold War era and the development of a more aggressive, activist foreign policy have done much to force many of us to rethink attitudes that were deep and basic sentiments about our country. The incredible war in Vietnam has provided the razor, the terrifying sharp cutting edge that has finally severed the last vestige of illusion that morality and democracy are the guiding principles of American foreign policy...

The President says that we are defending freedom in Vietnam. Whose freedom? Not the freedom of the Vietnamese...

**— Paul Potter, “Naming the System”
(SDS anti-war speech), April 17, 1965.**

<http://mrzine.monthlyreview.org/potter150106.html>

Figure 14-10 ▶

In 1968, the United States itself felt like a war zone to some. Martin Luther King, Jr was assassinated in April 1968. This event was soon followed by the assassination of Robert Kennedy, the brother to John F. Kennedy, Jr and an anti-war candidate for the Democratic Party's presidential campaign. In August 1968, the successor to President Lyndon B. Johnson was to be nominated at the Democratic Convention in Chicago. While the convention took place indoors, it seemed like the whole world watched as 10 000 demonstrators outdoors faced off against 23 000 Chicago police officers and Illinois National Guard soldiers in dramatic confrontations.



In 1967, American civil rights leader Martin Luther King, Jr addressed a meeting of Clergy and Laymen Concerned About Vietnam, with the following:

...We still have a choice today: nonviolent coexistence or violent coannihilation. We must move past indecision to action. We must find new ways to speak for peace in Vietnam and justice throughout the developing world, a world that borders on our doors. If we do not act, we shall surely be dragged down the long, dark, and shameful corridors of time reserved for those who possess power without compassion, might without morality, and strength without sight...

—Martin Luther King, Jr, “Beyond Vietnam”
(speech delivered at Riverside Church,
New York City), April 4, 1967.

<http://www.vietnamwar.com/beyondvietnammlk.htm>

The anti-war movement had a profound impact on foreign policy for the United States. President Johnson and, later, President Nixon both had to deal with widespread negative public sentiment. Rallies and protest marches, which had limited participation early in the war, grew to immense proportions. By November 15, 1969, the largest peace march in US history brought as many as 500 000 protesters to Washington. In the two days before this event, 40 000 protesters marched past the White House, each carrying the name of a different US soldier who had been killed in Vietnam. All this was seen on television.

In the mid-1950s, it had appeared that communism could be held back at the border between North and South Vietnam in much the same way as North and South Korea had been divided; however, in hindsight, the Vietnam War was an unwinnable war, for France and later for the United States, and particularly in American public opinion. In January 1973, a peace treaty was signed by all parties, but fighting continued within the region. In June 1973, the US Congress signed the Case-Church Amendment, which disallowed any American military intervention in Vietnam. By April 1975, the Northern forces captured Saigon, and the two regions were reunited in 1976 as a communist country.

The Vietnam Veterans Memorial

In 1982, the Vietnam Veterans Memorial was completed in Washington, DC. It honours the American soldiers who died in Vietnam and those who are still missing in action. All of the names are listed in chronological order. When the wall was first unveiled, many found it too plain and uninspiring. However, the memorial has since become one of the most admired and visited landmarks in the United States.

In 1998 a virtual wall was created to extend the legacy of the Vietnam Veterans Memorial. Through the Internet, anyone in the world can look up the name of a veteran and find its location on the wall. Visitors to the website can choose a name on the wall and post images, text, or audio as a remembrance of that person. By late 2008, more than 100 000 remembrances had been posted to the site. The Virtual Wall



Figure 14-11 ▲

In 1969, this protest against US involvement in Vietnam was held in Washington, DC.

Figure 14-12

Visitors to the Vietnam Veterans Memorial wall pause to remember the fallen.

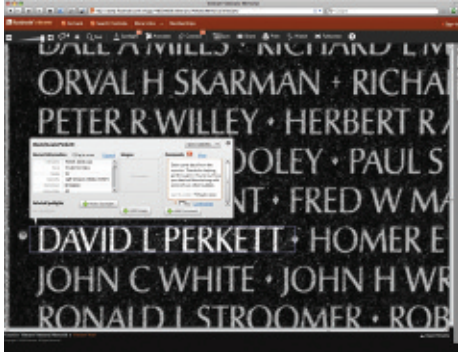


Figure 14-13

Anyone can view the memorial Wall online, search for a name, and leave a remembrance.



also can provide digital versions of name “rubbings”, similar to what someone could make if they visited the Wall itself.

Canada and Afghanistan

Canada’s military involvement in Afghanistan has steadily increased since the fall of the Taliban regime in late 2001 (see page 320). Canada has had a major role in many military operations throughout the country, and has been involved in many offensive battles with insurgents, resulting in Canadian military casualties. Canada has also been involved in providing humanitarian assistance and supporting development activities. Originally, Canada intended for its troops to be pulled out of Afghanistan in February 2009, but debates arose in Parliament and among Canadians on the future of the mission. Prime Minister Stephen Harper has extended the mission until 2011. Some Canadians have been opposed to the mission, as they believe that Canada will not be able to make a difference in such a volatile area, and that Canadian actions in the area are building more resistance in insurgent groups, rather than making the area more peaceful. Ordinary Canadian citizens have taken action and organized anti-war peace rallies across Canada to make their opinions known:

Peace activists are holding anti-war protests across the country, calling on the government to end Canada’s combat operations in Afghanistan...

“I’m happy with the turn out,” Matthew Abbott of the Fredericton Peace Coalition...

“We can see there are a number of people in Fredericton willing to brave the bad weather to show their opinion about what’s happening in Afghanistan, despite the climate that isn’t very friendly to dissent.”

In Montréal, hundreds of people attended a peace march in equally rainy weather, many of them carrying colourful banners and chanting anti-war slogans.

Mary Walsh, an activist with the Raging Grannies, said she was concerned by Prime Minister Stephen Harper's comments that the mission should be extended to 2011—two years beyond the current completion date of February 2009.

"This is why we're here today, because 2009 is bad enough but 2011 just isn't going to go down well with the Canadian public," she told CTV Montréal.

Another march in Toronto had more than 300 attendants and began at the US Consulate...

Michael Skinner, a Toronto academic and anti-war activist, said NATO and Canadian actions in Afghanistan are building resistance rather than the peace.

"Certainly the reason I went to Afghanistan is that I'm quite skeptical of the claims of the government," said Skinner, who is a PhD candidate at York University.

"We're involved in a counter-insurgency war that's very similar to what occurred in Vietnam and Central America."

Skinner, a researcher at the York Centre for International and Security Studies, said he visited four provinces. He found Afghans to be skeptical about the role of foreign troops in Afghanistan and that they saw very little progress in reconstruction.

"Up to this point, thousands of Afghans have been killed. We really have no idea how many have been injured, how many people have been made homeless or become refugees and how many people are arbitrarily arrested or detained," he said.

