Canadian Citizenship and the New Barbarism

—Ed Broadbent

It is often said that the 1960s were the years of great change. The truth is that the real transformation had come earlier.

When I graduated from university in 1959, as a working class kid from Oshawa, I was full of optimism. I thought the world was my oyster—and I was right. Within a year my student debts were paid off and I never looked back. My friend, a fellow philosophy student from Brooklyn, had the same expectations. This was because 1959 was also the year that for the first time in their history, a majority of Americans identified themselves as being middle class.[1]

By the end of the fifties Canadians and Americans had transformed themselves. During the previous two decades as democratic peoples they had changed significantly in their views about the role of government and the nature of citizenship. Citizens in both countries no longer accepted high levels of inequality and insecurity as being inevitable. Following the depression of the 1930s and World War II, they and a crucially important group of political leaders had reached the conclusion that more equality and security were desirable and achievable.

Although I want to concentrate on Canadian citizenship for most of my talk it is worth emphasizing that for a brief period Americans and Canadians seemed to be taking the same direction. In fact, during the march towards greater equality in the middle third of the twentieth century, the Americans did much of the leading.

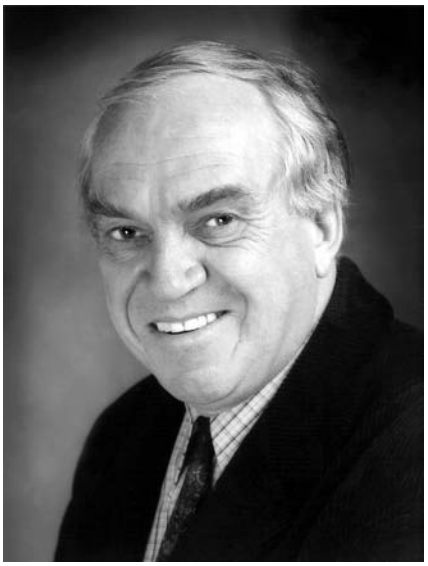

Photo by Greg Ehlers, SFU

For those who admire contemporary American fiction and have read either John Updike's *In the Beauty of the Lilies* (the early passages) or Annie Proulx's remarkable *Accordian Crimes,* they will have seen how difficult life was in the United States for the large majority, whether native born or immigrant, before the Roosevelt era. In the years leading up to 1959, something happened that had never occurred before in such a period of time. The real income for the average worker doubled.[2]

There are those in the United States and Canada who would have us believe this was simply due to the vigour of individual enterprise. I think they are mistaken. I believe the principal reason for the change in the human condition for the majority was the presence for the first time of a government committed to the equality of its citizens. For it was precisely this period that saw the emergence in the United States of programs and policies designed to achieve this goal.

Beginning in 1935 with his social security program (the model for our Canada Pension which came 30 years later) Franklin Roosevelt launched a series of initiatives that transformed the life of the average American. In addition to universal pensions there were housing programs, unemployment insurance, municipal works, money for the arts, loan guarantees, tax-subsidized mortgages, and tuition-free state university education.

Laissez-faire was replaced with ongoing governmental activism on both sides of the border. In 1937, as a percentage of GDP, government spending in Canada had been a mere 18.6%. By the end of the fifties this had risen to 28.6%. In the United States, the transformation was even more significant. Starting at a lower 8.6%, governmental expenditure grew by over 300%, ending up over the same period at virtually the same level as Canada.[3] By the time of my graduation, Canadian citizens were beginning to think of themselves as sharing and caring. And most Americans no longer felt class-divided. In each case economic growth played a role. But the major reason is to be found in the many government programs specifically designed to achieve higher levels of equality within that growth.

By 1961 a young John F. Kennedy in his inaugural address could confidently say to his fellow citizens, "ask not what your country can do for you, ask what you can do for your country." I believe that he was able to make this idealistic appeal with credibility because millions of his fellow citizens had grown up with a government that had already demonstrated that it cared for them. In January 2002, President George W. Bush, reflecting four decades of steady decline in government participation in citizens' lives could successfully invoke patriotism only in going to war.

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[1] J. Madrick, "Social Security and Its discontents," *New York Review of Books,* December 19, 1996.

[2] R.N. Bellah, R. Madsen, W. Sullivan, A. Swindler, and S. Tioton point out in *The Good Society* (New York: A. Knopf, 1991) that between 1940 and 1959 the real income of the majority of Americans doubled.

