



LEGITIMIZE DISSENT! --- OR LOSE THE FEDERATION

- Joe C.W. Armstrong

{Joe Armstrong is a sixth-generation Canadian who describes himself as "author, historian and heritage publicist," and whose best-selling books, **From Sea Unto Sea: Art & Discovery Maps of Canada**, **Champlain**, and **Farewell the Peaceful Kingdom**, have indelibly left their mark on the Canadian landscape. On a recent whirlwind tour across Canada, speaking to 21 Canadian Clubs and many other groups, Joe dropped into the **Freedom Party** offices in London on November 20, and was kind enough to provide us with the full text of his address delivered to the **Canadian Club of Kingston** on **November 13, 1997**.

His subject? **The Calgary Declaration**, agreed to by the nine English-speaking premiers on September 14 and 15, 1997, and which is now being presented to Ontarians as **Ontario Speaks: A Dialogue On Canadian Unity**.

The latest move to "hoodwink Canadians with a Meech III/Charlottetown II Accord is well on the road to a fait accompli," says Armstrong. As the first to kick off a detailed attack against "this latest attempt of the elites to appease Quebec," his warning comes as a challenge to Canadians to "wake up and smell the slow-burn of democracy and debate."

Joe is now working on his fourth book, a philosophical and historical evaluation of freedom and the conservative dilemma in Canada.}

Ladies and Gentlemen: While **Remembrance Day** is still fresh in our memories, I want to read to you...

IN FLANDERS FIELDS

In Flanders fields the poppies blow
Between the crosses, row on row,
That mark our place; and in the sky
The larks, still bravely singing, fly
Scarce heard amid the guns below.

We are the Dead. Short days ago
We lived, felt dawn, saw sunset glow,
Loved, and were loved, and now we lie
In Flanders fields.

Take up our quarrel with the foe:
To you the failing hands we throw
The torch; be yours to hold it high.
If ye break faith with us who die
We shall not sleep, though poppies grow
In Flanders fields.

- John McCrae (*Punch*, Dec. 8, 1915)

Lt.-Colonel John McRae wrote this anthem after the second battle of Ypres when one of his best friends was killed. McRae himself died in 1918, of pneumonia.

I think it is time we ask ourselves just what is it we are being asked to commemorate? Have we lived up to the calling of the Canadian soldier John McRae, the poet who etched in the mind of humanity those words we all heard in school?

I say that unless we Canadians firm our resolve to fight for Canadian values, then, like John McRae, we too will lose our very best friend --- Canada. It will be a funeral dirge, not a poem that commemorates that day of sorrows.

Ladies and gentlemen, many pundits are telling us Happy Days are almost here again. Here are three of them singing in unison only a month ago:

On October 10, 1997, **Reform MP Jason Kenny** (self-described member of his own group "The Snack Pack"): "I think it is fair to say, perhaps, that the defiance that Peter Newman wrote about in his book, *The Canadian Revolution*, has dissipated in the last little while." (*Globe & Mail*, Oct 11/97)

John Wright, vice-president of the **Angus Reid** polling group, agrees with Kenny: "I think there's basically a sense out there that we've taken a run at these politicians for a long time, and now it's time to sit back and take another look." (*Globe & Mail*, Oct 11/97)

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To those who consent, no injustice is done

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Then there's **Michael Adams**, head of **Environics Research Group**, and author of *Sex in the Snow* (not to be confused with pollster David Foot's book *Boom, Bust & Echo*), who says: "The economic recession ended a while ago, but we're just now seeing the psychological recession starting to end... I guess it's a disengagement." (*Globe & Mail*, Oct 11/97)

It's scary to think we are so easily put back to sleep after the Mulroney years. Such self-indulgent day-dreaming sets the stage perfectly for a political sting. And yesterday our Ontario government put each of us on formal notice about the latest swarm of bees busy about the business of Meech III/Charlottetown II --- better known to us in its current incarnation as **The Calgary Declaration**.

Today I want to pass on to you what I know thus far about this insidious and distinctly dangerous venture.

All of us in Ontario have just been invited to respond to the *Calgary Declaration*. Or, as it has been put to Ontarians, a "Framework for Discussion on Canadian Unity." Let me share with you some of the evidence and some thoughts about how to take back control of our country.

Let's have a look at this *Calgary Declaration* in detail:

"1. All Canadians are equal and have rights protected by law."

It's a sound, if colourless, first step in establishing a philosophical ideal. If only they had stopped right here and gone home.

"2. All provinces, while diverse in their characteristics, have equality of status."

A new wrinkle, fraught with problems. Canadian provinces (and territories, for that matter) do not have equality of status and nothing on God's green earth can make it so. While Canada is a federation of provinces, not a compact of founding cultures and races, this nation is, and always has been, an asymmetric

federation.

There is equality of status for all provinces under the *Criminal Code of Canada*. This we know. But provincial equality ends there. The province of Quebec, as we all know, has its own Civil Code.

Surely at this point in our history we know we can no longer build national unity by heaving mythological fabrications at ourselves. Our forefathers knew this instinctively. Some common sense is required. If I were a Quebec

Canadian, I would toss out this section of the *Calgary Declaration* as unworkable and provocative.

"3. Canada is graced by diversity, tolerance, compassion and an equality of opportunity that is without rival in the world."

Is anyone else here as sick to death as I am of this preachy nonsense? If this statement is true, then why on earth do we have governments forever legislating our mores? No nation on earth has such an unrelentingly pompous perspective of itself. This isn't national pride. It's politics at its most fatuous and demeaning.

Haven't we heard all this before? Meech Lake. Charlottetown. Remember a certain Ontario Liberal premier's endless nettling about the need to be tolerant?

If we are so compassionate, tolerant, and *my sympathico*, why do our leaders repeatedly treat us as bigoted and intolerant? Why are we all governed on the basis that, underneath it all, we are an uncivilized nation rampant with racism and diseased with hatred?

On the other hand, if we are so lovey-dovey, why do our legislators pass so many laws on the basis that these evils are the true condition of our society? If we are compassionate and tolerant, as I believe historically has been our greatest strength, then we don't want and don't need to create huge socialist

institutions to fix the problems government has created and exaggerated beyond recognition.

Within the short span of two generations, our so-called free country is awash in federal and provincial human rights commission claiming to protect us from ourselves. In fact, we need protection from those who seek to protect us!

Ask yourself: What kind of Canada did we have before we lathered the land with statism and socialist intervention? This question is so politically incorrect and traditionally conservative that it makes me wriggle with glee.