"All of these things are creating resistance rather than support," he said. The Afghanistan situation is undermining the United Nations' traditional peacekeeping role, he said.

Public opinion polling has found that most Canadians oppose Canada's military role in Afghanistan...

John Holmes, the UN's undersecretary-general for humanitarian affairs and emergency relief coordinator, has said recently that Canada is making a difference on the ground in Afghanistan and that it should maintain its commitment there.

Afghanistan's President Hamid Karzai has asked foreign troops to stay, but he has also expressed frustration at the number of civilian deaths as a result of NATO and US clashes with the Taliban.

—Source: "Anti-war activists hold peace rallies across Canada", CTV.ca News, October 27, 2007.

http://www.ctv.ca/servlet/ArticleNews/story/CTVNews/20071027/afghan_protests_071027/20071027



Active Citizens Recognized by OneWorld.net

As you have been reading, citizens in various countries have been able to effect change through their actions, such

as civil rights and anti-war demonstrations. The responsibilities of these individuals and how they have embraced beliefs and values that have guided them to take action on national or local crisis or conflicts are featured in the following examples. Each of these individuals has been nominated as a finalist by OneWorld.net for its people awards which recognize their work as active citizens through their humanitarian efforts. OneWorld is a global information network and nonprofit organization that highlights various ongoing economic, environmental and human rights issues around the world.

Pamela Adoyo

Pamela Adoyo stands calmly and resolutely at the epicenter of Kenya's AIDS epidemic. Her women's group is helping care for the sick, impede the disease's spread, and stitch back together a community torn apart by the epidemic...

"HIV/AIDS has affected all facets of Kenyan society with devastating economic consequences," says the United Nations. The disease has deprived rural areas in particular of many of their most productive members of the community, and made it very difficult for families to earn a sufficient living, further entrenching poverty.

Children orphaned by AIDS increase the economic burden on the families or community organizations that take over their care. Plus, AIDS orphans are likely to miss out on education, and so are more prone to end up engaged in risky behaviors like prostitution and drug abuse. "This completes the vicious cycle of poverty and HIV/AIDS," adds the UN report.

But the Dago Women's Group, which Adoyo helped found in 1996, is pushing back against those trends in the country's southwestern Nyanza province.

About half of Kenya's 1.4 million annual HIV/AIDS cases originate in Nyanza, says Alexandra Moe, in a recent profile of Adoyo for New America Media.

"For Adoyo and dozens of other Dago women, the generations-long fight for family survival includes leading the battle against HIV and AIDS, one house at a time, in a region that has been ravaged by the epidemic," writes Moe.

And in this traditionally patriarchal community, Adoyo's steadfast leadership is also starting to redefine what women "can" and "can't" do.

Adoyo is most proud of the orphanage the women built, Dago Dala Hera ("Home of Love"), with fundraising assistance from Dago's first Peace Corps volunteer. On September 24, 20 girls were moved in, cared for by "volunteer mothers," most of whom are AIDS widows. Plans are being made to take in the first group of boys...

—Source: Jeffrey Allen, OneWorld.net and Alexandra Moe, New America Media "People of 2008 Finalist: Pamela Adoyo", OneWorld, November 26, 2008.

<http://us.oneworld.net/perspectives/peopleof2008/358715-pamela-adoyo>



Figure 14-14 ▲

Adoyo (middle) consults with two caregivers from the Dago Women's Group.

Francisco Soberón

Francisco Soberón has worked to find justice for Peruvians for over 25 years, and the human rights group he founded has been instrumental in bringing former Peruvian President Alberto Fujimori to trial for alleged crimes against humanity.

A young lawyer with a background in education and agricultural cooperatives, Soberón founded the Asociación Pro Derechos Humanos (APRODEH) in 1982 to help protect ordinary Peruvians caught in the crossfire between the Shining Path guerrilla group, the Túpac Amaru Revolutionary Movement (MRTA), and the Peruvian armed forces.

Beatings, torture, “disappearances,” and arbitrary detentions were common during the almost 20 years of active conflict. During APRODEH’s first two years of work alone, the group documented over 2,000 forced disappearances. Over 600,000 people were forced from their homes and villages by the fighting. Some 30,000 were killed.

In 1985, Soberón helped found the National Coordination Network of Human Rights, an umbrella organization that now brings together 70 human rights organizations in Peru. He has worked at every level to help promote justice—from educating peasants about their rights, to working within the country’s beleaguered judicial system, to petitioning international human rights bodies and the United Nations.

In the past 25 years, APRODEH has come to play an increasingly central role in monitoring and documenting rights violations.

APRODEH has been the driving force behind the current trial of [former president Alberto] Fujimori. While in power from 1990 to 2000, Fujimori was accused of human rights violations in what he described as a campaign to uproot terrorism in Peru. Fujimori was allegedly involved in the 1991 Barrios Altos massacre of 15 men, women, and children as well as the disappearance and murder of eight students and a professor from La Cantuta University in 1992, according to Amnesty International.

APRODEH led the international pressure campaign that saw Fujimori extradited last year from Chile, where he had taken refuge...Several of Soberón’s colleagues have been attacked, killed, threatened, exiled, or have simply disappeared over the years, most likely because of their work to expose human rights violations in the country...

Speaking at the awards ceremony, Soberón reflected back on his group’s 25 years of work. “Human rights abuses and crimes against humanity were a common thing in my country... In these 25 years a lot of things have happened in Peru. [The country is] not perfect yet. We have to keep struggling against impunity. There are obstacles that we have to confront nowadays... [But] I think the future is of hope, the future is of peace, and the future is of justice. Our work will continue in that respect.”

—Source: Brittany Schell and Jeffrey Allen, *OneWorld.net*,
“People of 2008 Finalist: Francisco Soberón”,
OneWorld, December 3, 2008.

<http://us.oneworld.net/perspectives/peopleof2008/358675-francisco-soberon>



Figure 14-15 ▲

Francisco Soberón

Waseem Mahmood

With the signatures of over 62 million Pakistanis committed to the Yeh Hum Naheen Foundation's anti-terrorism campaign, founder Waseem Mahmood has become a leader in a movement promoting Islam as a peaceful, tolerant faith.

It started with a simple observation by his children—that the radical depiction of the Muslim faith was inaccurate, and dangerous. One song, 6 000 volunteers, and all those signatures later, he is changing perceptions of the Muslim religion worldwide and helping to build peace in one of the more volatile—and he says misunderstood—countries of the world.

Mahmood is a British author and media producer. After his sons raised their concerns about the radicalization of young Muslims in England, he used his professional skills to help put together a catchy tune with some powerful words [which translate into] English: “The name by which you know us—we are not that. The eyes with which you look at us—we are not that. This is not us, this is not us, this is not us.” Another part of the song says: “The stories that are being spread in our name are lies—this is not us.”...