[3] These figures come from *The Economist,* September 20, 1997.

Significantly, George Bush would not want to invoke government expansion for almost any other aspect of life. By the time he was elected, Americans had long since abandoned their commitment to greater economic equality. Canada had moved well ahead of the United States in social spending. In the pre-Bush decades American politicians increasingly talked about tax- payers and consumers and less about citizens. I don't believe this to be accidental.

Democratic Citizenship

Citizenship means to hold the rights and have the obligations of membership in a political community. In the Western tradition this has taken place within either a city or a nation state. The Athenians and the Romans were flourishing examples of the former. Today virtually all the world's citizens are members of nation states—although many see us evolving towards something quite new, namely global citizenship—or citizenship without borders. I want, however, to focus on the nation state, and to talk not just about citizenship but about democratic citizenship.

Democratic citizenship is really quite recent in history. Because women and slaves were excluded from political life, the ancient Greek cities were never real democracies. However, they did give us the core idea of democratic citizenship that has remained with us to this day. For the Greeks a democracy meant that all adults must be included on an equal basis in governing and that governing itself would consist of a continuing political effort to achieve greater equality in the substance of life for all of the citizens and their families.

However, in the actual development of real, modern democratic societies, what we today call representative democracy did not begin in a state of equality. Quite the contrary. Our democracies evolved from within pre-existing authoritarian nation states. The right to vote evolved from the top down, not from the bottom up. And it did so very much on a class basis. Although democratic reformers often invoked the language of equality, in actual practice those with power made concessions (normally after great conflict) on the basis of income or property. The more of each you had, the more you could be relied upon to support the status quo. In most of today's democracies men who worked as labourers on farms or in factories didn't get the vote until near the end of the nineteenth century. Voting rights for women came after World War I. In France they were excluded until after World War II. The same is true for Canada's Aboriginal peoples.

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It is only very recently that we talk about the full and equal rights of all citizens. Indeed, in Britain, it was just a few years ago that Tony Blair finally suggested the British should stop talking about themselves as 'subjects' and start using the equality language of citizenship. In retrospect it is not hard to understand why equal political citizenship was so slow in coming about. Those with power understood the original idea of democracy very well. In plain terms it meant if you give ordinary people the right to vote they would probably use that right as the Greeks and nineteenth century democratic reformers said they would: to equalize conditions in society. If you were a British landowner, a French merchant or a German industrialist, this was not an enticing prospect. Here in Canada, Sir John A. Macdonald, our first prime minister, favoured an unelected Senate which he saw as protecting minorities. Rich Canadians, he pointed out, would always be a minority. In the United States, James Madison (a Founding Father) had defended a new federal constitution in part because he saw it as an effective check on majority rule which, if unchecked, could result in pressure to re-distribute property, a 'fault' he associated with democracies.[4]

By and large most liberals and conservatives in the nineteenth century had opposed democratic citizenship until the very last moment. Outstanding figures like John Stuart Mill were the exception. Although he had some concerns, he saw democracy not only as inevitable and equalizing, but as desirable. Mill saw democratic equality as a foundation for a great future on this planet. He believed equal political rights for all men and women would lead to the liberation and education of millions of ordinary people. He wanted them to participate actively in their societies, to develop their skills and talents, to create new science and write great novels. Equality and human liberty were to go hand in hand. As Mill pointed out, no one at birth should be deemed to have a greater claim on the world's resources than anyone else. In making our way in the world, equality, he reasonably asserted, should be the norm. In a democracy it was inequality that required justification. He took it for granted that a democratic government would work to achieve greater levels of equality in society.

What, you may well ask, does all this have to do with Canadian citizenship a century and a half later? By offering this crude sketch about the root meaning of democracy, about how democratic citizenship and equality were originally thought to go hand in hand, I want to

[4] James Madison, *The Federalist,* No. 10.

emphasize a brief, glorious moment in the middle of the twentieth century, when real live politics in virtually all of the world's representative democracies actually measured up to the original ideal. In Western Europe and in North America the bright candle of human equality seemed to inspire all but a reactionary few. My friend from Brooklyn and I were fortunate to come of age at the right moment. The candle has since almost gone out in America and is flickering today in Canada. So what happened? And what can be done about it?