Either this clause of the *Calgary Declaration* means we are tolerant, compassionate, and all those good things, and enjoy equality of opportunity BECAUSE OF our socialist commitments. Or we are tolerant, compassionate, and all those good things, and enjoy equality of opportunity not because of our socialist commitments and socialist institutions, BUT IN SPITE OF them. We can't have it both ways, folks!

"4. Canada's gift of diversity includes Aboriginal peoples and cultures, the vitality of the English and French languages and a multicultural citizenry drawn from all parts of the world."

We've been over this ground again and again and again. Here you are really being asked to support --- and assume the righteousness of --- state-endorsed Official Bilingualism, Official Multiculturalism, and the doctrine of founding races and founding cultures. Socialist liberalism in full sail. So far removed from the country we once knew and loved.

Much of this nonsense, such as multiculturalism, was roundly condemned --- even by the rigged *Citizens' Forum on*

Canada's Future in 1991. Remember the *Spicer Commission* run by Trudeau's first Official Languages Commissioner? Keith Spicer is gone now, yet as he departed, he excused himself and then for the umpteenth time chose personal exile in France. Here, once again, for your personal enjoyment, are the words of the man who bifubulated and bifrogulated you to death for so many years, **Keith Spicer**:

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"The basic and crucial political issue of our age is: capitalism versus socialism, or freedom versus statism."

- Ayn Rand



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On the government's rationale for Official Bilingualism (1971): "To convince the French that we were making serious reform and to convince the English that we were not making serious reforms." (*Toronto Star*, Oct 19/79)

Describing Official Bilingualism (1973): "A country wide catastrophe" (*Second Annual Report*, 1971/72).

From the *Spicer Report*, June 27, 1991: Our greatest propagandist, after hearing thousands of complaints, grudgingly told everyone loud and clear there had to be, at the least, an independent review of bilingualism and biculturalism. This, Spicer told us, was necessary to "clear the air." How our first Official Languages Commissioner must have squirmed at this confession: "[Otherwise there is a risk that] rising public disaffection and misunderstanding will lead to a rejection of the policy as a whole." (*Toronto Star*, Sept 9/91)

What about that review? It never took place. And it never will.

On multiculturalism, from the Report: The essential complaint is that, in the words of a group discussion from Oakville, Ontario: "*Multiculturalism is by itself divisive... We spend too much time being different and not enough being Canadian.*" (Emphasis in original, pp. 85-86)

"Overwhelmingly, participants told us that reminding us of our different origins is less useful in building a united country than emphasizing the things we have in common... A great many participants see the funding of multiculturalism programs as a concrete exam-

ple of the way the government is encouraging divisiveness." (pp. 85-86)

Well, at least there's one thing on which we can agree with Keith Spicer. He said it in the introduction to his famous report: "The country is dying of ignorance, and our stubborn refusal to learn." (Report, p. 9)

And as for that statement that "Canada's gift of diversity includes Aboriginal peoples etc.," what a patronizing piece of racist nonsense. Our native people are now a gift? No wonder Phil Fontaine, the chief of the Assembly of First Nations is apoplectic with rage. Note the purveyors of Mad Cow disease have already backtracked on this one!

"5. In Canada's federal system, where respect for diversity and equality underlies unity, the unique character of Quebec society, including its French speaking majority, its culture and its tradition of civil law, is fundamental to the well being of Canada. Consequently, the legislature and Government of Quebec have a role to protect and develop the unique character of Quebec society within Canada."

This is a new high for fuzzification. "Respect for diversity and equality underlies unity": What on earth does this mean? Respect is earned.

For the umpteenth time, we are being preached at by an elite group who are unaware of those basic things Canadians cherish most dearly. More on that later.

"Equality underlies unity"? What are we talking about here? There's a huge difference between equality before the law, which is an ideal, and the statist mantra that equality is the result of managed results. This is gobbledygook. Sloppy thinking.

Historians **Will and Ariel Durant** in *The Lessons of History* put the case magnificently: "Nature smiles at the union of freedom and equality in our utopias. For freedom and equality are sworn and everlasting enemies, and when one prevails the other dies... Utopias of equality are biologically doomed, and the best the amiable philosopher can hope for is an approximate equality of legal justice and educational opportunity."

In the *Calgary Declaration*, the word "equality" is used three times and the term "unique character" in reference to Quebec is used twice. And the reason is obvious --- to placate Preston Manning.

I won't waste your time with an etymological discourse on the words "unique character." Some say, and I agree, that "unique character" conveys more special status than "distinct society" ever did.

I think, however, you should be aware of who concocted this latest contrivance. Some old Meech Lake friends, I do declare!

Here's the dope on this one:

"It's scary to think we are so easily put back to sleep after the Mulroney years. Such self-indulgent daydreaming sets the stage perfectly for a political sting."

The phrase "unique character" comes directly from **Thomas d'Aquino**, president and chief executive officer of the **Business Council on National Issues (BCNI)**. Remember this gang? This is the Ottawa lobby group that represents some 150 of the country's largest corporations with some \$3 trillion in assets.

The phrase "unique character" can be traced back to the evening of the day of that illegal referendum held in Quebec on sovereignty on October 30, 1995 --- just over

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"Trying to make things easy results in great difficulties." - Chinese proverb

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two years ago. You remember --- the one the mainstream print media, the academics, the CBC, and all the politicians firmly assert and continue to tell us is where we nearly lost the country. And this, even after the additional ruling of the Supreme Court of Canada on October 9, 1997.

This is the same scam Lester Pearson and Pierre Trudeau promoted in the 1960s and 1970s and Brian Mulroney and Jean Chretien ran with in the 1980s and the 1990s. In the words of the *Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism* of Lester Pearson, "without knowing it, Canada is going through the greatest crisis in its history."

Here is how the outbreak of Mad Cow Disease --- a.k.a. the *Calgary Declaration* --- germinated and spread: The evidence is contained in the reports to the membership of the BCNI by its president and chief executive officer, Thomas d'Aquino. D'Aquino, in his December 18, 1995 report to the members of the Council's full membership meeting in Ottawa on the evening of the Quebec Referendum, October 30, and on the following day, October 31, tells us all we ever need to know about the Calgary Declaration. The Meech Crowd attended en masse, ever faithful. Here are President d'Aquino's precise words from the report.

Agreement is reached by the members

that: "Quebec's unique character should be entrenched in the Constitution."

There it is. Two years before the *Calgary Declaration* came to pass, the BCNI cooked up and approved this phrase "unique character" as the entree to be served to Canadians in place of Meech Lake and Charlottetown!

The BCNI's next move: March 8, March 9, and again on May 3 and May 4 of 1996: The suits gather again in Ottawa. The BCNI hails these meetings as the "Confederation 2000 Conferences."