Now, the phrase “yeh hum naheen,” meaning “this is not us,” is being repeated all over Pakistan. In October 2007, Mahmood founded the Yeh Hum Naheen Foundation with the aim of changing the negative image of Islam. He captured the attention of some of Pakistan's biggest young stars, and their version of the song quickly rose to the top of the charts in the country. From there the song—and its message—have spread like wildfire across the nation of 172 million, 95 per cent of whom are Muslim...

Even Mahmood has been surprised by the overwhelming response of Pakistanis agreeing that “this is not us!”

—Source: Jeffrey Allen, *OneWorld.net* and Alexandra Moe, *New America Media*, “People of 2008 Finalist: Waseem Mahmood”, *OneWorld*, December 8, 2008.

<http://us.oneworld.net/perspectives/peopleof2008/358674-waseem-mahmood>



Figure 14-16 ▲

Waseem Mahmood

Explore the Issues

Concept Review

- 1 Identify two examples from this section of a citizen who took action. Describe the method the person used to take action and the ideology that you think shaped that action. For one action, give your personal response, and explain your reasons for responding that way.

Concept Application

- 2 In this section of the chapter, you have read of the actions of citizens against some form of oppression or perceived wrong. Some ideologies support the use of force as a means of achieving political results. Given that Canada is a pluralistic country, it is reasonable to assume that there will be a range of ideologies that guide people's decision making. Consider again the Question for Inquiry for this section: To what extent do citizens have a right, role, or responsibility to take action? Express your thoughts about the extent to which violent or non-violent action is a proper response to a perceived unjust situation.
- 3 The Vietnam War and apartheid in South Africa have had powerful and lasting impacts on countries involved in those conflicts and globally. Research a current relevant issue that has a link to one of these events and explore various perspectives and/or points of view of citizens in response to this issue. What beliefs in the rights, roles, and responsibilities of citizenship are evident? What beliefs most closely align with your own, and best inform and support your response to the issue?

Leading for Change

Question for Inquiry

- How do your ideology and your citizenship affect how you demonstrate leadership in responding to local, national, and global issues?

As you know, Canadians vote in a federal election at least every five years. They also vote in regular local and provincial or territorial elections. That vote, according to philosopher John Ralston Saul, is the *minimal act* of a citizen.

To believe in the possibility of change is something very precise. It means that we believe in the reality of choice. That there are choices. That we have the power to choose in the hope of altering society for the greater good... The conviction that citizens have such power lies at the heart of the idea of civilization as a shared project. And the more people are confident that there are real choices, the more they want to vote—a minimal act—and of greater importance, the more they want to become involved in their society.

—From *The Collapse of Globalism* by John Ralston Saul.
© John Ralston Saul, 2005. Reprinted by permission of Penguin Group (Canada), a Division of Pearson Canada Inc.

Historian Peter C. Newman, another Canadian, says, “One reason I want to be a Canadian citizen is that it seems the closest I can come...to being a world citizen.” (Source: Peter C. Newman, quoted in “Our Work at the ICC.” Institute for Canadian Citizenship, <http://www.icc-icc.ca/en/projects/>.)

As you read the remainder of this chapter, think about the leadership you see in response to issues and how you personally might demonstrate leadership as a citizen, in response to issues. What worldviews and ideologies in this chapter best inform and support your actions, identity, and citizenship in response to important issues?

Believing in the Possibility of Change

In 1968, two athletes knew they had a shot at winning Olympic medals and, as a result, an opportunity to express to an international audience their strongly held belief about an issue. The issue was racial discrimination in the United States; they felt that the American civil rights movement had not yet eradicated the injustices that they and other black Americans faced. In the lead-up to the 1968 Olympic Games, a young sociologist named Harry

PAUSE AND REFLECT

What does Saul believe is an important ingredient of a civilized society? What might Newman mean by his statement?

Figure 14-17 ▼

This cartoon indicates some ways in which a citizen can act. In what additional ways can citizens take action?



© 2008, Jeff Parker, Florida Today, and PoliticalCartoons.com



Figure 14-18 ▲

Tommie Smith later told the media that he “raised his right, black-glove-covered fist in the air to represent black power in America while Carlos’ left, black-covered fist represented unity in black America. Together they formed an arch of unity and power. The black scarf around Smith’s neck stood for black pride and their black socks (and no shoes) represented black poverty in racist America.” (Source: John Gettings, “Civil Disobedience: Black medallists raise fists for Civil Rights Movement.” Infoplease, <http://www.infoplease.com/spot/summer-olympics-mexico-city.html>.)

PAUSE AND REFLECT

- **Should athletes use the international stage to try to bring about change?**
- **If you believed in a cause very strongly, what would best define what you would be willing to risk to attempt to address the issue?**

Edwards approached athletes Tommie Smith and John Carlos, along with other black American athletes and civil rights leaders, with the idea of boycotting the Games in Mexico City to bring attention to the issue. The boycott did not gather sufficient support, but Smith and Carlos secretly planned a non-violent protest. After their win, as they stood on the podiums at the Olympic medal ceremony, the two men bowed their heads and raised their fists in protest as the American flag rose and the anthem was played.

Today the protest might seem mild compared with many, but Smith and Carlos were suspended from the US Olympic team, banned from the Olympic Village, and sent home during the Games. Some observers thought the men were brave. Some critics thought that the Olympics, which was then considered apolitical, was no place for their political protest. Others thought their protest was a disgrace to the United States. Smith, Carlos, and their families faced death threats. While many Olympic medalists have followed their wins with endorsements and job offers, these two athletes had trouble finding jobs for several years.



Protest from the Podium

John Carlos and Tommie Smith recalled the protest as follows:

It (a protest) was in my head the whole year. We first tried to have a boycott (of the games) but not everyone was down with that plan. A lot of athletes thought that winning medals would supercede or protect them from racism. But even if you won the medal, it ain't going to save your momma. It ain't going to save your sister or children. It might give you fifteen minutes of fame, but what about the rest of your life? I'm not saying that they didn't have the right to follow their dreams, but to me the medal was nothing but the carrot on a stick.

— John Carlos, quoted in Dave Zirin, *What's My Name, Fool?* (Chicago: Haymarket Books, 2005), p. 86.

I did what I thought was necessary... But who is Tommie Smith to go tell someone that this is how you should act or feel about human rights? Look in the mirror, have a conversation with that person in the mirror and act accordingly.

— Tommie Smith, quoted in Jeff Duncan, “Tommie Smith says not everyone should feel obligated to protest.”

The Times-Picayune August 4, 2008.

http://blog.nola.com/olympics/2008/08/tommie_smith_says_not_everyone.html

Change from Inside or Outside

Some citizens who choose to question a society or organization in an attempt to change it do so from *outside* that society or organization; others question from *within*. For example, Tommie Smith and John Carlos chose not to boycott the Olympics but to participate in them and raise their concerns there.

