



**REAL Women**  
of **CANADA**

## **THE SILENCING OF THE CONSERVATIVE VOICE IN CANADA**



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November 2004

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issues. We also have the advantage of thousands of new and second generation Canadians, who are attracted to conservative social values, and who must be brought into the conservative fold.

There is a tough struggle ahead against the power of the tax-funded opposition to conservatism, for example, the CBC spouting left-wing ideology and other media refusing to allow an alternative voice, government funding of left-wing special interest groups with our tax dollars, unions' use of their compulsory dues to promote the left-wing agenda, and liberal judges appointed and encouraged by the Liberal government to develop a left-wing society by judicial fiat.

It may take several generations to institutionalize a rightward trend in Canada. But we have to begin somewhere and it should begin now. Years ago, American conservatives began this journey. Do conservative Canadians have the will to do the same?



# The Silencing of The Conservative Voice in Canada

The voice of conservatism has been silenced in Canada. This is due to the fact that those holding a liberal perspective control most of the major institutions in this country: the government, media, universities, courts and professional associations. These institutions are effectively shutting the conservative voice out of the public square.



The success of this policy was obvious in the June 2004 federal election when some voters, especially those in Ontario, fell prey to the Liberals' attack ads which targeted the Conservatives' alleged "hidden agenda." In order to prevent the Conservative win, a significant number of voters were willing to ignore the Liberals' corruption over the years, such as the sponsorship scandals, the Liberals' ruthless disrespect for democracy when pushing through legislation, and their abuse of privilege by awarding their friends and supporters with patronage appointments and grants for service to the party, regardless of merit or qualifications. In short, sufficient voters were frightened by the prospect of a Conservative government, that they were willing to overlook all they loathed about the Liberals, and allowed the Liberals to return to office.

## How the Conservative Voice Has Been Silenced

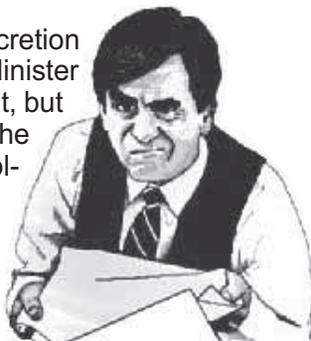
### 1. The Liberal Government

The Liberal government, which has now been in power with only a few interruptions for most of the past century, has put in place a number of procedures and institutions by which it has silenced the conservative voice in Canada. Many of these mechanisms were established under Prime Minister Trudeau in his early years in power, and are still in place today. These include:

- Parliamentary practices demanding absolute obedience from caucus members, including the cabinet, to support Liberal policies and legislation. The latter are determined not by the Liberal caucus or party members themselves at a national convention, but rather by the paid bureaucrats ensconced in the Prime Minister's office. Advancement within the party is denied those who do not conform to the agenda set by these bureaucrats and the Prime Minister.

- Funding policies of the Court Challenges Program, first established in 1978 to fund language rights legal challenges, and expanded in 1985 to include so-called equality legal challenges, make grants to only favoured left-wing special interest groups to bring their cases before the courts. This program is funded solely by the federal Heritage Department. The program has brought fundamental changes in the social values of this country by way of the courts, which changes would never have been achieved by way of Parliamentary debate and legislation. In this regard, it is noteworthy that the homosexual lobby group, EGALE, (Equality for Gays and Lesbians Everywhere), lists the Court Challenges Program as one of its most important (Platinum) supporters.

- Judges are appointed solely at the discretion of the Prime Minister (assisted by the Minister of Justice), and are selected not on merit, but rather on their past contributions to the Liberal party, as well as their liberal ideology.



- Policies administered by Canada Revenue Agency (CRA) prohibit churches and faith-based organizations, as well as conservative organizations, from speaking publicly on moral/social issues under the threat of losing their tax-exempt charitable status.