While the nation sleeps soundly on, the men in the shadows --- the self-appointed elite, if you like --- set out a six-month agenda for action. They are so cocky about their power that in his BCNI report of May 13, 1996, d'Aquino boasts on the title page of his report that the Council told the first ministers of Canada to "Get on with it."

More than 100 "participants" were involved in this latest attempt to secure additional special status for Quebec. We recognize most of them from the Meech and Charlottetown days. As in the case of his nibs, Brian Mulroney, Old Meechkins never die --- nor do they fade away.

For your added pleasure: Joe Clark, Peter Loughheed, Don Mazankowski, David Peterson, Bob Rae, Claude Castonguay, Gerald Beaudoin, Stanley Hartt, Judith Maxwell, Peter G. White, and the two academic recidivists from the "Queen's Mafia" of yesterday, Ronald Watts and Peter Leslie.

A few new faces also make an appearance on the BCNI roster: the likes of Conrad Winn, the pollster most favored by the *Financial Post* and advi-

sor to Mike Harris' intergovernmental affairs minister **Diane Cunningham**. Cunningham is the lead champion for special status for Quebec in Mike Harris' cabinet. She is the Ontario minister who now chairs the latest unity committee for this province.

Sound all too familiar? Wait! There's more!

"The greatest threat to this nation are the weak-kneed leaders from English-speaking Canada who have no reliable convictions about this country."

In a memorandum from the Business Council on National Issues, d'Aquino writes to the Prime Minister on June 20, 1997. I quote:

"The Economy and Political Stability:
Dear Prime Minister...
...Business leaders

traditionally have been cautious in intervening in the unity debate..."

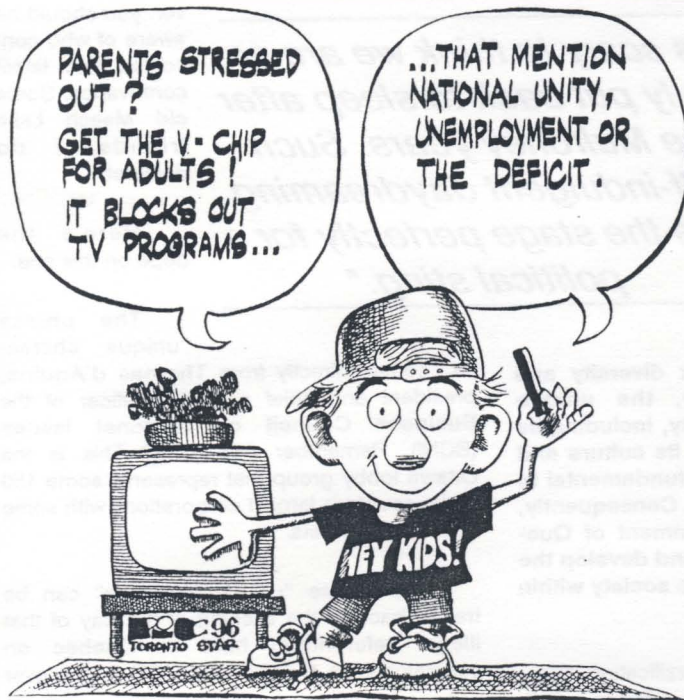
Yeah, right! Remember Allan Taylor of the Royal Bank on Meech! If the deal doesn't pass, we face the end of the world. Today we have Charles Baillie of the TD Bank assuming the throne.

D'Aquino continues: "We agree with the intent of the legislation passed by Parliament to recognize Quebec's unique place within Canada. We approve of federal efforts to improve the structure of the federation through rebalancing powers and responsibilities. And we support the government's attempt to clarify the legal status of separation through reference to the Supreme Court. But with great respect, the efforts made by your government to date are insufficient."

Ladies and gentlemen, I think the question we have to ask ourselves is simple enough. Do you want to live in a democracy governed by your elected representatives who are bound to do your bidding or are you willing to have your values determined and your lives dictated by an unelected body accountable to those interest outside your control?

In the words of historians H. Graham Rawlinson and J.L. Granatstein, "unelected, almost unknown to the public, Tom d'Aquino more than merits the title conferred on him by journalist Murray Dobbin: 'Canada's *de facto* prime minister.'"

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PETER PICKERSGILL FOR THE TORONTO STAR

"The condition upon which God hath given liberty to man is eternal vigilance; which condition if he break, servitude is at once the consequence of his crime and the punishment of his guilt." - John Philpot Curran

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"6. If any future constitutional amendment confers powers on one province, these powers must be available to all provinces."

We can be thankful that Stephane Dion, the federal Minister of Intergovernmental Affairs, provides us with a personal and very revealing example of how this provision would work in practice:

"Let's assume one day it's unclear and we asked the courts to clarify the jurisdiction in this area --- and that the Quebec government says this is central to our culture, this institution.

"Well we know that in Saskatchewan the co-ops are very, very central to their culture. So it would be rather unfair to say that the principle that Quebec may use will not be available to Saskatchewan." (*Calgary Herald*, Sept 17/97)

Fairness has nothing to do with it any more than respect. Under this "unique character" provision it would be legal, regardless of fairness, ultimately for the Supreme Court to discriminate against Saskatchewan.

In this hypothetical example that Dion suggests we examine, it would be legal, if unfair. It would be legal because that is exactly the power the Supreme Court of Canada would be given ultimately by constitutional amendment, or more surreptitiously by way of convention through the course of time as a result of federal legislation. Either way, the dreaded *deux-nations* (two-nations) concept would be well on the road to reality.

Rene Levesque himself once boasted that any approval of Quebec as a "distinct society" would be the final affirmation of the two-nation state. So did Robert Bourassa. Monsieur Dion, we've been here before. Remember Meech and Charlottetown and Joe Clark's befuddled attempt to produce a legal text that could be interpreted in Quebec the way premier Robert Bourassa wanted it and yet would sell in English Canada as meaning no special status for Quebec?

To find out what's really going on, ask Daniel Johnson, the Liberal opposition leader of Quebec for whom this entire exercise

has been orchestrated. Here's what he said on the very day (September 15, 1997) the *Calgary Declaration* was proclaimed: "There are legal effects with respect to Quebec's specificity in the clauses regarding recognition that have been submitted to us. The recognition of the distinct character of Quebec will make it so that the courts must take into account the profile, the characteristics, the history of Quebec, its composition, the existence here of a francophone majority that has a different culture from the rest of Canada... ..It is a constitutional protection of Quebec's difference." (*Globe & Mail*, Sept 16/97)

Johnson is so confident of his position on the inside track that he doesn't even use the new wording of the *Calgary Declaration*, "unique character," to describe Quebec. He sticks with the old one, the "distinct character of Quebec." Ladies and gentlemen, I submit that only a fool would believe we're not into another Meech and Charlottetown today.