Adam Werbach is an example of someone who has worked for change both from the outside and from within. As you read about him and those who reflect on him, consider what worldviews, ideologies, choices, and actions are evident. Also examine the language used to describe Werbach, Wal-Mart, and the company's chief executive officer (CEO). What questions and concerns does the language raise for you?

Werbach first got involved in environmental activism at the age of 9. In high school, he founded the Sierra Student Coalition. By the age of 23, he had become the youngest-ever president of the Sierra Club, one of the oldest and most influential environmental organizations in North America. Ten years later, in 2006, he began working as a consultant for Wal-Mart, helping the chain develop more environmentally friendly retail practices. That same year, he was elected to the international board of directors of Greenpeace.

The truly unexpected—even revolutionary—idea contained in Mr. Werbach's speech is that Wal-Mart might be sustainability's most powerful advocate. With 4100 stores in the U.S. and more than 300 in Canada, Wal-Mart, he notes, is the continent's largest trucking company, its most voracious consumer of electricity and—with a workforce of 1.3 million in the U.S. and 75 000 in Canada—its biggest employer.

His belief is that changing the mindset of Wal-Mart's employees from within will have a catalytic effect on this century's newborn sustainability movement as powerful as conservation organizations like the Sierra Club had on 20th-century environmentalism.

In lieu of consciousness-raising, he argues, the key to sustainability is changing how people think about the everyday products they buy—toilet paper, for instance...

The company's 60 000-plus suppliers, meanwhile, have begun scrambling to reduce their packaging to comply with Wal-Mart's new "sustainability scorecard." To underscore the commitment, [Wal-Mart CEO Lee] Scott called a meeting of 250 of the retail world's most prominent CEOs in October, at which he warned that companies with failing grades might be denied space in Wal-Mart's massively influential circulars and in-store promotional displays. Wal-Mart, as Advertising Age noted, had become "a sort of privatized [US] Environmental Protection Agency, only with a lot more clout."

—Source: Chris Turner, "Environment: Thinking Outside the Big Boxes." *The Globe and Mail*, March 15, 2008, p. F7.

 **PAUSE AND REFLECT**

- **What is the issue being presented? Identify the two ideologies that are reflected in the points of view.**
- **How would you evaluate Adam Werbach's actions? Do you think he has found an effective way to pursue environmental goals, or do you think he has betrayed his principles? Explain how you arrived at your answer.**

One critic of Adam Werbach and Wal-Mart, however, wrote:

Let's face it, Wal-Mart has engaged in greenwashing here and we've fallen for it, hoping that the world's largest retailer would miraculously grow a conscience. Instead, Wal-Mart has only distracted environmentalists from the company's woeful record while they pursue their bottom line—cutting costs and making profits...

I wonder what groups like Environmental Defense—organizations that claimed to be working with Wal-Mart to fix their problems from the inside—will do now that Scott's greedy intentions are out in the open. I wonder how Adam Werbach, the former Sierra Club sell-out, will try to spin this one. Wal-Mart isn't just "a new breed of toxin," as Werbach once said (before hypocritically taking on Wal-Mart, and a huge salary from them, as a client through Act Now Productions); they just brought their toxic breed to a whole new insidious level...

—**Z.P. Heller, Editorial Director, Brave New Films,**
"Lee Scott: It's Not Easy Being Green."
The Huffington Post, March 20, 2008.

http://www.huffingtonpost.com/zp-heller/lee-scott-its-not-easy-_b_92679.html

Wal-Mart itself states on its website:

At Wal-Mart, we know that being an efficient and profitable business and being a good steward of the environment are goals that can work together. Our environmental goals at Wal-Mart are simple and straightforward: To be supplied 100 percent by renewable energy; to create zero waste; and to sell products that sustain our resources and the environment.

"Sustainability", Wal-Mart.

<http://walmartstores.com/FactsNews/FeaturedTopics/?id=6>

 **PAUSE AND REFLECT**

Quite likely you have found that there are things in your own community or somewhere else in the world that don't fit with your ideal vision of the world. How could you take a leadership role to get involved—that is, to act on an issue important to you? As you read the rest of this chapter, consider the issues that engage you and what that means for you as a citizen.

Acting Accordingly

As you read earlier in this chapter, Tommie Smith, the banished Olympian, did what he thought was necessary and encouraged people to consider their own beliefs and values, and then "act accordingly." Irish politician Edmund Burke (1727–1797) expressed a similar idea. He believed that *not* acting has a profound impact:

All that is necessary for the triumph of evil is that good men do nothing.

—**attributed to Edmund Burke, quoted in the Oxford Dictionary of Political Quotations, 2nd edition. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), p. 255.**

As mentioned earlier in the chapter, John Ralston Saul stated that to vote was the minimal act of the citizen but being involved in society is much more important. Burke's quotation warns us against doing nothing.

Rwanda

While some issues may seem far removed from our own reality, or difficult to influence, it is important to realize that there are consequences when individuals do not act. Consider this example from 1994. That year, in Rwanda, 800 000 people were killed in ethnic violence in 100 days.

Rwanda's population consists of two major ethnic groups—the majority Hutu and the minority Tutsi. Since colonial times, the Tutsi were favoured by the Belgian governors, who encouraged them to become educated and prepared them for governing. When the Rwandan president, a Hutu, was killed in a suspicious plane crash in 1994, some Hutu leaders incited their followers to seek revenge by attacking Tutsis. A massive and rapid killing campaign resulted.

Roméo Dallaire, the Canadian general in charge of the United Nations (UN) peacekeeping forces in Rwanda, saw the potential for violence and pleaded with the United Nations to increase the number of troops and to empower them to deal with the crisis. Dallaire felt that he needed only 2500 UN troops to stop the killing. He was repeatedly turned down. In fact, the United States undertook a campaign within the UN to remove the peacekeepers as quickly as possible. Dallaire was left with only 500 troops in Rwanda. It could be perceived that the leaders of the world did not have the political will to stop this genocide in the making. Although journalists reported on the actions taken in Rwanda, the people of the world and their governments chose to turn away from the conflict.

In her 2003 book *A Problem from Hell: America and the Age of Genocide*, American author Samantha Power claims that disbelief in the totality of a horror and a genuine hope that a problem will just go away are typical responses to horrific crimes against humanity. Power states that we can be “bystanders” or “upstanders,” and if we generate the political will, governments will change their policies.

After speaking of the United States' unwillingness to do anything to stop the horror in Rwanda, Samantha Power says the following:

The story of U.S. policy during the genocide in Rwanda is not a story of willful complicity with evil. U.S. officials did not sit around and conspire to allow genocide to happen. But whatever their convictions about “never again,” many of them did sit around, and they most certainly did allow genocide to happen. In examining how and why the United States failed Rwanda, we see that without strong leadership the system will incline toward risk-averse policy choices.