In retrospect the broad outlines are clear. The Great Depression and World War II shook up the thinking of a whole generation and their politicians. They responded with humanity and creativity. They realized that left on its own a market economy leads to deepening insecurity and inequality. And that precisely because of this, democracy itself was threatened—as it was in the 1930s. The governments of Churchill and Roosevelt planned for the long run and attempted to expand the institutional foundation of the democratic state. Churchill's coalition government with Labour decided that a new set of social and economic rights should be established in Britain after the war and should become part of a new global order. Roosevelt was in strong agreement. In his last presidential address to the American people (January 11, 1944) he became the one and only president to argue that political and civil rights were "inadequate to assure [Americans] equality in the pursuit of happiness." He appealed unsuccessfully to Congress for an Economic Bill of Rights, believing a high degree of real equality was essential if there was to be equal opportunity in the pursuit of happiness. His remarkable wife Eleanor went on to be the leading public exponent of the need for the United Nations Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights.

In Canada, prodded on by provincial electoral success and a national public opinion poll favouring the CCF in 1945, Mackenzie King committed the federal government to building higher levels of equality. In continental Western Europe, social democratic and Christian Democratic parties combined their energies in laying the world's strongest institutional foundations linking equality with democratic citizenship.

In general terms, the prime ministers in Canada I grew up with in my university years, John Diefenbaker and Lester Pearson, broadened the foundation of our political heritage by adding in the democratically crucial social dimension. This was extended again during most of the years when Pierre Trudeau and Robert Stanfield led the Liberal and Conservative parties. During the four decades after World War II our notion of democratic citizenship moved well beyond political and civil rights to include social and economic rights. Although not always expressed in the abstract language of rights, politicians and voters alike came to understand that true freedom for ordinary citizens had to involve more equality and less insecurity in society. It involved both private and public goods. Formal political and civil rights can mean little in the daily life of citizens if social and economic circumstances effectively reduce or even deny their use by the majority. The equal right to pursue your own happiness can mean very little to poor kids unless there are strong public systems of education and health care.

Thus, the goals of Canadian citizenship came to include adequate pensions for seniors, universal health care, improved unemployment insurance, unions in the public and private sectors, redistributive income tax policies, high spending on education including the expectation that children from lower income families would be able to gain access to university. Without exception such goals mean governments must intervene to alter what would otherwise be the unequal effects of a market-based economy.

During the Trudeau years, both in the Constitution Act of 1982 and in legislative measures, other equality concerns led to affirmative action programs for women and visible minorities, the protection of our two official languages, support for multi-cultural programs, and the entrenchment of Aboriginal rights in the constitution. I emphasize again that not only was there an abstract or formal commitment to obtain greater equality in citizenship, it was also seen that a democratic government and the courts had an obligation to intervene both in the economy and in traditional patterns of behaviour, to make it happen.

Although we did have serious disagreements on some issues, on most matters during this period, the differences between myself as a social democrat and Mr. Trudeau and Mr. Stanfield were mostly about speed and detail—not principle. All three of us believed a just Canada meant a more equal Canada. When it comes to democratic citizenship, I think the three of us would have achieved consensus on the following claims and values. First, a market economy is desirable as an expression of free choice and for the innovative production of most goods and services. Second, in a democracy, reliance on the market for many activities—education, health, culture and the environment—is not good, either because the market mechanism is inherently unequal in its effects or because certain non-commercial values are worth protecting for their own sake. Finally, we would have agreed that by the mid-1980s Canada had become a vastly improved democracy compared to 1945: there was more real freedom in more people's lives because politicians had taken care to ensure that the benefits of economic growth were shared. Canadians had indeed become a nation of citizens who shared and cared. While desiring a market economy, we were, unlike our American neighours, rejecting a market society.

Pressure To Change

For a variety of interconnected reasons most developed democracies, including Canada by the mid 1970s, had accumulated unacceptable levels of debt. These reasons included the impact of much higher world prices for oil, demographic changes and the simultaneous experience of high

inflation and high unemployment which had led to lower growth rates in the economy. In Western continental Europe, appropriate adjustments were made, but the on-going commitment to the goal of equal citizenship based on strong social programs and high levels of taxation remained. However, in Britain and Canada a new generation of ideologically-driven political leaders emerged who used the occasion to turn back history. They began an assault on our equality-based social programs in particular and government in general—and did so in a vocabulary that combined simplistic economic slogans with attacks on the very idea of social citizenship. They proposed nostrums not solutions. Consider their list of claims and promises. I think you will find them familiar.