If there was any backbone to clause 6 of the *Calgary Declaration*, it would read, "Those powers APPLY to all provinces, equally, regardless of the unique character of Quebec," NOT "Those powers must be AVAILABLE."

"Available" means you have to apply, to request, equal treatment. In the event of any dispute, that application ultimately must be made to the Supreme Court of Canada, which will already have been in-

structed by legislation or constitutional amendment that Quebec society has a "unique character" and must be treated according to its special status.

Minister Dion, Prime Minister Chretien, after thirty-five years it's CANADA that needs distinct recognition! Canada should be the priority for a change! Our problem is not with the separatists or the closet Quebec nationalists like Daniel Johnson who are training to become sovereignists.

The greatest threat to this nation are the weak-kneed leaders from English-speaking Canada who have no reliable convictions about this country. As an example:

Mike Harris, April 4, 1997, speaking to the *Fraser Institute* in Vancouver: "Obviously, I don't agree with distinct society. I think it's an old-fashioned term for an old-fashioned policy that was a disaster and a failure in Quebec and outside from the time it was tried to be sold... They were all wrong." (*Toronto Star*, April 5/97)

Then comes the flip-flop, July 30, 1997. Harris writes a dismissive letter to the *Quebec Committee for Canada*, a group that has been accomplishing won-

ders in breaking up the separatists in Quebec. Harris writes: "We recognize that Quebec is different in terms of language, culture and its civil law system. At some point, the people of Ontario and Canada may choose to support this difference in the Constitution. But it is not our focus at this time." (*Toronto Star*, Aug 7/97)

September 10, 1997: "We need to begin to discuss... ..how we can put forward proposals before the next Quebec election as to what we would be willing to do to recognize in the Constitution the distinctiveness of Quebec when it comes to language and culture and the justice system." (*Toronto Star*, Sept 11/97)

Never mind what Mike Harris doesn't know about Canadian history, i.e., the *British North America Act* of 1867 and the fact that the BNA Act supported this "difference in the Constitution" from day one; our education system is another story. It took only 41 days for the premier of Ontario to sink into this constitutional quagmire --- the mother of all sand-traps!

Mr. Premier, give Ontario voters exactly the same legal protection afforded to Albertans and British Columbians. British Columbia and Alberta's citizens are guaranteed a direct vote on any proposed constitutional change by law. Do Ontarians deserve any less?

And what's all this business from Dianne Cunningham's office that "IF YOU WANT TO BE HEARD, YOU HAVE TO SPEAK UP... ..Ontario: Start talking. We're listening... ..We need your responses by December 15, 1997." [Ontario Government advertising campaign]

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"Mr. Premier, give Ontario voters a direct vote on any proposed constitutional change by law. Do Ontarians deserve any less?"

"One hallmark of freedom is the sound of laughter." - Harry Ashmore

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This is the fastest railroading of any provincial electorate in Canadian history.

Finally, we have Calgary Declaration clause #7:

"7. Canada is a federal system where federal, provincial, and territorial governments work in partnership while respecting each other's [sic] jurisdictions. Canadians want their governments to work cooperatively and with flexibility to ensure the efficiency and effectiveness of the federation. Canadians want their governments to work together particularly in the delivery of their social programs. Provinces and territories renew their commitment to work in partnership with the Government of Canada to best serve the needs of Canadians."

"This is the fastest railroading of any provincial electorate in Canadian history."

Do we really need this? --- Bad grammar included? No comment.

Well! What about the feds? What is their real game plan?

Stephane Dion, August 11, 1997: On this date Dion wrote his first "open letter" to Lucien Bouchard:

"Let me start with the question of a unilateral declaration of independence. The Government of Canada has always maintained that if Quebecers expressed a very clear desire to secede from Canada, then their will would be respected. As you know, this position is highly unusual in the international community. Most countries do not allow constituent parts to secede under any circumstances. For example, the constitution of the French Fifth Republic, that of General (Charles) de Gaulle, provides that *'La France est une République indivisible'* [France is an indivisible republic], while the U.S. Supreme Court has found that our neighbour forms an 'indestructible union.'" (*Globe & Mail*, August 12/97)

How does that grab you?

Highly unusual, all right. These Ottawa legionnaires have assumed the right to negotiate the terms of secession! AND they've ruled out the inviolate sanctity of Canadian sovereignty with a sweep of a pen and without your having any say in the matter!

When did you and I approve the concept that Quebec has the RIGHT to secede --- under ANY conditions? And Chretien says Dion is playing tough? Rubbish. With the prime minister's tacit approval, Dion is giving the shop away.

Here's Dion on what to do if all else fails:

"On the basis of those three principles --- pacifism, legality, and clarity --- if Quebecers decide to renounce Canada, we will negotiate that sad thing which is secession. We are convinced that in the clarity of things, Quebecers and other Canadians will choose to stay together, since it is the most beautiful thing that can be done as human beings." (*Globe & Mail*, Sept 18/97)

And as for the prime minister, **Jean Chretien**, on December 1, 1994, he told two reporters of the Paris newspaper *Le Monde* this:

"Obviously I would have been happier if Canada had not been conquered in the past by the English, if this part of North America had remained French."

Here's the background:

On distinct society and national unity, 1989: "I oppose Meech Lake because it's not a good deal for Canada... ..It's supposed to have been a reconciliation but instead it's a disaster." (*Toronto Star*, Sept 23/96)

On distinct society and national unity, 1996: "Today, I am saying that I can live with the concept of distinct society when I used to be against it." (*Toronto Star*, Jan 16/96)

On the media, 1992: "The real reason I come in for such a rough ride is because I won't tailor my convictions to suit the political fad of the moment." (*Toronto Star*, Jan 17/92)

On leadership, 1990: "The essence of leadership is making people feel good."

(*Toronto Star*, Jan 24/90)

On Plan B, 1997: "What preoccupies me and worries me is that if we keep talking about Plan B and how we split up the country, like any relationship we'll probably end up doing exactly that." (*Globe & Mail*, Aug 29/97)

Games. Games. Expensive games, and we're well into overtime!

Everyone knows by now that no wording will satisfy both Quebec and the rest of us in English-speaking Canada. Quebec wants an apology for the Plains of Abraham and special status. The separatists and much of franco-phone Quebec want additional constitutional powers to reverse history. At the same time, the rest of us reject the "deux nations" (two-nations) construct of our homeland. No matter what!

Do any of us really doubt what the Supreme Court of Canada would do if we gave them any encouragement? As a result of Pierre Trudeau's Constitution Act of 1982, our judges must now be viewed as unelected politicians. The Supremes would most certainly interpret any such directive as the constitutionalizing of, or Parliament's adoption of, this dualist terminology to mean that Quebec is legally entitled to even more special status than it already has.