—Samantha Power, “Bystanders to Genocide.”
The Atlantic, September 2001.

<http://www.theatlantic.com/doc/200109/power-genocide>



PAUSE AND REFLECT

Compare Power's thoughts to the quote attributed to Burke on page 498. In what ways are these two thinkers saying the same thing? How might Power and Burke answer the Question for Inquiry for this section: How do your ideology and your citizenship affect how you demonstrate leadership in responding to local, national, and global issues?

Celebrities Speak Out

Something to Think About: Sometimes, musicians, actors, and other public figures use their place in the media spotlight to express their personal views on current issues and events. Actor Leonardo DiCaprio, for example, has used his celebrity to promote environmental causes.

Celebrities who publicly take ideological stands sometimes find their views to be unpopular. In 1972, at the height of her popularity, actress Jane Fonda travelled to North Vietnam and spoke out against the United States' war with the Vietnamese communists. She was harshly criticized by many in the United States for years after the incident.

To what extent do celebrities have the power to influence others? If you have a strong opinion about an issue that concerns the general public, should you share your position with others? If you are the object of public attention, should you use your celebrity to communicate your views to others? Looking at it from a different point of view, if a public figure believes something strongly, is it that person's responsibility as a citizen to voice that belief?



Figure 14-19 ▲

The Dixie Chicks found themselves in the media spotlight for their criticism of President Bush on the eve of the American invasion of Iraq.

An Example: In March 2003, the United States was about to invade Iraq. A country band from Texas, the Dixie Chicks, was giving a live performance in London, England, that same month and during the concert the lead singer, Natalie Maines, said the following:

Just so you know, we're on the good side with y'all. We do not want this war, this violence, and we're ashamed that the president of the United States is from Texas.

—Source: “‘Shut Up and Sing’: Dixie Chicks’ Big Grammy Win Caps Comeback from Backlash Over Anti-War Stance.”
Democracy Now! February 15, 2007.

http://www.democracynow.org/2007/2/15/shut_up_and_sing_dixie_chicks

Public reaction to the comment was immediate. American radio stations stopped playing Dixie Chicks' songs, album sales dropped, and some fans crushed their CDs in protest. Also, the band reported receiving death threats.

President George W. Bush commented on the incident in an interview with American television journalist Tom Brokaw.

...the Dixie Chicks are free to speak their mind. They can say what they want to say...They shouldn't have their feelings hurt just because some people don't want to buy their records when they speak out...Freedom is a two-way street...I...don't really care what the Dixie Chicks said. I want to do what I think is right for the American people, and if some singers or Hollywood stars feel like speaking out, that's fine. That's the

great thing about America. It stands in stark contrast to Iraq...

—George W. Bush, quoted in “Full Text of Brokaw’s Interview with Bush,” *The New York Times* April 25, 2003.

<http://www.nytimes.com/2003/04/25/international/worldspecial/25BUSHTEXT.html?pagewanted=10&ei=5070&en=a9c7e13d49ebf120&ex=1206504000>

Fellow musician Bruce Springsteen defended the Dixie Chicks’ right to express themselves in a statement on his website.

The pressure coming from the government and big business to enforce conformity of thought concerning the war and politics goes against everything that this country is about—namely freedom. Right now, we are supposedly fighting to create freedom in Iraq, at the same time that some are trying to intimidate and punish people for using that same freedom here at home.

—Bruce Springsteen, quoted in “Springsteen: Dixie Chicks ‘Getting a Raw Deal.’” NBC 6 News Team, April 24, 2003.

<http://www.nbc6.net/entertainment/2156255/detail.html>

After the response they received, the Dixie Chicks issued a new song that included the following lyrics:

*I made my bed and I sleep like a baby
With no regrets and I don't mind sayin'
It's a sad sad story when a mother will teach her
Daughter that she ought to hate a perfect stranger
And how in the world can the words that I said
Send somebody so over the edge
That they'd write me a letter
Sayin' that I better shut up and sing
Or my life will be over*

Source: “Not Ready to Make Nice” by Dan Wilson, Martie Maguire, Emily Robison, and Natalie Maines © 2006 Chrysalis Music (ASCAP), Sugar Lake Music (ASCAP), Scrapin’ Toast Music (ASCAP) and Woolly Puddin’ Music (BMI). All rights for Sugarlake Music administered by Chrysalis Music. All rights reserved. Used by permission. International copyright secured.

QUESTIONS FOR REFLECTION

- 1 Identify the ideologies you find in Maines’ comment and in the different responses to it. What understanding of citizenship is implicit in each?
- 2 Find other examples of celebrities taking a stand on an issue. For each, comment on the issue, the celebrity’s ideology, and the effectiveness of the celebrity’s action. Compare your results with those of your classmates.

PAUSE AND REFLECT

- Which beliefs and values caused Berman to become an activist?
- How do you think she would describe the role of a responsible citizen in a democratic society?
- Is it possible for Berman to do what she does and not be committed to an ideology?

File Facts)))

Great Bear Rainforest Agreement Winter 2006

- Two million hectares protected from logging
- Lighter-touch logging, called Ecosystem Based Management, implemented outside of protected areas by March 2009
- Support for building conservation-based economies in coastal communities

**Time to Save BC's Great Bear Rainforest,
Sierra Club BC, September 2008.**

<http://www.sierraclub.bc.ca/quick-links/publications/GBR%202008.pdf>

Summer 2008

- Total amount of protected areas in the Central and North coast: 1.8 million hectares

...

Areas of Concern

- Energy projects proposed in protected areas, such as the Banks Island wind farm planned in the Banks Nil Luutiksm Conservancy
- 300 000 hectares of Biodiversity Areas have yet to be formally designated (in the interim they are off-limits to logging).

Great Bear Watch Progress Blog

<http://savethegreatbear.org/solutions/progressblog>

Local to Global Environmental Action

For Tzeporah Berman, one event changed what she believed and how she would live her life. She became an environmentalist and took action because she thought she had to.

In the spring of 1992, 22-year-old Tzeporah Berman returned to Vancouver Island to continue her university fieldwork studying marbled murrelet nests [murrelets are small seabirds of the North Pacific coast]. But she could not find the nesting area. The approach to the site had been logged, and with the landmarks obliterated, she could not get her bearings. Gradually, the reality dawned: this was the nesting site. She found a ring of stumps that had been the 70-metre-high Sitka spruce trees under which she had camped. She found a trickle of water that had been a waterfall and pool where she had swum. Eagles wheeled overhead, surveying their fallen nests.

Sitting on a stump, in tears, Berman reconsidered her summer and her future. She had planned to finish environmental studies and then go into law. But by the time she did that, she decided, there would be no marbled murrelets left. The next day, a van stopped on its way to a blockade in Clayoquot Sound. Berman climbed in.