- The Canada Elections Act was amended in 2003 and was upheld by the Supreme Court of Canada just five days before the June 2004 federal election was called. The Act restricts third parties to spending only \$150,000 on national advertising and \$3,000 per federal riding during an election. This amendment effectively prevents any conservative individual or organization – besides political parties – from drawing national attention to any particular topic during the election. For example, buying a one-time full-page advertisement in a major Canadian newspaper costs thousands of dollars, and according to Madam Justice Beverley McLachlin, who dissented in this decision:

*[The legislation] puts effective radio and television communication throughout the country beyond the reach of ..... citizens.*

Further, the dissenting three judges in the case, Madam Justice McLachlin, Justices Major and Binnie, also noted that the Canada Post bulk mailing rate for some ridings is more than

\$7,500 – well above the \$3,000 limit for each riding. These spending limits were described by the three dissenting judges as being so low as to amount to “a virtual ban on meaningful citizen participation in democratic debate on *election issues* during the campaign.” They further stated:

*... effective local, regional and national expression of ideas becomes the exclusive right of registered political parties and their candidates.*

*All this law will do is protect politicians from criticism.*

A very tangible result of this ban on third party views being publicized during the election was that the pro-family organization, Focus on the Family, halted its \$1.5 million advertising campaign promoting traditional marriage. Focus had only spent \$600,000 of its \$1.5 million campaign in full-page ads that appeared in 27 newspapers across Canada, as well as on radio, when the Supreme Court of Canada decision came down, upholding the draconian amendments to the *Elections Act*.

Asked about the effect of Focus on the Family’s campaign on mainstream voters, Laurie Arron, Director of Advocacy for the homosexual lobby group, EGALE, stated (TO BE, June 2004):

*I don’t know, but one thing we are sure of is that a lot of people have seen them, so they have succeeded in getting their message out*

- The passing into law of Bill C-250 last April allows opponents of the homosexual agenda to be targeted for criminal prosecution on the grounds that their objections constitute “hate propaganda.” This amendment is a powerful tool in the hands of homosexual activists to prevent open debate on the controversial homosexual issue. This amendment infringes on both freedom of religion and freedom of expression in Canada.

- Over several decades (since 1972), the Liberal government has funded left-wing organizations, such as feminist and homosexual organizations, which use these funds to promote their own agenda and also to lobby the government which is sympathetic to their aims. These government-funded groups also serve the purpose of giving the appearance of public support for change, which is then promoted by the biased media. The reality, however, is that most left-wing organizations, and especially feminist ones, have only limited membership. They serve only as a front to promote the govern-



ment's own left-wing agenda. Conservative organizations, such as REAL Women, are denied government funding, and, therefore, cannot play as influential a role in the development of policies, and do not operate on a level playing field in Canada.

- The Liberal government generously funds numerous multi-cultural organizations. This is useful for the Liberal party in order to ensure ethnic support during the nomination process for favoured party candidates, and also during elections to ensure that ethnic votes are cast for the liberal candidates.
- The Liberal government has in the past, and is continuing today, to generously award its friends and supporters to further its own liberal agenda. It does this by way of financial grants and appointment favours to procure their continued support. The Liberal government also awards party loyalty by appointments to the Senate, the courts and Crown corporations, such as Via Rail, Canada Post, the CBC, etc. Merit and qualifications are not priorities with regard to these appointments.



## 2. Universities

The conservative voice is severely silenced in universities, which have human rights committees to ensure that only the politically correct (liberal) voice is heard.

Special behaviour codes are ruthlessly enforced by universities against any plurality of thought.

Professors and students who dare to voice opinions that are politically incorrect are severely dealt with by universities. Professors are brought before the universities' "equality committees" for censure, ridicule and sometimes dismissal. Students' marks are adjusted downward if they do not take the appropriate, i.e. politically correct, position in essays and examinations, and students are censured and ostracized if they express politically incorrect views during class.

## 3. Courts

Litigation before the courts is now political. The courts make legislative decisions on political issues that the legislators are then obliged to implement. Since the judges are appointed by the Prime Minister,

they invariably take a "progressive" approach to issues. With the power assumed by themselves under the Charter of Rights, judges today are now the governing force in determining the "values" of the country.

## 4. Federal Law Commission

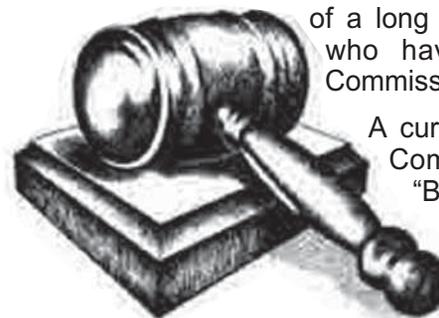
Working in close conjunction with the courts is the federal Law Commission of Canada. Initially established in 1971 by Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau, it was at that time more aptly called the *Law Reform Commission*.

Significantly, when the Mulroney Conservatives came to power, the Law Commission was disbanded. However, it was quickly restored by the Liberals once they were re-elected in 1993. The Commission admirably serves the Liberals' purposes.