"For more than three decades, Canadians have endured an incredible lie: the propaganda that Canada was founded on a monumental injustice to one people."

For more than three decades, Canadians have endured an incredible lie: the propaganda that Canada was founded on a monumental injustice to one people. According to this line of thinking, Canada was created expressly as a racial partnership between franco-phones and anglo-phones, NOT as a free economic federation of provinces where all were equal

before the law. So much for the BNA Act of our founding fathers. The leftist media, academics, and politicians of all stripes have been pushing this at us ever since Lester Pearson got the ball rolling in 1963.

With no public debate whatsoever, no referendum, and no serious challenge based on our history or any democratic process, this country has been turned into a victim-culture

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"What is a communist? One who has yearnings for equal divisions of unequal earnings." - Ebenezer Elliott

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society as defined by its own constitution.

The truth is staring us in the face: we have been suckered by radical liberalism into the biggest guilt trip in the Western world! This socialist statism has ravaged our economic freedom, eroded our sovereignty, divided the country, and, worst of all, sapped our will to fight back the way we should. Do any of us in this room really accept the notion that our forebears cobbled our nation together without building into it adequate cultural guarantees for the francophone fact of our country and without sufficient legal protection for all individual citizens? The 'Charter of Rights and Freedoms' is an insult to our heritage and our intelligence as a free people.

In fact, Quebec's need of its French language, its religious foundation, and its civil law heritage dating from the Conquest has been fully recognized. This recognition is part of our written constitutional and common-law heritage. It's a Canadian tradition we have embraced willingly, without the necessity of laws to dictate values or our national duty.

So where has this perverted vision of Canada come from? We can trace it directly from four sources:

First, We have a LAZY, LAZY leftist mainstream media and publishing industry that have clung to self-censorship rather than welcome open dialogue and debate. Just think of it. Name one conservative publishing company. One magazine? One broadcasting network? There are none.

No debate, no dissent. No dissent, no democracy. No democracy, no freedom. It really is that simple. Just last month Stephane Dion made this clear in Vancouver. In fear of debate and democracy, this minister now wants to muzzle the talk shows.

Second, this country has put up with more than two generations of intellectually dishonest leaders. The latest crew continues to wallow in denial and guilt, ignoring the views of the majority, no matter how often the crew is proven wrong. Not a single politician in this country today stands up for the traditional and very peaceful and prosperous Canada we had before Lester Pearson, Pierre Trudeau, Brian Mulroney, and Jean Chretien. Not one. Unbelievable!

Third, Canada suffers from an abundance of ignoramuses commanding the highest levels of its business community. Far too many businessmen consider themselves responsible solely for preserving profits and economic stability in order to measure the return on invested capital. The leaders of the larger corporations, especially the bankers, with very rare exception, are short-sighted and don't grasp the bigger picture. Without endorsing freedom and real democracy, they are actually working AGAINST their own --- and our --- best interests as a country. They have knowingly or unwittingly become leading subversives within the Establishment.

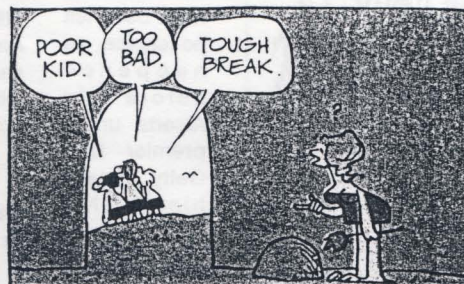
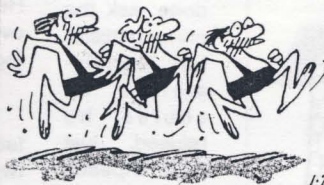
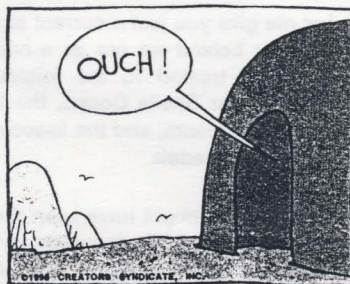
Finally, battalions of ignorant, illiterate, intellectually dysfunctional professors and teachers fill our universities and schools. We live, when we can least afford it for our survival as a nation, in the most anti-intellectual age in history.

Ladies and gentlemen, the leadership of this nation is now so vacuous and moribund that most of us pay not attention. The plummeting voter turnout is your proof. And, much more important, our young people are completely turned off when we need them most as vibrant citizens.

Amid the clamor for rebalancing the federation, Ottawa and the other federal political parties clutch at slogans and makeshift federalism. For more than 30 years, our federal government and its bureaucracy have made Quebec Canada's number one priority. The evidence continues to mount:

As Stephane Dion brazenly demonstrates, Ottawa is currently negotiating the terms of our constitutional relationship with Quebec, including the ground-rules for breakup. They're wasting taxpayers' money, going before the Supreme Court of Canada to ask whether or not an ILLEGAL Unilateral Declaration of Independence (UDI) is really legal.

(cont'd next pg...)



BY JOHNNY
B.C. HART

"Knowledge is knowing a fact. Wisdom is knowing what to do with that fact." - Saying

(...cont'd from previous page)

The stage is being set right under our noses. We are being softened up for a quick kill. Dirty politics.

Here's just one example of what the feds are doing to our Canadian history and heritage behind our backs. They have changed the Canadian Coat of Arms. The press hasn't seen fit to tell you yet for fear of angering you. While the Prime Minister talked in English Canada of a nation from sea to sea to sea, he secretly trashed our national motto.

Another example: how many Canadians know that the motto of Canada is no longer "A Mare Ad Usque" --- "From Sea Unto Sea"? Nearly two years ago it was changed to the same motto as that of the Order of Canada (what I call the Ceramic Snowflake, the government's good-conduct medal) --- "They Desire A Better Country" (*Desiderantes Meliorem Patriam*). A slogan for victims!

So what now? This is a time for action; take back the country. It's ours, not theirs. Yet, in my experience, waking up Canadians is like motivating turtles.

The time has come when we the people must take back control of our country or gravely suffer the consequences of becoming, at a more rapid pace, a more totalitarian two-nations state with even less freedom than we now have. And it's all happening at a breathtakingly rapid pace.

I believe our former prime minister Brian Mulroney expressed the right sentiment when he spoke to the Canadian Club in Toronto on April 14 of this year. He said:

"Before the turn of the century, the Prime Minister must place before Canadians --- in the window of history --- a compelling vision of our future together."

For openers, it's time for the provincial leaders to preempt Ottawa on every front where the federal government does not belong constitutionally.