- In order to have higher national productivity we must have lower taxes and less government.
- Reducing the level of government activity will lead to an increase in voluntary citizen participation.
- If we want less inequality and poverty, we must simply let the market grow on its own, unhampered by government involvement.
- Universal social programs are too costly, are inefficient and reduce our competitiveness in an increasingly globalized market place.

Recently, an additional fifth claim has been made by this new generation of politicians. They began to tell us universal health care—by far our most successful, equalizing and popularly supported social program—is no longer sustainable.

An interesting fact about all of these claims is that not a single one is true. They are simply assertions. None of them can be supported by credible evidence. When you look at the evidence, plainly available here in Canada and abroad, a quite different picture emerges, in comparison to what they have told us.

Let us take the five assertions one at a time.

- During the 1990s, Austria, Germany, and the Netherlands (among others) kept the high level of taxes needed to maintain strong social programs. Did their productivity go down? Quite the contrary. During this period their productivity increases actually equaled or exceeded those of the United States and Canada.

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- Instead of going up when governments slashed billions of dollars from social programs during the l990s, volunteerism in Canada underwent a serious decline by the end of the decade. In fact citizen participation in society and politics is much stronger in Scandinavian states than in any other country. Not coincidentally, the Scandinavians have the world's strongest social programs.
- In spite of claims by the federal government and those of Alberta and Ontario that poverty and inequality would be looked after by leaving the economy to grow on its own, during the 1990s the opposite occurred. High levels of economic growth in Canada were actually accompanied by a widening of the gap between average and rich families and significant increases in the numbers of poor. During this ten-year period, while the number and percentage of poor children in Canada went up almost every year, five Western European countries virtually eliminated child poverty.
- Instead of universal social programs invariably reducing a nation's economic competitiveness, in many cases they actually improve it. Not only has this been shown theoretically by Anthony Atkinson at Oxford University and the Swede Bo Rothstein, in practice the so-called Asian tigers consciously applied this understanding in building their dynamic economies. Here in Canada our own spending on universal health care not only costs less per capita in comparison with spending on health insurance in the United States, their higher level of spending also leaves 40 million Americans with no health insurance whatever. Furthermore, the recent decision by Daimler-Chrysler to put a multi-million dollar new production facility in Windsor instead of Detroit was strongly influenced by the fact that by doing so they will save millions of dollars each year. Why? In part because of the lower value of the Canadian dollar but also because in the United States, companies in this and many other sectors have to pay for the health insurance of every employee, a cost which does not exist for them in Canada. In short, medicare gives us a competitive advantage in attracting industry.

Finally, the cost of health care. It is not the case that we must give up as 'unsustainable' our current public health care system. That so many Canadians apparently believe the opposite, is a triumph of propaganda over truth. Contrary to what so many of the new politicians and editorial writers want

us to believe, government spending on health as a percentage of GDP is lower today than it was a decade ago. If we want to improve the system, more money is part of the answer. And clearly we can afford it. If medicare is threatened it is primarily the fault of Jean Chrétien, Mike Harris, Ralph Klein and now Gordon Campbell. During the past decade, they treated us as consumers, not citizens. They preferred to give us billions in tax-breaks and starve what many experts continue to regard as the world's best health care system. They created the so-called financial crisis and now have the nerve to tell us something is wrong.

In every way on every day, there is increased pressure to take us back to a concept of Canadian citizenship shorn of equality. We live in a Canada in which social and economic rights are struggling for survival, a Canada in which the law of the jungle is being promoted as the way of the world. Canadian citizenship as envisaged by Pierre Trudeau, Bob Stanfield and Tommy Douglas has been replaced with a new barbarism. I choose my word with care. One of the meanings of 'barbarism' is the absence of civilized standards. We are abandoning such standards. We are now reverting to an old concept of citizenship, one based on the assumption that we humans are primarily competitive with one another, that we are not merely self-interested but also selfish. We are being told that we must re-build our social and political institutions on these divisive assumptions.

Any novelist or sociologist knows such a simplistic view of human nature is false. In fact, when you think about it, we all know it's false. We know that we care for ourselves and our families. But we also care for our neighbours. We want economic rewards based on performance. But we also work for nothing within our communities—coaching teams, fund-raising for the arts and supporting the victims of AIDS. We want our companies to be economically successful but we also insist that they respect human rights and protect the environment. We have many entirely personal desires and appetites. But we have also created over 175,000 voluntary organizations and by government action we have established equality-based social programs in health care and pensions and education. Yes, we want personal cash to go to the movies, to buy a computer and to have holidays with our kids. But we have also demonstrated in poll after poll that we will willingly pay more taxes to rebuild medicare and to adequately fund our universities, so that students don't have to acquire debt burdens averaging $25,000.