Its purpose is, ostensibly, to review federal laws and make recommendations to update them. Its practical purpose, however, is to provide an intellectual base or support for "progressive" changes in the laws for judges – especially those on the Supreme Court of Canada. The latter endlessly quote the Commission's reasoning and conclusions, treating them as truisms beyond dispute. The Commission's reports effectively serve as the intellectual underpinning for the judges' own ideological, liberal positions.

The Law Commission's lawyers are all hand-picked and appointed by the federal government. They report to the Minister of Justice, and are not accountable to Parliament. The views expressed by the Commissioners reflect the opinions of no one but themselves. It is fair to say, however, their conclusions are not rooted in any legal principles but rather in the personal bias and perspective of the Commissioners.

The Commission serves also as a springboard for ambitious lawyers to obtain judicial appointments owing to their close association with the Minister of Justice. Former Chief Justice Antonio Lamer of the Supreme Court of Canada went directly to the Supreme Court from the Commission. Former Supreme Court Judge, Louise Arbour, went to the Ontario Bench by the same route. They are part of a long list of Commissioners over the years who have benefited from service on the Commission by way of judicial appointments.



A current example of the bias of the Law Commission is its discussion paper, "Beyond Conjuality: Recognizing and supporting close personal adult relationships." The paper, published in 2001, concluded that traditional marriage defined as a union between a

man and a woman was outdated as it “did not meet the needs of our evolving society,” and that the legal framework between “two parties” should be provided by the state and that same-sex marriage should be legalized. This was not a surprising conclusion as most of the members of the “study panels” contributing to the discussion paper were homosexual or lesbian in orientation. The first drafts of the paper were also prepared by homosexual and lesbian activists.

The discussion paper was published, conveniently, just at the time the same-sex marriage legal challenges were being argued before the courts and was quoted by the provincial court judges in their opinions in support of same-sex marriage. It is expected that a similar approach to the Law Commission’s position on the issue will be taken by the Supreme Court of Canada when it hands down its decision on same-sex marriage some time in 2005.

## 5. Media

Most of the media, print, radio and TV in Canada, have no interest in providing balance in programming and reporting. This has led to the ludicrous situation, for example, of the former popular radio host, Peter Gzowski, on the CBC programme, Morningside, holding weekly panel discussions of so-called “opposing” views by three similarly thinking left-wing commentators, Stephen Lewis (NDP), Dalton Camp (Tory) and Eric Kierans (Liberal) – none of whom ever held a conservative thought in their heads.

There are only a handful of genuinely conservative journalists in Canada. Lorne Gunter of the Edmonton Journal, Claire Hoy, Ted Byfield, Licia Corbella (Calgary Herald), Susan Martinuk, Rory Leishman, David Warren and George Jonas of the National Post, come to mind. Others, such as the National Post’s Andrew Coyne, although he places his toe in conservative waters, quickly withdraws it on such issues as same-sex marriage so as to indicate to his fellow (liberal) journalists, “See, I’m not all that unreasonable. ‘I’m a moderate!’” The National Post, having been acquired in 2001 by the Winnipeg-based Asper brothers (CanWest Global Communications Corp.) from conservative entrepreneur, Conrad Black, has now ceased to be entirely conservative. For example, it advocates the legalization (not merely the decriminalization) of marijuana. It has, at best, been ambivalent on conservative social issues. In an editorial on July 12, 2004, it stated:

*... Mr. Harper must shift the Conservatives’ focus, once and for all, away from the divisive social issues that have continually undermined their progress. ...*



*... he also did not do a good job of distancing himself from his party’s outspoken social conservatives, nor from the relatively hard-line positions the Reform and Alliance parties took in the past.*

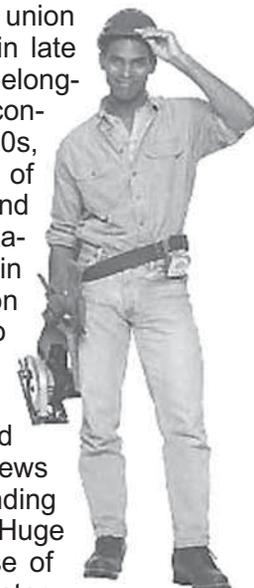
An exception to the left-wing bias of the print media is the Sun Newspaper chain which generally maintains a much more balanced approach in its reporting, and is more conservative in its editorials. The conservative BC and Alberta Reports, owned and edited by the Byfield family, have ceased to publish. The conservative Western Standard, published by Ezra Levant, has only been around for six months, but hopefully will manage to survive in a liberal climate.