Source: Bob Bossin, "The Clayoquot Women."

<http://www3.telus.net/oldfolk/women.htm>

Berman joined the movement to save the old-growth forest of Clayoquot Sound. The blockades in Clayoquot Sound resulted in the largest civil disobedience protest in Canada's history. Berman was arrested in 1993 and charged with aiding and abetting over 900 criminal charges. She faced up to six years in jail. She was acquitted two years later. For her efforts, she was declared an enemy of the state by the premier of British Columbia at the time.

What began as a local struggle has moved to the global stage. In 2006, Berman was one of three negotiators of the Great Bear Rainforest Agreement. The Agreement protected over 2 million hectares of ancient rainforest and created an unprecedented alliance among the logging industry, First Nations, provincial government, and environmental organizations. While working with Greenpeace, Berman helped in the international forest markets campaign in Europe as well as the creation of a forests campaign in Japan. More recently, Berman became the program director for ForestEthics, an organization with offices in the United States and Canada that is dedicated to protecting endangered forests by transforming the paper and wood industries in North

America and by supporting forest communities in the development of conservation-based economies.

Raising Awareness and Selling Products

Charlotte Haley is another example of someone whose personal worldview had a dramatic impact. She started a personal action that later became something much bigger.

In the early 1990s, 68-year-old Charlotte Haley began making peach ribbons by hand in her home. Her daughter, sister and grandmother all had breast cancer. She distributed thousands of ribbons at supermarkets with cards that read: “The National Cancer Institute annual budget is \$1.8 billion, only 5 percent goes for cancer prevention. Help us wake up our legislators and America by wearing this ribbon.”

As the word spread, executives from Estée Lauder and Self magazine asked Haley for permission to use her ribbon. Haley refused, and Self magazine was startled by Haley’s answer. “She wanted nothing to do with us. Said we were too commercial.” But they really wanted to have her ribbon. They consulted their lawyers and were advised to come up with another color. They chose pink, a color that focus groups say is “soothing, comforting and healing”—everything breast cancer is not. Soon Charlotte Haley’s grassroots peach ribbon was history, and the pink ribbon became the worldwide symbol for breast cancer.

Breast cancer has become the darling of corporate America. Companies use the pink ribbon to sell their products and boost their image with consumers as they boost their bottom line. Meanwhile, breast cancer rates continue to rise every year. Ending the breast cancer epidemic will take more than just pink ribbons and awareness. Learn more about pink ribbon marketing and what you can do to help create real change to end the breast cancer epidemic.

Source: “Where did the pink ribbon come from?” Breast Cancer Action.
<http://bcaction.org/index.php?page=politics-faq#Q4>

As Breast Cancer Awareness Month begins, shoppers will discover a wide selection of products adorned with the pink ribbon logo to help raise money for cancer research. But not every company is disclosing how much of their products’ proceeds will go toward finding a cure.

The Canadian Breast Cancer Foundation, which uses the pink ribbon logo and raised \$41 million last year, is concerned about these products and is asking consumers to ask critical questions of companies before they buy clothing or makeup with the logo.

Source: “Be informed when purchasing pink ribbon products: Breast Cancer Foundation.” CBC News, October 1, 2007.
<http://www.cbc.ca/canada/story/2007/09/30/cancer-pinkribbon.html>

PAUSE AND REFLECT

- **What ideology and understanding of citizenship do you think motivated Haley? What about the ideology of those who created the pink ribbon campaign?**
- **In Chapter 13, you read about growing philanthropy and volunteerism among Canadians: how would you recommend that citizens examine an organization, charity, or fundraiser before acting—that is, before choosing to donate money or time?**

Some activists believe that even the smallest action—from buying a ribbon-campaign product to drinking bottled water or buying a fair-trade product—can have an impact. In the choice between bottled water and tap water, some consumers and activists point not only to the environmental costs of making plastic bottles and transporting them, but also to the waste and recycling problem that bottles can become for some local areas. For some stores and consumers, making purchases can mean ensuring a fair income for people around the world.

For example, the Mennonite Central Committee runs stores in the United States and Canada called Ten Thousand Villages, which sell products to “provide a vital, fair income to Third World people...who would otherwise be unemployed or underemployed. This income helps pay for food, education, health care and housing.” (Source: “Our Mission Statement.” Ten Thousand Villages, <http://www.tenthousandvillages.ca>)

What worldview and ideology would encourage a store to sell fair-trade products—ranging from coffee, tea, and chocolate to jewellery and pottery? Why would a consumer buy them? What small actions have you undertaken based on your worldview and ideology?

Whatever choices citizens (including activists and consumers) make, choice—or belief in the reality of choice—is key to leadership.



PAUSE AND REFLECT

One characteristic of leadership, according to Saul, is believing in the ability to make meaningful choices to bring about change. Think of a situation or an issue that you think needs to be changed. List all the choices that exist, however unlikely their success might be, that could change that situation or issue. What would be the likelihood of you attempting that change? How does your willingness or lack of willingness to attempt a change indicate the extent to which you have embraced an ideology?

The stories of civilization in any place at any time have this in common—individuals feel they understand the mechanisms of their society. This sense of understanding implies that each of us has the self-confidence to wish to change our society for the better. Or at least we have the self-confidence to accept the possibility that we could change it for the better. Think of those who worked for clean water systems, public education, against slavery.

Do all of us have that self-confidence? Perhaps not...[However this] understanding may come in many forms and at many levels. It may be conscious or unconscious or a bit of both.

To believe in the reality of choice is one of the most basic characteristics of leadership. Curiously enough, many individuals who think of themselves as leaders find this reality very difficult. They believe that their job is to understand power and management and perhaps make minor corrections to what they accept to be the torque of events. But they take for granted the reigning truths of the day and so are fundamentally passive.

As a result, change is eventually thrust upon them by reality. Or they are replaced. In either case, the strength of that particular civilization—its ability to choose—is weakened.

— From *The Collapse of Globalism* by John Ralston Saul.

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Raising Awareness

As a student nearing the end of high school, you are perhaps in the process of making choices about a career or further education, or both. What aspects of a career are most important to you? Are you focused on achieving financial success, attaining personal satisfaction, doing something purposeful and meaningful, having personal growth opportunities through travel, education, and experiences, meeting interesting people, having variety, or something else?

As a young adult, Sam Singh co-created Northscape Productions Inc. with Jessica Hall in order to produce insightful, entertaining, and exciting documentary films with social, political, and environmental themes. Their first project, *Land Unlocked*, which is about the impact of climate change on Aboriginal communities in the Yukon and Bolivia, aired February 2007 on the Aboriginal Peoples Television Network.