We are at a crossroads. The civilized option is to join hands with the Swedes and Germans and Austrians and Danes and Dutch and Norwegians who never abandoned their post-war dual commitment to equality of citizenship and economic success. Today they are doing well in the globalized economy. We can too.

In all of these illustrations, we Canadians demonstrate that our individualism is not necessarily in competition with the social good. This is because our kind of individualism recognizes we are also social beings. It does not reject, but embraces co-operation. Human identities are complex and multidimensional. As I have said, we want a market-based economy, but not a market-driven society.

Many of the new politicians now say bluntly that we must choose between economic growth and social justice. They increasingly point to the United States as a model. Yes, that is one option. It is true that we can have high levels of growth with cut-backs in programs for average Canadians, much suffering for the poor and an over-all increase in inequality.

The other road is to reassert our humanity, to remind ourselves that we Canadians truly flourished in the middle of the twentieth century when we strove for national economic success but did so by embracing at the same time the democratic citizen's goal of equality. We are at a crossroads. The civilized option is to join hands with the Swedes and Germans and Austrians and Danes and Dutch and Norwegians who never abandoned their post-war dual commitment to equality of citizenship and economic success. Today they are doing well in the globalized economy. We can too.

There is no determinism. We can decide. We Canadians who are prosperous and have benefited from what others did in the past can remain silent or we can join in the struggle for justice. It is easy to point to the difficulties and suggest that in the end attempting to change what is wrong can be quite futile. Passivity and cynicism have always come easily to the educated and prosperous.

In Anton Chekhov's short story, "Ward No. 6," there is an exchange between a so-called madman and a self-satisfied doctor. The doctor's philosophy of life contains no need to go beyond a life of personal satisfaction. He remains indifferent to the problems of his community. At one point the madman becomes furious. He says to the doctor:

> You tried to shape your life so that nothing would trouble you or make you stir from your place… You sat around warm and peaceful, saving up money, reading books, delighting yourself with all sorts of nonsense… A convenient philosophy: no need to do anything, and

> your conscience is clear, and you feel yourself a wise man… No, sir, that's not philosophy, not thinking, not breadth of vision, it's laziness, fakirism, a dreamy stupor.[5]

We Canadians need to put fakirism to one side and as citizens once again engage in the ongoing struggle for equality.

Edward Broadbent, J.S. Woodsworth Chair in the Humanities from 1997 to 1999, delivered this public lecture sponsored by the Canadian Association of University Teachers at Capilano College in Vancouver, British Columbia on March 17, 2002. He was invested with a Companion of the Order of Canada at UBC in February 2002. He is currently Visiting Fellow at the Arthur Kroeger College of Public Affairs, Carleton University, Ottawa.

[5] Anton Chekhov, "Ward No.6" in *Stories*. New York: Bantam Books, 2000, pp.199-200.

A Revolutionary Coincidence

—Marc H. Ellis

In January 2002 Marc Ellis, Professor of American and Jewish Studies at Baylor University in Waco, Texas, spoke at SFU's Halpern Centre. His lecture, entitled "Practicing Exile: a Reflection on the Prophetic Call in the 21st Century", was sponsored by the Institute for the Humanities.

Marc Ellis is a Jewish theologian and religious-studies scholar who spent 14 years teaching at Maryknoll School of Theology, a liberationist Roman Catholic seminary. His PhD is from Marquette, where he was inducted into the Jesuit Honour Society. He was with us as part of a western Canada lecture tour. His books include works on Catholic radicalism, the Holocaust, the Israeli-Palestinian question, Jewish-Christian dialogue and Jewish renewal. Of his book, Ending Auschwitz, *Richard L. Rubenstein, one of his mentors, has written, "Ellis skillfully combines excellent writing, fascinating narrative and thoughtful reflections on Judaism, Christianity, Auschwitz, Israel and the Palestinians. Ellis is representative of neither the Jewish nor the Christian mainstream. Nevertheless, he is one of the most influential Jewish thinkers of his generation." He has taught at Morehouse College in Atlanta, Florida State, Harvard, and is now at Baylor University where he is Director of the Center for American and Jewish Studies.*

This year [2002], by mere coincidence, the remembrance of the Holocaust and the commemoration of Deir Yassin share the same calendar date, April 9th. The Jewish calendar is a lunar one, so its corresponding date on the English calendar changes every year. April 9th is the date of the massacre at Deir Yassin, as it was on that day in 1948 that Jewish irregular forces committed their atrocities on the Arab villagers.