The Canadian Radio-television & Telecommunications Commission (CRTC), which was established in 1968, licenses all broadcast outlets in Canada. Appointments to the Commission are at the discretion of the Prime Minister. The Commission has consistently refused licences for religious broadcasting, with two exceptions. Ample restrictions, however, were placed on these two exceptions. Conservative broadcasters are refused licenses. The CRTC granted a license to a homosexual TV station (the first in the world), as well as to the Playboy channel. The CRTC acts as a censor by its federally appointed bureaucrats in determining Canadian “values.” Obviously the CRTC does not believe that conservative values are “Canadian.”

## 6. Labour Unions

There has been a relentless long-term slide in union power in Canada. Statistics Canada reported in late August 2004 that the percentage of Canadians belonging to unions set a new low of 30.0% last year, continuing a long-term trend. From peaks in the 1980s, union control has declined in most regions of Canada, hitting 23% in Alberta, 27% in Ontario and 32% in British Columbia. In 1977, the BC unionization rate was 40.9%. Union membership, mainly in the public sector, is protected by special legislation preventing competition. This allows unions to hold onto members, who might not otherwise wish to be members.

Despite the unions’ decreasing membership (and thereby support), they have imposed left-wing views on the nation with the help of their generous funding of both the federal and provincial NDP parties. Huge donations to the NDP have now ended because of legislation brought in by former Prime Minister Chrétien, effective January 1, 2004, which limits contributions to polit-



ical parties and candidates. Instead, the new legislation requires that taxpayers fund the political parties according to the number of seats they obtained in the last election. However, because of large funds received from compulsory union dues, the union leaders, who have no accountability for the use of these funds, including no accountability for their own salaries and other activities, have been able to use this money to support left-wing organizations and policies. Unions generously fund feminist and homosexual organizations. Same-sex benefits have long been included in their collective agreements. More recently, unions have been lobbying for, as well as funding other organizations, to lobby for the decriminalizing of prostitution. (The prospect, of course, is that prostitutes and other sexual workers will then become unionized!)

It is noted that EGALE, the homosexual lobby group, lists labour unions as one of its main supporters.

## 6. Professional Associations

Most professional associations in Canada take a liberal approach to social issues. This position began in the early 1970s, when, for example, the Canadian Medical Association, the Canadian Bar Association and the Canadian Nurses' Association adopted policies in support of abortion on demand.

More recently, in November 2003, the Canadian Psychological Association adopted a policy in support of same-sex parenting, despite credible studies indicating that such parenting is harmful to children.

Teachers' associations, especially in BC and Ontario, have maintained a hard-edged approach to liberal homosexual and sexual behaviour being taught in the schools, insisting that all teachers conform to this standard.

The Canadian Bar Association now has a Sexual Orientation and Gender Identity Committee that advocates the implementation of the homosexual agenda in legislation. For example, the Law Society of Ontario, together with the Bar Association Sexual Identity Committee organized a "public education forum" in Toronto during the 2004 Gay Pride Week on the homosexual issue. The keynote speaker was Ontario Superior Court Justice Harry LaForme (who wrote the decision in support of same-sex marriage for that court in 2001). Other panelists included Laurie Arron, Director of Advocacy for the homosexual lobby group, EGALE; lesbian lawyer Cynthia Peterson, who successfully argued the same-sex marriage case before Judge LaForme, and two members from the "transidentified" (transsexual) Community. There was no attempt to provide opposing views in this so-called "educational" forum.

Treasurer of the Ontario Law Society, Frank Marrocco, used the occasion to launch the Law Society's new model policy to provide "equality" in the work environment for gay, lesbian, bisexual, transgender and "Two-Spirited Individuals."

A "Two-Spirited person" is defined in this new policy as follows:

*A person who has received the gift of having the privilege to house both male and female spirits in their bodies. The concept of Two-Spirited person relates to today's designation of being a gay, lesbian, bisexual and transgender person of Aboriginal origins. Being given the gift of two spirits means that the individual has the ability to see the world from two perspectives at the same time.*



Who knew.

## Canada Today

Canada is in decline. We have lost our national purpose because we have no unifying ties. Instead of pulling together for common objectives, we have become a multitude of special-interest groups clamouring for recognition and special privileges in order to further our narrow objectives. We are separated by our differences, whether religious, cultural, gender, ideological, ethnic or orientation. We are not one nation, but many nations living together in isolation, often suspicious of one other.