Here are some first steps the boys can take:

1. Live up to the first rule of Confederation as laid out in the *British North America Act of 1867*, Section 121: **Eliminate all trade barriers between the provinces** --- immediately.

If Quebec won't play, so what? Tough! Let's see if their leaders can survive without the huge economic benefits that will result from creating such an enriched common market. Let's do what our forefathers mandated in our constitution AND prove our country works.

2. Make a move, even a symbolic one, to get on the democracy bandwagon. **Make a start on scrapping the iniquitous first-past-the-post electoral system** that forever favors central Canada. I challenge the premiers to legislate that all candidates to be "appointed" to the Senate of Canada be elected. Don't do as Ralph Klein and Preston

Manning have done: ask the prime minister for permission. Of course he refused. Just do it. Impeach his actions. He should have been left no choice, as happened before in Alberta under premier Don Getty. Leave him **NO CHOICE**. Remember Mulroney's

embarrassment when he had to anoint Alberta's popularly elected Stan Waters to the Senate in June 1990? The popular precedent worked then; let's do it again!

3. The premiers must get a unanimous message to Paul Martin, **TYRANNA-TAXUS REX, MINISTER OF JURASSIC DEBT. Cut taxes. And cut the deficit and debt. And cut expenses.** All at the same time. 'Bout time. Yeeesssss!

4. Another vital step to take: **Scrap the iniquitous Human Rights Commissions.**

These kangaroo courts have more than amply demonstrated that they have no place whatsoever in any free society. They bring the entire fabric of our

judicial system into disrepute. How can we have peace, order and good government if we have these outlaws loose in our society?

5. Quebecers must take their place among us as Canadians once and for all. It's time to **end the parochial and socialist historical revisionism that is tearing us apart politically and culturally.** We must defeat the divisive forces of dualism and mosaic madness that has shackled this country for more than two generations. No nation can endure if it allows itself to flounder in a sea of perpetual guilt and self-recrimination.

Let me give you just a current example of how very far behind we are as a nation. You are all being treated to the foibles of the Heritage Minister Sheila Copps, the bungling over the War Museum, and the fiasco concerning the McCrae medals.

Some of you might have seen Ken Burns' fabulous two-part PBS documentary on the two American explorers Meriwether Lewis and William Clark --- the Lewis and Clark expedition of 1804-1806 aired on PBS on November 5th. I was touched by what the noted American historian Dr. Stephen A. Ambrose said about Lewis and Clark: "They provide us with a sense of national unity that transcends time." (PBS, Nov 5/97)

Compare this magnificent tribute with our treatment of **Sir Alexander Mackenzie** who in 1793, thirteen years BEFORE Lewis and

(DISSENT, cont'd on back cover...)



"We have the right, as individuals, to give away as much of our own money as we please in charity; but as members of congress we have no right to so appropriate a dollar of the public money." - Davy Crockett

WHO SAYS THE RIGHT ISN'T UNITED?

- William Frampton

{William Frampton is vice-president of the Freedom Party of Ontario.}

Since the Liberals' reelection in June, many people have observed that their popular vote was less than the combined totals of Reform and the PCs. This has prompted calls to "unite the right" to defeat the Liberals next time around.

Some people seem to believe that *Reform* and the PCs represent basically the same constituency, and that these voters would automatically back a joint campaign by the two parties. Unfortunately things are not that simple.

Like many *Consent* readers, I expected a change in government policy when Brian Mulroney's Tories swept into office in 1984. It came as a shock when the Mulroney government followed more or less the same policies as the previous Liberal government.

In retrospect I'm not all that surprised. That's because the Mulroney government was actually a coalition government made up of three groups with different agendas. We just weren't aware of this at the time, because the coalition was hidden behind the façade of one party.

The three elements of Mulroney's coalition were: (1) Conservative Tories, mostly but not exclusively from western Canada, (2) Red Tories, mostly but not exclusively from eastern Canada, and (3) Quebec nationalists.

A coalition like this --- with such divergent interests --- is inherently unstable, and must eventually come apart at the seams. That's exactly what happened to Mulroney's government.

The Quebec nationalists, led by Lucien

Bouchard, walked out because Mulroney failed to deliver the "distinct society" recognition he'd promised them and formed the Bloc Québécois. The conservative Tories from the west walked out because government policy never seemed to reflect their concerns and started *Reform*. By 1993 the PC party that Kim Campbell led to defeat was left with a lot of Red Tories and only a handful of the other two groups in Mulroney's coalition.

The *Reform Party* has already captured the bulk of the political right in Canada at the national level. Jean Charest has no MPs in his

parliamentary caucus who could be called conservative --- in Quebec and Atlantic Canada the PC candidates resorted to blatant

vote-buying by promising to restore cuts to social programs made by the Chrétien government. They are almost as far left as the NDP.

On this basis I don't think most of the voters who supported Jean Charest in this year's election would back a more conservative party. Instead many PC voters would likely prefer the Liberals or the NDP to *Reform*. Mulroney's former cabinet minister David Macdonald even ran as a New Democrat in the June election.

John Crosbie, another former Mulroney cabinet minister, was characteristically blunt in a recent interview with *Maclean's* magazine. "I would go back to being a Liberal again before I would have anything to do with the *Reform Party*," Crosbie said, "because if the *Reform Party* ever makes it, it will be the end of Canada." Crosbie says the differences between *Reform* and the *Progressive Conservatives* are just too great for the two parties to work together.

Crosbie actually seems to resent *Reform* for taking away voters who the Tories used to count on to back them: "They were the ones that started a new party and took all our crackpots, nig-nogs and dangerous loonies ---

and we want them back," he said. No doubt there are many present PC voters who share this resentment and, like Macdonald and Crosbie, would switch to another traditional party before they would accept *Reform*.

Generally speaking, the *Progressive Conservative Party* and its supporters are not conservatives. So to a large extent, the right is already united. All but a few conservative voters already back the *Reform Party* in Dominion elections. If we want to change the government in Ottawa, we have a ton of work to do. But it has to be channeled in the right direction. It's unproductive to talk about "uniting the right" when by and large that's already happened. New initiatives are needed to expand the constituency for fiscally responsible government that treats all citizens equally under the law. (END)

FREE TRADE IS THE CURE

- Kristin Spissinger and Professor Walter Block

{Formerly senior economist with Vancouver's *Fraser Institute*, Dr. **Walter Block** is professor of economics at *College of the Holy Cross* in Worcester Massachusetts, where **Kristin Spissinger** is his student. The following essay is part of a series of essays co-authored by Dr. Block and his students which have appeared exclusive to *Consent*.}

Since the days of Adam Smith, capitalist ideas about free trade and laissez-faire government have been at odds with socialist theories. This is an especially important conflict for many governments at present day. In recent decades there have been strong movements in favor of protectionist trade policies.