When interviewed, this was Singh's explanation for why he chose this career:

I turned to journalism because of an inherent curiosity with how the world works and a desire to know why things happen the way they do. The first step in bringing change to the world starts when the public knows what's wrong with it and that's where journalists come in. Most reporters embody a mix of hope and cynicism; the questions they ask often lead to answers we're not usually accustomed to in mainstream society. It's been said that "journalists should comfort the afflicted and afflict the comfortable," so it's not surprising that many reporters are left-leaning. After all, the status quo may be okay at times, but it's definitely not interesting for long when others are telling you how things can be better.

Documentary filmmaking offers me a unique way to be a storyteller by looking at stories behind the headlines and "digging deeper," both here and at home. Land Unlocked, my first film, examined how climate change was impacting Aboriginal communities in the Yukon and in Bolivia. I wanted to know more about these two ecosystems and the people who lived within them. In the process, I learned it was occurring in a couple of ways I'd never really considered and that gave me new insights into how we affect the environment and how it affects us. The highlight of my new career so far has been interviewing the President of Bolivia, Evo Morales. As a result of the film, an Aboriginal group from the Yukon is now working with an Indigenous community in Bolivia to preserve the main river that runs through their community. That's the greatest satisfaction: in bringing other realities to light, documentaries offer a chance for myself and others to change those realities for the better.

—Sam Singh, Interview with author,
October, 2007.



PAUSE AND REFLECT

- What ideology appears to have informed Singh's values?
- Singh chose to make a career choice based on his passions. How important do you think passion is for you when considering possible careers?
- Check the newspaper career postings or other sites that offer job and career descriptions or opportunities and see what is available. Are there ideas you had not considered before that may interest you? What ideological beliefs and aspects of leadership and citizenship best inform the career choice you are most interested in?

Organizing for Change

Taking action by creating an organization dedicated to an issue may seem like a daunting task; however, often extraordinary efforts are initiated by everyday people. The following story about Simon Jackson is an example of this.

At the age of 7, Jackson began contributing to efforts to protect the Alaskan Kodiak bear. At the age of 13, he started a successful initiative to protect the habitat of the endangered Kermode, or spirit bear, in British Columbia. This became the most supported conservation initiative in Canadian history. He was recognized by *Time* magazine as one of its 60 Heroes for the Planet; he was one of only six youths selected. CTV made a movie about his life called *Spirit Bear: The Simon Jackson Story*, and Jackson is currently working to produce *Spirit Bear*, a major animated Hollywood movie, as well as continuing the fight to protect the spirit bear. He founded the Spirit Bear Youth Coalition, a youth-run environmental organization of over 6 million people in 65 countries.

From a more philosophical perspective, the story of this campaign—from me selling lemonade at the age of 7 to help save Alaska's Kodiak bear to helping produce a Hollywood movie—may seem, well, impossible for the “average” kid to duplicate. But it's not. Anybody and everybody could have done what I've been doing for any issue they believe in—whether it's trying to protect a peregrine falcon's nest in their neighborhood or trying to rid the world of cancer.

If the Youth Coalition can help prove to our global audience that they saved the spirit bear and that they can do the same thing for anything that they believe in, my hope is that in the years to come we'll see 6 million Youth Coalitions start up to help address 6 million additional issues. For every person there is a passion: if we can help begin to restore hope to the many young people who have lost it, I believe we will turn the tides of apathy and empower a generation to follow their passions in order to create a better world...

It doesn't matter what type of action is taken—as long as it is positive. There are no insignificant endeavours for the sum total of all our acts will be the solutions to our unsolvable problems and our legacy to all life for generations to come.

—Simon Jackson, Interview with author, 2007.

PAUSE AND REFLECT

- **Would you support Simon Jackson's organization? Why or why not? What criteria did you use to make your decision?**
- **Is there any connection between what Jackson has done and embracing an ideology?**

Ways toward Action

One concern many social activists have is that a perceived growth of individualism in our society has led to a preoccupation with the self, and consequently people are less concerned with the welfare of others. In Samantha Power's terms, this leads to fewer "upstanders" and more "bystanders."

The following article addresses this issue by examining the nature of responsible citizen action.

PAUSE AND REFLECT

Of the five "ways" described in this article, explain which you feel is the most important.

- **Is there anything in this excerpt with which you disagree or that raises questions?**
- **Does the extent to which a person believes in an ideology affect an individual's level of involvement as a citizen?**

Wake Up: 5 Ways to Raise Citizen Awareness

1. Take Part

In *The Malaise of Modernity*, the 1991 Massey Lectures, Charles Taylor observed that "individualism...names what many people consider the finest achievement of modern civilization. We live in a world where people have a right to choose for themselves their own pattern of life, to decide in conscience what convictions to espouse."

However, individuals, happy to "stay at home and enjoy the satisfactions of private life," as Taylor puts it, may close themselves off to public engagement, pursuing only their own interests (notably material gain). By pursuing democratic freedom to its logical end, citizens might abandon public systems altogether. Some would say that recent Alberta history has affirmed Taylor's concerns. Low voter turnout; stagnation in public office; materialism; intolerance of dissent.

...Democracy not only empowers the individual, but also makes individuals responsible...Individuals who realize their citizenship will apply their power to common pursuits and the public good.

2. Question

A democracy is alive only if its members are willing to question. Citizens must ask what is working and what is failing within their society...How do we balance the needs of the individual with that of the collective? How do we balance rights and responsibilities? Whose

interests are served by a particular government policy? Whose interests are served by the status quo?

3. Include All

...Let us ensure that all segments of society have the wherewithal to participate—opportunities for education and employment; opportunities to be heard...Do the decisions of the government serve the best interests of all the people?

4. Insist on Accurate Information

We need access to truth rather than propaganda so that we give truly informed consent to decisions that affect us. The Freedom of Information & Protection of Privacy Act is meant to allow people to see public documents...We depend on the media to inform us. Insist on intelligent and objective journalism.

5. Focus on the Local and the Living

...A healthy democracy, with accountable citizens, is rooted in local culture and face-to-face interaction. Many of us spend more time with our computers than with people, online rather than in conversation. Democracy is social. Interaction stokes the diverse voices a democracy needs. The system works when citizens pipe up, express their beliefs and actively encourage others to do the same. Only by listening to each other can we create a mutually beneficial shared life.

—**"Wake Up: 5 Ways to Raise Citizen Awareness."**
Alberta Views, January/February 2008, p. 33.