Coincidence is both chance and possibility and while the fact of this shared date should not be exaggerated, it cannot be ignored. For the renewed violence in the Holy Land reminds us of a history of struggle and blood and poses the even more important question about the future of Jews and Palestinians. Will the past cycle of violence and atrocity that continues today persist and define the future of the Holy Land? Are Jews and Palestinians prisoners of a historic conflict and will that conflict come to be identified as the essence of the Jewish and Palestinian people?

There is no need to compare the tragedies that have befallen both peoples. The uniqueness of the Holocaust is well established, as is the catastrophe that has caused so much suffering for the Palestinian people. Comparison of historical events, in terms of magnitude and consequences, trivializes the events themselves. Victimization is a fact in history impossible to ignore and all peoples, at one time or another, have felt the blow of terror and dislocation. Devastation comes in all sizes and shapes; atrocity knows no boundaries and too often no limits.

Instead of uniqueness and comparison, connection and solidarity should be emphasized. If we dwell on the negative, life

and history can overwhelm us. We do not have to dwell in a fantasy world to try to glimpse light where there seems only darkness.

At this point in time in the history of Israel/Palestine it does seem almost fanciful to accentuate the positive, but to do so is witness to a possibility beyond the present impasse. It is to place before Jews and Palestinians, indeed the global community, a message of hope. The intractable is not intractable, the catastrophe is not irredeemable, the Holocaust does not have the final word.

Yet a message of hope is only heartening if the issues before us are honestly approached. On this day of remembrance, can we be bearers of a message that is honest, that is rigorous and confessional and hopeful, that is providing a glimpse of a future beyond our own limitations of voice and vision?

I believe this possible. It is also necessary.

If this year's commemoration dates are coincidentally on the same day, the fact that Yad VaShem, the Holocaust memorial in Jerusalem, and Deir Yassin are in eyesight of one another is not. The situation of Jews in Europe at the dawn of the 20th century was difficult, if not yet impossible. By the 1930s and after it was intolerable. The impetus for the creation of the state of Israel lies in this European situation, but the solution to this problem, as so often has been the case, was found outside of Europe. Deir Yassin is but a symbol of this 'solution'—one that, through conflict, war and expansion led to the emptying of the part of Palestine that is now Israel.

Jewish and non-Jewish visitors to Yad VaShem understand the Jewish anguish and tragedy. Those who come to Deir Yassin or remember it know the Palestinian anguish and tragedy. Yet the question today is how many people remember each tragedy alone and how many connect these two? The isolation of these tragedies compounds the calamity itself. For after all is said and done, once violence and atrocity occur, it is what we do with terrible events that defines us. This is true for us as individuals. It is also true for peoples and nations.

The purpose of remembrance is found among the living after the calamity. Analysis is crucial here in laying bare the reasons for the disaster, but, especially when so much human suffering is involved, history cannot become a mere curiosity or a place from which power is asserted. Both trivialize those who suffered and those who live after the suffering. Remembrance is for the living to mourn the dead as well as to foster a commitment to personal and communal life beyond such events. Is there anything worse after catastrophe than a memory that encourages further dislocation and death?

What can our remembrance be, and the commitment that comes from remembrance, so that we will not foster a future so calamitous that even the victims of the Holocaust and the Palestinian expulsion will cry out from the earth to end the cycle of violence and atrocity they experienced?

With the Oslo process in shambles and the Al Aksa intifada continuing, it seems we are starkly confronted with two possibilities: either a complete withdrawal of Israel from the West Bank and Gaza with a fully shared Jerusalem or the declaration of a bi-national state in all of Israel/Palestine. There are good reasons to pursue either or perhaps even both together. For the healing of Jews and Palestinians can only come through independence and interdependence, joining particularity with universality, so that a future without abuse and armaments can be enjoyed by both peoples.

On this day of commemoration, this coincidence that may become, through our efforts, a turning toward each other, let us embrace a forgiveness oriented around justice, a revolutionary forgiveness that gives birth to a future worth bequeathing to our children. In synagogues, churches and mosques, in public halls of debate and government, lets us commit ourselves to a new beginning for the sake of Israel and Palestine, in the name of Jews and Palestinians, and for a future worthy of our people's history.

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