This is largely due to the perceived trade imbalance between the United States and Japan. Contrary to their arguments, however, free trade is actually in our best interest. Though some arguments address very real and serious concerns, the policies that protectionists have implemented are actually hurting our nation's economy.

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"If you fold on principle, you'll be rolled on degree." - *Saying*

(...cont'd from previous page)

Government interference with the economy only ties up natural market forces. In order for our nation's economy to survive, thrive, and be competitive, it is crucial that we veer away from tariffs, import quotas, and other trade-limiting policies. The more open trade with other countries, the better off we will be, both in terms of enhancing productivity and coming closer to fulfilling the wants and needs of our citizenry.

Why are free trade and open-market economies the answer to our trade "problems" and how can they possibly leave us better off? The answer is very straightforward. Free trade allows people to work where they will be most productive and exchange their goods and services with those of others to help meet and fulfill more of their wants and needs.

Economics is based on one main idea: scarcity. There are limited amounts of almost every kind of material good that we create or harvest, and while capital and labour are scarce, our desires and wants are limitless. This leaves us with the problem of how to fulfill our basic needs and desires with limited resources.

Through unrestricted trade, individuals can use their talents to produce whatever it is they are most efficient at. In doing so, they are able to produce more of one particular good or service by using their specific talent that they could without specializing. Since people only produce one thing, they are inevitably going to create more of that good than a scenario where they were "jacks of all trades." As a result, they can expand their consumption through trade.

Exchange makes people better off because they give up something of lesser value to acquire something of more value; this will fulfill a need they cannot satisfy as well by themselves. The result is that both parties benefit from specialization and trade. Economists call this concept "comparative advantage."

In a free market, people tend to specialize in one specific good or service. Specialization of labour is manifest in the self-interest of the

individual; this is the way to attain a much higher level of wealth, consumption, and satisfaction.

Adam Smith (1776) developed the theory that specialization can produce more of a commodity than self-sufficiency. He observed ten workers in a pin factory who produced roughly 48,000 pins a day. At the same time, however, ten workers --- each doing the entire process alone -- would be lucky to produce two hundred or even twenty pins in a day.

People consume numerous goods and services every day; no one person could

produce all of them. With specialization, more is produced. People can then trade their products for the goods and services that are of greater value to them. Their desire to increase consumption helps to increase productivity. The more goods or services that can be produced, the more can be traded; this implies an increase of individual wealth and satisfaction.

Comparative advantage is best illustrated through an example: Let us take two countries. For our purposes, we will use Japan and the United States.

Japan has a very limited supply of land, yet has very efficient and capable factories for manufacturing high-tech equipment and automobiles. The United States, on the other hand, has a great deal of fertile land available, as well as factories. These factories and workers, however, are less skilled at producing high-tech computer and automobile equipment.

Comparative advantage theory tells us that it would be wiser for Japan to concentrate its efforts and labour on producing high-tech equipment and automobiles, while the United States should focus on agriculture and food production.

Why? Japan can produce high-tech goods and lower cost than they can foodstuffs. Therefore, it is more efficient in that particular type of production. Similarly, the United States can produce great quantities of food at a much lower cost than Japan. If each country obeys this simple principle, both can produce at a lower cost and will be more efficient than if they tried to spread their labour and resources

on the other fields of production.

Critics claim that the theory of comparative advantage will not work if one country can more efficiently or cheaply produce all goods compared to other countries. They are specifically concerned with countries where labour is relatively cheap or highly skilled, such as in Mexico and Japan, respectively.

This argument contains one basic flaw: "It is logically impossible for one country to be more efficient than another in the production of everything" (Paul Heyne, *The Economic Way of Thinking*, p. 137). Rather, all that can be determined is which country can produce a specific good more efficiently with regard to another good. No ONE country can outdo every other country in this manner.

Let us clarify this point with a numerical example.

Suppose that the Japanese are indeed superior to Americans in the production of BOTH high-tech and agricultural products. In this two-country, two-(sets of)-product(s), two-day model, we posit that the self-sufficient Japanese can produce 100 and 80 units, respectively, of hi- and low-tech products, while the United States can only create 5 and 70 units. Thus, this far eastern country is better than the United States on both fronts, *absolutely*, but *relatively*, it is a far different story. Here, they are 20 times as good as the United States is in producing computers and automobiles, but only 1.14 times better on the farm. The Japanese have an *absolute advantage* in both cases, but they enjoy a *comparative advantage* (compared to the United States) only in the high-tech arena.

	Japan	U.S.	GDP
computers, autos, VCRs, etc	100	5	105
wheat, corn barley, etc.	80	70	150
NO TRADE	180	75	255
TRADE	200	140	340

Under self-sufficiency (no trade), the two countries together produce only 255 units of both goods. (For simplicity, we assume these market baskets of goods are additive.) But if trade is allowed, much to the consternation of the protectionists, Japan concentrates solely

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"It is only when you do not know what your conclusions will be that thought is free." - John MacMurray

(...cont'd from previous page)

on its comparative advantage. It devotes both "days" to televisions, etc., and produces 200 (2x100) of them. The United States, for its part, focuses in like manner on its own comparative specialty and creates 140 (2x70) units of corn and poultry, etc.

With trade, "world" GDP rises from 255 to 340, a gain of 85. How the two countries will share this surplus is not implied in our rather simple model. But what is clear is that both will gain; otherwise, one of them will refuse to part with its goods or services.

Thus, it is in the interest of the individual, the government, and the country to specialize according to their comparative advantage. They do this in order to increase their level of efficiency in production and consumption through trade. Free trade promotes and allows for this process to occur. Blocking or hindering the open exchange of goods only makes it more difficult and costly for a country to effectively meet the needs of its citizens, since it forces people to produce at higher costs.

The theory of comparative advantage specifically applies to the import and export wars that are the concern of economists and policy makers alike. It is a popular belief that the wealth of a nation depends not on how much we import, but rather on how much we export. Left-wing protectionists would like the public to believe this. The truth of the matter, though, is that when we increase our exports, what we are in effect doing is increasing our imports as well.

Many people believe that the more we sell to foreign countries, and the fewer goods we buy from them, the more wealthy we will become. This is a mercantilist fallacy. It is easily corrected if we keep the principle of comparative advantage in mind.

By exporting goods that we can then produce at a lower cost relative to other countries, we get more monetary income than we can use to buy goods and services that are of greater value to us. These are oftentimes imports that are sold at a lower cost than the domestic equivalent because it is more efficient and less costly to produce the goods elsewhere.