The ludicrous argument that our health care system is a source of pride that binds us as a nation insults our intelligence. Our health care system, in fact, symbolizes all that is wrong with Canada. It is decrepit and inert, unable to adapt to changing times, relying on its past to rationalize its continued, dysfunctional existence.

Even though Canada is doing well economically, it has lost its energy, vision, imagination, and joyful anticipation of the future.

Internationally, Canada is regarded with distrust, even disgust, by third world countries because of our heavy-handed manoeuvring at the UN to impose on them our failed social policies of sexual permissiveness, abortion, adolescent access to birth control without parental knowledge and consent, feminism and homosexuality. For example, at the April 2004 meeting in Geneva of the UN Commission on Human Rights, which was supposed to focus on issues of conflict and terror-

ism, the Canadian delegation spent its time lobbying and negotiating on behalf of its favoured issues of women's rights, sexual orientation and sexual and reproductive rights (abortion and birth control).

Canada remains supremely indifferent to the fact that such social policies, which arguably are contributing to our own downfall as a nation, trample on and denigrate the religion, culture, and traditions of third world countries. Consequently, the latter regard Canadians as decadent imperialists, more ruthless and insensitive than our 19th century forbearers.



The state of our sad military also reflects the decline of our nation. Canada today is not even capable of performing our "safe" bottom-of-the-barrel military exercise of peacekeeping – the only military activity acceptable to liberals. Our efforts flounder because of obsolete equipment and a tiny army, with no fresh combat troops, due to an ever-shrinking defence budget by liberal leaders who have little regard for military concerns.

The question is, will Canada continue along this dismal path, or will we be willing to change our future with fresh, innovative policies, in order to provide our nation with new vision and purpose?

## What Can be Done?

This question can be answered by looking to the current situation in the U.S.

The Republican platform at the 2004 Convention was pro-life and pro-family, in support of life from conception to natural death, and opposed to same-sex marriages, cloning and embryo stem cell research.

The U.S. has an abundance of genuinely conservative journalists, magazines and other media outlets, both radio and TV (Fox), including 1,500 Christian broadcast channels. There are over 200 foundations funding conservative think tanks and organizations. There is, in fact, a dynamic conservative intellectual culture in the U.S. that has won much of the battle of ideas. It is true that there is still a fierce battle raging by the liberals in the U.S., but clearly the conservatives have the upper hand there.

This didn't just happen by chance. Rather, it was developed over the years by dedicated conservatives who set about and achieved these impressive changes by turning around public opinion in the U.S. from liberalism to conservatism.

The 1960s in the U.S. were as liberal as Canada is at present. The Republican candidate for the Presidency in 1964, Barry Goldwater, went down in flames trying to sell a conservative agenda to the American people. Yet, by 1980, President Ronald Reagan was able to sell a similar package to the electorate. Part of his success was due to his own personal charm and communication skills, as well as his good luck. However, it is also true that the U.S. in 1980 was not the same as it had been in the 1960s, and neither were the voters. Mr. Reagan's success was not achieved without help – a great deal of help for many years before his arrival on centre stage.

The help began to take place at the time of the Barry Goldwater loss, when a handful of conservatives met in a Chicago hotel room to begin the long and arduous journey to turn the nation's values from liberalism to that of conservatism.

Over the last four decades, U.S. conservatives have managed to build a powerful institutional infrastructure, evidenced by well-endowed foundations that are funded by various corporate leaders. Well-funded conservative think tanks underwrite conservative publications and promote a greater appreciation of conservative ideas and policies.

If conservatism is to become a reality in Canada, the U.S. model must be duplicated here. Wealthy conservative benefactors and corporate leaders must come forward with the resources necessary to fund alternative institutions, as did Conrad Black, all too briefly, in 1998, when he launched the National Post. Foundations and think tanks must be endowed, and plans to train future conservative leaders and campaign workers launched. Without a strong infrastructure of intelligent, articulate thinkers and activists, Canada will continue to shy away from conservative ideas, as happened during the fatal last week of the 2004 federal election. If we do not begin to build a conservative infrastructure, we must be prepared to live on with a liberal culture, promoted and protected by the Liberal party of Canada, whose corruption and self-interest will continue to dominate our lives and those of our descendents.

The beginning of a conservative movement is already present in Vancouver's Fraser Institute and the National Citizens Coalition. Both these organizations concentrate mostly on economic issues, however, and we need think tanks and foundations to concentrate on conservative social