Figure 14-20

These children are spending their days involved in a program of play, art, music, storytelling, and drama at the Butterfly Peace Garden in Batticaloa, Sri Lanka. The Garden opened in 1996 as a retreat that brings together local Tamil and Muslim children traumatized by decades of civil war and more recently the tsunami of 2004. The creative director is Paul Hogan (pictured here, left), a Canadian artist who helped found a garden-based arts program at Bloorview Macmillan Centre in Toronto for children with physical disabilities and chronic illness. Hogan was invited to Sri Lanka after the Centre for Peace Studies and Health Reach (both at McMaster University in Hamilton, Ontario) examined the impact of war on children in Sri Lanka, the former Yugoslavia, and the West Bank in the Middle East. Butterfly Peace Garden became not only a place for healing and reconciliation but also a literal refuge after the December 2004 tsunami. Research this example about the garden and other humanitarian organizations of a similar nature, and explain which organization or cause best reflects your understanding of what it means to demonstrate global citizenship.



“5 Ways to Raise Citizen Awareness” seems to focus on making change at the local or the provincial level; however, the personal or local response often has an impact on even global issues. For example, Tzeporah Berman’s actions grew from local Vancouver Island actions to those on a global scale. As you think back on the examples of choices made and actions taken in this chapter, think again about the global impact of citizens believing in the possibility of change and acting accordingly—or doing neither.

Explore the Issues

Concept Review

- 1 Is there any relationship between citizenship and the extent to which one accepts and demonstrates belief in an ideology? Explore the question through examples from the chapter, the news, or your own experience.

Concept Application

- 2 Use the Skill Path to think through an informed response to, and plan of action for, what you see as the most important issue in your community, province, nation, country, or the world. Outline: the issue and why you selected it; the action or series of actions that you would recommend; perspectives and evidence used to best support and inform your response; and the impact that your actions could have regarding this issue.

Taking Action to Bring About Change in the Community

We have a choice—choosing to act or to accept things as they are. As a conclusion to what you have learned about ideology, this chapter encourages you to translate thinking into action.

Once you have identified your own beliefs and values, and have formed an idea of how the world should be, you may find that the world *as it is* does not live up to your idea. Assume that you can create the change you want to see. Active citizenship means acting with integrity and responsibility to carry out actions that work toward fulfilling your goals. In this Skill Path, you will have the opportunity to practise this process by embarking on a plan for change.

Identify an issue that matters most to you and that best reflects your beliefs and values and consider:

- What is the issue (for example, what should be done about climate change or about farming and food scarcity)? Focus on particular ways the issue is impacting your school or community.
- What is your position on the issue? What are the reasons and evidence that best support your position?
- What need could your potential actions address? Why should this need be addressed?

Your choice of project will reflect your own beliefs and values. It reflects an ideology that you personally embrace.

For the issue you identified, using the skills you learned previously, form a clear, defensible position on the issue.

Once you have decided that an issue is important and have formed a responsible position, determine what you can do about it.

- Brainstorm a list of possible projects or solutions that might be undertaken (for example, a fundraiser or a public awareness campaign about the issue).

- Narrow down the possibilities to two or three projects.
- Research widely to see how others have worked to create change around an issue such as yours.

Narrow your options. In choosing an action, you should consider whether you have the necessary commitment, time, and energy. Think about the steps to take and resources you would need, including materials, assistance from others, advertising, and so on. What challenges or barriers might prevent the plan from succeeding?

To take action, the following ideas might be useful:

Team Up

There may be agencies or organizations whose focus is either similar to yours or overlapping with yours. Explore the possibilities of working with or through them.

Create a Project Plan

Set goals; identify your tactics; determine roles and responsibilities. Consider the questions: Who? What? When? Where? Why? How? What specific tactics will you use to raise awareness about the problem or effect change? Do you need money to implement your project? Do you need to get a permit? Who is going to take care of those things and when?

Take Action

Promote your plan however you can. For example, hit the streets, hit the airwaves, put pen to paper, speak out at a school assembly, and put up an exhibit.

Document Your Efforts

Keep good notes as you go along. A record of events will help you keep track of remaining tasks, as well as your (personal or group) accomplishments. Clip stories from school and community newspapers. Take pictures or video your “action event.”

Assess Progress

Debrief after you finish your action project. What worked? What did not work? What should be done differently—or the same—next time?

Share Your Experiences

Students all across Canada and other countries are looking for good ideas about how to be responsible citizens. Share your ideas, your successes, and even the pitfalls you encountered. Write a story, create an online photo-essay exhibit, publish a booklet, or produce a documentary short film about your efforts.

Look Long Range

As you celebrate the completion of your project, start planning for the future. What is next?

—Source: adapted from “10 Steps to Take Action.” Teaching Tolerance.

<http://www.tolerance.org/teens/10ways.jsp>

Questions to Guide You

1. What will best inform your decisions, actions and leadership in response to the issue? What perspectives, ideology, worldview, and elements of individual and collective identity will best support your response?
2. Think about what you believe in and value. Will your actions in response to the issue be consistent with what you want for yourself, for the people who are important to you, and for your community locally, nationally, and globally?
3. Think about the kind of future you want for yourself and others. How will your actions contribute to creating the kind of community and future you want?
4. What will be the consequences of your actions? What are the possible consequences for various groups—businesses, legislators, various age groups, and others? Are you prepared to accept those consequences?



Reflect and Analyze

In this chapter we have explored the following question: *To what extent should an ideology shape your thinking and actions as a citizen?* Even as we analyzed this challenging question, the Key Issue—*To what extent should we embrace an ideology?*—must still be considered. Through what you have learned about ideology, that question should no longer be so overwhelming. Ideology and its role in your thinking and actions will change and grow as you learn and experience things. What is most important is that you continue to choose to be an active, informed, and responsible citizen—an integral participant in our liberal democratic society.

Respond to Ideas

- 1 Reflect on what you have read, thought about, and researched in this chapter. Express your thoughts on the following question: *To what extent should an ideology shape your thinking and actions as a citizen?*
- 2 Consider what you have examined in this chapter and draw some conclusions about the responsibilities and benefits of citizenship. To what extent is it important to make responsible and active decisions that respect the principles of liberalism when living in a liberal democratic society? Think about how embracing an ideology may affect your thinking and your openness to creative solutions to problems and challenges.

Respond to Issues

- 3 Choose one outstanding “upstander” (from this book, the news, or someone else you know) who you would like to research. Prepare a class presentation about this person that identifies
 - his or her worldview, perspective, and point of view

- his or her ideology
- the issue
- the action
- evidence of how he or she demonstrated citizenship and leadership in response to that issue

Finally, comment on what makes this person outstanding in your eyes.

Recognize Relationships among Concepts, Issues, and Citizenship

- 4 Identify and research a contemporary issue that you believe is most critically in need of global leadership and action. Use this chapter's Skill Path and your knowledge of how to best develop informed responses to issues in order to
 - explore the issue and its importance to you and globally
 - research the issue by exploring and identifying support from different perspectives and from valid and relevant sources
 - explore your position by considering possible actions in response to the issue
 - focus your response to the issue and organize your evidence in an effective and engaging manner

Consider what action should be taken and to what extent an ideology, and possibly the principles of liberalism, shape your thinking and actions about the issue.