Why grow bananas here in expensive hot houses, when we can import them from Costa Rica where they grow naturally and are harvested cheaply? We are able to increase our level of consumption by engaging in such processes because we obtain the goods we desire at a lower cost than if we tried to produce them domestically. This leaves both trading partners at a higher level of consumption, as we have seen in our numerical example. We are also much closer to fulfilling our endless "want list." Therefore, it does not make sense to hinder or block our trade with other countries. Trade simply encourages competitive pricing and more efficient operation.

When Americans (or others) employ protective tariffs and other such programs, they are in effect cutting off their import market. If Americans make it harder and more expensive for other countries to sell their goods in the American market, they are forcing their own resources and labour into higher cost fields. The result is that foreigners cannot sell their goods in the American market, and without this trade, they do not have access to American dollars and cannot purchase American goods.

The imposed tariff may even help the industry it seeks to protect, and appear to be a success to the uninformed observer. A closer look shows us that tariffs can actually benefit an industry, but they do so "at the expense of everyone else" (Henry Hazlitt, *Economics in One Lesson*). Thus, there is no real gain to the economy as a whole; rather, there is a small gain for the specific industry and a large loss to the rest of society.

We must remove the barriers that governments have erected to prohibit free trade. Economic growth is only possible under these conditions. Until governments realize the truth, our economies will be forced to a state of high-priced, inefficient production. Still, many do not realize the implications of the protectionist programs. As Henry Hazlitt points out in his book, *Economics in One Lesson*, many policy makers are only looking at one aspect of the perceived problem, and are failing to see the true damage they are creating with

their misguided decisions.

Free trade does more than simply promote increased wealth. It is helpful in many other ways which also benefit the participating countries. Competition tends to drive prices down. This keeps goods affordable. In addition, imports increase the wealth of one's nation. This is an issue that is misunderstood by many who fear foreign investment and worry that they are "selling themselves" so to speak, by buying so many Japanese exports.

This is a major fallacy.

By importing goods, Americans are purchasing them at prices which have been driven down through market competition and thus they have access to a huge variety of similar goods and economical prices. The nations from whom Americans buy receive American dollars in exchange for their goods. With these dollars, they can purchase exported American goods, purchase goods in other countries, or lastly, hoard the money.

In all cases, Americans benefit. If a foreign country decides to spend the dollars on American goods, they create jobs in the export industries as well as put money back in the American system which facilitates more purchases. If it decides to spend the money on goods in other countries, these others now possess the dollars; they can use them to purchase American exports and this will have the same effect as the first situation.

Finally, if foreign countries simply hoard American dollars, it is as if Americans were given a free gift. Hoarders are basically exchanging the result of their work and resources for pieces of paper, since that is all currency really is. This is in fact the best option for Americans, because they do not pay anything. Thus, they are able to realize an increase in wealth and economic growth with the removal of trade barriers and the interaction of importing and exporting.

Free trade is in the best interest of every individual, state, and nation. Americans encourage and allow for free trade within their cities, counties, and states. The same principles should be held for foreign trade policy as well. It seems ridiculous for people to engage in one practice within the country, but also claim that it would hurt them if applied on an international level.



(FREE TRADE, cont'd next pg...)

"A majority vote: that is what we have the moronic audacity to call democracy." - John Farthing

(...DISSENT, cont'd from page 8)

Clark, was the first to cross the continent of America by land to discover the Pacific Ocean; Here are the words of our own forgotten hero:

"I now mixed up some vermilion in melted grease, and inscribed, in large characters, on the South-East face of the rock on which we had slept last night, this brief memorial --- 'Alexander Mackenzie, from Canada, by land, the twenty-second of July, one thousand seven hundred and ninety-three.'"

What did Canada or British Columbia do for the centennial of this event in 1993? Nothing. Today, most Canadians and all Americans think Lewis and Clark were the first to cross the continent of North America. Mackenzie did it TWICE. We don't even know he was the first to discover the western Arctic by way of the river named after him, the great Mackenzie --- the longest river in Canada.

What does this say about our education system, let alone national unity?

We have so much to be proud of as a people, as a nation, as a free society. It's time we took our place as an adult nation, accept the status the rest of the world seems so willingly to assume of us.

Finally, would someone please have a word with Preston Manning, who now thinks the way to power is to become an Executive Populist?

This summer Manning wrote to the PM and all the premiers. He said Quebec should be given "the tools needed to protect and develop its unique language, culture and civil law tradition." (*Globe & Mail*, Sept 10/97)

"It will be expensive, painful, and time-consuming. But there is no other way to win back the most important gift: Freedom for all its worth: God's gift."

As I wrote in my book, *Farewell the Peaceful Kingdom*, "Preston Manning, Thy Kingdom Came." Sir, the idea is to storm Babylon, not Stornoway. And, Preston, your support of the *Calgary Declaration* is just as precipitous and foolish as your support of Meech Lake and Charlottetown was. Whoever you really are, be yourself. It's time to stand up for at least half of what Reformers originally thought you stand for. And stay away from Deborah Grey's Harley-Davidson! It's as bumpy a ride as you'll get from Sheila Copps.

As for that window of history before the next millennium, there is no more compelling vision for Canada than **the sanctity of individual freedom**. More on that in my next book.

Incidentally, for those of you who might be interested, I am a traditional conservative. A real one.

In my view, there can and never will be a union of the right in this country. There is no right to unite! In a federation as historically, culturally, and constitutionally complex as Canada, you can't mind-meld the oxymoronic relativism of "Red Tory" liberalism with simplistic, fiscal Executive Populism rooted in elemental regionalism. Neither can honestly lay claim to singleness of purpose nor constancy of direction. To conclude otherwise is denial and sophistry. Enough, after two generations.

On the side of the so-called right, both reformers and progressives have demonstrated their inability to come to grips with tough core issues, ideals, culture, and values. Neither of these muddled structures could ever capture the imagination or capture the country. That too, will be discussed in my next book.

I believe the time has come to take the first step --- to initiate and mobilize a spirited and open-minded conservative movement in this country. I am not under any illusions about how to bring this about. It will be expensive, painful, and time-consuming. But there is no other way to win back the most important gift: Freedom for all its worth: God's gift.

(END)

(...FREE TRADE, cont'd from prev pg)

We can only benefit from freeing up Adam Smith's "invisible hand" and allowing market forces to regulate trade.

Protectionists still wield much power in maintaining protective tariffs and import quotas, and sadly this is the cause of many economic problems. Until barriers are lifted and policies revised, we will be caught in a self-imposed trap that will limit and hurt our economy and our citizens.

(END)

BACK BENCH



CONSENT

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